The **Enrollment Management** Association

# The Yield

Winter 2019/2020 Edition: Cover Story

What's Possible

# Erosion of the Base

The Lower School Applicant Pool Is Shrinking. How Can We Adapt Our Enrollment Strategy?



Cover

# Erosion of the Base

By Scott Allenby

We've all been there. Sun beating down on our shoulders as we watch the tide gradually creep closer and closer to our children's sandcastle. We frantically hand pack levees to keep the encroaching water at bay, but the waves keep coming. Our short-term efforts hold off the tide for a while. Each seemingly harmless lap of water against the base of our structure slowly erodes the foundation until it can no longer support itself. As independent schools, we may not be sitting with collapsed sandcastles and tear-stained faces in waist-deep water, but we see the tide threatening our levees of tuition discounts, capital investment in facilities, add-on programs, and new marketing approaches.



Whether caused by an underlying demographic shift in the population, an influx of quality free options in the market, or the longtail of tuition costs outpacing salaries, the end result for each of our schools is the same: fewer students are entering our applicant pool at the lower grades, forcing us to shift our enrollment strategies.

When we look across the independent school landscape, we recognize our individual situations vary by region, school type, and market, but the underlying challenge is remarkably consistent as our schools experience an increasingly compromised business model. The erosion of our expected funnel of younger students to alleviate the enrollment pressures forces us to be more agile than our schools are used to being and more creative in our problem solving than our faculty and staff might appreciate and support.

As the current stewards of our institutions, we shoulder the responsibility to face the challenges that the market presents to our schools head-on. We must work to understand what our school's particular data tells us and to embrace the hard decisions that accompany evolution. If we believe our schools matter in the lives of students and families, we must not only build stronger levees, we must move our sandcastle to higher ground by investing in our "why" and ensuring families understand and value the product we deliver.

### The Rising Tide: Numbers Don't Lie

Data presented by the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) in its 2019–2020 NAIS Trendbook show independent school enrollment decreasing at the elementary school levels. There are now fewer U.S. school children aged 5-11 than there are students aged 12-18. The charts from the NAIS *Trendbook* (see page 11) illustrate the startling industry-wide challenges related to lower school enrollment. Lower school enrollment in independent schools has decreased by more than 8% in the past 10 years, while the same enrollment statistics have increased at the middle and high school levels during the same time period. The statistics are even more striking among kindergarten (-13.8%), first grade (-13.9%), second grade (-10.3%), and third grade (-9.7%) levels. Compounding the lower enrollment decreases are increased attrition rates among lower grade levels (elementary school attrition rates were 10.3% compared with upper school attrition rates of 3%).

When schools must meet enrollment revenue goals, they often pursue the path of least resistance. For many schools in recent years, this has meant filling spots where demand is greatest (at the middle and upper school levels) rather than investing more heavily in attracting and enrolling lower school applicants. While chasing demand offers a short-term solution, the longterm impact of this behavior raises concerns for heads of school and enrollment directors. Jim Hamilton, Head of School at Berwick Academy (ME), a coeducational prekindergarten through grade 12 and PG day and boarding school, notes, "We have seen a noticeable shift in our enrollment over the past 10 years as our PK-4 enrollment has decreased, our middle school

enrollment has stayed virtually flat, and our upper school has grown to offset the decrease in our lower school numbers."

Hamilton adds, "The growth in the upper school has been supported by increased demand, allowing Berwick Academy to remain selective, but just four years ago, our returning base was 1,050-1,065 (out of 1,205). Now, because of the extremely large graduating classes, our average returning base is 985 students. That is a smaller returning base by almost 80 students, a delta that must be made up in the admission process because Berwick Academy still wants to get to 1,205 in total enrollment. It's the difference between enrolling 140 new students a year versus 220. That is significant!" Hamilton and the Berwick Admissions Office see this trend occurring both because of their local demographics — fewer kids being born in the region — and by families in New England prioritizing middle and upper school independent school experiences over lower school, especially in towns with strong public schools.



# **Erosion of the Base** (continued)

As an independent boarding and day school for students in grades 9–12 in Andover, New Hampshire, the Proctor Academy admissions team faces a trickle-up version of the Berwick Academy challenges. Proctor's enrollment base relies on enrolling a strong class of ninth graders, and then smaller groups of 10th and 11th graders, and one or two 12th graders each year. While Proctor's enrollment among ninth graders remains strong (this was the first year in the school's history where they enrolled a freshman class with complete gender balance — 35 boys, 35 girls, one nonbinary student), Director of Enrollment Chris Bartlett shares, "Over the past decade, we have seen an increase in applications for grades 10–12. We are fortunate to remain in a strong market position and to intentionally engineer our community with a fixed number of new upperclass students each year, but the temptation to rely more heavily on enrolling older students is real, especially when those families are able to pay full tuition."

