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Comparative Cost Analyses of Community College Student Success Initiatives

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Limited resources hinder completion and exacerbate inequality in community colleges. Existing research identifies strategies that raise outcomes but leaves policymakers and campus leaders asking, "What do these interventions really cost—and can we afford it?" I answer these questions by presenting the first set of comparative cost analyses of community college success initiatives to date. I comprehensively document annual costs associated with six common strategies: basic needs supports, college success and career exploration courses, early alert systems, embedded tutoring, retention—and emergency—based financial aid programs, and first—year experience programming. I identify overall costs, the distribution of costs, and costs per student, as well as how costs are borne by various actors. I show costs can vary widely from roughly \$79,900 per year to over \$2.9 million—and range from as little as \$570 per student to more than \$1,320. I also show that more expensive programs do not necessarily serve more students. This work equips decisonmakers with crucial insights for identifying what works—at what cost—and greatly extends the nascent body of cost studies in higher education.

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Abstract

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Keywords: community college, cost analysis, economic evaluation, student success

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INTRODUCTION

Community colleges serve as primary access points to higher education for a disproportionate share of low-income, racially minoritized, and first-generation students (Cahalan et al., 2024). In this way, the two-year sector has been termed an "engine of opportunity," providing students with a broad promise of social and economic mobility (Community College Research Center [CCRC], 2020). However, low and unequal completion rates persist, where roughly only 30% of students graduate within 150% of normal time—less than half that at public universities (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2023a). One reason behind this wide gap are institutional resources: Community colleges' budgetary constraints mean they must spend substantially less per pupil than four-year peers (NCES, 2023b). While research and policy efforts often focus on identifying and implementing what "works" for raising and equalizing student outcomes, scarce resources also mean attention must be paid to the *cost* of such interventions (Edgecombe et al., 2024; Odle & Monday, 2021). However, research to date has largely ignored this reality. Policymakers and institutional leaders alike are often told to do something because it "works" but are left with little (if any) information on what it costs—or, more importantly—if they can afford it.

This study presents the first set of comparative cost analyses of community college student success initiatives to date. Leveraging a sample of six diverse colleges across three states and the Ingredients Method (Levine et al., 2018), I comprehensively document the costs associated with implementing and annually operating some of the most common strategies considered today, including basic needs supports, college success and career exploration courses, early alert systems, embedded tutoring, retention- and emergency-based financial aid programs,

and first-year experience programming. In addition to paying attention to overall costs, the distribution of costs across functional budget areas (e.g., personnel, facilities, materials), and costs per student served, this work also pays attention to costs borne by various actors, including in-kind resources leveraged from external partners and induced costs charged back to students themselves via time, tuition, foregone wages, or other means.

I show that, as implemented, costs of community college student success initiatives in this collection can vary widely from as little as approximately \$79,900 per year to more than \$2.9 million—and range from as little as \$570 per student to more than \$1,320. Importantly, however (and perhaps as common knowledge might dictate), the cost of an intervention does not appear to determine its effectiveness or the number of students it can serve. Among the six interventions considered here, the "smallest" program (defined as serving the fewest number of students) is not the cheapest, and the "largest" is not the most expensive. Students annually served by these interventions ranged from roughly 140 to over 3,160. Likewise, the program that objectively provides the greatest level of wraparound services for students is not the most expensive overall or on a per-student basis. I also show that, while the costs of most interventions are predominantly borne by institutions, several programs induce substantial costs from students in the form of tuition charges, time, and foregone wages—a reality that could counteractively depress retention and completion rates. Finally, I also show that many interventions rely heavily on resources provided in-kind through donations or other sources (e.g., volunteer time), representing as much as 35% of total resources. While often necessary to function, funding student success initiatives with precarious, non-recurring resources could mean that the presence and intensity of an intervention can vary widely from year to year, limiting continuity of service and mediating the impact of the initiative on intended outcomes.

3

In all, this work makes important contributions to research and practice. Beyond providing important cost estimates for practical use in the community college sector nationally, each strategy considered has documented or emerging causal evidence at raising student outcomes. Paired with such evidence, this work equips policymakers, institutional leaders, and foundations alike with useful information to identify what programs are possible to achieve their goals (and to what level) within a given budget. These findings, discussed later in complete detail, underscore the importance of considering efficacy and cost when selecting among alternatives that may all "work" at raising outcomes, paying particular attention to the full set of resources required to implement and annually operate some of the most common community college student success strategies. Furthermore, this work greatly extends the nascent collection of cost analyses in higher education and lays an important foundation for researchers studying what "works" (and at what cost) at scale. In doing so, it also advances use of the Standards for Excellence in Education Research (SEER) principles by explicitly making findings, methods, and data open; identifying interventions' components; documenting treatment implementation and contrasts; analyzing interventions' costs; facilitating generalization of findings; and supporting scaling of promising interventions (Institute of Education Sciences, 2022). It also features a series of ingredient, quantity, and price lists (by initiative) for use by policymakers, practitioners, and foundation partners as they design and/or scale their own programs.

In what follows, I first address the current state of empirical evidence on community college student success interventions, including the relatively small set of cost and cost-effectiveness studies. I then provide an overview of the interventions in this study, as well as some brief context on each community college setting included. I then discuss methods of economic evaluation, including specific steps taken in the present cost analysis. I follow with a

presentation of results, paying particular attention to overall costs, costs borne by various actors, and costs per student served. I conclude with a discussion of these findings and note important implications for ongoing investments, research, and policy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Effects of Community College Student Success Interventions

A robust body of evidence has documented the efficacy of interventions at improving community college students' short and long-term outcomes. So much evidence exists that recent work focuses on synthesizing it for broader consumption (Reber, 2024). One primary strategy is leveraging financial aid dollars to reduce students' costs of attendance, loan burden, and need to work while enrolled. Evidence consistently shows that aid causally improves enrollment, persistence, attainment, and more (Dynarski, Page, & Scott-Clayton, 2022; Gurantz & Odle, 2022; Nguyen et al., 2019). In tandem, a broader set of interventions focuses on students' non-financial needs and barriers to success, including expanded student services and those that provide wraparound supports (Dynarski, Nurshatayeva, Page, & Scott-Clayton, 2022). Evidence points to a variety of these strategies—such as advising, coaching, and other personalized efforts focused on academic and non-academic challenges—at raising student outcomes (Bray, 2023; Dawson et al., 2021). These can also include supports for academics, basic needs, mental health, and more (Bonilla & Minaya, 2024; Goldrick-Rab, 2018).

There is undoubtedly a menu of "effective" options available to campus leaders, foundations, and policymakers. However, despite efficacy, community colleges often lack funds to implement and sustain these initiatives (Vinagro, 2024). These programs—but especially those that are effective *and* address multiple barriers to student success—can be extremely expensive (Mowreader, 2024), evidenced by the widely-lauded City University of New York

Accelerated Study in Associate Programs (CUNY ASAP) model that costs an *additional* \$13,838 per participant. As a point of reference, the average community college spent \$16,080 per student in FY21 on all instructional, academic support, and student services functions combined (NCES, 2023b). Implementing ASAP would thus nearly double expenditures per student.

Rather than relying on a primary source of revenue, community colleges rely on a mix of local, state, and federal appropriations, which typically do not cover these programs (instead focusing predominantly on instructional costs; Edgecombe et al., 2024). Likewise, efforts to secure highly competitive grants from federal or philanthropic organizations for such programs can be just as costly given institutional capacity constraints and result in funding critical student success interventions with precarious, non-recurring funds (Goldrick-Rab, 2010). Regardless of their financial position—flush with resources or facing budget deficits—all colleges face the same challenge, however: Where do we invest our resources? What programs are effective, and what do they cost? Policymakers face similar challenges when seeking to advocate and appropriate resources for these initiatives: How much will it cost? This likewise perplexes nonprofit funders: What resources are reasonable and necessary to develop and sustain these student success initiatives? Unfortunately, there is scarce evidence to answer these questions.

Cost and Cost-Effectiveness Analyses in Higher Education

Producers and consumers broadly favor cost-effective alternatives: minimizing costs to achieve the same outcome of interest. However, identifying such an alternative requires understanding both costs and effects. In the higher education arena, as previously discussed, decisionmakers generally have a clear idea of what effects can be expected from a given intervention. However, they have virtually no information on what that intervention may cost—and much less information on costs across a *variety* of interventions to allow for identifying the

most cost-effective alternative or one that will maximize the number of students served for a given budget. As a substitute, interventions marketed as being "low cost" are often favored, but these claims beg similar questions: How were costs estimated? "Low" compared to what? Will effects be equivalent to more costly interventions? Just as researchers expect causal estimates to adhere to a specific set of requirements for claims to be valid (i.e., data quality, clear identifying assumptions, unbiased estimation, robustness), economic evaluations of cost do the same (Karoly, 2012; Levine et al., 2018; Shand & Bowden, 2022). If costs (like effects) are not rigorously and consistently estimated, they should not be used in a comparative scenario.

