What Does it Mean to Be a Student?

The Undergraduate Relationship to the American Private University

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by

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Abstract

The goal of this project was to analyze undergraduate student relationships with the private university from the perspective of students. I combined historical research, national survey and statistical results, and personal interviews to characterize student-institution relationships in contemporary American private universities. I concluded that intentionality is an essential component of healthy student relationships with the university. Without the ability or strength to make well-intentioned choices, students are disenfranchised, silent consumers of American higher education.

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1. Executive Summary

Institutional research is a thriving component of contemporary American undergraduate administration and higher education research. Most of this research evaluates the effectiveness of particular undergraduate programs, courses, and services. Researchers and educators publish extensively on the subject of how college affects students, and yet very few investigate the undergraduate experience from the student perspective. Considering the fact that undergraduate education is, presumably, for the benefit of undergraduates, it seems important to have some understanding of student needs, interests, and actions. We lack an active definition of undergraduate students; we know what college does to them but not what they do in and as a result of higher education.

In this project, I addressed the position and roles of undergraduate students in American private universities. In particular, I focused on institutional relationships, considering those student actions that change student perspective on education and the university experience. I chose to look at students in private universities because such institutions combine the traditional, personal aspects of the college experience with the research-oriented, impersonal aspects of major public institutions.

I conducted my research both quantitatively and qualitatively. I analyzed national survey data on undergraduate interests and actions to develop some statistical relationships between first-year and senior interests. I combined this analysis with personal interviews and case studies of students who in some way confronted their institutional relationship during their undergraduate years. I focused on the ends of the undergraduate experience, comparing first-year expectations to senior reflections. Since this is not a longitudinal study, the comparison yields results about the differences between first-year and senior students rather than explicitly demonstrating growth or change in individuals.

Most significantly, I found that students lack intentionality in their institutional relationships. Freshmen choose to attend college largely for self-centered reasons. Most have high interest in the university as a vehicle to future success, but may not be considering the potential of the undergraduate experience as an end unto itself. First-year students express uncertainty as to their satisfaction with the college experience, and yet they foresee straight and narrow paths through higher education.

Student roles in their institutional relationships are often immature. First-year students are very conservative with regard to institutions; most predict that they will pursue one major in one institution for four years. Considering that college is supposed to be a forum for student change and exploration, this lack of fragmentation on the part of freshmen is disturbing. Students seem to be afraid of their own potential. While many students do choose to change major and pursue different fields during college, few change their life values or personal life goals during the undergraduate years. One particularly striking

finding from my research was the lack of growth in personal, social, vocational, and political objectives from freshman to senior year for most students.

If the undergraduate years are truly a time for student change and development, student-institution relationships should be more malleable and active. Few students feel confident enough to assert their own educational interests in an intentional, serious way by experimenting with multiple institutions, taking time off, or dropping out of school. Many feel pressure from their families and their institutions to follow certain traditional paths without ever questioning whether those paths are right for them. Currently, students give a great deal of power to their universities to guide them and propel them forward.

Many educational researchers believe that the undergraduate years are most important in student personal and cognitive development. From my research, I conclude that for students to develop as people within and outside of the university, they need to be active agents rather than passive consumers of higher education. It is time to focus on student needs and on situations that foster student, rather than institutional, growth.

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2. Introduction

Enter the "higher education" section of a bookstore or library and you will find scores of books promising to match you, the aspiring student, to an appropriate college or university. These tomes offer institutions that will feed you, coddle you, and transform you from an intellectually naïve, socially closed high school student into a scholar with a wide appreciation for socialism, hedonism, and all-night study sessions. College brochures advertise their residential, social and academic programs in the same way Dove might advertise soap: "It will bring new clarity to your way of life!" The striking thing about all of the literature directed towards and concerning undergraduate students is its emphasis on the institution as the subject acting on the student as object. Major studies of the undergraduate experience, with titles like *How College Affects Students* and *The Opening of the American Mind*, consider students as objects or outcomes of university operation. Student expectations, actions, and impact on and in the university setting are missing from our understanding of higher education. Instead of considering the question, "what is the university?," or "what is a scholar?," we must now ask the question "what is a student?" More specifically, this project will address the question: what are the roles and functions of the student in the modern American private university?

Certainly, the services offered by private universities are sizeable and desirable. The university reigns as the seat of intellectual, moral, and social development for American young adults. While this development historically was cultivated in the elite few, today Americans prioritize higher education as a necessity for growth of all young people. Students grow cognitively and analytically in both general and specific fields; however, for most, university education goes beyond the classroom. For many students, university provides time and space to gain maturity and self-knowledge. The undergraduate experience at most institutions emphasizes student-student interactions through peer education, diverse living situations, and social activities. On a different note, the practical advantage of an undergraduate education is quantifiable, and for many people, a bachelor's degree is the ticket to higher socio-economic status. In this way, the university is an alluring investment for the future, a credential program with the perks of social and personal development.

Undergraduate education gives young adults the opportunity to grow personally and climb the economic ladder, to realize and achieve their dreams. It is not surprising that higher education receives such universal support. However, very few students expect or receive all of the services the university purports to provide. Some students receive professional credential without taking advantage of the intellectual aspects or unique social organization of the university to grow personally. Others take advantage of the university's social services without regard for the academic education. Few students pursue scholarship as the university intends it; few leave their undergraduate education with all they have expected to receive. The appeal of the university rests in its ability to be so many things to so many people; however, the multiplicity of the university does not

necessarily make it the best institution to provide any one of its services. Currently, students have few other options if they wish to spend four years studying Latin, becoming engineers, or getting drunk. Perhaps a cloister, an engineering firm, and a bar would be more appropriate environments for these students. Such educational paths, however, are rarely investigated. What is college for? Which forms of student development are most important, both to students and to institutions?

To answer these questions, we must examine the university in total, considering its mechanisms and interactions as well as inputs and outcomes. It is impossible to understand the mechanism of higher education without considering the relationships between university constituencies. The university is not a single entity comprised or controlled by any one group. The faculty is not the university. The students are not the university. The administration is not the university. The society is not the university. The American private university system is analogous to our government; it has multiple constituent groups with particular powers, objectives, checks and balances on one another. While each constituent group provides and receives different services from the university system, these services are tightly intertwined between groups. Decisions made by the administration directly affect the well being of faculty and students. Professors who focus on research or teaching affect the orientation and operation of the entire university. Students who "choose with their feet" redirect the motion of academic departments, campus politics, and administrative choices. The university is an assembly of all of these constituent groups; it can only be understood in terms of the relationships among them.

Most past and present research in higher education concerns single university constituencies. When the research centers on students, it focuses on students as receptive agents of university, faculty, and societal services and pressures. This study focuses on students as active agents, examining what students do, and what students are. To do so, I studied student relationships to the institution, considering each party as both an active and receptive agent. Undergraduate students represent the future of America; their choices and aspirations drive the direction of society as a whole. As professionals, these students will apply collegiate skills, orientations and ethics to their work. Why do students grow in certain directions in college? How is the university involved in this change? To whom is the change attributed? How does internal institutional change affect student development? These are the questions that this project will address. These are the questions that unify the operation and direction of higher education as a whole.

3. Objectives

The objective of this project was to critically examine the social, academic and personal interaction of undergraduate students with private universities. There is a difference between the lessons the university purports to teach and those that are learned by its students. I examined what students learn academically, socially, and personally in university and identified which of these lessons are most important to the students, faculty, administration, university, and society at whole.

In this project, I examined the orientations and inclinations of the university with regard to the undergraduate student. I considered historical and current research on university policy, structure, and operation to determine which aspects of the undergraduate experience are most important to the university. Does the university perceive undergraduates as intentioned learners, blank slates, tuition checks, or something else entirely? I then compared these institutional emphases and directions with those of undergraduate students, analyzing data on students' cognitive, moral, and social development in university. I assembled information on what students believe to be the most important components of their college experience, examining where and how these lessons are learnt in the university context. I compared the needs and accomplishments of the university with those of its students in order to understand how well these two groups' needs and orientations match. I used this information to determine in which ways the university does or does not serve its perceived functions of higher education in America. I addressed the implications of educational matches and mismatches with regard to the role of the university and its students in American society. The conclusions I made in this project may help educators and students become more conscious of the intentional, active role of the student in the modern private American university.

4. Literature Review

This project treats the American private university as an assembly of multiple constituencies with multiple needs and objectives. The literature review provides background material necessary to perform combinatorial analysis of the university system. First, this section chronicles the historical development of the American private university from its roots to its current form. Once the contemporary private university model is established, this section identifies its primary constituencies: students, faculty, administration, the federal government, business, and society in general. This section presents the services rendered and received by each group in relationship with the university, as well as addressing the extent to which each group exerts control over the university. This section chronicles conflicts and alliances between these constituencies, and discusses different models for interpretation of these inter-group relationships. While all constituencies of the university are important to the system, the scope of this project limits information in this literature review to that which relates to the undergraduate experience in American private universities.

4.1 History of the American Private University

In order to understand and examine the mechanism, organization, and services of the modern American private university, we must consider the development of the university institution. America began as a land of immigrants, and the university, like so many other institutions, was imported from Europe. The European model was one emphasizing classical knowledge, conferred upon elite young men in isolated, frequently religious, settings. While our university system is firmly rooted in the European model, over time, orientations and needs particular to Americans pushed the American university towards paths divergent from those of its founders. The American model of the private university grew, emphasizing the university in the public domain as a vehicle of research and socio-economic betterment. Deeply impacted by public opinion, government involvement, and the personal goals of university leaders, the American private university evolved into its current form.

4.1.1 Emergence of the American Private University

University education in this country was modeled on the European system and began as a training ground for the elite, where young men absorbed knowledge in preparation for lives as gentlemen and controllers of the state. The mid-1800s marked the emergence and

establishment of the American private university. As American immigrants began to desire respect and some kind of equal footing with their European counterparts, they identified higher education as a necessity of civilized society. The phrase "European system" is misleading; there were in fact several models of the university throughout Europe in the 1800s, when higher education began to take hold as a permanent fixture of American society. While the interplay between different models, most notably the German and British, affected the growth of the American university, the British model formed the backbone of early American higher education (Kerr, 1982, p. 3).

The early American universities were vague imitations of Oxford University, defining themselves as "educational institutions...which afford instruction of an advanced grade in all learning" (Veysey, 1965, p. 11). Many were simply colonial colleges with glorified libraries (Veysey, 1965, p. 11). More than anything else, a desire to compete internationally with European standards of education drove the growth of the American university (Veysey, 1965, p. 12). For this reason, the philosophical mission and orientation of many of these institutions was ill-defined. This lack of definition was not very important; like in Europe, the American university occupied the role of societal aberration, necessary for prestige but largely ignored (Veysey, 1965, p. 13). The university, like the monastery, preserved esoteric, abstract, and impractical knowledge; its faculty and students were looked upon with skepticism and morbid curiosity (Veysey, 1965, p. 14). It would take clearly defined philosophical aims and greater public involvement for the American university to evolve from a quaint oddity to a serious, affecting institution.

4.1.2 Cardinal John Henry Newman and the Defense of Knowledge

The late 1800s marked a wave of innovation in higher education throughout the world, pushing the university to examine its mission and services. The most eloquent philosophical innovator was Cardinal John Henry Newman, who founded of the University of Dublin in 1851 (Pelikan, 1992, p. 5). Cardinal Newman published his vision of the role of the university in a collection of essays entitled, "The Idea of the University"; while over 150 years old, this collection still addresses many of the most pressing issues in higher education today.

"The Idea of the University" was as much a definition of higher education as it was a rejection of popular philosophical theories on knowledge and knowledge attainment. Newman believed that a university education should train the intellect "for its own sake, for the perception of its own proper object, and for its own highest culture" (Pelikan, 1992, p. 71). Newman was careful to draw the distinction between knowledge and virtue; he believed that universities had to confer not only knowledge but discipline, morality, and true standards of excellence in order to educate young people fully. Newman fiercely believed that "knowledge is capable of being its own end," thus repudiating the words of Sir Francis Bacon, who championed the utilitarian use of knowledge in the 1600s (Kerr,

1982, p. 2). Bacon, whose philosophy reigned during the Enlightenment, believed that knowledge was only of use in service to human needs, and knowledge as its own end a useless form of vanity.

Newman's rejection of Bacon is important to the development of the modern university both historically and philosophically. Historically, Newman's defense of knowledge for its own sake allowed the early universities to flourish largely without influence or interest from the outside world. The European universities of the 1800s, whether engaged in religious, liberal, or scientific study, felt no pressure to teach or produce material for practical public use. At the University of Dublin, Newman focused on undergraduate teaching and molding of the young intellect; however, the public effect of his work bore little difference from that of German scientists such as Rudolf Fittig, who defined "our establishments as establishments for teaching and research, independently of any application of their findings" (Pelikan 1992, p. 33). Whether the focus was liberal or scientific knowledge, the perspective on the reasons for attaining and cultivating such knowledge was unified.

Philosophically, the debate between Newman and Bacon frames one of the driving questions of university development: should the university teach practical information or present classical knowledge? This is not only a question of course offerings; it is a question that profoundly affects the mission of the private university. Newman stated that the practical goal of the university is "to train good members of society. Its [the university's] art is the art of the social life, and its end the fitness for the world" (Pelikan, 1992, p. 137). Thus, Newman believed that the cultivation of knowledge as its own end served not only the personal intellect of the students, but contributed to the "art" and "fitness" of the world. Considering Newman's staunch opposition to practical education, this statement may seem contradictory; however, this statement reveals his essential belief that the intellectual, personal development of individuals benefits the whole of society. Newman attacked prevailing prejudices about the university by proclaiming that it had an important social impact, thus opening doors for universities to expand. In his time, Newman reigned as the spokesman for the aims of higher education, and his vision would help define the first American private universities. However, his belief in knowledge for its own end would rapidly become the center of debate and development in the American university.

4.1.3 The Morill Act and the Expansion of the American University

Cardinal Newman's defense of the university as the training ground for moral, intellectual citizens gave American universities new purpose and strength in their defense of distinctive higher education. Universities remained publicly unpopular; this public disinterest allowed institutions to develop independently, engaging in educational experiments with little restraint (Veysey, 1965, p. 17-18). As the university continued to grow away from the public sector, university leaders became uneasy about their

constituent base, cognizant of the importance of public support for successful growth (Veysey, 1965, p. 17). University administrators turned away from aloof rhetoric and began campaigning publicly for their institutions. It would take federal involvement, however, to jumpstart the public interest and growth of American universities.

This federal involvement came in the form of the Morill Act of 1862, which provided government funds for higher education in agriculture and industry nationwide. While the direct recipients of this money were state colleges, some consider the Morill Act to have the greatest single impact historically on American higher education in total (Kerr, 1982, p. 46). The Morill Act was signed at the height of the land grant movement, marked by enormous growth in domestic agriculture and industry, as well as overwhelming populist sentiment supporting the rights of all Americans to achieve their full potential (Kerr, 1982, p. 46-7). State universities developed technical training and research programs, thus sweeping in education directly for practical application (Kerr, 1982, p. 47). For the first time, higher education in America was perceived potentially as a class equalizer rather than a class divider, offering all Americans a chance for advancement.

The effects of the Morill Act on public higher education were two-fold. New programs and departments expanded the scope of university education, and the introduction of these programs brought new students and social perspectives to the university as a whole. This new popularity and social attitude towards higher education spread to the private universities as well, but at a price. While some private institutions tried (some successfully) to maintain an aloof distance from new innovations, most felt pressure to adapt to new attitudes in order to assume some of the new social power enjoyed by public universities (Veysey, 1965, p. 18). Newman and his defense of knowledge for personal edification was swept aside as private universities became swept up in the expansion of practical instruction. By the end of the 19th century, the American private university had become the seat of practical innovation, technical and intellectual mastery, riding at the forefront of American industrial and agricultural growth. However, to gain this position of power, the university had made many concessions both to government influence and public opinion, who now rose as important secondary constituents of the private university.

4.1.4 The Early 1900s and the Reexamination of the American Private University

The turn of the 20th century was a time of industrial, cultural, and social growth for America. Social and business institutions exhibited rapid, continual growth and change as the social demographic of America evolved as an immigrant society. From the Morill Act onward, higher education became intrinsically involved with the development of American society. No longer the cloistered ivory tower, it is impossible to examine any further developments of the American private university without considering the corresponding social, political, and cultural tenor of the day. As historian Abraham

Flexner wrote in 1930, "A University is not outside, but inside the general social fabric of an era" (Kerr, 1982, p. 4). The private university strove in some way to unify moral, cultural, and useful education of citizens. The new task of university leaders was to identify the balance of these aims most suited to the needs of both institution and society.

The great debate in higher education in the early 1900s centered on the relative freedoms of curriculum (Veysey, 1965, p. 255). The land grant movement propelled new departments and course offerings into existence; however, by 1905, several private universities began to express discontent with the variety and disunity of the elective system (Veysey, 1965, p. 253). While research as a professional activity was acceptable to private university leaders, many were still uncomfortable with the practical instruction of undergraduates in specific fields. Andrew White, former president of Cornell, an institution born in the land grant craze, wrote in 1908, "I believe that, no matter what else we do, we must...not only...make men and women skillful in the various professions and avocations of life, but ... cultivate and bring out the best in them as men and women" (Veysey, 1965, p. 255). White's words recall those of Cardinal Newman; public and government influence in university organization made Newman's plea for a virtuous education newly important in the early 1900s. Support for a classical university education had not been killed by the Morill Act; however, it required intentional advocacy in order to survive when balanced by the practical needs of industrial society.

4.1.5 The Growth of the Modern Multiversity

The reexamination of higher education in the early 1900s led to a new definition of the private American university in the 20th century. The shock of land grant expansion turned private and public universities into social institutions, thus subject to and influential over the public domain. As the 1900s continued, universities strove to maintain balance between their various functions and constituencies. Military needs during World War II boosted federal funding of scientific research in universities, thus elevating research and federal influence in higher education. Political agitation in civil rights and the Vietnam war inflated both the social influence and impact of the university. Students, faculty, and administration were at once affected by the social and political environment of America and affecting agents of this environment. The university is a system of balances; exterior and interior influences on the university versus exterior and interior impact of the university push the university onward in development.

The interplay between the various functions and constituencies of the modern university led vice-chancellor of UC-Berkeley to redefine the university as a "multiversity" in 1963. This multiversity reflects the pluralistic role and function of the modern university as a mechanism beyond the scope of any unified mission, constituent group, or service. While in the first half of the 20th century, educators like Flexner and White struggled to redefine the "organism" of the university, by 1963, Kerr argued that the university had grown beyond organism into mechanism (Kerr, 1982, p. 20). Kerr believed that the university,

public or private, could no longer be thought of as one thing but rather as an assembly of many things, stating, "It [the university] is a pluralistic society with multiple cultures. Coexistence is more likely than unity. Peace is one priority item, progress another" (Kerr, 1982, p. 36). Kerr's conception of the multiversity begs a new examination of the American university, considered as a pluralism of constituent groups.