What we often see in terms of enrollment trends is offset by what we don't see. Bartlett acknowledges the intentional engineering toward gender balance has not happened organically but is a direct result of a shift in financial aid allocation. "We would love to think our marketing and communications and unique offerings are the sole reason that Proctor has seen this movement toward gender balance; however, there is a direct correlation between financial aid awarded and our ability to enroll a balanced ninth grade class. I'm sure other schools see the same correlation."

Operating in a vastly different market, Jenna Rogers King, Director of Admission and Financial Aid at New York's K–12 Riverdale Country School, echoes Bartlett's belief that financial aid is being used by schools to buck unfavorable enrollment trends. Says King, "Six or seven years ago, Riverdale shifted to offer financial aid at the lower level where previously, we only made it available at middle and upper levels. We did this to ensure socioeconomic and racial diversity at the lower levels." King adds, "We have a single price point for PreK–12, but we're rethinking this premise given transportation costs, lunch costs, afterschool activity costs, etc. Schools need to keep an eye on where they are right now, what's going on in their market, current trends and such, but school leaders also must look down the road with three- and five-year plans and beyond."

# **Defining Your Enrollment Base**

We all claim to know who our prospective families are in the independent school world. The downhill skiing family. The family in need of academic support. The family interested in our study abroad program. Many enrollment and marketing teams create personas to guide marketing efforts and to frame admissions collateral, but do we allocate the same amount of time to defining our base? Who makes up the different subsets of our student body and what are the enrollment trends within each subset? We cannot think just about our base as a singular unit, but must take time to break down the term "base" into components focused on our school's mission, such as: our full-pay applicant base, our financial aid base, our diversity base, our athletic program-specific base, our international base, etc. Each of these

subsets requires a unique enrollment and retention strategy.

Changing demographics and ever-shifting market forces will require independent school enrollment leaders to better define the subsets that will comprise a successful enrollment base each year. As ripples enter the market, difficult choices must be made: do we strategize ways to strengthen our existing base or do we redefine that base and chase demand? While a valid short-term strategy, schools across the country are experiencing the repercussions of chasing demand as international student applications have plummeted. Dozens of Boston area independent schools experienced firsthand the impact of a portion of their base being stripped away when international consultant and placement agency EduBoston abruptly closed in October 2019 without paying tuition for students they had helped to place for FY20. EduBoston represented more than 300 international students, and these young people were no longer tuition-paying students, given EduBoston's "funneling" of tuition dollars through their agency first. Other seismic shifts to the independent

market will occur as the U.S.'s political climate and international instability is unlikely to disappear

Define your Enrollment Base

over the next decade. Indeed, at The Enrollment Management Association, testing experts have watched numerous "market shifts" in the last few years with high growth in boarding applicants for EMA's Canadian member schools. While every enrollment leader must make sure their school is insulated from dramatic market-based shifts, the volatility of the market surely requires constant analysis, given that successful enrollment strategy requires managing and understanding various components that contribute to long-term success.

At Proctor Academy, we find ourselves constantly balancing the thrill of the chase (pursuing the next prospect) with the far less sexy work of ensuring current families are satisfied and will be returning customers. The industry-wide trend to rename Admission Offices to Enrollment Offices mirrors a clear need to focus on enrollment AND reenrollment, but a shift in behavior must follow the change in nomenclature. What problems are we solving for our current students and their families, and how effective are we at solving them? Unless we understand the "jobs" that our families are hiring our independent schools to do, our base will continue to erode not only due to demographic shifts but also due to unnecessary attrition.

At Proctor Academy, we think about each enrollment cycle in terms of "Replacement Out of Our Control" and "Replacement Within Our Control." Factors outside of our school's control include students graduating, students dismissed due to discipline issues, and students who withdraw due to health, mental health, social, or academic concerns. Of the 140 new students that Proctor Academy enrolled for the 2019–2020 academic year, 130 of those spots were open as replacements outside of our control — students moved on because they either graduated or were not the right fit for our school. The ten remaining students are what concern us. Why did those students decide not to return to Proctor? How were we not meeting their needs? Was there another option more appealing or cost-effective than our school to this student and their family?