Many studies estimating causal impacts of higher education programs attempt to incorporate some feature of cost. This traditionally appears at the end of the paper and involves a back-of-the-envelope calculation to see if expected benefits (e.g., *n* additional graduates multiplied by the lifetime earnings of a graduate) exceed observable costs (e.g., *n* of scholarships multiplied by the average scholarship amount). These are worthy efforts, and more studies should at least include these considerations. However, these exercises often fall short in four important ways. First, costs are not consistently estimated across studies, which may lead to systematic differences in what resources are or are not included (or what they are compared against, i.e., if spending \$0 is truly the alternative). Second, they take a fiscal perspective, often only estimating costs to the government, for example, rather than costs that may also be borne by institutions or students (e.g., as in the case of new programs that require campus implementation, student time and effort, and more). Third, they often rely on a budget model, which focuses on how resources were planned (or allocated) to be spent rather than on how they were spent or implemented (or what *other* resources were also needed). Finally, they also compute costs in a

simplistic way that fails to leverage many tools available for estimating more accurate figures, such as net present value calculations that incorporate inflation, discounting, and more.

Addressing these challenges seems easier—but still not fully attainable—in a setting where costs are more obvious (e.g., scholarship dollars) than in others (e.g., wraparound services involving personnel, technology, and more). This is why virtually all back-of-the-envelope calculations focus on financial aid programs (Barr, 2019; Bartik & Lachowska, 2014; Bettinger et al., 2019; Page, Iriti et al., 2019; Page, Kehoe et al., 2019). Importantly, such a comprehensive view that addresses these challenges is indeed generally outside the scope of most impact evaluations. Nevertheless, a clear and consistent understanding of the costs of community college student success initiatives—beyond financial aid—is necessary to facilitate policy and practice conversations around cost and cost-effectiveness.

A cost analysis measures the total "social" value of all resources required to implement and operate a program, regardless of who pays for them (Levine et al., 2018). In the comparative sense, it answers a plain, approachable question: What is the full resource cost of each alternative? Yet, despite thousands of impact evaluations in the higher education literature, there are—quite literally—only a handful of published cost analyses of related interventions for policymakers, practitioners, and researchers to draw upon. This is due to a variety of factors, including a lack of training around economic evaluation in cost and cost-effectiveness among researchers, a lack of demand among academics to produce such estimates (given the attractiveness of impact evaluations in the publication process), the (ironically) resource-intensive nature of conducing cost analyses, and more (Levine, 2001). There are, however, rigorous cost estimates of a few signature initiatives aimed at increasing students' college retention and completion outcomes, including corequisite remediation (Belfield et al., 2016),

CUNY ASAP-ACE (Azurdia & Galkin, 2020; Scott-Clayton et al., 2024), guided pathways (Belfield, 2020), and remedial education placement systems (Rodríguez et al., 2014).

Existing cost analyses in higher education underscore the fact that the costs of programs aimed at achieving even the same outcome, such as to increase fall-to-fall retention rates, can vary widely—from as little as \$30/student for placement testing and \$450/student to implement guided pathways to more than \$3,800/student for co-req remediation and over \$13,800/student for ASAP wraparound services. Such information can grossly change the calculus for funders, policymakers, and institutional leaders when considering what intervention(s) to consider and implement. Importantly, however, these studies barely scratch the surface of possible student success initiatives under consideration. This work greatly expands this body of evidence by adding comprehensive cost estimates for six additional interventions previously unexplored.

SAMPLE AND INTERVENTIONS

Table 1 provides an overview of each intervention of interest included in the study, as well as brief indicators on each community college site. Colleges in this study were drawn from the *Paving the Way to Equitable, Adequate, and Effective Community College Funding* project at the Community College Research Center. Launched in 2021, the project aimed to identify and cost out institutional practices that drive student success; determine how state funding policies relate to adequate, equitable, and effective college funding; and build capacity to increase student attainment and reduce equity gaps (Shaw et al., 2023). Participating colleges were selected from a national pool based on their performance enrolling and graduating Black, Hispanic, and Pelleligible students, as well as their use of evidence-based student success practices.

Six colleges from three states (California, Ohio, and Texas) were selected. Colleges underwent comprehensive engagement with the project across three years of finance and

implementation studies, including 120 interviews with presidents, senior leaders, faculty, staff, and other stakeholders. While colleges were not meant to be nationally representative, they were diverse. Table 1 shows student enrollments ranged from just over 3,000 to more than 17,400 in 2022-23, with annual expenditures on instruction, academic support, and student services ranging from \$10 million to nearly \$200 million. Colleges also varied widely in their enrollment of Black, Hispanic, and Pell-eligible students, and overall graduation rates ranged from approximately 20% to 45%. Importantly, however, each had robust implementation of one or more empirically supported student success initiatives.

Student Success Initiatives

One initiative per partner college was selected. Each was triangulated through (a) comprehensive interviews, questionnaires, and focus groups with institutional stakeholders, including being consistently cited as critical to the college's completion agenda; (b) having established or developing causal evidence [from the existing body of empirical evidence or from pilot programs at the college specifically] at raising student outcomes; and (c) not being the focus of a previously discussed cost or cost-effectiveness analysis (i.e., not corequisite/remedial education, ASAP, or guided pathways). Six novel student success initiatives were selected: basic needs supports, college success and career exploration courses, early alert systems, embedded tutoring, retention- and emergency-based financial aid, and first-year experience programming.

Basic needs center. College students face higher rates of food and housing insecurity than the general population (McKibben et al., 2024). Nationally, 23% of all undergraduates lack consistent access to food, and 8% experience homelessness (NCES, 2024). These rates are especially high among Black and Pell-eligible students. When students lack access to basic needs—which also include healthcare, transportation, childcare, and more—they are less likely

to persist and earn a degree (Broton et al., 2022; Goldrick-Rab, 2018; Leung et al., 2020). When initiatives provide basic needs supports, students' retention and completion rates generally rise. Prior works have shown that providing students with supports to access existing public-service programs (Daugherty et al., 2016; Goldrick-Rab et al., 2021), giving food (Bond et al., 2021; Carr & London, 2020), and providing funding for emergency expenses and/or transportation (Clay & Valentine, 2021; Dachelet & Goldrick-Rab, 2015) increase student success rates.

One Texas community college site operates a comprehensive basic needs and resource center. The center serves approximately 1,500 students annually and distributes food, clothing, and various supplies. It also disburses campus- and community-funded grants for childcare, transportation (gas cards and bus passes), and emergency issues (e.g., utility bills) while also connecting students to existing federal, state, and community resources (e.g., SNAP), including providing application assistance when required. The center has three full-time equivalent (FTE) staff members and is supported by a variety of other student and campus personnel. In addition to having a large campus footprint for receiving, storing, and distributing nonperishable food and supplies, the program also leverages off-campus spaces for food collection and distribution.

Among its many grant and supply programs, the center's signature service is the distribution of nearly 116,000 pounds of fresh and frozen food annually via a refrigerated food truck.

College and career success course. Students arrive to college with varying levels of academic preparation and disparate access to financial, social, and cultural capital to navigate these spaces (Moschetti & Hudley, 2015; Roksa & Calcagno, 2010; Wells, 2008). To equip students—and especially first-generation students—with the knowledge and skills to succeed, many colleges offer "first-year experience" courses that focus on raising academic performance (e.g., study skills, time management), social integration, and "college" knowledge (e.g.,

navigating processes and use of campus resources; U.S. Department of Education, 2016). It is estimated that a majority of two- and four-year institutions offer at least one such course; mostly for academic credit (Young & Hopp, 2014). Many such courses also focus on major selection, college-to-career pathways, and requirement for two-to-four-year transfer. Among the available causal evidence, research suggests that such courses raise credit accumulation and may also increase completion (Clouse, 2012; Jamelske, 2009; Shoemaker, 1995; Wilkerson, 2008).

One institutional site in Texas requires that all students complete a 1-credit hour course focused on college success skills and career exploration. The course is taught by specially trained instructors and supplemented with peer mentors. While the course surveys many topics, emphasis is placed on life skills, career and transfer preparation, and goal setting through lectures and labs. The course serves nearly 3,160 students annually with roughly 20 instructors and 8 peer mentors. These efforts are overseen by approximately two FTE alongside a faculty program director, though a variety of campus staff are engaged (e.g., career center, success coaches) given the course's focus on connecting students to existing campus and community resources. The course is offered in fully online and hybrid formats, minimizing its physical footprint. Students pay tuition for the 1-credit hour course, which, in turn, generates revenue for the institution.

Early alert. College students encounter a variety of on- and off-campus challenges that inhibit course completion, retention, and degree attainment. Advising and coaching can help address many of these challenges, but student-to-advisor ratios at community colleges can exceed 1200:1 (Karp et al., 2016; Scrivener et al., 2015). To help identify students at greatest potential for intervention—and target scarce advising resources—many institutions leverage referral programs, whereby instructors and staff "alert" the institution to students in need of support (Kalamkarian et al., 2018). Students then benefit from targeted engagement and follow-

up. A majority of colleges report using some type of technology-assisted advising program, and developing evidence on early warning systems and personalized outreach suggests they can raise engagement with advisors and may have modest impacts on academic performance (Mayer et al., 2019). While early alerts in this way generally follow a *reactive* strategy, a larger body of work on *proactive* text-based "nudges" generally points to positive effects—especially among underserved populations—when outreach is (a) delivered in timely and personalized way, (b) by a familiar individual, and (c) supports completion of a relevant task (Page et al., 2024).