4.2 Internal Constituencies of the Modern Private American University

The university as "multiversity" of varied groups, interests, and functions reigns on the modern American campus. The modern private American university gives benefits to and requires the services of an assembly of constituent groups, both internal and external to the university. Internally, students, faculty, and administration direct campus policy with their individual orientations and needs. Externally, social movements, government action, and economic need impact the role of the university in greater American society. This IQP examines the functions, needs, and concerns of each of these constituencies with regard to the undergraduate experience in the private university; for this reason, the information that follows is restricted to that which applies to the undergraduate experience.

4.2.1 The Faculty

The faculty of the private American university stand at the center of university functions with regard to the undergraduate experience. Professors occupy multiple roles of scholar, instructor, and social figure; their performance and balance of these roles impact their own work and well-being as well as that of their students. At best, research and classroom experience inform and invigorate one another; at worst, these two professorial functions are adversarial and cause conflict and negative performance in both fields. Internally, faculty orientation and treatment of undergraduate students is tied to the importance the institution places on functions such as advising, undergraduate student life, and the general social community of the university. Faculty are also involved with the external functions of the university, whether through funded research, business involvement, or involvement in social movements and change. The relationship of the faculty to the private university, with its particular roles and functions in America, is essential to understanding the undergraduate experience in these institutions.

4.2.1.1 Evolution of the Faculty in Form

How did the role of the academic develop historically? The first documented academics were the Sophists, Greek dialecticians engaged in philosophical pursuit of knowledge both for their own benefit and for that of paying students. Until Plato opened his

Academy for free study around 390 B.C., philosophical study was a capitalist enterprise, and its instructors, the Sophists, functioned as free-market intellectuals (Plato, 1961, p. xiii). Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, considered the founders of Western philosophy, rejected this model of the academic, claiming that it was too dangerous to subject pursuit of knowledge to monetary aims (Plato, 1961, p. 729). For this reason, Plato claimed philosophy and pursuit of knowledge for a small group of scholars who would be responsible only to truth, and wise enough to use their knowledge for good. Plato founded the Academy, liberating academic work from economics; however, at the same time, Plato removed philosophy from the public sphere and restricted access to knowledge to those willing to sacrifice everything to become academics. Plato set stringent requirements on the attributes required to become a true philosopher and teacher, thus elevating academic pursuit to a monastic, exclusive endeavor (Plato, 1961, p. 771). Plato's legacy directed the evolution of the academic field as a community of cloistered scholars removed from society, pursuing abstract research in the sciences, theology, and philosophy, and instructing a select few young men in classical knowledge (Karabell, 1998, p. 54).

The academic community continued to be a small, highly specialized and removed group into the 19th century. The early American university faculties operated similarly to their European counterparts, providing intimate instruction in limited topics (Veysey, 1965, p. 17). The undergraduate function ruled supreme; as Charles Eliot, then president of Harvard University, remarked in 1868, "the role of the college professor is assiduous and continuous classroom instruction" (Boyer, 1995). Academics conducted this instruction isolated from the public eye; by remaining publicly aloof, 19th century American academics had the freedom to "set their own terms," and they expected students to follow their lead (Veysey, 1965, p. 17). In this way, the early American academics, while publicly uninvolved, had great dominance and control over their own scholarship and instruction. Without established administration beyond the existence of university presidents, or public need to guide them, academics made their own way.

The land grant movement and subsequent university explosion shook American academics from their ivory towers and plunged them into the public arena. Practical instruction and research became the emphasis, and professors had to concede some of their former academic freedom to become part of the new academic power structure in American society. At the turn of the century, Eliot, still president of Harvard, changed his academic vision, stating that the goal of academia is "service to the nation" (Boyer, 1995). Academics became part of the new movement of progress sweeping the nation as leading researchers and technical instructors, builders of a new America (Boyer, 1995). The professor enjoyed a new kind of power in the 1900s, one of public importance rather than personal freedom (Veysey, 1965, p. 441).

World War II and the expansion of federal grant money once again transformed the role of the academic from that of a public servant to that of a researcher, a scholar engaged in the science of "discovery" (Boyer, 1995). The military and industrial demand for research changed the methods of the university, and established university faculty as the chief producers of the university, no longer "mere teachers," as Woodrow Wilson stated

at the inauguration of Johns Hopkins University (Boyer, 1995). This distinction gave professors more professional stature in the university, elevating them as a new class of workers, the academics. Research gave faculty the strength to move from a band of classroom instructors to a union of highly skilled professionals in great demand. In the 19th century, academics were treated as an aberrant group of monk-like educators, confined to their own institutions, with little relation as professionals to the rest of the business world. By the end of the 20th century, the predominance of higher education in America, as well as the demand for high-level research, made the American professor a legitimate professional with job-specific expectations, worker benefits and salary tracks. While some academics still profess to pursue knowledge in a pure and unadulterated manner, this pursuit is tainted by professional aims not unlike those of the early Sophists.

The modern American academic life is more than an ideological commitment; it is a professional path that many graduate students are choosing to take. There are more PhD recipients in America today than ever before, and for most of these graduates, especially those in non-technical fields, the university and professorship is the logical conclusion to their study (Karabell, 1998, p. 99). The contemporary academic community is an assembly of scholars, most of whom chose the university life as an extension of their previous work, without considering the specific duties and obligations of the professorial position (Karabell, 1998, p. xii). Many professors identify their allegiances first to the academic community of their own field of study, then to the university for which they work, then finally to society as a public servant and educator (Karabell, 1998, p. 149). Professorial allegiances and interests have direct impact on the undergraduate experience and the private university community as a whole. The modern university professor must try to integrate all three primary roles, that of teacher, public servant, and researcher into his/her work today.

4.2.1.2 Functions of the Modern Private American University Faculty

How does the form of the university faculty impact its functions and roles? Internally, the battle between research and instruction drives the role of the American university professor. These two functions need not be mutually exclusive; many educators have argued that research and teaching may inform one another beneficially (Boyer, 1995). However, educators also recognize the difficulty involved in successfully balancing the two professorial functions; as Cardinal Newman pointed out, "to discover and to teach are distinct functions; they are also distinct gifts and are not commonly found united in the same person" (Pelikan, 1992, p. 89). Public universities and some private universities have the luxury of assigning some professors to purely research or teaching roles; however, in most private universities, the faculty perform both functions at once. Good teaching and good research require different strengths and actions on the part of the faculty, both of which must be unified to build successful universities.

The university is the only educational institution in America that does not require of its instructors extensive experience or education in teaching. The aim of graduate school is advanced scholarship; while many students work as teaching assistants, they are not explicitly trained to act as future university professors. Some analysts believe that this is not a problem; some alternative educators, such as John Holt and Paulo Freire, believe that it is over rather than undertraining that creates poor teachers (Holt, 339). Some suggest the purpose of the undergraduate program of the private university is to facilitate learning in students, and this learning is not necessarily linked to the teacher training of professors (O'Brien, 1998, p. 99). O'Brien, ex-university president, believes this learning may be more strongly tied to certain "conditions" favorable to learning; these conditions may include faculty involvement in research, particular classroom arrangements conducive to discussion, or innovative grading policies (O'Brien, 1998, p. 93). These conditions may or may not have to do with actual instruction; however, inattention to the teaching component of the academic life yields faculty inattention to student needs, concerns, and conditions of learning (O'Brien, 1998, p. 94). As private universities adopt more "mass education" techniques, with professors conducting huge lectures and achieving little face time with students, it is essential for professors to improve their own teaching and maximize conditions of learning conducive to student success (Kerr, 1982, p. 103).

Effective professors are aware and involved with classroom life not only for the benefit of their students but for their own benefit as well. Many professors view teaching as an undesirable chore of academia, an annoyance that hampers their work as researchers (Karabell, 1998, p. 145). However, forward-thinking educators have argued for teaching as a scholarly activity, a "dynamic endeavor in which the faculty themselves are learners" (Pelikan, 1992, p. 93). As teachers, professors confer knowledge and skills already known to themselves; however, they also facilitate the intellectual discoveries of their students, thus "keeping the flame of scholarship alive" (Pelikan, 1992, p. 93). The classrooms of private American universities are no longer static environments in which students recite classical knowledge; students, hopefully, are engaged in learning in a dynamic, revelatory way, and this process and vigor informs the pursuit of scholarship by the classroom professor (Pelikan, 1992, p. 94).

The second major function of the faculty in the modern private American university is research. Most university research incidentally perpetuates the pursuit and protection of knowledge for its own end; the intellectual prestige enjoyed by the modern university professor suggests that his/her work is considered to be valuable by society. While many analysts criticize the specialization and esoteric nature of university research, charging that "rarely is he [the professor] thinking of an audience beyond scholars," the community of academics, as well as its investors, supports and encourages the growth of scholarly conferences, journals, and publications (Karabell, 1998, p. 84). These publications, together with industry and government-funded research projects, form the academic industry which many modern professors see as an alluring and potentially lucrative market for their work. The sheer volume of scholarly work has elevated "publish or perish" to a new level in which professors feel pressured not only by their universities, but by their professional compatriots, to perform high-level research. Karabell, surveying

faculty from disparate universities across America, found that professors align first with their "academic guild," which draw faculty away from university or department allegiances to ally with their fellow scholars nationally and internationally (Karabell, 1998, p. 149). This becomes a problem when it leads to decreased cohesiveness and singularity of mission within university departments, thus lowering the "conditions of learning" for students and faculty alike (O'Brien, 1998, p. 95).

Scholarly research in private American universities may preserve and recover already established knowledge, or discover new knowledge, or do both. The land grant movement, World War II, and other government and industrial needs have fueled "discovery" oriented research in the sciences; the public market, however, has little need for knowledge "preservation" characteristic of liberal arts and humanities research. Private universities, whose government ties are weaker than their public counterparts, often have the academic freedom to promote research in esoteric areas, leading to the perpetuation and defense of classical knowledge. Despite this support, practical sciences receive much larger research funds than their liberal arts counterparts (Kerr, 1982, p. 53).

The distinction between the two kinds of scholarly research, preservation and discovery, is important to the function and goal of private university with regard to undergraduate education. As government and industry needs encourage more discovery-oriented research in the sciences, the nature of this research affects the way scholars teach their undergraduate courses. Professors in professional schools as well as more general undergraduate courses emphasize dynamic discovery in the classroom and push their students to appreciate and seek out what is newer, faster, and better (O'Brien, 1998, p. 160). Some analysts argue that bringing this "cult of discovery" into the classroom offers students a dangerous subsidiary lesson by implicitly suggesting that the education of recovery and preservation of knowledge is a fruitless, wasteful activity (O'Brien, 1998, p. 161). Scholarship and teaching in the humanities has long-rested on the preservation and appreciation of knowledge; to academics in the liberal arts, study of ancient texts is no less significant today than at the time they were written. Kant's philosophies, Shakespeare's sonnets, Mozart's music: all of these works still spark scholarly research, instruction, and debate. Despite the tradition of preservation in the liberal arts, O'Brien argues, the eagerness and excitement of discovery has infected some university humanities departments, causing them to abandon traditional course offerings for those that are new and fresh (O'Brien, 1998, p. 161). The heightened awareness of "discovery" in educational perspective affects the way professors view their predecessors as well as their own work, and these new views filter down into the ears of their undergraduate students. Suddenly, American history, ancient Chinese poetry, and religious dogma are subjects to be discovered rather than explored and appreciated. Some educators, echoing Cardinal Newman, are wary of this new trend, stating that it degenerates the moral education offered by the university, as professors focus less on teaching what is venerable and well-known in favor of what is new and untested (O'Brien, 1998, p. 161).

To what extent are professors required to provide their students, and greater society, with moral knowledge and education? The answer to this question rests largely in institutional policy and personal choice on the part of professors. Social activism and advocacy has

long been one of the most debated functions of the private university professor. Philosophically, knowledge has long been viewed as value-neutral, and many professors and universities believe that university faculty should preserve this neutrality by not marring it with personal advocacy (Karabell, 1998, p. 99). Social involvement pushes the envelope of academic freedom; on the one hand, academic freedom should guarantee freedom of advocacy, but on the other hand, academic freedom insulates the university from public opinion and societal pressure which may inform or influence professorial action (Bok, 1982, p. 17). Ironically, this academic freedom also insulates the public from radical professors; one professor at University of California Berkeley, Neil Foley, commented, "I think the university at large does a wonderful job of taking potentially problematic intellectuals out of society and segregating them, isolating them, ... so that they cease to be a threat to the social order because they become careerist instead of activist" (Karabell, 1998, p. 90). In this way, professors must weigh the comfort of their academic positions with their own personal beliefs to reach an acceptable balance of social action in their work.

4.2.1.3 Concerns of the Modern Private American University Faculty

One great frustration in the work of American university faculty today is the lack of flexibility in terms of standards of academic achievement and success. University professors are expected, to some extent, to perform the three main professorial functions of teaching, research, and public service. However, as their attitudes towards the relative importance of these roles change and develop, university policy does not change along with them (Boyer, 1995). Zachary Karabell points out, "the university is a deeply conservative place. It is not ideologically conservative; it is institutionally conservative" (Karabell, 1998, p. 94). This statement, echoed by academics across the country, addresses the fact that as university perspectives and faculty roles expand, the academic standards and awards system restricts, thus limiting the experimentation of faculty (Boyer, 1995). Tenure, the uniform insurance of job security across all universities, is granted, "not only for research, but for research with publication" (Boyer, 1995). To some extent, Boyer argues, publication implies teaching, the spread of knowledge beyond the academic's own head (Boyer, 1995). However, this teaching rarely trickles down to the classroom. The importance of publication to tenure, which remains fairly constant across universities with completely divergent missions and social makeup, tightens the grip on academic freedom to explore the various modes of scholarship.

One of the most important of these neglected modes is academic relationship to undergraduate students. While the tenure system to some extent rewards good teaching, with most institutions considering student course evaluations at tenure review, very few universities reward academics for working with students outside the classroom, for education beyond training (Solomon, 1993, p. 97). The majority of modern students view the university academically as a credentialing system, while professors prefer to think of themselves as educating undergraduates as did their colonial ancestors, bringing them

into the love of intellectual discovery, teaching them more than the subject matter of the text (Karabell, 1998, p. 2). However, with the current orientation of tenure towards publication, it is difficult for professors to find the time for moral instruction and intellectual inspiration of their students; their priorities, to some extent, have been chosen for them. Academic functions as student advisors and community activists are rarely rewarded by university awards systems, and therefore these functions, tremendously important to the undergraduate experience, are suppressed, not necessarily by academic disinterest, but by policy inflexibility (Hankin, 1978, p. 92). Where does this "policy" come from? Despite some protestations, the faculty are not the university. Major campus decisions and policy-steering involves another controlling constituency, the university administration.

4.2.2 The Administration

University administration is a distinctly modern division of higher education in America. Until the industrial revolution and land grant movement at the end of the 1800s, universities were small enough to run completely under faculty governance. However, the expansion of the university, first by the land grant movement, and then by the research boom after World War II, created a need for university administration beyond the abilities or scope of faculty governance. University administration controls the university physical plant, finances, health and human services, academic affairs and advising, student residence and dining facilities, and the information technology of the university. The trustees, president, provosts, and deans, who represent the top-level management of the university, are also administrators. The diversity of these functions makes it difficult to talk about one body as "the administration"; janitors, financial managers, and public university representatives all fall into this category. The administration has an uneasy relationship with faculties; the gray area between "educational jurisdiction and janitorial services" is large and both groups claim decision-making rights over educational matters (O'Brien, 1998, p. 105). While faculties and administration come into constant conflict over university power, administrative relationships with students may be under-developed (Boyer, 1987, p. 200). Considering that faculty have yielded most non-classroom student services to administrative bodies, the low interaction between administration and students is disturbing and potentially harmful to both groups.

4.2.2.1 Evolution of the Administration in Form

Until the end of the 19th century, universities functioned without any developed administration separate from the faculty; the financial and business aspect of the university was not yet developed. University presidents and trustees were elevated faculty, still close in mission and spirit to the present institution faculty (Veysey, 1965, p. 57). Additionally, the scope of the university was still limited to uniform classical and moral education; in 1859, one of the largest American institutions was the University of Michigan, which operated with only twenty faculty members (Boyer, 1987, p. 236). In the early years of the university, institutional functions were concentrated, and faculty governance was adequate to run the entire university.

Three significant events led to the emergence of university administration in the late 1800s: the land grant movement, the industrial revolution, and the relaxing of Victorian morals. The land grant movement encouraged universities to offer education and do research for public service to agricultural and industrial needs, and this encouragement led to expansion of academic departments, course offerings, and educational paths available to students. Small faculties could no longer handle the diverse teaching requirements of the university; additionally, the push for research meant that professors had less time to govern the student body morally. In the early and mid-1800s, the faculty acted as both academic and moral educators and watch guards over students, acting as residential advisors, disciplinarians, and judges on matters of student conflict. The land grant movement and its emphasis on the professor as universal educator and researcher left little time for the professor to take care of the student body in total. Administrators began to assume some of the "in loco parentis" functions previously held by faculty, acting as advisors and monitors of students, academically and socially (Balderston, 1995, p. 126). Some faculty members slid into administrative positions and took over student residence, registration for classes, and course distribution, organizing the new multitude of course offerings into systematic "units" of credit (Veysey, 1965, p. 312).

The bureaucratic, mechanistic nature of this new administration was a direct outcome of the industrial revolution that began in the 1880s. In industry, a new push for maximum efficiency in output led to organizational innovations that were adapted not only for factory work, but for many large institutions, including universities (Veysey, 1965, p. 351). As I. W. Howerth said in 1900, "in the education of the individual, the goal is the maximum development of social efficiency" (Veysey, 1965, p. 117). This efficiency required a new level of organization in the university, brought about largely by the new bureaucratic administrative staff of clerks, typists, secretaries, and office boys (Veysey, 1965, p. 117). Universities had had presidents, deans, and business staff throughout the 1800s; however, it was the introduction of this new staff and mentality emphasizing "institutional management and educational planning" that transformed administration into a full partner with faculty in university governance (Veysey, 1965, p. 305).

The new top administrators at the turn of the 20th century worked with their large staffs to propel their institutions into the future (Veysey, 1965, p. 308). This represented a dramatic change in university leadership; one educator commented that "the old type of leader, learned and temperate, fast yields to the new type – self-confident, incisive, Rooseveltian" (Veysey, 1965, p. 307). In the early 1900s, most major universities appointed non-professors and non-clergymen as university presidents for the first time (Rudolph, 1962, p. 419). According to Rudolph, the ministerial university president was more committed to "classical curriculum" than to the "more practical and popular" concerns of new administrators (Rudolph, 1962, p. 419).