With all independent schools hungry for full/ high pay students, families able to afford tuition will continue to operate in a buyer's market. When combined with an increased demand from families for an immediate return on their investment, many schools experience less loyal customers than in previous years. A new trend that must be better managed within independent schools involves both current and prospective families who shop around during the initial admissions process and continue to shop around each year after enrollment in an independent school. The threat of full-pay families not renewing is significant and must be part of what is well managed by school leadership. School leaders must understand this shift in mind-set among their families, especially at the lower school level where millennial parents are more concerned with the experience their children are having than the social status historically attributed to attending an independent school. Jenna Rogers King notes, "Younger parents are more cautious about what they're willing to spend their tuition dollars on. We often hear from prospective parents about Riverdale's market selectivity, 'If I don't get into this particular subset of schools, I'm happy to send my child to public school."

Currently, Proctor's Admission Office partners with our Assistant Head of School and Wellness Team to manage attrition on a student-bystudent basis, but we have not yet created a formal retention committee. According to EMA's 2019 State of the Industry Report, Proctor is not alone; only 25% of EMA's member schools have a formal retention committee. In a recent episode of The Enrollment Spectrum Podcast, Heather Avery and David Darby from Lakefield College School in Ontario, Canada, discussed their approach to retention [Episode 33]. Darby explains, "Even before I started as Lakefield's Admission Director, I visited and witnessed an all-staff meeting dedicated to retention and nothing else. Throughout the course of an hour, each student was assigned to a staff member for follow-up. This meeting was held in November, and there were three follow-ups planned over the course of the year. The first follow-up was a phone call home, the second an email with a photograph of the student attached, and the third a direct communication from the student's advisor. You always want to strike the right balance of communication, and yet orchestrated communication can assist in the implementation of your strategy." He adds, "Initiatives often stem from the top, and if you do not see that your head of school is passionate and engaged in the process, it is hard to create buy-in across the school. I feel incredibly spoiled. Every time our Head of School Anne-Marie Kee gets up in front of all staff, she talks about the importance of retention and admissions, and that support feels amazing to our admission staff."

# Paths to Strengthening Your Base

Schools have long recognized the critical role retention plays in solidifying an enrollment base, but the demographic and demand shifts in lower school enrollment requires a new set of conversations among school leadership and enrollment offices. An intentional pivot toward developing strategies to strengthen your base rather than chasing demand are critical to a comprehensive strategic enrollment plan. While no two schools are the same, we can learn much from our peers in higher education pioneering new approaches to strengthening their enrollment base.

# Strategy 1: Reduce Barriers to Entry

Whether it is through adding an afternoon program, developing new transportation offerings, expanding curricular programming, or adding new counseling/wellness services, schools must enhance their value proposition for a targeted enrollment group who would otherwise yield to barriers to entry. Most independent schools have developed their own strategies to address school-specific barriers: more busing options for families at a distance, development of micro-campuses at the lowest grade levels, all-inclusive afternoon care included in tuition. Understanding and addressing these traditional barriers to entry for families is critical to strengthening the lower school enrollment base, but how can we widen our strategic scope and learn from the most innovative leaders in higher education? Dr. Paul LeBlanc, President of Southern New Hampshire University, has grown SNHU from 2,800 students in 2003 to over 135,000 learners today. SNHU now serves as the largest nonprofit provider of online higher education in the United States.

Once a small, regional college trying to figure out its identity, SNHU redefined itself by identifying the barriers to entry for its enrollment base. Flush with small liberal arts colleges (perhaps the highest concentration of higher education institutions in the country), New England was not the place for yet another small, regional school to thrive. Faced with a struggling budget and low demand, LeBlanc refused to accept an erosion of SNHU's enrollment base and instead recognized the opportunity in online education. Through LeBlanc's leadership, SNHU invested heavily in shifting offerings, structure, and brand — recognizing there were barriers to entry in higher education (cost and flexibility) for the nontraditional student that a new model could address. LeBlanc struck gold with his strategy for SNHU resulting in a new, untapped market for nontraditional four-year degree-seeking learners.