An Ohio community college in our sample operates a universal early alert program where faculty and staff submit "alerts" (referrals) for students they believe are experiencing in- or out-of-class challenges; academic, financial, personal, social, or other. A team of dedicated Student Success Specialists then undertake coordinated outreach across multiple means (e.g., phone, email, text) and either provide direct advising and intervention or connect students to a host of on- or off-campus resources as necessary, including follow-up. The program is consistently touted as a key driver of student retention and success. On average, 140 alerts are received and responded to per academic year by roughly two FTE staff. The program is facilitated by a variety of technological solutions that integrate the college's learning management (LMS; e.g., Blackboard/Canvas) and customer relationship management (CRM: e.g., Salesforce) systems that allow for identification and tracking of students alongside two-way texting.

Embedded tutoring. Many students entering community colleges are classified as "academically underprepared," often requiring supplemental support through remedial/developmental education or co-requisite instruction (Bailey et al., 2010; Nix et al., 2021). If students are unable to fully engage in coursework or face significant challenges grasping content, they are unlikely to complete the course and be retained. Across a variety of strategies that

colleges employ to support students' academic and non-academic needs, one common practice is embedding tutoring (Perin & Holschuh, 2019). Embedded tutors are peers placed in students' courses—most often those who have already successfully completed the course—and primarily serve as a resource for the entire class by reinforcing course concepts, answering questions, and providing group and/or one-on-one supplemental instruction and assignment support (Duffy & Burkander, 2024). Rather than requiring students seek out tutoring support somewhere on campus, students are "defaulted" into tutoring given an assigned peer (or professional tutor) in their class. Embedded tutors can also directly and indirectly support students' academic and social integration. Among the existing empirical evidence, studies generally point to positive outcomes of tutors on course completion, especially among first-generation, Pell-eligible, and racially minoritized students (Channing & Okada, 2020; Tucker et al., 2020).

One California community college operates a campus-wide embedded tutoring program that has grown to serve nearly 2,000 students across more than 100 courses per year. The program uses intensively trained peer and professional tutors to provide in- and out-of-class support, including weekly group review sessions and one-on-one tutoring. In spring 2024, more than 830 unique students participated in an out-of-class review session. Three FTE staff members coordinate college-wide embedded tutoring activities, including selecting, training, and overseeing approximately 70 tutors. The program also leverages a large campus footprint of classrooms for review sessions and has exclusive use of a "study skills center" that includes collaborative tables, meeting spaces, training rooms, and a computer lab. Institutional research at the college shows that students in embedded tutoring sections of a given course are descriptively more likely to complete the course than similar peers in a non-tutoring section.

Retention incentives and emergency financial aid. Affordability constraints remain one of the most pressing barriers to college completion, especially for students of color and those from low-income backgrounds (Dynarski, Page, & Scott-Clayton, 2022; Odle & Delaney, 2023). Providing students with aid can reduce costs of attendance, debt, and the need to work while enrolled—thereby increasing enrollment, persistence, and completion rates (Nguyen et al., 2018; Odle et al., 2021; Perna & Odle, 2020). Aid can be provided in a variety of ways, including through short-term and "just-in-time" awards meant to address unexpected expenses that impede students' college progress (e.g., utility bills, car issues; Dachelet & Goldrick-Rab, 2015), as well as scholarships that incentivize higher academic achievement (e.g., GPA standards; Henry & Rubenstein, 2002; cf. Schudde & Scott-Clayton, 2016).

One institutional site in Ohio operates a suite of innovative, incentive- and emergency-driven financial aid programs focused on increasing retention and completion. Students can apply or be referred for one or more of three interrelated last-dollar scholarships that (a) cover the remaining tuition balance in a student's second year [average award of \$4,000] and include a book and supply stipend [average of \$200]; (b) fully cover summer tuition for degree-seeking students near degree completion [average of \$850]; and/or (c) incentivize re-enrollment by covering any remaining tuition balance for returning students for up to two semesters [average of \$1,300]. Students may be asked to complete a short application and essay, though requirements vary by program. However, all recipients are additionally connected to academic advisors and complete cohort-based activities. The college provides approximately 270 awards annually. The program requires minimal staffing and infrastructure (e.g., an application form and selection committee), relying almost entirely on existing financial aid processes.

First- and second-year (cohort) experience. Because community college students may face a variety of academic, financial, and social challenges, it is unlikely that an initiative addressing a single issue is enough to meaningfully improve outcomes and reduce longstanding inequalities. This has motivated many institutions to adopt holistic initiatives that target multiple barriers to success (Karp, 2016). These programs typically involve some combination of advising, career exploration, case management, continual outreach, and specialized programming for a defined group of students, as well as close connections and referrals to campus resources (Edgecombe et al., 2013). These programs may also provide common experiences through cohort-based activities, including through introductory "college knowledge" or career exploration courses (Bers & Younger, 2013). Many of these occur as soon as students enroll, terming them "first year experience" (FYE) programs; many of which continue into their second year (SYE). Evidence on holistic support practices like these across students' first and second years is strong, where students receiving holistic supports have, on average, higher GPAs and are more likely to graduate on time (Acevedo-Gil & Zerquera, 2016; Dynarski, Nurshatayeva, Page, & Scott-Clayton, 2022; Jamelske, 2009; Noble et al., 2007).

A community college in California operates a cohort-style FYE and SYE program that provides students with holistic retention and completion supports, including priority course registration, personal student success coaching at least twice per semester, customized academic and career advising at least once per semester, access to specialized programming, and a dedicated space in a Student Success Center. College success courses and peer mentors are also available. The program is consistently touted as a key driver of student retention and success at the college, and a small-scale randomized controlled trial at the institution showed positive impacts on student satisfaction and completion, leading the college to scale the program. Across

first- and second-year cohorts, the program supports roughly 560 students annually. Given such wraparound services, the program is staff-intensive with roughly six FTE and requires a meaningful physical footprint for offices, programs, and related spaces.

METHODS FOR COST ANALYSIS

I leverage Levine et al.'s (2018) Ingredients Method to generate a series of comparative cost analyses of these six common student success initiatives. This method is regarded among the most rigorous of cost tools in economic evaluation given its accuracy and authenticity by directly embedding the principle of opportunity cost into estimation (Levin & McEwan, 2001). Put simply, the Ingredients Method begins by first identifying all "ingredients" required to implement and operate a program, regardless of who provides them. Ingredients can include people (personnel), places (facilities), things (materials and supplies), and more. This includes identifying resources on the extensive margin (i.e., what ingredients exist), as well as the intensive (i.e., how many/what quantity of each resource is used). The method then collects and applies resource values (or "prices") to each ingredient-quantity pair under the assumption that each ingredient has another productive use; that there is an opportunity cost of "using it up" here. Prices generally reflect costs in a national marketplace but can also reflect regional variations or other important features, such as the *quality* of ingredients (e.g., the price of a college mentor with a master's in counseling psychology will be higher than the price of a peer volunteer counselor—an important difference if master's-level counselors are required to produce program effects). The Ingredients Method concludes by summing resource costs to arrive at a total social value for a program, which can then be distributed on a per-student or per-payor basis.

A naïve estimate of an initiative's total present value would simply take the budget assigned to that initiative, often from institutional records. However, budget-driven cost models

can provide an inaccurate and incomplete picture of resources and costs (Hollands et al., 2016). Budgets often focus on how resources were planned (or allocated) to be spent rather than on how they were actually spent or implemented (or what *other* resources were also needed). Budgets also often do not capture ingredients shared across multiple programs, ingredients purchased at the beginning of a program that last multiple years (e.g., technology), or ingredients donated by other parties or considered "free" to the program (Levin & McEwan, 2001). Budget models often also do not amortize costs of capital items across years (if they are captured at all; e.g., facilities) and generally reflect local prices rather than prices set on a national marketplace, limiting generalizability (Shand & Bowden, 2022). Finally, budget-driven cost estimates also often fail to consider two critical sources of cost that can be essential to program operations: induced and in-kind costs (Bowden et al., 2017; Bowden et al., 2020).

Induced costs. Many interventions in education "work" by inducing behavior (Bowden et al., 2017). This can be through encouraging students to complete tasks that are then associated with subsequently positive outcomes (e.g., nudging students to complete enrollment steps induces them to spend time and resources on those tasks [a cost], which, in turn, increase enrollment; Page et al., 2024). Those induced behaviors are costs borne by students in service of producing subsequent outcomes. Failing to account for these costs misses a critical ingredient required to produce the desired effect. That is, if such students did not complete those enrollment tasks, they would not subsequently enroll. They are thus captured as "induced" costs, a necessary input. A common example of induced costs in higher education includes student time, such as when they are required to enroll in courses, meet with advisors, or generally spend time on something that displaces other productive uses of time, such as working (i.e., a direct opportunity cost). Without time or other resources spent by students on given tasks, an initiative is unlikely to

perform as designed—and estimates of the total value of resources it requires could be grossly undervalued. The Ingredients Method makes induced costs explicit (Bowden et al., 2020).