Top administrators strove to maintain unity of mission internally to institutions, but their chief concern was to rule the university "firmly," with an eye towards institutional advancement (Veysey, 1965, p. 308). Top administrators began public campaigns as spokesmen for their institutions externally, and internally became more involved in managerial functions and less in the actual workings of the university (Veysey, 1965, p. 310). As efficiency and institutional aims became the administrative focus, administrators began to "lose touch" with faculty, as their interests deviated from faculty interests. Academics tend to focus on individual self-interest, stressing "accuracy over the importance of cooperation," while administrators have "organizational orientations," which stress the importance of total institutional unity and progress (Duryea, 1962, p. 33). The bureaucratic advances of the new administration facilitated "institutional empire building," as administrators embraced and propagated the rhetoric of the new university, leading America into the 20th century (Veysey, 1965, p. 311). However, this administrative advance was coupled by a disintegration of the academic ideal of the university in favor of a more efficient, consensus vision (Veysey, 1965, p. 311). The rise of the administration in the early 1900s shifted the university from the small, close-knit community of the 1800s into a larger institution whose constituent groups no longer had the same mission or interests.

The expansion of administrative bodies that began in the late 1800s continued throughout the 1900s. While the top administrators – university presidents and provosts – remained ex-faculty members, the bureaucratic staff of the administration grew both in size and power throughout the 1900s. The early 1900s established a "science of administration," presenting particular strategies and systems to maximize efficient organization and action (Duryea, 1962, p. 34). In the 1920s, Luther Gulick proposed the POSDCORB formula of administrative functions, delineating "planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting" as the eight components of effective administration (Duryea, 1962, p. 34). As administration became more organized and process-oriented, academics became more and more uneasy with its growing power. Many analysts have suggested that the university is an "organized anarchy," meaning that the university is an institution with "uncertainty about ends" and "fluid participation in governance" (O'Brien, 1998, p. 120). The more university administration has tried to become more organized and efficient in institutional process and mission, the more faculty rebel in an attempt to maintain the loose aims and fluid control of the university.

While private universities enjoyed large federal grants for scientific research during World War II, since then administrators have been largely responsible for raising and distributing university funds to various departments and university facilities. The second half of the 20th century in particular was marked by financial crisis for many institutions, and administrative bodies had to make decisions to cut support for various institutional endeavors (O'Brien, 1998, p. 119). The power to cut or boost funding in times of crisis strengthened administrative power over educational policy, as the division between administrative and faculty jurisdiction was tested.

Administrative bodies concerned with student life also grew during the 20th century. As general core education fell out of popularity in the early 1900s, students had more choices and less direction in their education, which meant that greater academic advising mechanisms were necessary. Additionally, as discipline in residence halls was relaxed, administrators sought new roles to organize community within a largely unregulated student body (Boyer, 1987, p. 180). During the late 1900s, student groups, political, social, and special-interest, began working directly with administrators to establish reasonable codes of conduct, budgets, and activity programs (Boyer, 1987, p. 193). Now, at the beginning of the 21st century, some of the most important aspects of student life are run by students with guidance and top-level management by administrators. The "resident advisor" or RA system is a national phenomenon by which upper-half students act as mentors, low-level disciplinarians, and advisors to students in residence halls. While the RA system and student mentoring programs give students an opportunity to help each other, some educators are disturbed by administrative lack of involvement in such basic student functions as living conditions and advising (Boyer, 1987, p. 200). The modern administrators who work in student-oriented capacities may have very little interaction with actual students or student concerns (Boyer, 1987, p. 200).

4.2.2.2 Functions of Modern Private American University Administration

Modern private university administration in America is split into two main areas: academic and non-academic administration. Academic administrators who occupy the top positions in the university – provosts, and executive vice president – are primarily professors who moved into the administrative arena through the faculty ranks as professors, members of committees, and or department heads (Balderston, 1995, p. 134). University presidents, however, may have either professorial or professional backgrounds; their public role often eclipses their internal role in the university. These administrators serve as chief spokespeople for the institution, acting internally as figureheads and advisors and externally as representatives of the university mission (O'Brien, 1998, p. 117). Throughout history, there have been many university presidents who have instituted remarkable and sweeping change during their administrations; however, most contemporary presidents act more as ceremonial figures than as reformers. Academic senates and individual departments at most modern universities write, debate, and vote on curriculum, course requirements, and academic regulations (Balderston,

1995, p. 136). University presidents, however, do have the ultimate decision-making power in the university. This power is checked by the fact that top-level academic administrators are directly accountable for their actions; unlike tenured professors, university presidents serve "at the pleasure of the board [of trustees]," many without term contracts, and may be fired for making unpopular decisions (O'Brien, 1998, p. 126). This ultimate accountability of academic administrators forces them to think in big picture terms of all institutional constituencies and needs when making final recommendations on university decisions.

The business managers of the university are closely linked to top administrators. Creating budgets for universities requires appreciation and input of the different constituent needs within the institution. University budgeting also requires creation and maintenance of annual budgets as well as multi-year budget projections to plan major projects and analyze potential areas of concern (Balderston, 1995, p. 145). The administrative budget office performs continual analysis of revenue expectations and spending commitments and needs (Balderston, 1995, p. 146). Administrative and academic units both make requests and have voter influence over budget modifications; the extent of each group's influence is an important aspect of the power conflict between administration and faculty (Balderston, 1995, p. 148). In addition to preparing, modifying, and monitoring the institutional budget, business administration provides human resources for all university employees, staff and faculty alike. These administrative functions include accounting, equal opportunity protection, personnel administration, and contracting for university employees (Balderston, 1995, p. 131).

Most university administrators work in the "non-academic" facilities for the university, managing the university plant, law enforcement, technology, student services, external enterprises, and general business services. University plant administration deals with both construction and maintenance of the physical plant; construction projects are often planned and deliberated by top-level administrative staff because plant modifications require serious investment and reflect on the mission and future of the university (Balderston, 1995, p. 129-130). One institution may see the need for more advanced academic buildings; another may decide to build more dormitories or parking lots. University plant construction and configuration is political; for example, in schools that went coed after years of being all-male, construction or neglect of women's bathrooms makes a statement about institutional commitment to gender equality and diversity in education. Distribution of maintenance staff may also be political; universities may choose to allocate money in particular for well-kept grounds, immaculate classrooms, or sanitary dining facilities. All of these choices reflect administrative concern for staff, faculty, and student need.

Administrators operate many auxiliary businesses of the university, including bookstores, dining and residence facilities, hospitals, conference centers, and working plants or farms (Balderston, 1995, p. 130). Many of these businesses are operated not-for-profit; however, prices may still be above market price because of inefficient business operation (Balderston, 1995, p. 130). This inefficiency does not necessarily imply mismanagement; many employees at these businesses may be students on work-study required by the

government to work a certain number of hours for a prescribed rate that may be above minimum wage. Additionally, university monopoly on enterprises such as campus dining remove pressure to provide services for competitive prices, despite the frustration this produces in customers forced to accept inflated prices (Balderston, 1995, p. 130).

Administrators provide most student services in contemporary American private universities, whether those services be academic, personal, or social. Academically, administrators take care of student registration, tuition and fee payment, grade reports and academic records, academic advising, career counseling, and allocation of financial aid and work-study jobs (Balderston, 1995, p. 127-128). Some of these functions benefit from the heavily mechanized, bureaucratic organization of university administration; however, Boyer concluded that several administrative services leave students feeling like numbers being pushed through a machine (Boyer, 1987, p. 54). Most disturbing are student reactions to administrative advising and counseling systems; the 1984 Carnegie Foundation study of students found that 55 and 70 % of university students never sought vocational or personal counseling, respectively, during their undergraduate years (Boyer, 1987, p. 53). This study also found that 40% of university students either never sought academic advising or deemed academic advising "inadequate" at their institutions (Boyer, 1987, p. 53). In 2000, only 45% of seniors surveyed in the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) College Student Survey (CSS) deemed counseling services to be satisfactory on university campuses (Korn, 2002). The Carnegie study reported that institutions where faculty rather than administrators serve as academic advisors have greater success with advising; this success is due both to faculty knowledge and interaction with students as well as lower advisor-advisee ratios (Boyer, 1987, p. 52). The best of these systems give students the personal attention of a faculty advisor, backed by the professional abilities of counseling staff whom students or advisors can contact if students need professional help (Boyer, 1987, p. 52). Several studies have linked successful academic advising to student success and low attrition rates institutionally (Boyer, 1987, p. 56). For this reason, administrative advisors are seeking more ways to initiate personal relationships between students, particularly freshmen, and advisors. However, studies clearly show that to have advising success, advising staff must balance traditional administrative procedures that emphasize efficiency with systems that provide personal interaction (Boyer, 1987, p. 56).

Beyond academic support, administrators provide student services in health care, residence, dining, athletic, and entertainment facilities. Again, administrative focus on each of these aspects of student life indicate institutional perspectives with regard to student health and well-being. Efficient administration in these arenas requires clear understanding of student needs individual to a particular institution (Balderston, 1995, p. 128). Some universities emphasize the residential experience as an important aspect of community-building and require all undergraduates to live on-campus; other institutions that serve commuters or have more independent outlooks may encourage students to live off-campus (Boyer, 1987, p. 206). Some institutions support fraternities and sororities as important social and educational centers of the campus; others see such organizations as divisive and antithetical to institutional mission (Boyer, 1987, p. 209). Some institutions, particularly smaller and more radical universities, have distinctive "institutional sagas,"

explicit, specific missions that govern many of these administrative decisions (O'Brien, 1998, p. 217). For example, religious, single-sex, and technical institutions all have specific moral, social, or academic missions that directly impact student services. On the other side of the spectrum are more general institutions with more uncertain institutional aims. These universities, which dominate American higher education, develop particular character and administrative policy from student and faculty need rather than institutional mission.

4.2.2.3 Concerns of Modern Private American University Administration

Administrative work, by definition, focuses on efficient process, organization, and collaboration in order to make an institution run smoothly. Unlike their counterparts in industry and government, university administrators must accept and work within the constraints of the character of higher education institutions. The academic ideal emphasizes individual initiative and non-institutional allegiances on the part of the professor; many professors are committed to excellence in their field and personal work above all else (Duryea, 1962, p. 28). In business, employees presumably work for the good of the corporation as a whole; however, many academics reject this model, which makes university administration more difficult. The essential administrative aim is to institute efficient organization without interfering with the creative, individualized experience of faculty and students in the university; administrators cannot act simply as managers of faculty without inciting anger and conflict (Duryea, 1962, p. 28). Therefore, successful administrators must recognize the balance of academic and administrative authority within the university, and work to achieve efficient organization while respecting academic individuality of action.

Administrators must balance their work not only with that of academics but also with the institutional mission and character as a whole. Institutional character plays an essential role in guiding university policy; administrators cannot expect to enact change that oversteps or rejects the university mission (Duryea, 1962, p. 39). For example, administrators at universities that emphasize flexible course requirements for students should not expect to institute a rigid core curriculum; such a change would violate the essential character of the institution. Similarly, institutional character affects decision-making policy in general; administrators at universities with weak faculty governance may be able to institute change more rapidly than administrators at places with strong faculty influence (Duryea, 1962, p. 39). Institutional character also affects student involvement in university governance, both by setting standards for student representation and by attracting particular types of students to attend (Duryea, 1962, p. 40). Likewise, administrators must choose institutions for employment whose policy with regard to administrative roles and functions matches their own expectations and needs. Duryea, former university president, suggests that administrators must work collaboratively with academics, and in some cases, students, with full understanding of institutional character

(Duryea, 1962, p. 43). For these reasons, university administration can be a daunting task, a delicate balancing act of interests.

Administrators in student life are in a separate position from other campus administrators, with a distinctly different constituency to service. One quarter of the student body turns over each year; this rapid, continuous change in constituency means means that student development work is never done, because each new group of freshmen has different needs from administration (Richardson, 2001). For this reason, student life administrators must be much more flexible and diligent in their work than their counterparts in academic administration (Richardson, 2001). Student life manager Richardson argues that the key to successful student development administration is open, frequent communication between students and administrators. The institutional memory, from the perspective of students, is very short, and student life administrators must ensure that during the undergraduate course of study, students are satisfied. Student life administrators must think "small picture" in order to do their work well; for this reason, their institutional needs may diverge radically from that of the institution as a whole. Richardson feels that student life administration is undervalued, and she is frustrated by her position "at the bottom of the [institutional] pecking order" when it comes to university budgets, programs, and interests (Richardson, 2001). Student demand for aerobics classes, better food, or more engaging orientation programs, may seem trivial to budget administrators compared to research or instructional needs of the university. Student life administrators must campaign for student needs not only against academic needs, but also against other administrative concerns.

4.3 The Students

From 1977 to 1987, anthropologist Michael Moffatt stepped out of his professorial chair and reentered the world of undergraduate students at Rutgers University. During his time as a "student," he lived with and observed undergraduates in their residence halls. His work received great acclaim; his findings fascinated academics and non-academics alike. This seems bizarre; obviously professors and administrators interact with students on a daily basis. Presumably, all the members of the university are "in the same boat" to some extent. Moffatt's work revealed to university faculty and administration that student life, attitudes, and expectations may be and often are drastically different from those expectations imposed upon them. Moffatt writes, "My first, most vivid impression from the dorms was how different college looked from the point of view of the undergraduates. The students' Rutgers was obviously not the same institution the professors and other campus authorities thought they knew" (Moffatt, 1989, p. 25). This section presents the historical development of the students' universities, in terms of their actions, perspectives, and needs.

The focus of this IQP is on the current roles, concerns, and functions of undergraduate students in American private universities today. For this reason, this section presents the history and development of the American undergraduate student body without discussing current situations. The evolution of undergraduate America, like that of university faculty and administration, is closely linked to the evolution of the university; however, student development is also tightly bound to youth culture, societal pressures and interests. Students are transitory members of the university community. They come in from their families, their towns and societies, stay for a few years, and then return to society. Students do not think of the institution in "big picture" because for them, the widest lens only encompasses their own undergraduate experience. Student movements rise and fall quickly; two or four years may be enough to initiate complete change in student attitudes and roles in the university. Both sudden and gradual changes are essential to the development of the undergraduate student body of American universities.

4.3.1 The Wealthy and the Pious: American Students from the 1700s to 1850s

Since the emergence of American colleges and universities, American undergraduates have labeled and divided themselves into opposing groups; partiers versus studiers, rich versus poor, jocks versus nerds. While this seems standard to modern Americans, it may be surprising that undergraduate student bodies have always created and perpetuated these divisions. American diversity and commitment to equal opportunity uniquely affected student life from the beginning. When the university came to America, it emerged not only as a training ground for ministers but also as finishing school for the wealthy (Horowitz, 1987, p. 29). Thus two distinct student groups developed. One group, composed primarily of poor, rural students studying to be ministers, believed in hard work, religious fervor, and compliance to institutional rules (Horowitz, 1987, p. 30). Through the mid-1800s, many university faculty believed that the religious instruction of students was their supreme duty. Campuses held compulsory prayer meetings and encouraged denominationalism and campus revivals (Rudolph, 1962, p. 79). For religious students, higher education presented the formal training they needed to become ministers, and they applied themselves to their work submissively and seriously (Horowitz, 1987, p. 57). These students founded moral theological societies on many campuses to promote strict Christian living (Rudolph, 1962, p. 78). Their piety was severe; in several cases, students were expelled from moral societies for vices such as alcohol ingestion and indiscretion towards women (Rudolph, 1962, p. 79).

In part, the moral societies of the 1700s and early 1800s existed as a reaction to the perceived moral depravity of other college students (Rudolph, 1962, p. 78). The second student group, the wealthy sons of families seeking "finishing" for their boys, were often rebellious and irreverent (Horowitz, 1987, p. 31). While many students were bored by

compulsory prayer, some of the more rebellious students openly mocked and disturbed services, which angered college faculty and devout students (Rudolph, 1962, p. 75). Many of these students drank and gambled, cheated on their work and had low regard for their serious professors and fellow students (Horowitz, 1987, p. 31). However, student rebellion in the late 1700s and early 1800s was not always anti-scholastic.

The higher education curriculum in the early 1800s was not always academically rigorous; at many institutions, religious instruction was primary (Rudolph, 1962, p. 139). In 1828, the president of Dartmouth stated, "the very cultivation of the mind has frequently a tendency to impair the moral sensibilities"; this statement is indicative of many institutional attitudes on the time (Rudolph, 1962, p. 139). These attitudes impacted classroom operation, and many non-religious students were bored by the theological orientation of course material, as well as the static recitation model of classroom teaching (Horowitz, 1987, p. 33). Students who were not interested in ministry sought more lively venues for their academic pursuits, founding debating and literary clubs, which Rudolph describes as "friendlier to intellect than to piety" (Rudolph, 1962, p. 137). Many wealthy students focused more on their extra-curricular activities than their academics, and while poor students performed better in the classroom than their wealthy counterparts; however, for many of the wealthy, scholastic rank carried only derision (Horowitz, 1987, p. 33).

The contrast of interests between the rich and poor students in the late 1700s and early 1800s was startling. Why did many wealthy students pay so little attention to their classroom education? For many of them, higher education was a four-year diversion that had little to do with future success. Only two percent of American men attended college in the late 1700s; university education was not necessary, and in many minds, undesirable for later work in business and other professions (Horowitz, 1987, p. 29). Many colleges were fiercely anti-materialist due to their commitment to pious living, and, as Rudolph comments, students had "to make a choice between Christianity and success" (Rudolph, 1962, p. 149). Students who strove for financial and social success had to create their own groups and institutions to complement their unique interests. Literary societies supported intellectual pursuit in the form of debates and premier library resources. By the mid-1800s, many student literary societies boasted libraries superior in size and breadth to their corresponding colleges (Rudolph, 1962, p. 145). Fraternities provided fun protected from the moral codes of the faculty as well as inclusion into competitive social groups that valued wealth, political power, and non-academic strengths over performance in the classroom (Horowitz, 1987, p. 37).

Through their irreligious, extra-curricular interests, distinctive students introduced the concept of "college life" into the parlance of the university. Self-identifying as "college men," these students initiated change in the interests and orientations of university students by suggesting that the college years be used for more than studying. College men were expected to value and participate in extracurricular endeavors; "to hold oneself off from the group life of college ... was simple selfishness" (Horowitz, 1987, p. 41). By the early 1800s, college presidents began to appreciate the lessons of the "collegiate life"; as

President Noah Porter of Yale commented, "to many who persistently neglect the college studies, the college life is anything rather than a total loss" (Rudolph, 1962, p. 89).