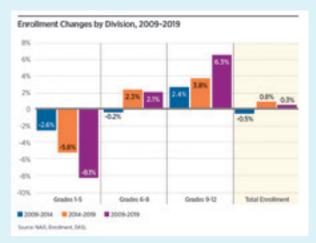
By 2011, SNHU had grown to 11,000 students, with the next eight years resulting in unprecedented growth. In an October 8, 2019, Inside Higher Ed article by Lindsay McKenzie, LeBlanc reflected on SNHU's trajectory: "When somebody asks, 'How big can you get?' or 'How big do you want to get?' I say, I want to be as large as possible to help as many people as possible without any slippage in the things we value most." He added, "Cost is still keeping a lot of people out of higher education. There's not only poverty of finance, but poverty of aspiration — we've got to help people see themselves in higher ed, and maybe it has to look different to work for them."

SNHU continues to remove barriers of entry in the higher education market, most recently launching the Global Education Movement to bring SNHU degree programs to refugee camps around the globe. LeBlanc wrote in his November 1, 2019, blog post after visiting Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya, "We all work in worlds of programming, budgets, planning, stakeholders, personnel, and all the machinery required to do the work we do. However, the young man (refugee) and Ignazio (the UNHCR camp administrator) gave me the two essential reminders I so badly needed: that we must do all we can for all we can in the places we find ourselves and that we are in the business of hope. The work we do can't fix the great shortcomings of humanity, but it can change — even save — the lives of those we touch. And that gives hope for all those we do not touch."

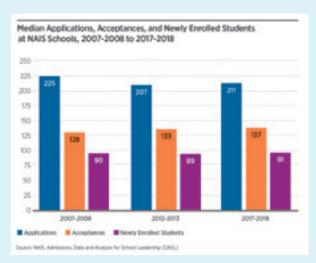
While independent schools may never achieve the reach SHNU has over the past sixteen years, our industry has a responsibility to innovate. We must view enrollment challenges through a new lens and refuse to accept that the erosion of our enrollment base is inevitable to a decline in our community's value.

# The Numbers Tell a Story

As Amada Torres and Joseph Corbett, principal authors of the NAIS 2019–2020 Trendbook, explain, "Demographic shifts play a particularly large role in enrollment because they determine variations in the student population. An analysis of the admission funnel, enrollment, and attrition rates shows dramatic changes between 2008–2009 and 2018–2019."



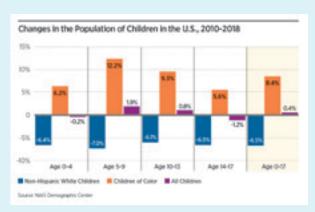
As this NAIS data set clearly illustrates, the number of independent school students at the lower level has decreased by more than 8 percent in the past 10 years, while the number has increased at the middle and upper levels.



While the number of applications per school has increased in recent years, it has not yet returned to pre-recession levels. As this chart illustrates, we've had to become less selective to meet enrollment goals.

Median Attrition Rate by Division Level		
Otvision	Afbition flats (Percent)	
Dementary/Middle	10.3	
Middle/Upper	6.8	
Upper	3.8	
Bemertary/Middle/Upper	7.8	

Attracting lower level students hasn't been the only challenge. Retaining them has been equally challenging. As this chart illustrates, attrition levels have been the highest at the elementary level.



Since 2010, the number of children in the U.S. has increased by 0.4 percent. However, a breakdown of age groups and demographics paints an interesting picture. We're noting a downtick in the percentage of children aged 0–4 and an increase in the percentage of children of color across the board.

	S-YEAR CHANGE		10-YEAR CHANGE	
	3908-3009 to 2015-3014	2013-2014 to 2018-2019	2008-2009-to- 2008-2019	
Kindergarten	-8.7%	-5.2%	-13.4%	
1st grade	-6.6%	-7.7%	-13.9%	
2nd grade	-4.6%	6.4%	40.7%	
3rd grade	-3.6%	-5.9%	-9.3%	
4th grade	-0.2%	-5.3%	-5.5%	
5th grade	1.0%	-3.2%	-1.7%	
6th grade	CON	2.8%	2.4%	
7th grade	-0.9%	1.9%	10%	
8th grade	0.2%	2.8%	3.7%	
9th grade	1.6%	3.5%	72%	
10th grade	15%	5.5%	72%	
Tith grade	1.9%	2.8%	48%	
12th grade	2.8%	3.3%	6.2%	
Total Enrollment	-0.5%	0.8%	0.3%	

Of all the NAIS charts, this one may be the most illustrative of how lopsided independent schools have become. In the past five years, we've seen a total enrollment increase of 0.8 percent, but the gains are all coming at the upper level. Grades K–5 have all seen enrollment decreases, while 6–12 have all had increases.