In-kind costs. Recall that the Ingredients Method takes a social perspective on program costs, meaning that all resources required to operate a program are included, regardless of who pays (Levine et al., 2018). For example, the basic needs center considered here distributes approximately 116,000 pounds of fresh and frozen food annually. While 100% of these materials are donated—representing a \$0 direct cost to the college—these resources are vital to the success of the program. Failing to include these would grossly discount the true cost of the basic needs center, producing a cost estimate that does not actually reflect the resources required to operate (or replicate) the present iteration of the program. That is, just like with the example of inducted costs, the center is unlikely to be as successful as it is without 116,000 pounds of food to distribute, an in-kind cost. They are thus captured as "in-kind" costs to society (donated). While the college in this sample receives 100% of food through donations (thus paying \$0), it is possible another college may be required to purchase (or fundraise for) all or part of these costs. Capturing total cost in this way through the Ingredients Method allows us to examine the total required resources for an initiative, allowing campus leaders, policymakers, and funders to then consider how those costs will be covered (Hollands et al., 2014).

Collecting Student Success Ingredients

Colleges' existing engagement with the CCRC *Paving the Way* project provided the ideal opportunity to conduct a comparative cost analysis. The cost research team began by closely reviewing the prior year's finance and implementation studies of each college. These included interviews and focus groups of 120 presidents, senior leaders, faculty, staff, and stakeholders, covering discussions with at least 12 individuals (mean: 17) per site on a variety of topics,

including the college's budget, priorities, student success outcomes, political environment, and more. This work produced a host of intermediate project materials, including briefs that summarized, among others, each college, its budget, and student success initiatives. After identifying one initiative per site to cost-out, the cost team collected additional information on each initiative from college websites, other electronic sources, and print material—paying particular attention to program operations, design features, staffing, number of students served, evidence on efficacy, and more. This information was used to build program-specific resource questionnaires and semi-structured interview templates for each college (Hollands et al., 2014).

From fall 2022 through fall 2024, the cost team conducted two 1-hour interviews and/or focus groups with at least 2 individuals per site (mean: 4; total of 25). At least two members of the research team were present at each conversation. Engagement with each site was individualized and sequential; no two cost studies were completed concurrently. We relied on existing relationships with senior leaders at each institution to secure conversations with as many program-specific staff as necessary at achieve saturation. Conversations prioritized day-to-day personnel, including directors, coordinators, volunteers, and others, and focused on closely understanding each program's operation and implementation. Here, we identified ingredients alongside their quantities, use, and any special features (e.g., quality, such as personnel training and qualifications), paying close attention to quantities of each ingredient. That is, many "directors" oversee multiple programs or perform several duties across campus. Thus, we captured only their share of time used for the initiative in question. Similarly, we partitioned only the share of space, materials, and/or time that a given initiative required of an ingredient (e.g., 1 hour per week of a 900-sqft classroom versus total annual use); similarly for materials and supplies (e.g., technology and licenses associated only with the given initiative's use). We also

paid particular attention to the contrast—or what would be "business-as-usual" operations (Bowden et al., 2020)—identifying only which resources were absolutely required to implement the initiative in question (e.g., not including time for general "professional development" required of all staff, which would still exist in absence of the program). These conversations, as well as their recorded transcripts, refined a follow-up, program-specific resource questionnaires.

Guided by the cost team, program staff at each college then completed questionnaires to refine the ingredients list, their quantities, qualities (if applicable), and comprehensively describe the implementation and operation of each initiative. Throughout our focus groups, interviews, and questionnaires, the cost team also paid particular attention to capture any ingredients that may represent induced resources required from students or others (e.g., time), as well as any inkind resources provided by external parties (e.g., donations, volunteer work). We then conducted a final 1-hour conversation with each site to refine final ingredient lists.

Identifying and Applying Prices

Guided by prior economic evaluations leveraging the Ingredients Method (Bowden, et al., 2017; Bowden et al., 2020; Hollands et al., 2016; Hollands et al., 2014), as well as empirically established common cost assumptions (Shand & Bowden, 2022), I then priced each ingredient. Because most personnel supporting these interventions are higher education employees, I leveraged the latest College and University Professional Association for Human Resources (CUPA-HR) Salary database for personnel expenses. The survey averages annual salaries for over 750 staff positions (by title) across more than 1,110 institutions (by sector), as well as instructional salaries in 46 academic disciplines. I captured the salary for the closest related title in the "associate's" sector. There was an associated CUPA-HR salary for every ingredient in this study. For compensation of student workers and students' induced time and effort, I used a \$7.25

federal minimum wage from the U.S. Department of Labor. The federal minimum wage was also used for any volunteer time unless it was specified that volunteers needed to possess a specific level of education and/or training, in which the closest related CUPA-HR salary was used (e.g., professional tutor; Hollands et al., 2016; Shand & Bowden, 2022). Prices for personnel time were used for individuals' direct assignment to an initiative, as well as any additional time spent on specialized training and development and/or related induced or in-kind time.

Prices for facilities were drawn from the Center for Benefit-Cost Studies of Education's (CBCSE) CostOut/E\$timator tool and its *Database of Educational Resource Prices*. I drew price-per-square-foot values for related facilities for the latest year available (e.g., "Student Services Building"). CostOut/E\$timator prices are based on facility replacement value, capturing site preparation, construction, fees, and furnishings and are supported by related sources (Shand & Bowden, 2022; Hollands et al., 2016).

Prices for materials and supplies, such as technology and specialized furnishings or equipment specifically required for an initiative, were also drawn from national sources (e.g., Amazon, Staples, ULINE) and kept constant across initiatives to maximize comparability. Perpound prices for food were generated from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics' *Average Retail Food and Energy Prices, U.S.* report based on (a) a typical box of nonperishable food provided to each student, which included 2 pre-packaged meals, 4 packets of tuna, 1 boxed mac and cheese, 1 box of pasta, and 4 canned goods, and (b) a typical 10-pound bag of perishable food provided to each student, including 40% fruits and vegetables, 20% grains, 20% protein, and 20% dairy. Because many interventions also relied on institutional licenses for LMS and CRM systems, I took the colleges' total license costs and divided by the number of users or students for each initiative to arrive at a per-user or per-student price (Shand & Bowden, 2022).

Additionally, costs for transfers (e.g., tuition and fees) were taken from national sources, such as the national average per-credit-hour cost of tuition at community colleges (Ma et al., 2024). The only locally sourced price was for financial aid dollars, which reflect the actual value of scholarship dollars given on a per-student or per-award basis (e.g., average award of \$850).

All ingredients (by individual line), quantities, and related prices were captured in template spreadsheets taken from the CBCSE's online toolkit. Following guidance from Levine et al. (2018) and empirically established common cost assumptions (Shand & Bowden 2022), I transformed price data in four important ways to arrive at more accurate and generalizable cost figures. First, I applied the most recent national average fringe benefit rate (38.1% of total wages from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics) for all non-volunteer, non-student personnel costs to arrive a total compensation value for each personnel ingredient. Second, because some prices were captured in different years (e.g., 2020 CUPA-HR salary, 2021 CostOut/E\$timator facility rate, 2022 market price from Staples), I adjusted all prices to constant 2024 USD using the Consumer Price Index. Third, for any licenses, capital (facilities), equipment, and technology leveraged over multiple years, I applied an annual discount rate of 3.5% and amortized facilities over 30 assumed useful years, equipment over 7 years, and technology over 5 to achieve present values (Shand & Bowden, 2022). Finally, I transformed prices to match units of each ingredient quantity collected as necessary (e.g., salary to an hourly rate or percentage of FTE, licenses per student, sqft-hours of facility use). Simplified ingredient lists with related prices and sources for each initiative are included in Appendix Tables 1-6.

COST ESTIMATES

Results are presented in Tables 2 and 3. Table 2 includes the total net present value for each of the student success initiatives as implemented at the sample of colleges in this study. In

addition to the annualized cost, Table 2 also presents the total cost per student served and the distribution of costs aggregated in five common budget categories: personnel, training, facilities, materials and supplies, and other. Table 3 then disaggregates total initiative costs by actor, identifying costs to the college ("direct"), costs to students ("induced"), and costs to society ("inkind"). Recall that the Ingredients Method takes a social perspective on program costs, meaning that all resources required to operate a program are included, regardless of who pays (Levine et al., 2018). Table 2 captures this total value of all resources; Table 3 then distributes those by "who pays" as implemented at the current sample of colleges, which could vary in other settings.

Total Present Value and Cost per Student

As implemented, the cost of student success initiatives in this collection varies widely from as little as \$79,900 per year to more than \$2.9 million—and ranges from as little as \$560 per student to more than \$1,320. Annual program costs for each initiative include \$1.07 million for a basic needs and resource center, \$2.90 million for an institution-wide college success and career exploration course, \$79,900 for an early alert system, \$2.48 million for a scaled embedded tutoring program, \$357,500 for retention- and emergency-based financial aid programs, and \$671,200 for an FYE-SYE program (Table 2).