College men also brought politics to early universities in violent student revolts lasting from 1807 to 1860. Few institutions nationally were immune to revolt; students rioted for greater course flexibility, more influence in faculty hiring and firing, and lighter punishments for minor student infractions (Horowitz, 1987, p. 26). The pious, poorer students were notably absent from these revolts, refusing to protest with their peers (Horowitz, 1987, p. 56). While the student revolts were disruptive to faculty and more serious students, they did set a precedent for student action in the face of adversity. College men were not simply squanderers out for a good time. Their societies and actions helped transform religious, single-minded colonial colleges into new institutions that valued multiplicity, student involvement, and worldly interests.

4.3.2 Professional and Extracurricular Growth: the 1850s to the 1920s

The land grant movement and the rise of industrialism brought new professional and vocational focus to American universities at the end of the 19th century. The American business world was changing; the ascension of the professions – engineering, law, medicine and others – widened the road to economic success. New university curricula emphasized professional skills; suddenly, the lessons of the classroom were applicable to professional life. The basic division between college men and more serious students, now called "grinds," remained (Horowitz, 1987, p. 79). But as the meritocracy of the classroom spread to the business world, the ambitions and abilities of "grinds" spread beyond those of their religious predecessors. College men's contacts, leadership, and charisma still generally led to business success, but "professions demanded competence proven through disciplined training" (Horowitz, 1987, p. 81). University students no longer had to depend on whom they knew to succeed. A new path to success, rooted in vocational skill and knowledge, opened new doors to aspiring professionals.

The new "grinds" who strove for success in American universities at the turn of the century were no longer poor, provincial farmers. Most of these serious students were children of Eastern European Jewish immigrants, who placed high value on education and socio-economic betterment (Horowitz, 1987, p. 76). Anti-Semitism barred these students from many of the pleasures of college life such as fraternities, music groups, newspapers and clubs. However, like their ministry-minded forebears, most of these Jewish students were not interested in the social aspect of college life, having come to study and advance themselves economically (Horowitz, 1987, p. 78). While uninvolved in extra-curriculars, these immigrant students were intensely engaged in their studies. They helped break down barriers between students and faculty by aggressively pursuing discourse with their professors inside the classroom and beyond (Horowitz, 1987, p. 78). While college men continued to look down on these serious students as "bootlickers" at the feet of faculty, immigrant students brought a new scholastic aggressiveness to the

university, setting a precedent for students to assert their educational needs from their institutions.

The late 1800s and early 1900s brought a third breed of student to American universities, the coed. The land grant expansion provided primarily for the formation of new professional universities; however, the new excitement for higher education also gave rise to women's and coeducational institutions. Young women attended university with the desire to make a difference; for many, attending was "an almost sacramental experience," as women began to find their place in the rigors and pleasures of higher education (Horowitz, 1987, p. 195). Like their male counterparts, women students divided by socio-economic class into "college women" and "grinds," but these divisions had different meaning for women than for men (Horowitz, 1987, p. 195). Unlike college men, college women combined extra-curricular activity with enthusiastic academic performance (Horowitz, 1987, p. 195). The lives of college women mirrored those of college men, with women participating in sports, journalism, politicking, and other extra-curriculars. However, unlike men, these women were assuming roles and performing duties previously barred to them by society. In coeducational institutions, women and men occupied different spheres outside the classroom; women were constrained to their own newspapers, sports teams, and music groups. Despite gender discrimination in coed institutions, college women's extra-curricular activity represented real student growth and learning.

By 1910, American universities were split between the democratic world of scholarship and the discriminatory world of extra-curricular activity. Some universities rejected the dominance of the non-academic. At the University of Wisconsin, President Van Hise bemoaned the entrance of students "of no very serious purpose," as student interests shifted towards extra-curricular activity (Rudolph, 1962, p. 290). The first president of Reed College, William Foster, condemned the "laziness, superficiality, dissipation, excessive indulgence in what we are pleased to call college life" (Horowitz, 1987, p. 106). When Reed was founded in 1910, Foster deliberately suppressed non-academic student life, eliminating athletics, fraternities, and other diversions (Horowitz, 1987, p. 106). Reed prized academic interest and excellence, and encouraged growth of scholastic clubs and societies. Reed succeeded in graduating dedicated academics; however, the strict institutional mission provoked a dismal 65% attrition rate (Horowitz, 1987, p. 108). Reed, and other colleges that followed its model, survived as distinctive places of academic vigor and learning. The wave of university students, however, was looking for something else.

University students found the extra-curricular emphasis they were looking for in the major universities of the early 20th century. Academically, student motivation was low; outside of the classroom, student enthusiasm and activity flourished. Even at the most prestigious institutions, students focused on extra-curricular activity; in 1900 the average Harvard undergraduate studied less than 12 hours per week (Rudolph, 1962, p. 289). Public and student enjoyment of college athletics flourished. Student organizations and clubs were firmly rooted in institutional history, and students expected institutional support for their fraternities, newspapers, and rowing clubs.

The university could no longer exist at odds with students and student groups; no one wanted to relive the revolts of the 1800s. For this reason, the university set up new administrative services to oversee student life. Universities set up student governments in which undergraduates voted for their representatives, thus officially recognizing student power structures and politics (Horowitz, 1987, p. 108). New deans of men and women students oversaw student life, supervising, advising, and inspiring students (Horowitz, 1987, p. 111). Universities took over management of student athletic teams, musical groups, and residential living (Horowitz, 1987, p. 111). The point of these administrative actions was not to reassert control over student life, but to establish lines of communication between student and faculty forces in the university. By officially endorsing college life, administrators admitted the power of student organizations while co-opting student opposition to authority.

4.3.3 The Establishment and the Outsiders: the 1920s to the 1960s

By the 1920s, the line between the official university and student life disappeared. College life flourished as the university continued to grow in popularity. In 1900, 4% of college-age people attended university; in 1920, 8% attended; in 1940, 16% attended, and in 1950, 30% received higher education (Horowitz, 1987, p. 5-6). Most of this growth was due to the influx of middle-class students into university in the mid-1900s. By the 1920s, an undergraduate education was becoming requisite not only for professional work but also for business success. Middle-class youth sought higher education not to attain specific training, as did their poorer, vocational counterparts, but to make contacts and assume leadership positions in campus life (Horowitz, 1987, p. 119). College life was now not only sanctioned by the university but also considered a valuable learning environment for future businessmen and women. To this end, official university support and control of student life grew as its trappings became more important educationally to students. College athletics became lucrative public relations events to bind the school to a larger group of alumni and friends of the institution. Fraternities, strung together into national organizations, grew in numbers and wealth.

The rise of college life in prestige and legitimacy on the university campus led to decades of contented students in the mid-1900s. Rather than reinventing student action and proclivities every four years, students adopted the customs and attitudes of upperclassmen (Horowitz, 1987, p. 123). They rushed fraternities, learning as pledges how to act in imitation of their elders. College life was strengthened by this "transmission of culture from one generation to the next," and universities enjoyed decades of stability while the Depression and World War II raged about them (Horowitz, 1987, p. 123).

However, not all student groups were happily served by the partnership between "college men and women" and the university. Immigrant, female, and African-American attendance in universities rose as educational opportunity became available to people of more varied means. These students, who were frequently excluded from the social

conventions of college life, suffered discrimination from their classmates, and indirectly, from institutions themselves. As universities strengthened relationships with major college groups like fraternities, these outsiders lost out on many important leadership opportunities. One sociologist of the time commented that "in many universities... the stronger fraternities are political organizations with almost vested interests in certain student offices and appointments. Exclusion from a fraternity automatically bars the student from some of the more important honors"; this exclusion gave outsider students little opportunity to involve themselves in the university life (Horowitz, 1987, p. 146).

Some outsiders, mirroring the actions of prior "grinds," stayed out of college life and focused only on academics. Professional and vocational aims were still strong motivators for poor and disadvantaged students looking for socio-economic betterment. As one scholarship student explained his position at Harvard in the 1930s, "we were at Harvard not to enjoy the games, the girls... we had come to get the Harvard badge, which says 'Veritas,' but really means a job somewhere in the future" (Horowitz, 1987, p. 181). These students' work did not go wasted; the increase in college-educated workers meant that employers looked more closely at your achievements in college than the fact of attendance (Horowitz, 1987, p. 189). A Yale study of 1924 graduates revealed that poor students continued to surpass their wealthy counterparts in scholastic achievement, and were rewarded with jobs in the expanding professions and business (Horowitz, 1987, p. 174).

Other outsider students, frustrated by institutional conformity and homogeneity, turned outside the university in their interests. Some students, especially those in urban settings, found art and music scenes amenable to their tastes (Horowitz, 1987, p. 128). Others became political activists, working on and off-campus to promote socialism, worker rights, and civil rights. While never a majority group during the years between World War I and the late 1940s, these outsider rebels established a new precedent for non-conformist interest in the university. These rebels "were not so much radicals as iconoclasts. They sought to break hold of the campus idols" (Horowitz, 1987, p. 164). College life was too pervasive to be hurt by these rebellious students. It was not until the late 1940s that an unlikely group of outsiders, World War II veterans, seriously shook the institutional dominance of college life.

After World War II, the federal government passed the GI Bill of Rights, allowing veterans to attend university for free. They signed up in droves, especially at highly prestigious institutions. The impact of these veterans is a good example of sudden institutional change due to high student turnover. From 1946 to 1948, the majority of male university students nationwide were veterans (Horowitz, 1987, p. 185). This sudden demographic shift broke the stronghold of college life, and extra-curricular legacy, on the lives of undergraduate students. "The GIs brought the consciousness of the outside to the fore," elevating outsider attitudes and interests in the student mind (Horowitz, 1987, p. 185). They attended university for its educational and professional rewards and not for campus life. "All they care about is their school work. They're grinds, every one of them, " one Harvard undergraduate complained (Horowitz, 1987, p. 185). Because of their majority on many campuses, however, these veterans were grinds that could not be

ignored. Veterans would not tolerate certain traditions of student life, especially those that debased underclassmen (Horowitz, 1987, p. 186). Perhaps more importantly, the veterans, like the Jews at the turn of the century, brought new aggressiveness to the classroom (Horowitz, 1987, p. 185). Veterans engaged in their classes and challenged professors to present material that was meaningful and useful rather than frivolous.

4.3.4 Student Revolt in the 1960s

By the 1960s, the dominant role of the college man had been dismantled in most universities. Undergraduate students no longer identified with one of two groups (college men vs. grinds) but rather with one of a multiplicity of groups with varied interests in the university. This fragmentation of student interest left 1960s universities ripe for new student organization and action. Two currents of student activism are evident in undergraduate development leading up to the 1960s. First, some students became college rebels, actively rejecting student life and the institutional establishment. The institutional sanction of fraternities, athletic teams, and other student groups led many outsiders to regard the university and the "college men" to be identical. This put the university in a dangerous position; student grievances with other student groups became grievances with the institution. As college life decomposed and student activism heated up, student attitudes towards the university "establishment" worsened.

The second vein of student rebellion was not concerned with the university establishment at all. Throughout the mid-1900s, some students became radicals, interested in political and social situations beyond university walls. The late 1950s and early 1960s witnessed a flurry of student activity in the civil rights movement, as students sat-in, marched, and registered black voters throughout the nation (Horowitz, 1987, p. 226). The diminishing role of extra-curricular and social college life left middle-class and wealthy students searching for new activities. Political activism and radicalism appealed to many as the natural extension of new social attitudes. The influence of Beat poetry and folk music rose with other 1950s anti-establishment voices. 1950s writers and activists clamored for an end to the American "power elite" that they believed controlled American society and government, and they called on "the young intelligentsia" to lead this movement (Horowitz, 1987, p. 224). 1960s undergraduates took up this call with a passion, and thus began a decade of protest, revolt, and change.

In the 1960s, campus radicalism grew quickly into a vocal and powerful minority. Even at its height in 1969, only 28% of university students nationwide had taken part in demonstrations of any kind (Horowitz, 1987, p. 223). The low number of active demonstrators, however, cannot diminish the importance and power of these demonstrations during the 1960s. 1960s student radicalism did not emerge out of any new student group; rather, it grew out of the lack of university control by any one group on campus. Most student activists were middle-class, intelligent, academically striving students who became increasingly disillusioned with university life as their education

progressed (Horowitz, 1987, p. 223). Student protests in the 1960s were primarily topical and concerned events outside the university; civil rights, the Vietnam War, bombing in Cambodia, and other events spurned student action. However, student radicals also looked inward on their own institutions and found repression, discrimination, secrecy, and inflexible administration (Horowitz, 1987, p. 223). Students challenged the institutional establishment, rebelling against the higher education machine that Clark Kerr introduced in his discussion of the multiversity (Horowitz, 1987, p. 224). Outside and inside the university, students fought for equality, fair representation, and recognition of individual rights. They fought against the conformist assumptions of society and institutional establishment, seeking new ways to live both as students and as citizens.

Student activists in the 1960s formed political groups and alliances, and their organization gave them both purpose and momentum in their work. In 1962, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) published *The Port Huron Statement*, which called for students to imagine and realize "power and uniqueness rooted in love, reflectiveness, reason, and creativity (Horowitz, 1987, p. 229). Student groups like SDS galvanized political interest and action on university campuses by challenging students to make a difference, a challenge that many felt had left the classrooms of the new multiversity (Horowitz, 1987, p. 229). To many students of the 1960s, the university had become a factory determined to churn out conformity.

When universities cracked down on student rights of free speech and assembly, student reaction was dramatic. At University of California at Berkeley in 1964, the Free Speech Movement controlled campus, initiating debates, riots, protests, and eventually, institutional concessions to student political freedoms (Horowitz, 1987, p. 232). In 1968, Columbia students went on strike to protest university property buying policies; success at Columbia spurred a wave of protests and strikes across America in 1969 and 1970 (Horowitz, 1987, p. 234). Student protestors may not have been in the majority, but their intensity had huge impact on universities during and after the 1960s. Activism gave new purpose to students who had felt marginalized by the university system; even Kerr had projected such student dissent in his exposition of the modern multiversity model. Mario Savio, student activist and leader, captured student passions when he spoke of students who "would rather die than be standardized, replaceable, and irrelevant" (Horowitz, 1987, p. 231).

And die they did. On May 4, 1970, two hundred Kent State University students joined students nationwide in a peaceful strike to protest U.S. invasion of Cambodia. University officials called in the National Guard, and four students were shot dead. Later the same month, local police shot and killed two students in an unarmed group at Jackson State College (Horowitz, 1987, p. 244). The extremity and violence of establishment reaction to student protest shocked and frightened students nationwide. The era of student protest and radicalism was over.

4.3.5 Repression, Materialism, and Entitlement: the 1970s to the 1990s

Student life in the years following the tumultuous 1960s was conservative and academic. Student activism in the 1960s had severely crippled traditional pillars of college life; fraternities, sororities, student governments and newspapers had few members and occupied little interest (Horowitz, 1987, p. 245). Without flourishing extra-curricular activity nor political action, students turned back to their work, exhibiting what Yale president Kingman Brewster called a "grim professionalism" (Horowitz, 1987, p. 245). Undergraduate grievances with university administration still existed, but students were not motivated towards political action. Students and university observers reported a general malaise in the early 1970s; as Alan Schoonmaker commented in his book *A Student's Survival Manual: Or How to Get an Education Despite it All*, the educational "system is archaic, inefficient, and inhuman, but you're stuck with it" (Horowitz, 1987, p. 258). No longer imbued with the political fervor of the 1960s, students in the early 1970s settled into unsatisfying academic lives.

Despite the emphasis on professionalism and "grind" or newly called "nerd" culture, the 1970s differed from previous eras of vocational university orientation. Without the presence of active college life, the sense of an educational community eroded, and students began to treat each other cruelly. Students became more private and self-interested, and their political and religious beliefs became more conservative (Horowitz, 1987, p. 251). Students became more academically competitive, and undergraduate cheating became a major issue on many campuses (Horowitz, 1987, p. 255). Campus crime increased as students stole books and academic work from each other. The economy worsened, and racial and ethnic prejudices resurfaced as students strove to preserve their own "piece of the economic pie" (Horowitz, 1987, p. 257). The ugly underside of student ambition led to increased emotional and mental stress among students. In the early 1970s, students flocked to university counseling centers; student withdrawal and suicide rates also went up (Horowitz, 1987, p. 258).

The professionalism and competitiveness that characterized student life in the early 1970s was coupled with new levels of moral freedom on campus. The 1960s revolts attacked the "in loco parentis" control of student life by the administration, and the students of the 1970s reaped rewards of moral laxity gained by their predecessors. The 1970s were an era of sexual exploration and recreational drug use, and for the first time in history, student moral behavior was largely unmonitored by university officials. The elimination of campus curfews, combined with a new, younger faculty more receptive to student needs, allowed students to explore without fearing for their own privacy (Horowitz, 1987, p. 248). As the 1970s continued, docility in the classroom was coupled with extreme partying on the weekends. Undergraduates began to have fun again, but on completely different terms than students in earlier periods of excess. The lack of interest in extra-curricular activities, formal dating, and campus diversity led students to more private, self-destructive activities. Student interest in fraternities revived, but many fraternities shifted focus from campus leadership to violent, destructive behavior. Student alcoholism and drug abuse, unchecked by university administration, became a major

campus issue, as did sexual violence and rape (Horowitz, 1987, p. 277-278). In the 1970s, students partied hard and worked hard, often to dangerous conclusions.

In the 1980s, student interest in professionalism increased as materialism took hold of America. In 1979, 63% of entering freshmen considered wealth to be "an essential or very important objective" of college, compared to 45% in 1969 (Horowitz, 1987, p. 251). In the 1980s, economic recession caused many students to focus even more on material gain; as one Duke student put it, "It seems like all we talk about is money. That's the bottom line" (Horowitz, 1987, p. 267). However, university education no longer promised students an instant ticket to success. The job recession in the early 1980s allowed less than half of graduating students nationally to find jobs; a high majority opted for graduate education that would increase their professional options (Horowitz, 1987, p. 265).

The combination of emphasis on material gain with the recession left many students confused about their position in higher education. Cynicism, which had always been a tenet of student social and political perspectives, entered students' attitudes towards their educations. Students complained of inadequate teaching, unresponsive administration, and lack of advising programs (Moffatt, 1989, p. 291). However, unlike 1960s students, dissatisfaction in the 1980s did not lead to student action but rather to student indifference and passivity. In the beginning of the century, institutional action and student action were constantly at odds, synthesizing growth and conflict. By the end of the century, neither students nor faculty were making much of a dynamic impression (Moffatt, 1989, p. 291). One Rutgers student explained college in 1984 as "a place where suburban brats come, to hang out for four years...I don't think people here want an education, whether from college or from interacting with other people" (Moffatt, 1989, p. 92). Considering the monetary sacrifices many students and their families made to attend college in the 1980s, this level of malaise and disinterest is disturbing.