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# Erosion of the Base (continued)

# Strategy 2: Use Partnerships to Increase Institutional Agility and Create Demand

Facing enrollment challenges in its lower grades, especially in achieving gender balance, Hawken School, a coeducational PreK–12 day school in Gates Mills, Ohio, has continued to innovate under Head of School Scott Looney in order to overcome enrollment pressures. Adapting to meet the needs of families remains central to the school's strategy, with recent initiatives impacting the school's youngest and oldest students.

In 2017, Hawken School purchased new buildings in an area known to have a high demand for early childhood offerings. The school recognized this opportunity to grow its enrollment base by enrolling children 36 months—PreK; however, for a variety of reasons, the project did not work out and school leadership quickly pivoted to sell these buildings. They then capitalized on another local school closing in the University Circle area of Cleveland and will be opening a new Mastery School campus in the fall of 2020. This new high school will build on Hawken's experiential curriculum, offering problem-based learning opportunities in partnership with some of the most innovative cultural, educational, arts, and medical institutions in the world. Hawken's Assistant Head of School for Enrollment Kathy O'Neal shares, "Hawken innovates like no other school I have been a part of. The strong Board leadership, consistency of leadership from Scott as Head of School, and our constant willingness to measure everything we do against our mission has allowed Hawken to assess opportunities and risks, and quickly flex when necessary to achieve success."

When O'Neal arrived at Hawken in 2018, she and her team noticed a trend of gender imbalance in their lower school. She states, "We were asking: 'How can Hawken get students and families into our admission pool at an earlier age?' Based on feedback from current families and alumni, we knew there was a demand for a childcare option for children younger than 36 months. We looked at peer schools, most of which are single-sex, and noticed that we were losing families to these schools for the entirety of their educational career simply because we did not offer an early childhood option for toddlers." After significant market research throughout the fall of 2018, Hawken's Board approved the launch of a toddler program that will add 22 students by converting one preschool classroom to a toddler classroom. O'Neal notes, "Our hope is that these students and families will remain in our program. These are families who can pay something for tuition (we do not offer flexible tuition at the preschool level), and so far our strategy has been budget neutral and it has worked to strengthen our base. Hawken's faculty are excited by this new program, and we believe this strategy will allow Hawken to close the gender imbalance seen in our lower school."

# Strategy 3: Position Yourself Uniquely in the Market

While Strategies 1 and 2 seek to expand offerings to enhance a school's value proposition, it is equally important to understand where your school stands in relation to your competition. NAIS President Donna Orem notes, "It is critical for schools to understand what families are trying to accomplish in their school choice, to be clear about what differentiates their schools, to align programs and services around those differentiators, and to communicate how your school will help families get the job done. Looking for silver bullet marketing solutions or trying to be all things to all people to increase your school's market share are not strategies for success today."

The Carroll School (Waltham, Massachusetts) and Landmark School (Beverly, Massachusetts) have mastered the art of market differentiation. In Essex County alone, there are 246 independent schools serving over 34,000 students. The majority of these schools serve a similar population, but both Carroll School and Landmark School have identified a niche serving students with language-based learning differences. Enrollment numbers at both Carroll and Landmark counter overall market trends for independent schools, and Carroll's and Landmark's families clearly understand the critical role each of these schools can play in their child's education, especially at the lower grade levels when learning differences are often first discovered. Head of Carroll School Steve Wilkins explains, "We have experienced increased enrollment over the past decade because the reason Carroll School exists is crystal clear. Families can explain our school's mission without hesitation. Parents are ever-increasingly wise consumers of independent school education. Schools that can articulate their 'why' and match that to a strong market position, value proposition, and student outcomes (i.e., return on investment) will continue to thrive; those schools who cannot are ever-increasingly at peril."