Just as costs vary, so too do the number of students served; from 140 in early alert as implemented to roughly 3,160 in the college-wide college and career course. Recall, features of each initiative here are *as implemented at these community colleges*. That is, early alert could be designed to serve more than 140 students; a financial aid program may only be able to serve 100 students (versus 270). However, understanding total costs given a specific number of students served here allows us to recover a cost-per-student estimate for each initiative that can help model total costs given a larger (or smaller) number of students. Total annual costs per student

are estimated to be \$712 for a basic needs center, \$918 for college and career courses, \$570 for early alert, \$1,246 for embedded tutoring, \$1,324 for financial aid, and \$1,199 for FYE-SYE.

Distribution of Costs

Table 2 shows the distribution of resources across common budget categories. Given their heavy student-facing design, three initiatives place a majority of resource costs on personnel: early alert, embedded tutoring, and FYE-SYE. Over 80% of costs for early alert as implemented cover the approximately two FTE staff members who coordinate the program and respond to roughly 140 alerts per year, spending between 15-20 minutes on each interaction. Other costs include office space and technology to identify, track, and text students. Similarly, 78% of costs (or over \$1.9 million) for embedded tutoring are in personnel: roughly \$1.39 million for 70 professional and student tutors who serve nearly 2,000 students across 100 courses annually; \$328,800 for three college FTE plus additional support staff who coordinate the program and select, train, and oversee tutors; and \$208,800 in induced costs to the more than 830 unique students who participate in out-of-class review sessions and one-on-one tutoring throughout the semester. Other costs include classrooms and meeting spaces for program operations, group review sessions, and individual tutoring; tutor training; and materials, including supplies and software. The holistic nature of FYE-SYE programming also requires an emphasis on personnel (81%), including roughly six dedicated FTE plus additional college-wide staff. As implemented, FYE-SYE also leverages a large campus footprint for offices, programs, and a related Student Success Center with a lounge and study space with computers and printers.

Personnel-intensive initiatives like early alert, embedded tutoring, and FYE-SYE provide students with direct services and experiences. Other initiatives focus on providing students with resources, including basic needs and financial aid. Unsurprisingly, this means the basic needs

center and financial aid programs considered here place most resource costs in materials and supplies. While the basic needs center requires roughly \$388,200 in personnel for three FTE and support from a variety of other student and campus personnel, nearly \$583,000 (or 55% of costs) cover the direct transfer of resources to students: roughly \$372,200 in food and food scholarships, \$95,000 in childcare grants, \$61,100 in emergency financial aid, \$48,400 in transportation support, \$3,100 in clothing, and \$2,800 in program supplies and operations, including food storage and distribution. Other expenses include physical space on- and off-campus for receiving, storing, and distributing food and supplies. Likewise, 89% of costs for the retention-incentive and emergency aid programs considered here are in direct scholarships to students and technology required to facilitate scholarship applications and awards. Other costs include personnel time and space for administration and selection of recipients.

The greatest-cost program here is the college and career success course. Recall this is an institution-wide initiative requiring all students to participate. A little over 58% of costs (or \$1.69 million) are in personnel: roughly \$678,100 for two program FTE alongside a faculty program director, 20 instructors, 8 peer mentors, and support staff across campus (e.g., career center, success coaches). This cost also includes \$1.01 million in induced costs to the 3,160 students who are required to participate in the 1-credit hour course. In- and out-of-class commitments of time represent opportunity costs for students (e.g., foregone earnings, time away from other courses). Because the course is offered in fully online and hybrid formats, there is a minimal physical footprint, but there are substantial costs (\$141,500 or 5%) for materials, technology, and institutional licenses required to operate the course (e.g., Google Suite integration, portable laptop stations). While there is minimal training for the program, there is another important and unique cost component: tuition and fees. Students are not only required to enroll and complete

in- and out-of-class course-related activities but also pay tuition for the 1-credit hour class. This revenue is expected to amount to roughly \$1.01 million annually (or 35% of total resources).

Cost Burden

Table 3 disaggregates total success initiative costs by actor, identifying costs to the college, costs to students, and costs to society (broadly defined). A majority of resources are provided by colleges themselves for all but one initiative: the college success and career exploration course, where students bear a majority of costs (69%) though time and tuition and fees. These tuition and fees represent an important resource-transfer between actors in this scenario. Students provide (a) time to the program (which, in turn, produces effects; if students did not participate, the course would have no associated impacts) and (b) tuition and fees to the college. The college may leverage these tuition and fee dollars to operate the program, reducing their gross cost of \$885,300 by the \$1.01 million they receive in associated tuition revenue—resulting in a net gain to the college of over \$122,200. Nevertheless, the total inputs of students and total inputs of the college must be captured.

As implemented at these institutions, colleges provide (from internal funds, gifts and grants, or any other source) 65% of resources for a basic needs center, over 99% of resources for early alert, 92% for embedded tutoring, 85% for retention- and emergency-based financial aid programs, and 98% for FYE-SYE. Students provide less than 1% of resources valued for early alert through engagement with outreach, 8% for embedded tutoring through out-of-class review sessions and one-on-one tutoring, less than 1% for emergency aid through application time and engagement with follow-up coaching, and approximately 2% for FYE-SYE though required meetings with coaches and counselors.

Many resources are also provided in-kind. Roughly 35% of resources for the basic needs center are donated from external sources, including \$365,300 in food and supplies, as well as \$3,000 in clothing. Likewise, roughly 14% of funds for the retention- and emergency-based scholarships themselves were provided by the local community. It is advantageous for colleges to leverage resources such as these from external sources. However, this setup also comes with its own "cost:" Funding critical student success programs with precarious, non-recurring resources could mean that the presence and intensity of the intervention can vary widely from year to year (e.g., a scenario when 116,000 pounds of fresh and frozen foods are *not* donated in a given year). Such a scenario would shift a significant cost burden onto the college to maintain total program resources—or downsizing the program to match available resources may not produce equivalent effects as those observed at other institutions or experienced in prior years.

DISCUSSION

Implementing student success initiatives in the resource-constrained community college sector requires not only paying attention to what "works" at raising and equalizing outcomes but also to "at what cost." Higher education research to date has largely ignored this reality, leaving policymakers and institutional leaders alike with little (if any) information on what even very common initiatives cost—and what it takes to truly implement and operate them. To advance policy and practice, this study provides the first set of comparative cost analyses of community college student success initiatives to date. I focus on comprehensively identifying the costs associated with implementing and operating six widely adopted (and effective) initiatives. By examining basic needs supports, college success and career exploration courses, early alert systems, embedded tutoring, retention- and emergency-based financial aid programs, and first-year experience programming, this research not only fills a critical gap in the literature and but

also equips policymakers, campus administrators, and foundation partners with useful information to make informed decisions about allocating resources to support student success.

Findings reveal significant variability in annual costs, which range from as little as approximately \$79,900 per year to more than \$2.9 million annually—and from as little as \$570 per student to more than \$1,320. The annual number of students served also varies from roughly 140 to over 3,160 across initiatives. This variation in resources and capacity underscores the need for institutions to carefully consider program design and scale to ensure cost-efficiency while maintaining the effectiveness of these interventions as established in prior works. Results here also suggest that "larger" programs are not necessarily more expensive or that higher-cost programs will necessarily serve more students, challenging the assumption that greater investment will automatically lead to broader reach or impact. Likewise, the program that objectively provides the greatest level of wraparound and continuous services for students (FYE-SYE) is not estimated to be the most expensive overall or on a per-student basis, challenging the assumption that wraparound services are unattainable or cost-prohibitive given prevailing knowledge of CUNY ASAP's expensive (but effective) model (Azurdia & Galkin, 2020). These collectively highlight the importance of researchers and decisionmakers alike assessing not only cost but also intended populations and targeted program outcomes.

In addition to documenting total costs and costs per student across a variety of common student success initiatives, this work also illustrates how resources are allocated across functional areas and how ultimate costs are widely distributed among various stakeholders, including inkind contributions and induced costs, emphasizing the multifaceted nature of funding community college initiatives. While the costs of most initiatives are predominantly borne by institutions (i.e., basic needs, early alert, embedded tutoring, financial aid, and FYE-SYE), the focus of the

initiative determines how those resources are spent: many are personnel-intensive that provide students with direct services and support (early alert, embedded tutoring, and FYE-SYE), where 78% to 82% of costs are in personnel, compared to others that provide students with goods and resources (basic needs and financial aid), where 55% to 89% of costs are in materials and supplies. Additionally, all but one initiative (basic needs) induces student behavior (e.g., meeting with tutors, coursetaking, responding to alerts, completing applications, and engaging in cohort-activities) that represents a substantial cost, ranging from as little as \$300 annually to more than \$2.01 million. These costs could counteractively depress retention and completion rates if they displace time students could spend in other courses or on other activities like working for wages while enrolled (Perna & Odle, 2020). The "costs" of these requirements placed on students must be carefully weighed against the "benefits" they may yield estimated from other empirical work, including by decisionmakers when considering "who pays" for these initiatives.

Considering other aspects of cost, while often necessary to function, funding student success initiatives with precarious, non-recurring resources via donations and in-kind costs (e.g., 35% of total resources for the basic needs center and 14% of resources for financial aid) could mean that the presence and intensity of an intervention can vary widely from year to year, limiting continuity of service and mediating the impact of the initiative on intended outcomes. Understanding these dynamics of total cost, cost distribution, and cost actors is crucial for fostering partnerships and leveraging resources to sustain these programs in the long-term.