Student disinterest evolved into ugly forms of entitlement in the 1990s. No longer motivated by philosophical ideals nor the promise of economic betterment, students lost their aggressive interest in their education. Grades became the primary focus, but without intellectual stimulation or interest backing this focus, student academic drive became false and disinterested. Students felt entitled, by the fact of their tuition and attendance, to success in the university. Professors complained that the students of the 1980s and 1990s "do not seek to understand the nature of the universe or even master a discipline... they are after grades" (Horowitz, 1987, p. 271). Students expected to pass or even excel in courses simply for showing up and turning in mediocre work (Sacks, 1996, p. 167). As one graduate teaching assistant at Yale commented, "I can honestly say that for one of these [Yale] kids to get below a C would require a major federal offense" (Sacks, 1996, p. 167). Student involvement and accountability in the classroom was virtually non-existent. Professors were expected to "adjust the levels of [their] courses to meet the students' abilities and needs" rather than their own academic standards (Sacks, 1996, p. 101).

The increase in media consumption and TV culture made 1990s undergraduates less attentive to programs or lectures that were not entertaining. Students in the 1990s expected not only intellectual engagement, but entertainment from their professors in the classroom (Sacks, 1996, p. 82). Student interest or boredom in a particular course had little to do with the subject matter and much to do with presentation. Many students were cognizant of their entertainment expectations; as one student commented to his professor, "we want you guys to dance, sing, and cry. Seriously, that is what we consider to be good learning" (Sacks, 1996, p. 101). This statement reveals the passivity of students with regard to their own educations in the 1990s. The student above, and his contemporaries, expected professors to take full responsibility for learning in the classroom, without considering their own obligations (Horowitz, 1987, p. 271).

In fairness to undergraduates of the 1990s, their lackluster approach to university education was met not with protest, but with institutional accommodation. Higher education also felt the economic crunch of the 1980s and 1990s, and university administrators sought to make their institutions as desirable as possible to court potential students. Universities, newly concerned with student evaluations as a measure of professorial ability, encouraged professors to sacrifice unpopular academic rigor for enjoyable classroom learning (Sacks, 1996, p. 101). Professors and university officials engaged in active "hand-holding"; providing study guides, sample exams, extra review sessions, extensions, and other services that imply that students need not take responsibility for their own learning (Sacks, 1996, p. 165). These services cripple student initiative and helped perpetuate the status quo of disinterested learning (Sacks, 1996, p. 79). Additionally, many students, as stated above, felt unsatisfied with the level of university teaching, not only because of its lack of entertainment value, but faculty unavailability and disinterest in teaching (Moffatt, 1989, p. 291). Student intellectualism did not completely die out in the 1980s; it moved from the classrooms back to extra-curricular life in the student dorms (Moffatt, 1989, p. 298). The multiversity of the 1960s continued to expand and depersonalize the student experience to the end of the 20th century, and students became alienated from their education (Moffatt, 1989, p. 292). Huge lecture courses, faculty orientation towards research, and unresponsive student life administration all left students feeling disenfranchised by their institutions.

4.4 Modeling Relationships in Modern American Private Universities

This IQP includes analysis of the American private university as a complex system of interrelationships. While it is impossible to encapsulate every private American university in a single model, there are certain generalizations and relationships that can be identified and defined. The university did not begin as multiversity; it grew in size, function, and constituencies on the wave of social change. This evolution in the university

necessitated new systems of control and administration in higher education. These administrations did not spring from the heads of university leaders; the modern American university was organized following patterns of other similar social institutions.

For this reason, it is useful to consider the university in the context of other social institutions established with clear structure and power relationships. These models are helpful because they allow analysis and reinterpretation of the university in the light of particular forms or functions that are well-understood. I focused on the corporate model of the university; corporations are organized, intentional institutions whose form, functions, and issues relate to those of the university. The university is not a mirror held to this corporate model; rather, the model sheds light on the true nature of the university, as well as highlighting particular issues in higher education.

4.4.1 The Corporate Model

The modern private American university must manage varied constituencies effectively so as to remain an appealing provider of educational services to these groups. As endowments, grants, and tuition rise, universities have greater investment options, as well as more people to consider in making financial choices. Does the university need a new soccer field, faster computers, or higher salaries for secretaries? While the functions of the university diversify, the mission of the undergraduate program in most private American universities remains constant: to provide a thorough and meaningful education to its students. Some analysts suggest that private universities are most successful when they are managed and run like large corporations, which are structured to maximize specific output from an assembly of complicated inputs. Other educators reject this business model, arguing that the goal and function of business is divergent from the university and non-applicable.

The corporate model of the university emphasizes profitable output as a result of well-controlled process. Modern universities rely heavily on consistent, organized administration to maintain plant services, keep computers up and running, prepare course schedules, and keep student and faculty activities in order. Most contemporary lower-level university administrators are not lapsed academics; university administration requires professional training in business administration, human resources, health and human services, and other specific non-academic fields. These administrators do the same work in universities that they would do in business, and have similar worker tracks and attitudes toward the university as they would to a corporation (Solomon, 1993, p. 262). Therefore, from the administrative standpoint, the university operates very much like a business. Course scheduling is governed by computer algorithms that create the most efficient, though not necessarily the most convenient, schedule of classrooms and course offerings.

Administrative disregard for faculty and student needs induces negative reaction to efficiency-oriented administrative action. Students feel marginalized, subject to "a blanket of impersonal rules" that dictate their academic, residential, and social options and activities (Kerr, 1982, p. 103). Professors feel confined in their influence and impact in the university community and retreat to faculty alliances, assuming an "us versus them" mentality towards administrators (Boyer, 1987, p. 239). The problem with the corporate model, which elevates the administrative functions of the university, is that its goals are not the goals of higher education. Adhering to the corporate model leads to "an overconcern with finances as opposed to substance and real productivity" (Solomon, 1993, p. 33). The products of the university – education, research, social awareness – are variable and often unquantifiable. Are philosophy courses, institutional museums, or frisbee teams inefficient ventures in the university? Modern universities pride themselves on the diversity of opportunities they offer to students and faculty, even if the sheer volume of these activities and offerings is redundant, wasteful, or even anarchical (Solomon, 1993, p. 34). Administrators have the authority to sanction certain university endeavors through funding or endorsement; however, this authority is severely resented and challenged by the faculty, and to a lesser extent, university students (Boyer, 1987, p. 342). Thus, the efficient operation of the administration butts heads with the desires of faculty and students to "waste" time and resources on esoteric study and varied play that they consider valuable aspects of university life.

Faculty resentment towards administrators stems from perceived power relationships in American university governance. The corporate model emphasizes hierarchical distribution of power, and many educators identify university administrators as "managers" or "employers" and faculty as "employees" (Boyer, 1987, p. 242). It is not unusual to hear faculty complain about administrators as managerial fat cats, with their "six-figure salaries and large plush office suites filled with abundant staff, first-rate office equipment, and shelves devoid of learned books" (Solomon, 1993, p. 259). As the corporate function of the university grows in external importance, internally, administrators have assumed more and more power over university functions over time. In 1984, a Carnegie Foundation study found that 60% of professors in private American universities believe their institutions are "autocratically run," and that the administration is "fair or poor" (Boyer, 1987, p. 239). These numbers are most striking when compared to similar statements made about individual departments; while 70% of private American university professors felt they had opportunity to influence their own departments, only 20% felt they could have any influence on institutional policy (Boyer, 1987, p. 239). Faculty and administrators at most private universities are fiercely divided, and many professors feel that they are ill-served as employees of the university by administrative policy (Boyer, 1987, p. 238).

When professors began to feel exploited and under-represented in university policy, they did what any group of skilled workers would do: they unionized. Since the 1970s, faculty at many private universities have entered "collective bargaining" to improve worker benefits, salary, and workload for professors (Boyer, 1987, p. 239). In particular, a majority of faculty at private universities support collective bargaining and using strike tactics if necessary to win the benefits they desire (Boyer, 1987, p. 240). As of 1989,

21% of institutions surveyed nationally, and 35% of "large enrollment institutions" had faculty unions (Balderston, 1995, p. 136). Collective bargaining "forc[es] the administration to deal with them [faculty] as equals," commented one university dean (Boyer, 1987, p. 241). However, while faculty organization has helped some professors, many administrators react negatively to the concept of academic unions. On one level, administrators may fear that academic unions will threaten their own power in the university. However, many administrators, and some faculty, dislike collective bargaining for a more fundamental, philosophical reason. Academic unions amplify the division between faculty and administrative roles and attitudes, which is a split universities try to minimize, at least in outward appearance and rhetoric. As one university president stated, "Collective bargaining is antithetical to the ideals and traditions of teaching" (Boyer, 1987, p. 241).

How is collective bargaining "antithetical" to the foundations of higher education? Universities began as academic communities, with professors sharing personal and institutional goals and administrative responsibilities. As American universities grew in size and function, administrative work expanded; however, universities still try to maintain singularity in mission statement and institutional goals. The academic union controversy is indicative of the fact that modern faculty and administrators do not share the same attitudes and goals toward the university as an institution. Modern faculty feel that they, like their counterparts in business, are locked into corporate positions as employees rather than equal partners with administrators in university governance (Boyer, 1987, p. 242). As one professor put it, "on this campus collegiality is dead" (Boyer, 1987, p. 238). The community spirit once fostered by university leaders has been replaced by a corporate distribution of administrative dictates to faculty feeling more and more alienated from their institutions.

This alienation and confusion of institutional purpose greatly affects the undergraduate experience on the modern private American university campus. In the corporate model, the undergraduate students are cast as consumers of one university product, education. As consumers of the university, students have little influence over institutional policies that directly affect their well-being. Universities and colleges have a monopoly on higher education in this country; for this reason, their conduct towards students may be inattentive or even abusive with few repercussions. The asymmetric exchange of information between consumer and institution in higher education makes students highly misinformed consumers of the university; the university has the opportunity to completely profile its applicants and its advertising material, whereas potential students mostly rely on university advertising for factual information (Peltason, 1978, p. 52). Despite university rhetoric emphasizing the "academic family" of which the student is a part, students suffer major abuse of power and rights by institutions due to misinformation and exclusion of students from university governance.

As consumers, students report the following instances of abuse: "misleading recruitment and admissions practices ... inadequate disclosure in written documents ... inadequate instructional programs ... inadequate housing facilities ... misrepresentation of chartered, approved, or accredited status ... untimely tuition and fee refund payments" (Peltason,

1978, p. 56). When this list of abuses was published by the FTC in 1977, a follow-up study by the American Institutes of Research (AIR) found "potential for student abuse ... in every postsecondary institution studied" (Peltason, 1978, p. 56). These abuses are widespread both in type and location, and several of them, particularly those related to false advertising and timely payments, are consumer abuses that are prosecuted in business situations. The other abuses, however, are no less troubling. If universities are not providing adequate conditions for instruction, then they are not delivering their educational product to students, and are therefore delinquent in their consumer services. Students and their families pay "outrageous", and still growing, tuition fees to receive university services, and this money buys inattention and abuse from institutions (Boyer, 1987, p. 21).

As consumers, students are initiating protective measures to prevent abuse. In some states, students have won third-party status in faculty-administration collective bargaining, thus moving students from consumers to low-level employees in the corporate model (Packer, 57). Since 1970, students have formed national and state lobbying organizations, which have helped students gain positions on institutional steering committees, as well as increase financial aid options (Packer, 57). Student evaluations of courses and professors and student representation on institutional and departmental boards have given students some influence on the academic direction of universities (Packer, 58). Prospective students are more cautious about their reception of university materials; 40% of those interviewed by the Carnegie Foundation "doubted the accuracy of the publications" (Boyer, 1987, p. 15).

While these actions protect students to some extent from consumer abuse by universities, their necessity points to an ugly side of the corporate university. In the same way that collective bargaining compromised the "academic community" rhetoric of faculty-administration relationships, student mistrust of institutions disassembles the "family" rhetoric of the undergraduate experience (Kerr, 1982, p. 103). If students occupy roles of disenfranchised, misinformed consumers, they should not educationally invest themselves in their universities; such investment, from a business standpoint, would be very risky. And considering these students are risking not only money but their education on this investment, such abuses must be dealt with.

There are several mechanisms by which universities break and escape the corporate model. If universities wish to return to the "communities" still touted in public rhetoric, they must break down the corporate relationships between administrative employers, faculty employees, and student consumers. The federal government provides financial aid for "work-study," in which students work for the university to pay off a portion of incurred fees. These programs bring students into the employee position within the university, which empowers them to think of the university as "their campus community," and gives them reason "to make it thrive" (Solomon, 1993, p. 71). However, community will not be complete when students ascend to employee roles as teaching assistants, administrative and plant workers, because corporate governance will still rest in the hands of managerial administration. The corporate model only can fully deconstruct when power and personal investment in the institution are shared by administration, faculty,

and students alike. However, given the distinct roles and functions of each of these groups, such sharing may be impossible.

5. Methodology

This project considers undergraduate student expectations and actions in contemporary American private universities as related to university action and policy. To analyze the relationship between undergraduates and their institutions, I combined historical research, national survey information, personal interviews, and collaborative analysis to encapsulate the needs and actions of both students and their institutions. I considered qualitative and quantitative data on the expectations and reflections of freshmen and older undergraduates. I analyzed data both on a national and personal level, combining Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) survey results with interviews and profiles of students with varied paths through the undergraduate experience. Drawing from this data and its historical context, I drew conclusions about the expectations and satisfaction of undergraduate students in private American universities.

5.1 Project Scope

This project only considers students at private American universities. While this specification limits extrapolation to more general student populations, it also creates consistency of study and analysis. For purposes of this study, I define private universities as institutions that are privately owned and contain graduate schools. This definition includes a broad diversity of institutions. The reason I chose to focus on private institutions is that they enjoy self-governance and self-determination of educational policy. Public institutions are bound to certain admissions policies, academic and administrative requirements that are not self-determined; therefore, it is difficult to analyze institutional aims separate from government aims. In this way, I chose private institutions for their freedom of university mission and choice. In contrast, I chose to focus on universities rather than colleges because of their multiplicity of function. More and more colleges are becoming universities in a phenomenon documented as "upward drift" (Simpson, 1993, p. 70). The presence of graduate students and graduate research changes professorial and institutional interest in undergraduate education. The balance in a university between undergraduate and research interests is fascinating and complicates the meaning of contemporary undergraduate learning.

5.2 Historical Research and Background Material

To analyze the current expectations, actions, and reflections of university undergraduates, I needed to understand these students in historical context. For this reason, this report's literature review details the history of private American universities as institutions and in terms of their constituent groups. I analyzed the historical development and current situation of the controlling university constituent groups, university faculty and administration. With regard to students, I chronicled the development of undergraduate student life, considering student-student, student-institution, and student-society interactions. Finally, I modeled the university in the context of corporate institutions to highlight particular aspects of institutional relationships in higher education. This research builds the foundation for analysis of quantitative and qualitative data about current student expectations and relationships with universities.

5.3 Quantitative Analysis of HERI Data

The Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) at University of California, Los Angeles produces a number of nationally recognized surveys of undergraduate students through their Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP). I used results from two of their surveys as administered in the year 2000, the Freshman Survey and the College Student Survey (CSS). The Freshman Survey provides information about first year student demographics, expectations of the college experience, degree goals and career plans, attitudes, values and life goals, and reasons for attending college (http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/heri/cirp.htm). The CSS provides information about second, third, and fourth year student satisfaction with the college experience, involvement on campus, cognitive and affective development, values, attitudes, and goals, degree goals and career plans (http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/heri/cirp.htm).

The Freshman Survey and CSS results are reliable sources of data because they use large, diverse test samples. More than 10 million students at 1,700 American institutions participate in the CIRP yearly; moreover, these institutions are separated by specific classifications that allow analysis between different types of higher education. For this project, I used HERI data only for private universities. Because of confidentiality procedures, I could not obtain data specific to any one institution directly from HERI.

For the Freshman Survey, the private universities are broken down into selectivity ranges; the CSS results, which reflect fewer student responses, are not.

5.3.1 The Freshman Survey

In 2000, the Department of Education reported 72 private universities in the U.S. Of these schools, 54 universities administer the Freshman Survey to their entering freshmen. However, HERI does not include data from all of these institutions in the reported norms which I used for analysis. HERI publishes a yearly report, *The American Freshman*, showing results only for those universities at which 75% or more of first-time full-time (FTFT) students complete the Freshman Survey (Sax, 2000, p. 115). HERI uses only data from FTFT students (no transfers or returning students) to create their norms. So despite the fact that 54 private universities participate in the survey, the norms include data from 37 institutions and 39,975 students (Sax, 2000, p. 122). These private universities are further divided into three selectivity ranges based on the average composite SAT or ACT score of the entering freshman class. Table 4-1 displays the selectivity ranges along with the school and student populations of each range. Appendix A lists the participating and norm private universities used in the year 2000 national norms.

Table 4-1. Private Universities and Selectivity Ranges.

Selectivity Range	Average SAT Composite	Existing Universities	Participating Universities	Universities Used in Norms	Students Used in Norms
LOW	0 - 1174	27	23	15	15,485
MEDIUM	1174 - 1309	22	14	10	12,852
HIGH	1310 - 1600	23	17	12	11,638

After identifying which private universities provided enough FTFT data to be included in the norms, HERI weighted the responses from students at each university in a two-step procedure. First, HERI weighted to adjust for non-participation within institutions, and then to adjust for non-participation of institutions in a given classification (Sax, 2000, p. 119). These weights were devised and applied separately for male and female students. Finally, the weights are meant to make the norms representative not only of the 37 private universities and 39,975 students explicitly involved, but also of the students at the other 35 private universities not included. Table 4-2 displays the number of students represented by each selectivity range after weighting.

Table 4-2. Weighted Participants from Private Universities.

Selectivity Range	Unweighted Participants	Weighted Participants
LOW	15,485	29,835
MEDIUM	12,852	37,847
HIGH	11,638	29,295

The Freshman Survey asks students to report information in 5 main areas: family demographics, actions in high school, personal attitudes and interests, college-related aspirations and expectations, and non-college-related aspirations and expectations. Of these, I looked specifically at student responses to questions in the last two areas so I could analyze student expectation both of the college experience and of themselves during their college years and beyond. Appendix A provides the complete text of the 2000 Freshman Survey. Of the 39 HERI-defined sections of the survey I examined responses to questions in sections 14, 26, 37, and 38, using other selections from the survey data when appropriate. Please note that these section numbers are only applicable for the year 2000 survey. Every year HERI updates their surveys and moves sections to test new combinations.