In an equally competitive market on the West Coast, Chandler School Director of Admission Gretchen Lurie has witnessed a drop in lower school enrollment at her K-8 independent day school. "The landscape in Southern California has definitely changed; demographic reports show a decline in the number of school-aged children living in our community with a slow, downward trajectory of five-year olds in Los Angeles County. Meanwhile, there is increasing competition from other independent schools, private schools, public schools, charter schools, and home schools." These demographic shifts have forced Chandler to find applicants two or three years before they actually "need" them, while becoming increasingly willing to enroll students at nontraditional entry points. Lurie notes, "We need to be creative in our approach to generating a new market and interest in our program, and Chandler has focused energy, tools, and resources reaching the millennial generation. They are going to be the majority of incoming parents for our school in the years to come." She adds, "Our research has found that for millennials (and Gen Z behind them), our greatest opportunities to differentiate and gain their interest and loyalty center around teaching entrepreneurship, mental health, life skills, and global initiatives. We are shifting Chandler's program and our marketing to center on these strategies as we differentiate ourselves from peer schools competing for the same young families."

# Strategy 4: Do Less, Better

It is nearly impossible for schools to wrap the entirety of program offerings and student diversity into a single statement of purpose. It is even more challenging to communicate the whole of the student experience through online communications. Blogs and social media posts each tell a piece of the story, but families must look at the entirety of a school's communication to fully appreciate the value offered.

Shifting your communications approach to focus on why your school matters in the world at large can be challenging, but powerful. In a Fast Company article, 1 Sebastian Buck writes, "Taking this approach works on a number of levels: It builds deep emotional connection with people who share the brand's values, and it's clear now that for most people, a choice of a brand is an investment in meaning, not just features — and a brand's meaning can endure long after the features are out of date." David Skok and Mike Troiano create messaging resources for start-up companies and promote the concept of developing a "one simple thing" (OST) statement. It is a powerful exercise that requires you to cut to the core competency of your school. Skok and Troiano write, "Let's face it, we're all busy and distracted all the time and bombarded with information. To cope with this information overload, we categorize the offerings we come across and boil down our understanding into simple concepts that we can remember. If your message is overly complex, it won't be understood the way you hope, and won't be remembered. If forced to describe what they heard, your audience will often simplify your message for you, and categorize your product in ways that will horrify you...If you don't create an OST for the market, the market will create an OST for you."

Independent schools have long looked to higher education as a bellwether of sorts. For small liberal arts colleges around the country, the market is unfriendly. The same demographic challenges facing independent schools have filtered up to colleges, and in an overcrowded market, schools experiencing budget shortfalls must make difficult decisions around their offerings. Colby-Sawyer College, a small traditionally liberal arts college of 1,000 students in New London, New Hampshire, serves as a bold leader in addressing their budget challenges by narrowing their focus institutionally. After making the decision to cut five majors, including English, in 2016 in order to overcome a significant budget shortfall, President Sue Stuebner shared in an interview with public radio,2 "I think each school has to ask the tough question, 'What can we deliver and deliver well?' As a small school with a modest endowment, we would love to be able to offer the full array of all types of liberal arts and science courses here, but we're trying to be prudent of our resources, and really do what we do and do it well." She adds, "Our niche is really the intersection of the liberal arts and sciences with the preprofessional...We have a very strong nursing program, very strong business program, and strong exercise and sport science programs. We have resources already devoted to our Windy Hill Lab School, and so it's not that the humanities are not important to Colby-Sawyer – they absolutely are - but in terms of where we felt we could produce and still stay viable, that was the way we wanted to go."

Independent school leaders must be bold enough to make similar decisions. Our choice to narrow programmatic focus may upset alumni, parents, and students, but ultimately, school leaders have a responsibility to help our institutions thrive long-term. We must develop our OST (one simple thing) statement, and live it every day. When we do so, institutions will not only deliver more effectively but will make significant progress toward differentiating ourselves in the marketplace among savvy consumers.

# Erosion of the Base (continued)

### A Matrix of Solutions

As we consider how our individual schools will employ the strategies mentioned here, a few final suggestions are in order. First, EMA suggests that you identify the immediacy of your school's current enrollment situation and compartmentalize strategy into short-term and long-term buckets. If you have identified a short-term need for action, then utilize a decision-making matrix (see graphic below) that weighs your institution's tolerance for change and the type of financial investment at your disposal. The terms on each axis can vary based on the decision your school leadership team must make, but the goal remains consistent: embrace the realities of your situation, and develop an enrollment strategy that best fits those realities. Address short-term issues, but never forget your long-term obligations to your school's vitality and mission so that your school will thrive well into the foreseeable future.

The case studies and strategies included in this article are examples to demonstrate and acknowledge the rising tide that is slowly eroding the traditional independent school base. EMA offers these examples but cautions you to develop, refine, and implement your OWN solutions, which will be unique to your particular market and institutional circumstances.