Limitations and Opportunities for Future Research

An important feature of this work is that the cost for each student success initiative generated here is necessarily based on how programs were implemented at community colleges in this sample. That is, a basic needs center, for example, designed and operated in other ways,

with other services, and targeted at other student populations may use different ingredients, which may also vary in quantity and price. When considering how ingredients, quantities, prices, and ultimate costs are identified valued here, it is important to keep in mind that these costs may not apply to all variations of initiatives as they exist across colleges.

Nevertheless, this work still marks a substantial advancement in our understanding the costs of various student success initiatives—a more than doubling of published cost estimates of higher education interventions to date—and provides materials allowing for future flexible use by decisionmakers and researchers alike. Users can leverage campus information in Table 1, as well as detailed information on each initiative in Appendix Tables 1-6, to more closely understand how costs may generalize to their setting—or make necessary modifications to arrive at more accurate cost estimates for their version of a given initiative. Related to this is the fact that costs here were generated using national prices and common cost assumptions to maximize generalizability (Shand & Bowden, 2022). However, prices can vary widely across regions, thus estimates for personnel costs presented here may be artificially higher or lower than would be experienced at a local level (Levine et al., 2018). Users can again use detailed information on each initiative in Appendix Tables 1-6 to generate their own costs by altering prices as necessary.

A clear limitation of this work is its focus on cost rather than *cost-effectiveness*. Economic evaluations of cost-effectiveness identify one alternative from a set of options that maximizes outcomes and minimizes total cost (Levine et al., 2018). This "biggest-bang-for-your-buck" question is often forefront of mind among campus administrators, policymakers, and funders alike. This is achieved by comparatively assessing total resource cost relative to a selected unit of effectiveness (e.g., increasing retention rates by 1 percentage point; Shand & Bowden, 2022). While cost-effectiveness presents many advantages, it presents steep

challenges—principally in requiring a comprehensive understanding of costs and effects (Bowden et al., 2017). While many initiatives have established or are developing causal evidence suggesting they raise students' academic performance, retention rates, and degree completion outcomes, no impact evaluations were completed at these sites, drawing impacts from these programs. Pairing costs generated at these sites with causal evidence from other sites presents a mismatch problem: costs and effects drawn from different populations (Hollands et al, 2016). An ideal setting pairs an impact evaluation with a cost analysis, ensuring that costs and effects were both generated from the same program and population, allowing the researcher to ensure that those specific ingredients (by level, quantity, quality, and implementation) produced those specific. It is not clear that resources captured in this study would produce effects equivalent to those estimated in other settings (that necessarily used other ingredients and quantities). Also, while costs were consistently estimated across these initiatives in this study, to my knowledge, there is no single outcome used across impact evaluations of causal works on these initiatives (i.e., some measure impacts on GPA while others measure impacts on retention). This precludes generation of a cost-effectiveness ratio. It is, however, an important opportunity for future work.

More higher education researchers should widen their gaze beyond identifying what "works" to also pay careful attention to program implementation and cost (Levine et al., 2018). Only after building a robust collection of comparable costs and effects can we truly establish a body of evidence that facilitates informed choice by campus leaders, policymakers, and foundation partners. Indeed, there is detailed guidance on embedding cost analyses into impact evaluations (Bowden, 2023), and the SEER standards compel researchers to begin analyzing intervention costs in service of scaling of promising interventions (IES, 2022). Looking more narrowly to community college student success interventions, future research may conduct

impact evaluations of these programs and use these existing cost estimates in a cost-effectiveness framework. Likewise, prior impact evaluations of similar interventions as cited could revisit sites to collect information on implementation and ingredients for a cost-effectiveness analysis.

Additional work could also focus on understanding how program efficacy changes with resource modifications—on both the intensive and extensive margin. In all, future research should ultimately explore the intersection of cost and impact more deeply and work to coherently develop a body of evidence that allows for comparisons of programs' costs, effects.

Implications for Practice

This evidence begs for direct use by policymakers, campus leaders, and foundation partners. With comprehensive information on the ingredients, total cost, and distribution of resources required to make many community college student success interventions "work," decisionmakers can leverage this information to identify what programs are possible to achieve their goals (and to what level) within a given budget. These estimates and information on each individual initiative can be translated from a national scale to a state, community, or single-institution perspective—moving conversations from "we should do this" to "this is *how* we can do it" and "this is what it will cost"—as they not only decide on an initiative to pursue but also design it in ways to meet the specific needs of their student population. As this work moves forward, the social nature of the Ingredients Method has also made explicit the total resources actually required to implement and operate the initiatives in question. For example, a policymaker or campus might estimate costs to operate an embedded tutoring program as the annual costs of tutors. This would grossly undercount resources truly required of the initiative, which does include personnel but also importantly includes training, facilities, materials, and

induced student time. These comprehensive figures should be used when making decisions regarding funding and resource allocation rather than common budget-based estimates.

Another key implication of this work is also the clear need for policymakers, campus leaders, and funders to move beyond a one-size-fits-all approach when evaluating program affordability and impact. Context-specific factors, such as institutional capacity, student demographics, and the availability of new and existing resources (from state, local, or other actors), must be carefully considered to ensure programs are both effective and sustainable. "Who pays" is clearly an important consideration when deciding between community college student success initiatives, but such a question requires a first-order, clear and comprehensive understanding of *what* they are paying for—and *how much*. This work takes an important step in answering those questions for immediate use by decisionmakers as they design and/or scale their own programs while also building a strong foundation for future work.

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Table 1. Summary of student success initiatives and community colleges.

Student Success Intervention	Basic Needs Center	College/Career Success Course	Early Alert	Embedded Tutoring	Emergency Financial Aid	First/Second-Year Experience
Description	Provides students with food, clothing, and supplies plus grants for childcare, transportation, and emergency issues. Also connects students to community-based programs and services, including application assistance.	Required 1-credit college success/career course. Emphasis placed on life skills, career and transfer preparation, and goal-setting through lecture/lab activities. Students engage with specially trained instructors and peer mentors. Hybrid and online.	Dedicated staff undertake coordinated outreach to identified students across multiple means, provide direct intervention and follow-up, and connect students to on- and off-campus resources as necessary.	Places trained peer and professional tutors in over 100 gateway and "high fail" courses to provide in- and out-of-class support, including weekly review sessions and one-onone tutoring.	Targeted and just-in-time awards used to cover students' semester or summer tuition, as well as books and supplies. Incentive grants also provided for students to re-enroll and return in subsequent semesters.	Cohort-style program with holistic supports, including priority registration, personal coaching, academic and career advising, peer mentoring, specialized programming, and access to dedicated Student Success Center space.
Students Served Annually	1,500	3,160	140	1,990	270	560
Community College Context						
Total Enrollment	8,140	9,220	17,410	8,110	3,010	14,090
Operating Expenses (\$1m)	\$40m	\$60m	\$190m	\$70m	\$10m	\$50m
% Black and Hispanic	60%	55%	30%	90%	10%	45%
% Pell	55%	60%	60%	80%	55%	30%
150% Graduation Rate	20%	30%	30%	45%	20%	40%
State	Texas	Texas	Ohio	California	Ohio	California

Sources: CCRC; US Department of Education (College Navigator and IPEDS).

Notes: College figures for 2022-23 academic year. Student served, college enrollment, and expenses rounded to nearest 10; all other rounded to nearest 5. Expenses are on core activities: instruction, academic support, and student services.

Table 2. Total present value of core costs, costs per student, and distribution of costs.

Total Cost	Basic Needs Center	College/Career Success Course	Early Alert	Embedded Tutoring	Emergency Financial Aid	First/Second-Year Experience
Total Cost	\$1,067,500	\$2,900,200	\$79,900	\$2,480,500	\$357,500	\$671,200
Cost per Student						
Students Served Annually	1,500	3,160	140	1,990	270	560
Cost per Student	\$712	\$918	\$570	\$1,246	\$1,324	\$1,199
Distribution of Costs (\$ and % of total)						
Personnel	\$388,200 (36%)	\$1,685,500 (58%)	\$62,500 (82%)	\$1,928,800 (78%)	\$40,600 (11%)	\$542,500 (81%)
Training	\$0 (0%)	\$2,900 (<1%)	\$0 (0%)	\$135,800 (6%)	\$0 (0%)	\$0 (0%)
Facilities	\$96,700 (9%)	\$62,800 (2%)	\$5,700 (7%)	\$402,500 (16%)	\$600 (<1%)	\$113,000 (17%)
Materials and Supplies	\$582,600 (55%)	\$141,500 (5%)	\$9,000 (11%)	\$13,400 (<1%)	\$316,300 (89%)	\$15,700 (2%)
Other	\$0 (0%)	\$1,007,500 (35%)	\$0 (0%)	\$0 (0%)	\$0 (0%)	\$0 (0%)

Sources: CCRC.