Section 14 deals with the college choice process, asking how highly students would rank the university they have chosen to attend. This section is important because it reveals prospective student expectations of the undergraduate experience. A student attending his or her first choice school may have very different attitudes than one attending his or her last choice institution.

Section 26 asks students to rate the importance of a variety of factors that may contribute to the decision to attend college. This section is important because it reveals student motivation for attending university.

Section 37 asks students to rate their personal interest in more general life goals, such as raising a family, succeeding financially, creating artistic or theoretical work, and becoming a community spiritual leader. These interests reveal student orientation with regard to their future role in society. These results will compare directly to section 19 of the CSS, which asks older undergraduates to rate the goals.

Section 38 asks students to guess whether they will do a variety of things in their undergraduate years, including participating in student groups, succeeding academically, and changing personal and academic aspirations. In particular, I will examine responses to questions twelve through sixteen, which concern projected student satisfaction and

retention in college. These prospective opinions, compared to later action, will help reveal changes in student attitudes towards higher education over time.

The sections of the Freshman Survey I chose to disregard ask questions about student activities and academics during high school, family demographics, religious and ethnic student demographics, political and moral student values, and probable major field of undergraduate study. I disregard the demographic questions because I am looking at norms, and cannot correlate demographic differences, both between students and institutions, at such a general level of analysis. I disregard the high school activity questions because though they inform freshmen attitudes and actions, I am specifically interested in change during, not before, the undergraduate years. I disregard the religious, moral, and political questions because these questions inform student change that is out of scope of this project. This project focuses on student actions in relationship to the institution, and while personal values are influenced by environmental factors, these values do not reveal actions of the students on the university. I disregard the question about projected major field of study because this data is only relevant to student attitudes on the institutional level. While major selection has been shown to strongly correlate with student quality of life, I have no mechanism to analyze one choice of major against another.

5.3.2 The College Student Survey (CSS)

The College Student Survey (CSS) is an institutional, rather than national, survey instrument published by HERI. The CSS asks students to reflect on various aspects of their undergraduate experience and satisfaction, as well as their expectations for the future. Many institutions use the CSS internally to measure the growth of their students from first-year responses to the Freshman Survey to senior attitudes. Most institutions administer the CSS to seniors, but some administer it to younger undergraduates as well. Fewer institutions participate in the CSS than the Freshmen Survey; in 2000, 14 private institutions administered the CSS to 6,501 students (Korn, 2002). The CSS results are neither weighted nor stratified by institutional selectivity. Appendix B provides the list of participating private universities in 2000.

The CSS is not used as a national source of data because of its small and unreliable sample. Some schools administer the CSS to seniors, others to sophomores or juniors. Most institutions that administer the CSS are not able to get responses from all seniors or other students surveyed. Institutions may require freshmen to take the Freshman Survey, but at many schools, the CSS is an optional event. In general, better students tend to complete the CSS, therefore skewing the results. Also, any students who transferred or left an institution are not represented by the CSS. These inconsistencies make it impossible for HERI to normalize CSS data in order to publish standard responses. However, the CSS results still contain valuable information about undergraduate satisfaction and expectation.

Fortunately, some of these inconsistencies are diminished for the private universities that participated in the CSS in 2000. At private universities, more students per institutions responded than for any other type of institution, indicating that the CSS results are at least somewhat representative of the student attitudes at these universities. All respondents in 2000 were either fourth or fifth year students, eliminating the problem of sophomore and junior response. While only 14 institutions participated in 2000, these universities are geographically diverse. While the CSS does not stratify by selectivity, I was able to use Freshman Survey information to determine that of the 14 participating institutions, nine are low-selectivity (SAT below 1174), four are mid-selectivity (SAT between 1174 and 1309), and one is high-selectivity (SAT above 1309). This lower-selectivity influence affects comparative analysis with the Freshman Survey, which will be explained further in section 4.43.

The College Student Survey (CSS) asks questions about student activities during college, satisfaction with the undergraduate experience, and post-graduation plans. For this project, I considered student response to sections 6, 7, 8, 9, and 19, which pertain directly to student satisfaction, self-assessment, and future plans.

Section 6 asks students whether they have done certain things during their undergraduate years, including working, participating in campus activities, and leaving or transferring schools. This section reveals student action and choice during the undergraduate experience. Some questions in section 6 compare directly to questions asked prospectively of freshmen in section 40 of the Freshman Survey.

Section 7 asks students the frequency with which they have engaged in a variety of activities during their undergraduate experience. Namely, I am interested in student response to questions 3, 8, 10, 11, and 12 in this list, which ask about student engagement in coursework, student government, and intellectual discourse. This section explores student engagement in terms of student actions rather than institutional services, which is important to understanding personal student motivation to act.

Section 8 asks students if, given the choice anew, they would choose to attend their current institution. This section reveals retrospective student satisfaction with institutions as well as graduating student perspective on the personal value of the education received.

Section 9 asks students to rate their satisfaction with various aspects of their institutions, including academic, vocational, recreational, and personal services rendered. This section reveals student satisfaction with specific components of campus life.

Section 19 asks students to rate their personal interest in broad life goals, such as raising a family, succeeding financially, creating artistic or theoretical work, and becoming a community spiritual leader. These interests, compared with freshman responses to Section 39 of the Freshman Survey, reveal student orientation and orientation shift with regard to future roles in society.

The sections of the CSS that I disregarded deal with demographic and financial information, social activities during college, Internet use, professorial evaluation, academic major selection, personal moral and value judgments, and service learning. I disregarded demographic, financial, social, moral, academic, and Internet information because this data, out of context, does not directly relate to student satisfaction or expectation. Similarly, while student perspectives on opportunities offered by professors may be important to student satisfaction, these opportunities are conferred upon rather than introduced by students. Because this project deals with student, not professorial, action, this section is irrelevant.

5.3.3 Comparative Analysis of the Freshman Survey and CSS

I studied both the 2000 Freshman Survey and CSS results because the combination of the two yields both prospective and retrospective data. The Freshman Survey yields information about student expectations of both themselves and their institutions when they first arrive at college. The CSS yields information about student actions and satisfaction with their undergraduate experience.

The freshman and senior data does not represent the same student population; I looked at freshman and senior response in 2000, rather than tracking the path of the freshmen in 1996 who graduated in 2000. I chose to look at both groups in 2000 for two reasons. First, the sample groups for the CSS and Freshman Survey are too different for a tracked comparison on a national level to be meaningful. Internally to an institution, tracking a class can yield important results; nationally, it is difficult to correlate freshman and senior data. Secondly, I am less interested in the evolution of the student during the college years than in their prospective and reflective attitudes towards the university. For this reason, I wanted to look at the most current data available about freshman and senior perspectives.

With this in mind, I compared the Freshman Survey and CSS data to see differences in student attitudes rather than to track explicit change. The freshman norm response was calculated by HERI to represent freshmen at low, mid, and high-selectivity universities. The CSS aggregate data represents fourteen universities; of these, nine are low-selectivity, four are mid-selectivity, and one is high-selectivity institutions (Korn, 2002). I wanted to represent each group (freshmen and seniors) as best statistically as I had power to do; for this reason, I compared the freshman norm to CSS aggregate data, despite the skewed selectivity distribution in the CSS results.

There is no straight line from students' expectations as freshmen and their observations and reflections as seniors. However, understanding both ends of the undergraduate experience allows further research and analysis of the time spent in between.

5.4 Qualitative Research on Undergraduates

HERI only provides information about the ends of the undergraduate experience; there are important gaps to be filled between freshman and senior year. To connect the quantitative Freshman Survey and CSS data together, I considered student statements collected by myself and other researchers in several current collections. These collections include *The Insiders' Guide to College*, *Inside College* by Ronald Simpson and Susan Frost, *Taking Time Off* by Colin Hall and Ron Lieber and *What Students Say* by Richard Light. This research provides qualitative rather than quantitative data, and do not represent nearly as big a sample size as the CIRP enjoys. For this reason, I used qualitative secondary research to personalize and flesh out the undergraduate experience, to draw lines from freshman expectations to senior expectations and reflections.

I also interviewed a small number of students, most of who plan to attend, attend, or attended some of the private universities represented in the CIRP. I interviewed eight students who chose untraditional routes through higher education and are not necessarily represented in other secondary sources. These routes include: taking a leave of absence from university, transferring institutions, and temporarily or permanently withdrawing from university. While I tried to maintain some geographic and gender diversity among interview subjects, these interviews were not meant to provide a body of data but rather to highlight certain student concerns and choices with regard to higher education. Some of these interviews informed general analysis; others were be analyzed as case studies in student-institution relationships.

While the Freshman Survey represents all freshmen students from a given year, the CSS only represents those students who have stayed in university for full four years. For this reason, the CIRP disenfranchises the undergraduate dropout. Students who leave university are important to this project because their attitudes and expectations of the undergraduate experience may be very different from their counterparts who stay in school. While one might assume that dropouts are highly dissatisfied with their undergraduate experiences, there are many reasons besides personal dissatisfaction that might lead to departure from school. Dropouts, for one reason or another, are not well served by their undergraduate experience. To understand the ways in which student needs are or are not met by the university, the dropout voice is essential. For this reason, I considered the National Center on Education Statistics study on "Stopouts and stayouts" – first-year students who leave university either temporarily or permanently.

6. Results and Analysis

I analyzed data from three sources: Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) surveys, personal interviews, and secondary source readings. This section is organized thematically. First, I analyzed freshman expectations of higher education. Using the HERI Freshman Survey as a basis, I considered student motivations to attend college, looking both at what students expect from their institutions and from themselves. Then, using the HERI College Student Survey (CSS), I analyzed senior student reflections on satisfaction with the college experience. Through interviews and secondary data, I considered the alternative views of college dropouts and transfers, who may not be represented in HERI surveys. I used the CSS, personal interviews with students, and secondary sources to determine what students feel they have gained or lost through their college education. Finally, using the Freshman Survey, CSS, and personal interviews as a basis, I examined student goals beyond the undergraduate experience. I compared freshman and senior expectations and desires for the future, and discussed the possible influences of the undergraduate education on change in student interests and orientations.

6.1 Student Expectations for Higher Education

I used the HERI Freshman Survey to analyze expectations of first-time, full-time first-year students at private universities nationwide. While the year 2000 Freshman Survey norms include the responses of students at only 37 private universities, these responses are weighted so that the results are as inclusive as possible of the majority of student experiences in private universities. I focused my analysis on the weighted national norm values calculated by HERI for private university students, using the data to discern freshman expectations and interests. HERI separates student response by university selectivity, which is determined by the average SAT score of entering students. My secondary focus relates to differences between responses of students from each selectivity cell. To stay consistent with HERI's language, from this point on I will use the term "college" and "private university" interchangeably. All results discussed are for students in American private universities only.

I separated freshman expectation analysis into three sections. The first, "Why Attend College?" concerns student reasons, in general, to attend college. These student responses give insight into the importance of a variety of factors to student choice to attend college at all. The second section, "Why This College?" analyzes student reasons to attend specific institutions, and what students expect from their institutions in

particular. The third section, "What Will You Do?" analyzes student expectations of various activities and actions they will or will not do during their undergraduate years.

6.1.1 Why Attend College? Student Expectations

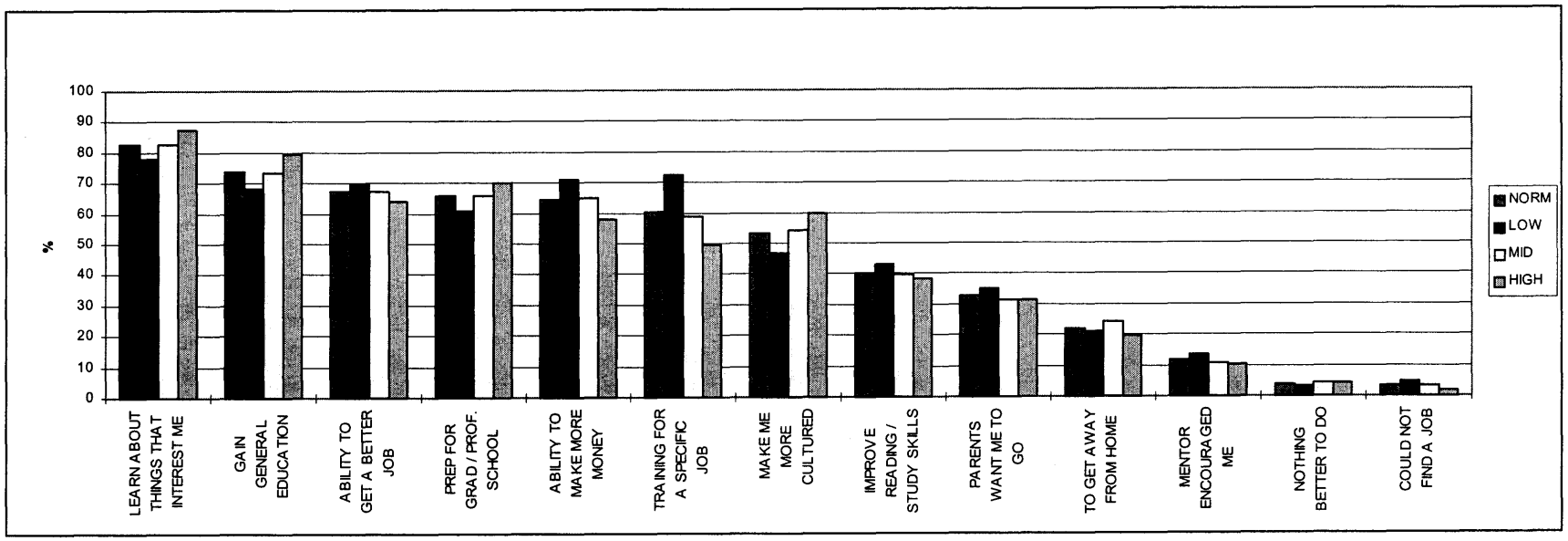
Before considering the implications and outcomes of the college experience, we must analyze student motivations to attend college at all. Most people believe higher education begins with the student choice to apply, investigate, and eventually select an institution. However, the process begins before that. Many high schoolers forget to ask themselves the question, "Do I want to go to college?" before asking, "Which college do I want to attend?" Social pressure often eclipses personal intentions of the student in the decision to attend college (Hall, 1996, p. 6). In the introduction to their book on taking time off from college, Colin Hall and Ron Lieber suggest, "The real question is, do you want to take charge of your own life or be swept along by everyone else's expectations? There's nothing wrong with going to college; just make sure you're there because **you** want to be there" (Hall, 1996, p. 7).

Just as in any major life decision, there are scores of reasons, good and bad, to attend college. Section 26 of the 2000 Freshman Survey asks freshmen, "In deciding to go to college, how important to you was each of the following reasons?" and then presents thirteen reasons to consider:

- My parents wanted me to go
- I could not find a job
- Wanted to get away from home
- To be able to get a better job
- To gain a general education and appreciation of ideas
- To improve my reading and study skills
- There was nothing better to do
- To make me a more cultured person
- To be able to make more money
- To learn more about things that interest me
- To prepare myself for graduate or professional school
- A mentor/role model encouraged me to go
- To get training for a specific career (Sax, 2000, p. 128).

Students are asked to select whether each was "very important," "somewhat important," or "not important" to their decision (Sax, 2000, p. 128). HERI publishes the data for students who respond that any given reason was "very important" to their decision to go to college. Figure 5-1 displays the norm and selectivity-stratified "very important" student responses to this question. For purposes of the display, I have changed the wording of some of these reasons. These reasons and their implications will be discussed shortly.

Figure 5-1. "Very Important" Reasons to Attend College.



I divide these reasons to go to college into three basic categories: desire for classical education, desire to succeed financially and/or in a career, and desire to adhere to or reject outside influences. The first category encompasses the reasons "to learn more about things that interest me," "to gain a general education and appreciation of ideas," and "to make me a more cultured person". The first two of these reasons were the most popular "very important" reasons to attend college for norm private university freshmen. This indicates that freshmen entering college still think of college primarily in the romantic, classical sense of a higher education. However, students are no longer necessarily willing to take college on someone else's terms. The response "to learn more about things that interest me" ranks 9.1% higher than "to gain a general education and appreciation of ideas," which implies a self-centered perception of higher education. Students do not come to the university to learn what interests professors but rather, primarily, what interests them. This attitude reflects the institutional evolution of the elective rather than core curriculum, which honors student interests above institutional direction.

The third reason in the classical education category, "to make me a more cultured person," enjoyed the support of 53.4% of private university students, down 29.3% from "to learn more about things that interest me". Clearly, this goal is less important to students than the other two in this category; however, I think the wording of this response may seriously affect student response. The use of the verb "to make" implies that the college experience will in some way mold or change the student into a "cultured person". What does it mean to be a cultured person? And on whose terms? Many students may be skeptical of college's ability to "make" them cultured, and still more may be uncertain that they want to become "cultured" on higher education's terms. In the 18th and 19th century, universities encouraged their students to be religious and moral in their aesthetic interests. In the 20th century, many university faculty members felt divided between weighty institutional goals and personal sense of freedom and exploration. Throughout the history of the American university, student culture has repeatedly clashed and recombined with institutional and faculty culture. Since the second half of the 20th century and the rise of the multiversity, students have begun more to think of the university as "the other," espousing values which may not interest them. This otherness expresses itself somewhat in the gap between "to learn about things that interest me" and "to gain a general education and appreciation of ideas," and greatly in the gap between those reasons and "to make me a more cultured person". While contemporary students believe there is a lot to learn in college, they may be distrustful of institutional ability to define what is worthwhile, or culturally interesting.

Students at higher selectivity schools chose reasons in the classical education set as "very important" to their decision to attend college more often than their lower-selectivity counterparts. There is a 9.4% difference between low and high selectivity choice of "to learn more about things that interest me," a 11.4% difference in "to gain a general education and appreciation of ideas," and a 13.0% difference in "to make me a more cultured person". This reflects different expectations of a college education by students at different kinds of schools. Students at lower-selectivity schools tend to be more vocationally-oriented than students at high-selectivity schools, which makes them devalue

the cultural "trimmings" of the classical education. While the rise of vocationalism may make students devalue classical aspects of contemporary undergraduate education, it is not clear that these aspects are any less educational than their vocational counterparts. This divide among students reflects the greater educational debate about the role of the modern university in America.

The second set of reasons to attend college is vocational: "to be able to get a better job," "to prepare myself for graduate or professional school," "to be able to make more money," "to get training for a specific career," and "to improve my reading and study skills". The first three of these ranked very close to each other in 3rd, 4th, and 5th place, with 67.1%, 65.7% and 64.7% of students selecting them as very important, respectively. The high rank of these reasons implies that students are very interested in their future success beyond their college years. Financial success is much more important to them than cultural education. While this may seem overly materialistic, higher education in this country has changed drastically from the days when it was an obscure diversion for the rich and pious. Many students see a college education as a significant investment for the future, a ticket to success.