Notes: Dollars are CPI-adjusted \$2024 USD. Figures rounded, so dollars or percentages may not perfectly sum. Personnel captures staff, students, and others associated with initiative. Training captures specialized professional development required for operation. Facilities capture required space associated with initiative, including office/classroom furnishings. Materials and Supplies capture all required resources for initiative, including any technology/licenses. Other captures miscellaneous but necessary expenditures. Expenditures for each initiative are fully explained in text.

Table 3. Total present value of core costs and cost burden.

Cost Burden	Cost to College (Direct)	Cost to Students (Induced)	Cost to Society (In-Kind)	Total Cost
 Initiative				
Basic Needs Center	\$699,200 (65%)	\$0 (0%)	\$368,300 (35%)	\$1,067,500
College/Career Success Course	\$885,300 (31%)	\$2,014,900 (69%)	\$0 (0%)	\$2,900,200
Early Alert	\$79,600 (99%)	\$300 (1%)	\$0 (0%)	\$79,900
Embedded Tutoring	\$2,271,700 (92%)	\$208,800 (8%)	\$0 (0%)	\$2,480,500
Emergency Financial Aid	\$305,600 (85%)	\$2,200 (1%)	\$49,700 (14%)	\$357,500
First/Second-Year Experience	\$654,900 (98%)	\$16,300 (2%)	\$0 (0%)	\$671,200

Sources: CCRC.

Notes: Dollars are CPI-adjusted \$2024 USD. Figures rounded, so dollars or percentages may not perfectly sum. Costs to college are directly paid by institution. Costs to students are charged (e.g., tuition) or induced (e.g., time spent out of coursework or not working). Costs to society are provided in-kind, typically from donations or public goods and services (e.g., food pantry). Expenditures for each initiative are fully explained in text.

Appendix Table 1. Basic Needs Center: Ingredients, unit, quantity, price, and cost.

Ingredient	Unit	Quantity	Price	Cost
Personnel				
Executive Director	FTE	0.5	\$134,876	\$67,438
Coordinator	FTE	2	\$102,720	\$205,439
Secretary	FTE	0.5	\$66,767	\$33,384
Student Workers	Hours	2520	\$7	\$18,270
Associate Vice President	FTE	0.15	\$175,029	\$26,254
Associate Dean	FTE	0.05	\$154,953	\$7,748
Director of Financial Aid	FTE	0.02	\$165,291	\$3,306
IT Programmer (FTE)	FTE	0.01	\$141,121	\$1,411
IT Programmer (Hourly)	Hours	25	\$74	\$1,838
Resource Development Officer	FTE	0.1	\$116,590	\$11,659
Grant Accountant	FTE	0.05	\$110,900	\$5,545
Foundation Liaison	FTE	0.05	\$118,369	\$5,918
Facilities			,	,
Office Suites	Sqft/Hr	4512000	\$0	\$92,181
"Bridge" Room	Sqft/Hr	220800	\$0	\$4,511
Program: Child Care Assistance	oquarii	220000	40	ψ.,σ11
Grant	Grants	92	\$1,033	\$95,036
Program: Food (and Supply) Pantry	5.4110		Ψ=,000	400,000
Food	Bag	300	\$16	\$4,909
Supplies	Box	300	\$20	\$6,064
Program: Food Distribution	DOX	000	Ψ20	ψ0,004
Food	Pounds	115867	\$3	\$329,437
Volunteers	Hours	2040	\$3 \$7	
				\$14,790 \$3,367
Coordination and Transportation	Hours	120	\$28	φ3,30 <i>7</i>
Program: Food for Change Scholarship	Darrada	2020	φo	ቀ ስ ኃሳር
Student Registration	Pounds	2928	\$3	\$8,325
Program: Emergency Aid		405	4000	404.050
Grant	Grants	185	\$330	\$61,050
Program: Clothing Closet	- · ·			
Clothing	Closet	1	\$2,990	\$2,990
Program: Transportation Assistance				
Gas Card	Card	400	\$120	\$48,000
Bus Pass (Single)	Pass	200	\$1	\$100
Bus Pass (Monthly	Pass	21	\$15	\$315
Materials and Supplies				
General Office Supplies and Operations	Expenditure	1	\$1,000	\$1,000
Computers (Laptop)	Laptop	4	\$128	\$514
Computers (Desktops)	Desktop	4	\$100	\$399
Monitors	Monitor	12	\$29	\$345
Copy/Print/Fax Machines	Machine	6	\$86	\$518
Storage Cabinets	Cabinet	2	\$27	\$54
Tier Shelf	Shelf	3	\$10	\$29
Storage Shelf	Shelf	5	\$10	\$49
Shelving Unit	Unit	2	\$41	\$82
Moving Carts	Cart	4	\$46	\$183
Storage Containers 1	Container (4 pack)	1	\$7	\$7
Storage Containers 2	Container (4 pack)	2	\$7	\$14
Storage Containers 3	Container (4 pack)	1	\$8	\$8
Storage Containers 4	Container (4 pack)	1	\$8	\$8
City/Department of Health Food License	License	1	\$150	\$150
Bags (Food)		6	\$150	\$130 \$186
- , ,	Bag (1000 pack)			
Bags (Totes)	Tote	500	\$9 \$20	\$4,498
Basket Organizer	Organizer	2	\$30	\$60
Microwave	Microwave	1	\$20	\$20
Clothing Rack	Rack	4	\$16	\$64
Shoe Racks	Rack	4	\$3	\$11
Safe	Safe	1	\$8	\$8

Appendix Table 2. College/Career Success Course: Ingredients, unit, quantity, price, and cost.

Ingredient	Unit	Quantity	Price	Cost
Personnel				
Director	FTE	0.7	\$119,137	\$83,396
Associate Vice President	FTE	0.05	\$175,029	\$8,751
Faculty Coordinator	Hours	1560	\$81	\$126,409
Instructors	Hours	6240	\$56	\$350,952
Peer Mentors	Hours	4024	\$7	\$29,174
Orientation Coordinator	FTE	0.15	\$102,720	\$15,408
Administrative Assistant	FTE	0.05	\$66,767	\$3,338
Institutional Research Director (Ongoing)	FTE	0.01	\$191,373	\$1,914
Institutional Research Director (Dashboard	Hours	20	\$22	\$442
Institutional Effectiveness Director	FTE	0.02	\$191,373	\$3,827
Career Services Staff	Hours	40	\$50	\$2,006
Success Coaches	FTE	0.3	\$63,583	\$19,075
Registrar Staff	FTE	0.16	\$117,464	\$18,794
Center for Teaching and Learning Staff	FTE	0.1	\$112,560	\$11,256
BlackBoardLiaison	FTE	0.03	\$112,154	\$3,365
Students (Time)	Hours	138952	\$7	\$1,007,402
Students (Tuition)	Student	3158	\$319	\$1,007,530
Training				
Instructor Training Stipends	Instructor	20	\$100	\$2,000
Peer Mentor Training Compensation	Training	64	\$8	\$512
Training Materials	Expenditure	1	\$430	\$430
Facilities				
First Year Experience (FYE) Office	Sqft/Hr	1075200	\$0	\$21,967
Meeting Space	Sqft/Hr	1579000	\$0	\$32,259
Classroom	Sqft/Hr	367200	\$0	\$8,572
Materials and Supplies				
General Office Supplies and Operations	Expenditure	1	\$4,500	\$4,500
GoogleSuite	License/User	3186	\$40	\$127,440
Watermark Student Success and Engageme	License/User	29	\$25	\$725
Computers (Desktops)	Desktop	6	\$100	\$598
Monitors	Monitor	10	\$29	\$288
Copiers/Printers/Fax Machines	Machine	1	\$86	\$86
Projector	Projector	1	\$73	\$73
Screen (Projector)	Screen	1	\$48	\$48
Screen (TV)	TV	6	\$66	\$395
Laptop Cart	Cart	2	\$52	\$105
Laptops	Laptop	56	\$128	\$7,194

Sources: Amazon, BLS, CBCSE, CCRC, Higher Ed Jobs, Staples, ULINE, Walmart.

Appendix Table 3. Early Alert: Ingredients, unit, quantity, price, and cost.

Ingredient	Unit	Quantity	Price	Cost
Personnel				
Student Success Specialist	FTE	0.35	\$102,720	\$35,952
Assistant Dean of Student Affairs	FTE	0.03	\$154,953	\$4,649
Dean of Student Affairs	FTE	0.0067	\$175,029	\$1,173
Coordinator	FTE	0.125	\$102,720	\$12,840
Office Assistant	FTE	0.125	\$66,767	\$8,346
Instructional Faculty	Hours	35.25	\$56	\$1,983
Students	Hours	41.125	\$7	\$298
Facilities				
Student Success Center (Eastern)	-	-	-	-
Student Success Center	Sqft/Hr	40320	\$0	\$824
Office	Sqft/Hr	40320	\$0	\$824
Student Affairs Office (Eastern)	-	-	-	-
Lobby/Entry	Sqft/Hr	96000	\$0	\$1,961
Offices	Sqft/Hr	7680	\$0	\$157
Kiosk Area (Eastern)	Sqft/Hr	96000	\$0	\$1,961
Materials and Supplies				
General Office Supplies and Operations	Expenditure	-	-	\$1,000
My Tri-C	License/User	288	\$1	\$397
Banner	License/User	288	\$21	\$6,123
Maxient	License/User	6	\$213	\$1,275
Signal Vine	License/User	6	\$0	\$1
Webex	License/Host	6	\$6	\$36
Computers (Desktops)	Desktop	0.35	\$100	\$35
Laptops	Laptop	0.5	\$128	\$64
Monitors	Monitor	0.6	\$29	\$17
Copiers/Printers/Fax Machines	Machine	0.15	\$86	\$13

 $Sources: Amazon, \, BLS, \, CBCSE, \, CCRC, \, Higher \, Ed \, Jobs, \, Staples, \, ULINE, \, Walmart.$

Appendix Table 4. Embedded Tutoring: Ingredients, unit, quantity, price, and cost.