Some educators may be alarmed at the utilitarian, vocational aims of freshmen. Students, after all, are supposed to enter college with minds open to new exploration and learning. Instead, they appear to choose personal goals over the cultural and educational goals of the institution. This choice reflects both student expectations and institutional practice. Today, as universities compete for high enrollment, they advertise their resources more than their ideology. While this advertisement of the university as a useful source of learning historically has boosted American interest in higher education, it also helped further the perception of college as a means rather than an end in itself. Some see college as a training ground for further education; 65.4% of freshmen selected the advancement to graduate or professional schools as a very important reason to attend college. Similarly, students understand that most professional careers require at least a bachelor's degree, and cannot separate the direct benefits of college from its natural successor, the career. Universities advertise the grad schools and companies to which their graduates matriculate. It should not be surprising that students bought into this advertising and elevate future plans to such a high position in their decision to attend college.

Student vocational interests are not necessarily dangerous or destructive to the goals of higher education. Freshman interest in the reasons "to get training for a specific career," and "to improve my reading and study skills" ranks much lower than in the more general reasons "to be able to get a better job," "to prepare myself for graduate or professional school," "to be able to make more money". This means that while student goals for the long-term may be more materialistic and vocational than in the past, their immediate goals for the college experience are not entirely utilitarian. While 82.7% of students want to learn about things that interest them, only 60.4% of students expect to get training for a specific career. The majority of students answered that both of these were very important to their college experience; students want both to explore and to become proficient for the future. The fact that so many students have career aspirations and yet only 40.3% want to improve their reading and study skills implies that students do not necessarily correlate

potential success and learning with basic educational skills, or may consider these skills well-developed in high school. Students may value social learning through relationships, lab and internship experience, and other college experiences over reading and study skills. The low ranking of reading and study skills supports the idea that students think of college in much more organic, dynamic terms than a dry list of skills that sound like they belong in high school or junior high.

The final set of reasons, which rank lowest overall, have to do with outside influences on students. "My parents wanted me to go" and "a mentor/role model encouraged me to go" enjoyed 32.5% and 11.5% support, respectively. Apparently, at age 18, many students still consider their elders' input to be very important in making life decisions. However, I think the response would be drastically different if the question was not one of college but of personal or moral choice. I doubt 32.5% of high school seniors would consider their parents' input "very important" to their decisions about relationships, sex, or drug use. By 18, most Americans consider themselves free personally, but not institutionally. There is obligation after high school to continue working and learning in institutions rather than leaving them. The Freshman Survey shows 21.8% of students said they "wanted to get away from home"; most, I would imagine, did so with their parents' consent. Rarely is the choice to go to college socially reprehensible to a student's parents. Rather, I think that these reasons shield other reasons like "college was a safe way to be independent for a while" or "my parents said either I had to go to college or get a job". While the reason "there was nothing better to do" enjoyed only 3.9% support, I think the reason "there was nothing else I was encouraged to do" might ring true for many students. We as a society support institutional learning and living; it is hard to think outside the box either as a student or parent. One young man who took time off before college to explore South America commented, "parents are used to writing checks to institutions, not ideas" (Hall, 1996, p. 113). "My parents wanted me to go" may mask other, uglier reasons – perhaps the same reasons that make students "want to get away from home".

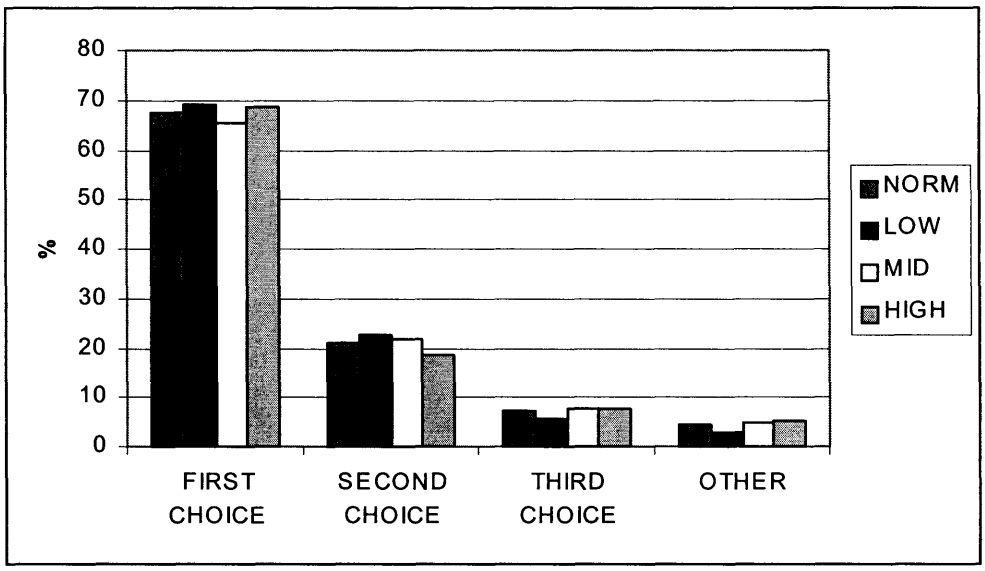
HERI chose only thirteen of the hundreds of potential reasons for students to attend college to include on their 2000 Freshman Survey. HERI must limit the number of reasons they include to keep the survey of reasonable length; however, there were some significant reasons I feel are missing from the 2000 survey. There were no social reasons listed in Section 26; students did not have the option to select "to have fun," "to learn socially," or "to meet new people," even though extensive research by HERI and others demonstrates that social situations are often most influential in student action and satisfaction. As Alexander Astin, founding director of HERI, stated *in What Matters in College*, "peer group characteristics .. produce some of the strongest and certainly the most widespread effects on student development" (Astin, 1994, p. 351). Why then are these reasons not included in any form in Section 26 of the 2000 Freshman Survey? I appreciate the difficulty involved in preparing a survey on as massive a scale as CIRP. However, I think that Section 26 should include, if not a social reason, than an option for students to mark "other". Support or lack thereof for that reason might lead HERI to consider adding or modifying their current reasons.

While this section considers reasons to attend college, it is important to remember that there are also good reasons not to attend college. Many students are not socially ready at eighteen for the adjustment to the independent world of college. Many students spend their first year of college drinking, skipping class, and " in essence, .. taking their first year off while paying full tuition" (Hall, 1996, p. 7). While these may be valuable learning experiences, they need not cost fifteen to thirty thousand dollars. Other students, who do seriously and intentionally consider college as an option, decide that college is not right for them, either in the short term or long term. In Hall and Lieber's profiles, one student, who chose to defer admission to college, commented, "My whole life, people .. promised me, 'Oh, when you get to junior high you'll like school better.' And then, 'when you get to high school you'll like that better.' And I never did. I didn't believe anyone who told me that when I got to college it would be different and that everything would be better" (Hall, 1996, p. 71). This young woman, and many of her college-deferring compatriots, shows great self-awareness in her ability to say no to college and seek a better option. People who choose the nonntraditional route often can articulate their reasons and intentions much more clearly than those who follow familiar paths. While the reasons in Section 26 of the Freshman Survey give insight into student expectations and desires for college, they shed little light on the intentionality of these new college freshmen.

6.1.2 Why This College? Institutional Choice and Expectation

Once a student has decided to attend college, the second question he/she must ask is "Where?". Selecting an institution requires careful discrimination based on student interests and expectations for the undergraduate experience. Students, hopefully, attend the college that best fits their needs and abilities. HERI data indicates that most students do attend the school they feel was the best fit for them. Section 14 of the 2000 Freshman Survey asks students, "Is this college your... first choice / second choice / third choice / less than third choice?" (Sax, 2000, p. 127). The majority of students (67.5%) indicated that their institution was their first choice; 21.1% placed it second; 7.1%, third, and the remaining 4.3% indicated that this institution was lower than their third choice (Sax, 2000, p. 15). There was no significant distinction between different selectivity cells for this section. Figure 5-2 displays norm and selectivity-stratified student response to this question (Sax, 2000, p. 75).

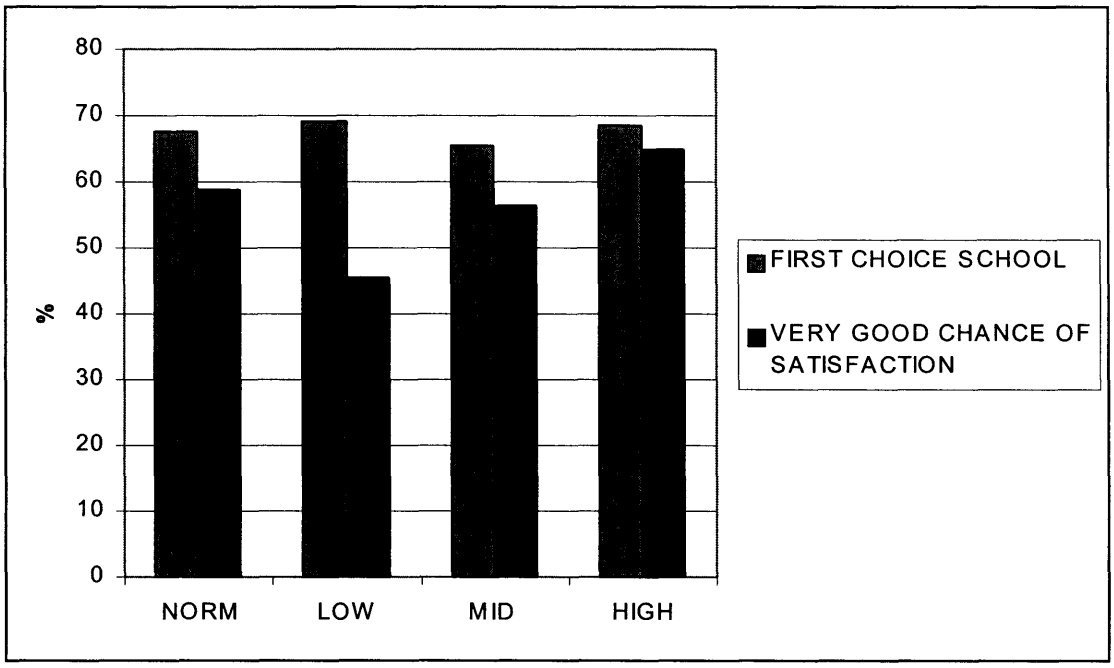
Figure 5-2. Institutional Rating: This University is My X Choice.



The norm response to this question clearly indicates that most private university freshmen regard their schools as first-choice institutions. However, the implications of this response are not clear-cut. Apparently, most freshmen attend their first choice school, and should expect satisfaction with their college experience. However, many considerations go into student ranking of first/second/third choice schools. Students apply to schools with both their hearts and their heads; practically, students set their sights on universities that are not only desirable but also attainable. Personal satisfaction is important to college choice, but cost, special programs, and geography may be just as important as happiness and success to students choosing colleges. The criteria that define the "first choice" for one student may be vastly different than those for another.

To better understand the meaning of this choice ranking, I considered section 38 of the Freshman Survey, which asks students to predict whether there is a very good chance, some chance, very little chance, or no chance that they will do certain things during their undergraduate years. One question asks students to predict the chances that they "will be satisfied with [their] college"; 58.7% of the norm replied that there was a very good chance of satisfaction (Sax, 2000, p. 28). Figure 5-3 compares the first choice selection for Section 14 to the satisfaction responses for Section 38.

Figure 5-3. Comparison of Institutional Rank and Predicted Satisfaction.



It is intriguing that fewer students predict satisfaction with the undergraduate experience than attend their first choice school. Whether students attend their first-choice schools or not, one would think that they would not attend any school if they did not expect a very good chance of satisfaction. In reality, at best, 64.9% of students (in high-selectivity institutions) predict satisfaction as highly likely. Looking at the norms, there is an 8.8% gap between students who attend their first choice school and students who expect satisfaction, with a noticeable decrease in predicted satisfaction for lower-selectivity schools. At low selectivity private universities, less than half of freshmen think there is a very good chance that they will be satisfied with their education.

What does this mean? Apparently, even students' premier choice of institutions does not lead to projected satisfaction. Some educators argue that college is a mysterious, life-changing experience and students should not necessarily expect any quantifiable "satisfaction" from it (Vaz, personal communication). The line between college as an experience and a commodity is unclear. By avoiding the utilitarian aim of student satisfaction, educators skirt the question of institutional intentionality and accountability. While the concept of "satisfaction" is ambiguous, it points to fulfillment of student expectations. The Greater Expectations National Panel on higher education published a statement in 2001 emphasizing new needs for rigorous accountability and outcomes assessment in American universities, proclaiming that "we need a new intentionality about what it will take to help all students achieve a powerful, empowering education" (Ramaley, 2001, p. i-ii). As discussed in the previous section, today's freshmen expect to gain quantifiable, applicable skills from their undergraduate education. Since they make

significant investments of time, money, and commitment, it is important that students be able to make these investments wisely.

I think the discrepancy between choice and expectation of satisfaction, as well as the selectivity differences, reflects both student ignorance of the college experience as entering freshmen and societal and personal concepts of satisfaction. Presumably, freshmen make intentional, informed choices about the institutions they attend. And yet, after differentiating between institutions and selecting one as the best, students still do not have confidence that they will be satisfied by their undergraduate experience. If I bought a car and had only a 58.7% prediction of satisfaction with the purchase, most people would say I had chosen poorly or was insufficiently informed in my choosing. Many freshmen, confused by the apparent swamp of information during the college search, are poorly informed consumers. They may know all about the curriculum, living conditions, and extracurricular offerings of a school without ever considering how all these facts will affect their own satisfaction and quality of life. College guidebooks, counselors, and prospective students often get caught up in the parameters of institutions; how many full professors, what SAT scores, varsity teams in X, Y and Z. While many student guides to colleges are becoming more inclusive of student voices, they may still miss the major questions: Who are you? What will make you happy?

Student ignorance about institutional offering may also be compounded by societal expectations and pressures to attend particular universities. There is a huge market for publications that rate and rank institutions; these rankings allow prospective students and parents to quantify, often in a highly uninformed way, the "goodness" of various institutions. Most consumers of these rankings do not know or understand the criteria and algorithms used to compute the value of a particular institution. Armed with percentile points and tiers, students and their associates may cast aside interest in the more complicated, non-quantifiable aspects of college education, those which may truly predict personal satisfaction. The U.S. News and World Report ranking, often considered the benchmark of such data analysis, has come under fire recently for not reflecting accurately the worth of institutions by focusing too strongly on SAT scores and institutional prestige, as opposed to student engagement and learning.

To make well-informed decisions, prospective students must be able to remove themselves from institutional advertising rhetoric and prestige-oriented rankings, and really think about their own needs and interests. One student, William Desmond, who turned down Harvard University to attend Loyola of Baltimore, found his decision very difficult, but ultimately rewarding. In a column in Baltimore's *The Evening Sun*, Desmond wrote, "I was puzzled why my peers were so thunderstruck by the name of a school they knew little about. Many were clearly convinced that attending one of these elite universities would automatically guarantee a good life afterward ... Resisting such pressures was difficult. I almost came to believe that in a smaller school I would be sticking myself on a secondary road, passing up the more ambitious fast lane. I felt like a fool even to question the worth of places like Harvard" (Simpson, 1993, p. 11).

Desmond's commentary sheds light on the differences in projected satisfaction among high, mid, and low selectivity universities. As he suggests, "one's worth increases in proportion to the college one chooses; one's future is predicted accordingly" (Simpson, 1993, p. 11). For this reason, students who choose to attend low selectivity schools, whether the selectivity of those schools (and selectivity derives from SAT scores alone) reflect student ability or not, may feel less comfortable with their decision than high-selectivity freshmen. Students who choose high-selectivity schools enjoy the support of ranking systems, peers, parents, and society in general more fully than students who attend less prestigious institutions. This prejudice towards high-selectivity and high prestige schools may also affect freshman expectations of satisfaction. If a freshman suffers constant stress because of a non-traditional or poorly-regarded college choice, that stress may decrease his/her confidence in the chosen institution. "Satisfaction" is difficult to define and measure. Is satisfaction internal or external? What makes a satisfying undergraduate experience? Is it happiness, career-readiness, prestige, or something else entirely? Satisfaction means something different to each student, reflecting each person's own objectives in college.

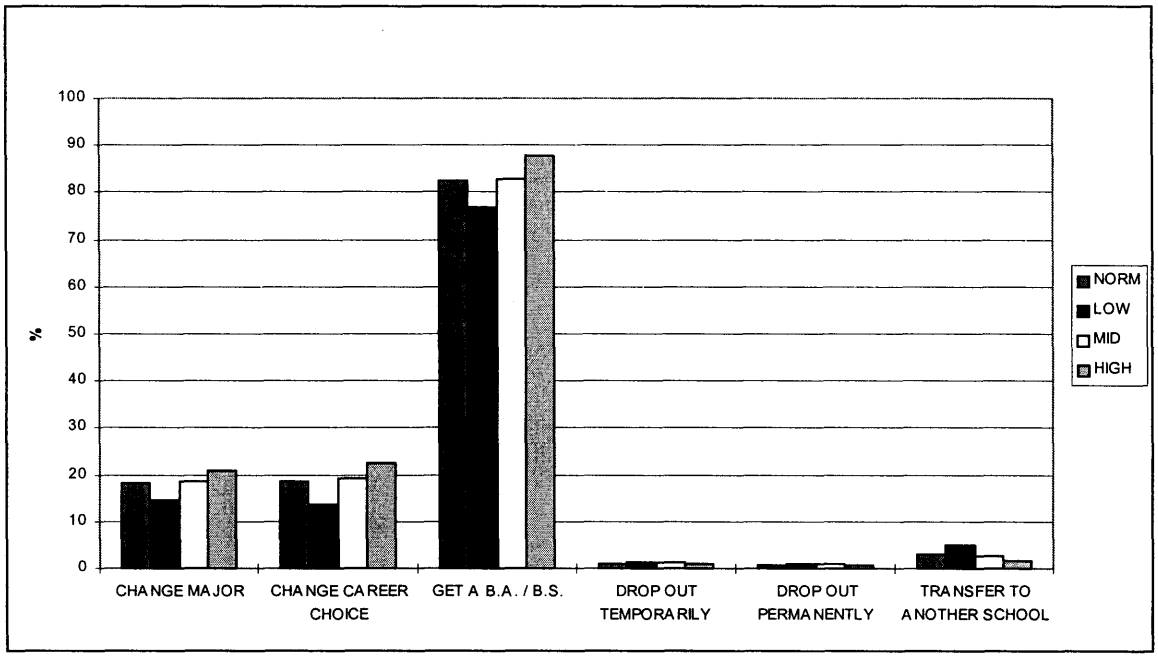
Ultimately, student response to the question, "Do you expect to be satisfied by your college experience?" reveals more about student intentionality, confidence, and self-awareness than future college experiences. Ideally, a self-aware freshman enters college with some set of goals or objectives he/she hopes to accomplish. In their book on undergraduate education, Robert Simpson and Susan Frost encourage students to develop meaningful mission statements for their long-term college career and short-term individual courses, activities, and programs (Simpson, 1993, p. 218). While they discuss student goals as defined during the college experience, it is also important to have goals for college prior to the college experience. Many college advisors advise students to spend their first years of college exploring, searching for meaningful goals and interests. This is very good advice -- if college really is the right place for students to be exploring and developing goals. For some people, there is no satisfying version of the college experience. Freshmen should seriously consider not only where they want to go to college but how a given institution will help them develop in a way that is both enriching and satisfying. If college is a clouded question mark in the eyes of new freshmen, the path to meaningful learning and action will be uncertain.