Appendix Table 4. Embedded Tutoring: Ingredien Ingredient	Unit	Quantity	Price	Cost
Personnel	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	- Quantity		
Professional Staff				
Director (Library and Learning Services)	FTE	0.01	\$152,100	\$1,521
Coordinator	FTE	0.8	\$119,409	\$95,527
Specialist	FTE	2	\$95,880	\$191,760
Educational Technology Specialist	FTE	0.1	\$112,154	\$11,215
Instructional Support Specialist	FTE	0.05	\$112,560	\$5,628
Maintenance (Staff/Coordinator)	FTE	0.05	\$78,070	\$3,903
Dean (Arts, Letters, and Learning Services	FTE	0.03	\$197,100	\$3,903 \$1,971
Registrar (Staff/Coordinator)	FTE	0.01	\$117,464	\$1,175
Associate Dean (IR/IE)	FTE	0.01	\$134,168	\$1,173 \$1,342
Research Analyst (IR/IE)	FTE	0.01	\$134,108	
Tutors	FIE	0.1	φ124,000	\$12,468
	Hours	25600	\$7	\$10E COO
Student Loads (Current Students)	Hours	4160		\$185,600
Student Leads (Current Students)			\$7	\$30,160
Professional Tutors (Former Students)	Hours	22400	\$43	\$968,007
Professional Leads (Professional Staff)	Hours	4800	\$43	\$207,430
Students		000	47	#0.000
Research Assistant	Hours	320	\$7 \$7	\$2,320
ETP Coursetakers	Hours	28800	\$7	\$208,800
Training		_	4000	4000
Materials and Supplies	Materials	1	\$600	\$600
Tutors			4_	
Student Tutors (Current Students)	Hours	3000	\$7	\$21,750
Student Leads (Current Students)	Hours	450	\$7	\$3,263
Professional Tutors (Former Students)	Hours	2400	\$43	\$103,715
Professional Leads (Professional Staff)	Hours	150	\$43	\$6,482
Facilities				
Offices	Sqft/Hr	576000	\$0	\$11,768
Conference Room	Sqft/Hr	92160	\$0	\$1,883
Classroom	Sqft/Hr	9600000	\$0	\$224,108
Study Skills Center	Sqft/Hr	8064000	\$0	\$164,749
Materials and Supplies				
General Office Supplies and Operations	Supplies	1	\$4,000	\$4,000
Software (Student)	License/Student	207.03	\$24	\$4,922
Software (Staff)	License/User	2.8	\$15	\$1,043
Calculators	Calculator	15	\$22	\$326
Copy/Printer/Fax Machine	Copy/Print/Fax	1	\$86	\$86
Offices				
Desktop	Desktop	2.8	\$100	\$279
Monitors	Monitor	5.6	\$29	\$161
Printer	Printer	2.8	\$20	\$56
Conference Room				
Smart TV	Smart TV	0.3	\$439	\$132
Whiteboard	Whiteboard	0.6	\$82	\$49
Classrooms (4)				
Desktop	Desktop	4	\$100	\$399
Monitor	Monitor	4	\$29	\$115
Projector	Dusinstan	4	\$73	\$292
	Projector			
Study Skills Center	Projector			
Study Skills Center Whiteboard	Whiteboard	7	\$82	\$575
	•	7 2.1		\$575 \$42

Sources: Amazon, BLS, CBCSE, CCRC, Higher Ed Jobs, Staples, ULINE, Walmart.

Appendix Table 5. Emergency Financial Aid: Ingredients, unit, quantity, price, and cost.

Ingredient	Unit	Quantity	Price	Cost
Personnel				
President: Annual/Ongoing	Hour	20	\$217	\$4,331
President: Startup	Hour	5	\$48	\$240
Executive VP: Annual/Ongoing	Hour	40	\$158	\$6,334
Executive VP: Startup	Hour	5	\$35	\$175
Provost/Chief Strategy Officer/IR: Ongoing	Hour	20	\$144	\$2,883
Provost/Chief Strategy Officer/IR: Startup	Hour	5	\$32	\$160
Chief Financial Officer: Ongoing	Hour	20	\$141	\$2,822
Chief Financial Officer: Startup	Hour	5	\$31	\$156
Controller/Business Office Staff Member	Hour	96	\$102	\$9,798
Director of Financial Aid	Hour	4	\$86	\$344
Assistant Director of Financial Aid	Hour	72	\$70	\$5,021
Academic Advisor	Hour	3	\$50	\$150
Scholarship Selection Panel	Hour/Person	16	\$110	\$1,753
Government Relations/Development Office	Hour	5	\$101	\$504
Admissions/Marketing Staff Member	Hour	5	\$46	\$230
Information Technology (IT) Staff Member	Hour	48	\$74	\$3,528
Students: Get to Next	Hour/Student	36	\$7	\$261
Students: Summer Tuition Initiative	Hour/Student	222	\$7	\$1,610
Students: Marion Co Commissioners Grant	Hour/Student	39.5	\$7	\$286
Facilities				
Professional Offices	Sqft/Hr	27830	\$0	\$569
Meeting Room	Sqft/Hr	1480	\$0	\$30
Programs				
The Get to Next Scholarship	-	-		-
Last-Dollar Scholarship	Scholarship	9	\$4,000	\$36,000
Book Voucher	Voucher	9	\$200	\$1,800
Summer Tuition Initiative	Scholarship	222	\$851	\$188,829
Marion County Commissioners Grant	Scholarship	39.5	\$1,258	\$49,691
Materials and Supplies				
Office Supplies and Operations: Materials	Employee/Year	0.22	\$92	\$20
Office Supplies and Operations: Utilities	Employee/Year	0.22	\$958	\$211
Computer (Laptop)	Computer	0.22	\$128	\$28
Monitors	Monitor	0.44	\$29	\$13
Power Campus (for SIS)	License/Student	270.5	\$52	\$14,190
PowerFAIDS by CB (for Financial Aid)	License/Student	270.5	\$24	\$6,443
Aviso Retention by Watermark (for Advising)	License/Student	270.5	\$42	\$11,410
Element451 (for Outreach)	License/Student	270.5	\$29	\$7,720

Sources: Amazon, BLS, CBCSE, CCRC, Higher Ed Jobs, Staples, ULINE, Walmart.

Appendix Table 6. First/Second-Year Experience: Ingredients, unit, quantity, price, and cost.

Ingredient	Unit	Quantity	Price	Cost
Personnel				
Director	FTE	0.75	\$119,137	\$89,352
Student Success Coaches	Hours	4608	\$33	\$152,600
Academic Counselors	Hours	518.4	\$50	\$25,888
Administrative Assistant	Hours	384	\$35	\$13,353
Student Assistants	Hours	2534.4	\$7	\$18,374
Dean of Student Services	FTE	0.5	\$175,029	\$87,514
Registrar Staff	FTE	0.1	\$117,464	\$11,746
Instructional Design Specialist	FTE	0.1	\$112,560	\$11,256
Information Technology/IT Support	FTE	0.1	\$91,140	\$9,114
Accounting/Budget Analyst	FTE	0.1	\$119,721	\$11,972
Equity Director	FTE	0.25	\$135,803	\$33,951
Transfer Coordinator	FTE	0.15	\$95,880	\$14,382
Internship Coordinator	FTE	0.1	\$110,134	\$11,013
Tutor	FTE	0.3	\$82,972	\$24,892
District Personnel (Coordinator-level)	FTE	0.1	\$107,920	\$10,792
FYE Students	Hours	1636	\$7	\$11,861
SYE Students	Hours	608	\$7	\$4,408
Facilities				
Office Suite 1	Sqft/Hr	2764800	\$0	\$56,485
Office Suite 2	Sqft/Hr	2764800	\$0	\$56,485
Programs				
General Programming	Student	561	\$5	\$3,000
Materials and Supplies				
General Office Supplies and Operations	Expenditure	1	\$5,000	\$5,000
Starfish License	License/Student	561	\$6	\$3,551
Computers (Desktops)	Desktop	22	\$100	\$2,193
Monitors	Monitor	22	\$29	\$633
Copiers/Printers/Fax Machines	Machine	9	\$86	\$777
Storage Unit	Cabinet	2	\$27	\$54
Refrigerator	Refrigerator	2	\$221	\$443
Microwave	Microwave	2	\$20	\$40

 $Sources: Amazon, BLS, CBCSE, CCRC, Higher \, Ed \, Jobs, Staples, \, ULINE, Walmart.$