6.1.3 What Will You Do? Prospective Student Action

Despite the low percentage of freshmen who expect to be satisfied by their college experience, most freshmen believe that they will stay in college, and at the institution they have chosen, for their entire undergraduate experience. The previous section deals with student expectation of satisfaction, but section 38 of the Freshman Survey asks students

to predict other potential actions as well. Section 38 asks whether there is a very good chance, some chance, very little chance, or no chance that students will do certain things during their undergraduate years. In particular, I examined student predictions that they might earn a bachelor's degree, transfer schools, drop out temporarily or permanently, change major field of study or change career choice (Sax, 2000, p. 28). These predictions are important because all of these actions reflect a prospective institution-student relationship. Do students expect to "grow through" many institutions or to stay rooted in one? Do students expect to travel through a university on a single track or to change paths? Figure 5-4 displays first-year student predictions for major actions during the undergraduate years, as reported in section 38 of the Freshman Survey (Sax, 2000, p. 88).

Figure 5-4. Students Predict: There is a Very Good Chance that I Will...



Clearly, most students expect to follow a traditional undergraduate path by staying at one college and earning a bachelor's degree. Less than one percent of students predict that they will drop out of school either permanently or temporarily, and only 2.9% say there is a very good chance that they will transfer schools. These numbers seem particularly conservative when you consider that students are not predicting what they WILL do but what there is a very good chance they MIGHT do. To many students, dropping out represents failure both academically and socially. If a student drops out of school, that implies that he/she is not up to the demands of the university, whether those demands be academic, financial, social, or personal. Rarely do students think of dropping out as a potential move up or out of a bad educational experience. College is not for everyone; it

takes some students longer than others to decide what educational institutions and experiences are appropriate for them. There should not be shame in the potential possibility that a student will determine that dropping out is a good idea. However, there is enormous stigma attached to dropping out, and many students, particularly first-year students, may resist considering even the possibility that they might drop out.

Similarly, the low number of students who predict they might transfer to another school reflects a conservative, change-resisting mentality. Transferring is a much less radical, more socially acceptable move than dropping out of school. Just as students may choose poorly when they choose to attend college, so might they choose the wrong institution for their needs. As shown in Figure 5-4, prediction of transferring is selectivity correlated; students at low selectivity schools predict they might transfer more often than their high selectivity counterparts. This corroborates the selectivity correlation shown in the prediction of satisfaction discussed in the previous section. Students at low selectivity schools predict personal satisfaction less often than students at high selectivity schools, and are then perhaps more predisposed to want to transfer to a school that might give them greater satisfaction. Still, even for students at low selectivity schools, only 4.9% say there is a very good chance they might transfer to another school (Sax, 2000, p. 88).

Strangely, only 82.5% of students report a very good chance that they will earn a bachelor's degree (Sax, 2000, p. 28). Who are the 17.5% of students who don't think there is a very good chance they will earn a degree? Clearly, they are not all represented in the "drop out" category. Perhaps the divergence between students who predict dropping out and those who predict they might not get a degree has to do with student psychology while taking the survey. As discussed above, dropping out is a socially aberrant, "bad" choice, and students are reluctant to entertain its possibility. On the other hand, getting a bachelor's degree is a positive action, and implies rather than directly requires staying in school and being successful. It is relatively benign to say there is not a "very good chance" of getting a degree; it is dangerous to say there might be a very good chance of dropping out. Students are clearly confused about the explicit implications of getting a degree, and may be responding to the survey under the influence of this confusion.

Internally to their institution, student predictions are somewhat less conservative. Students are more flexible about the possibility of changing their academic and occupational interests than changing their institutional commitments; 18.2% predict there is a very good chance they will change major, and 18.5% predict they might change career choice (Sax, 2000, p. 28). Students expect to grow during college, and are somewhat comfortable with the possibility that this growth might impact long-term personal choices. These predictions of change are selectivity correlated; low selectivity students are more conservative than high selectivity students. Among low selectivity students, 14.7% predicted major change, and 13.6% predicted career choice change (Sax, 2000, p. 88). This conservatism supports low selectivity students' conservative, vocational vision of the university, as discussed in section 5.1.1 of this report. First year students at low selectivity schools generally have more focused goals for their education than others, which may lead them to predict change with less frequency than others.

The responses to Freshman Survey Section 38 reveal some disturbing aspects of prospective student-institution relationships. Why are students more flexible about their personal goals than their commitment to particular educational institutions? If students imagine they might change their career interests for the future, why mightn't they also change institutions to better meet new goals? First year students may give their institutions more credit and faith than is due. Only by looking at the reflections of older students can we understand how student-institution relationships evolve during the undergraduate experience.

6.2 Student Reflection on Higher Education

I used the HERI College Student Survey (CSS), secondary sources and personal interviews to analyze reflections of third and fourth year students at private universities nationwide. Unlike the Freshman Survey, the 2000 CSS includes student responses from only 14 private universities, and the data is not weighted to compensate for non-participating institutions. Additionally, most students who responded to the 2000 CSS were seniors who had successfully completed four years of college. Therefore, CSS data is not representative of private universities in general nor entire student bodies in particular. For this reason, I combined CSS analysis with reports from other sources, including various books recording student reflection and personal interviews with students at private universities. Many of these secondary sources represent those students not represented by the CSS – drop-outs, transfers, and students who take time off from school. Wherever possible, I compared student reflections to the freshman expectations and predictions discussed above.

I separated student reflection analysis into two sections. The first, "What Did You Do?" concerns student reflections on choices made during the undergraduate years. Clearly, students make thousands of choices during college; I focused on decisions that affected the student-institution relationship. Specifically, I looked at student reflection on transferring, taking time off, and dropping out of college. The second section, "How Did You Change?" analyzes student change in personal life objectives during their undergraduate career. Once again, there are many changes that could be tracked; I am concerned with holistic life priorities. I compared first-year student life objectives from the 2000 Freshman Survey to senior life objectives from the 2000 CSS and analyzed the implications of changes over time, supplementing HERI data with personal interview information.

6.2.1 How Did You Change? Personal Objectives and Growth

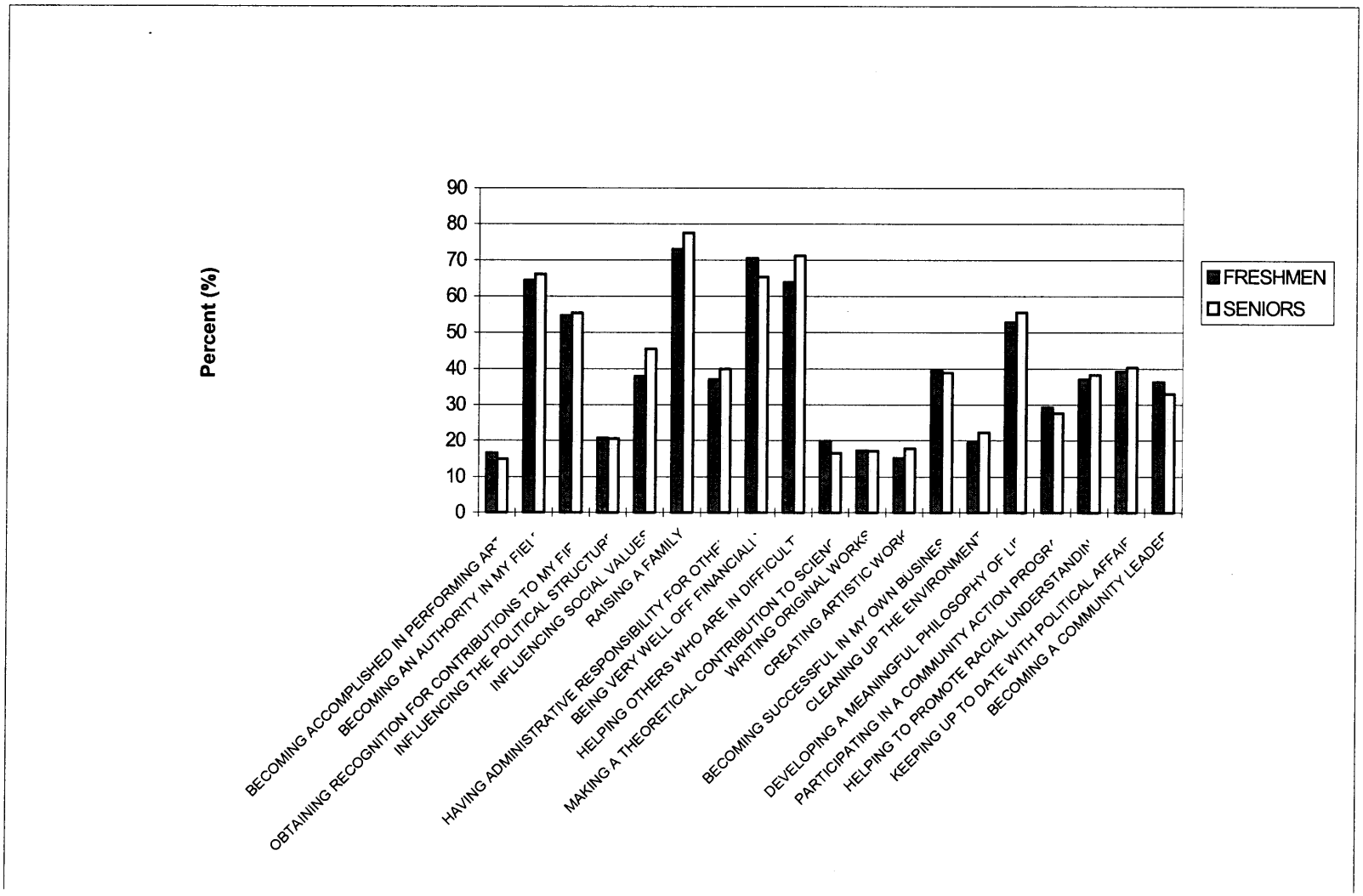
Entire books are dedicated to student change during college; however, there is a significant difference between student change inside and outside of the university. Both the freshman and senior HERI surveys have sections related to student cognitive, academic, and social growth during college; data from these sections provides much information about how college impacts students, and how student perceive themselves in the university and the world. Despite the important results gleaned from this data, it is unclear how student self-assessments affect life choices and personal values. If a student believes him/herself to be a better writer, more self-confident, or more socially aware after four years in college, does that change the student's goals for the future? While change within the university walls is important to student growth, I wanted to look at changes in students' long term goals, which represent personal values rather than achievements. For this reason, I chose to analyze changes in life objectives to understand the personal growth of students during college. There is an important distinction here; I am concerned with the growth of the person, not that of the student.

Section 37 of the year 2000 Freshman Survey and section 19 of the 2000 CSS ask students to indicate whether several actions and objectives are "not important / somewhat important / very important / essential" to them personally (Sax, 2000, p. 130). These objectives are:

- Becoming accomplished in one of the performing arts (acting, dancing, etc.)
- Becoming an authority in my field
- Obtaining recognition from my colleagues for contributions to my special field
- Influencing the political structure
- Influencing social values
- Raising a family
- Having administrative responsibility for the work of others
- Being very well off financially
- Helping others who are in difficulty
- Making a theoretical contribution to science
- Writing original works (poems, novels, short stories, etc.)
- Creating artistic work (painting, sculpture, decorating, etc.)
- Becoming successful in a business of my own
- Becoming involved in programs to clean up the environment
- Developing a meaningful philosophy of life
- Participating in a community action program
- Helping to promote racial understanding
- Keeping up to date with political affairs
- Becoming a community leader
- Integrating spirituality into my life (Sax, 2000, p. 130).

HERI publishes the data for students who respond that any given objective was "very important or essential" to them personally. The final objective, "integrating spirituality into my life" was included in the Freshman Survey only, and I have omitted it from analysis. Figure 5-5 displays the freshman and senior "very important or essential" student responses to this question. For purposes of the display, I have truncated the wording of some of these reasons. These reasons and their implications will be discussed shortly.

Figure 5-5. Objectives that I Consider "Very Important or Essential".



The most striking result of the comparison of freshman and senior objectives is the lack of distinct change over time. Despite all of the documented impact college has on students, it appears that personal objectives are not heavily affected during the college experience. Comparing the freshman norm responses to the senior responses, there are only two objectives, "Helping others who are in difficulty," and "Influencing social values," for which there is more than a 5% difference between freshman and senior valuing (Korn, 2002). For all other objectives, there is less than 5% difference in freshman and senior ratings of importance, when using the freshman norm data (Korn, 2002). While some parents may be relieved that their children's values are not changing wildly during college, these results may be disappointing to educators who believe that college significantly changes students' lives. It is remarkable that students change their personal goals and values so little during their undergraduate years.

For analysis, I separated these objectives into 4 general categories: creative accomplishment, social contributions and influence, vocational accomplishment and recognition, and personal values. Before considering the implications of the relative similarity between freshmen and senior responses, let us consider each objective and its growth in detail.

6.2.1.1 Creative Accomplishment

In their report on "Learning Goals for a 21st Century Liberal Education," the Greater Expectations National Panel (GEx) suggests that college graduates "will need to engage with important areas of investigation, including the human imagination, expression..." (Greater Expectations Update, 2001, p. v). While some traditional educators may believe that imagination and creative expression divert and confuse the pure search for knowledge, currently, many educators espouse the creative process as significant and important to higher education (Greater Expectations Update, 2001, p. iv). For this reason, it is important to understand how college affects student interest in creative endeavors. The first set of objectives considered, which pertain to creative accomplishment, includes:

- Becoming accomplished in one of the performing arts (acting, dancing, etc.)
- Making a theoretical contribution to science
- Writing original works (poems, novels, short stories, etc.)
- Creating artistic work (painting, sculpture, decorating, etc.)

Both sample groups rated these objectives lowest in terms of importance, with less than 20% rating any of them as "very important or essential" (Sax, 2000, p. 86, and Korn, 2002). However, these objectives are the most specific on the list; each relates to a single field rather than covering a broad range of activities. All of these objectives relate to personal creative initiative; however, the specificity of these objectives makes it difficult to really understand whether the students who value these creative works value them in a

vocational, field-specific way or more generally. I am surprised that HERI separates the performing, visual, and written arts into three objectives; the same principle underlies all three. If there were only one objective to cover all three, it would be more clear how many students value creative expression as very important to their lives, because responses would not be fragmented by the particular kind of expression.

While some may argue that science is not a form of creative expression, I believe that the desire to make theoretical contributions to science stems from the same root as creative artistic expression. Discussion with engineering and mathematics professors has taught me that while applied science is often functional, literal, and method-oriented, many theoretical scientists defend their work as creative and artistic, subject to aesthetic, abstract values like beauty. Both scientists and artists seek to make sense of the world using their tools. The concept of "theoretical" rather than applied contributions to science mirror the personal initiative that fuels (most) original, artistic expression. For this reason, I consider all four of these objectives to relate directly to personal values of creative expression, self-initiative, and the search for meaning through manipulation of the physical and spiritual.

Of these four objectives, student interest in "writing original works (poems, novels, short stories, etc.)" changed least over the undergraduate experience. Among freshman, 17.3% indicated that this objective was "very important or essential," compared to 17.2% of the seniors surveyed (Sax, 2000, p. 86, and Korn, 2002). The similarity between freshman and senior interest in writing original works suggests that this activity is neither particularly encouraged or discouraged by the university. Students do not lose first-year dreams of authorship during college; on the other hand, it appears that few students turn to creative writing during college. This is probably not an issue of access, considering that almost every private university has both literature and writing requirements for students. Nor is it a question of self-confidence; in the 2000 CSS, 58.4% of seniors rated themselves against peers as "above average or in the top ten percent" in their writing abilities, and 31.3% reported that their writing skills were "much stronger" than they had been as freshmen (Korn, 2002). Clearly, cultivation of writing skills is not enough to turn students into would-be authors. Perhaps, English and writing courses motivate students in their skills but not in creative expression. The lack of change in this objective over time suggests that student interest and initiative in authoring original works is not influenced in any significant way by the undergraduate experience.

Student interest in "creating artistic work (painting, sculpture, decorating, etc.)" increased slightly from freshman to senior year; among freshmen, 15.2% indicated that this objective was "very important or essential," compared to 17.9% of the seniors surveyed (Sax, 2000, p. 86, and Korn, 2002). This increase is small, which suggests that, like writing original works, student interest in the visual arts is not strongly influenced by the undergraduate experience. The slight increase in interest may be due in some part to access to art materials in the university. Only a small percentage of students – 3.2% of those who responded to the 2000 CSS -- major in the fine arts; however, many undergraduates may take a visual arts course to expand their horizons (Korn, 2002). Some may find enjoyment in the arts they had not found before. However, this newfound

interest may also come from outside the university walls. In recent years, protest culture has embraced artistic expression of political statements, and many activist students may find themselves constructing puppets, painting, and discovering the visual arts from this non-traditional experience. In any case, the increase in students selecting "creating artistic work" is only 2.7%, which suggests that the undergraduate experience has little impact on student valuing of creative artistic expression.

Of the three art-oriented objectives, only interest in the performing arts suffered over the undergraduate experience. Among freshmen, 16.6% indicated that "becoming accomplished in one of the performing arts (acting, dancing, etc.)" was "very important or essential," compared to 14.9% of the seniors surveyed (Sax, 2000, p. 86, and Korn, 2002). Once again, this decrease is minor, indicating that the university may have little influence on student interest in the performing arts. One potential cause for this decrease may be the lack of academic performing arts departments at many universities. While many universities have heavily developed student performance groups, few offer academic degrees in performance. In this way, performance does not enjoy the same privileges as creative writing or the fine arts, and students may not have enough time to seriously devote themselves to performance. In some cases, the desire to perform may influence student decision to take time off from college or withdraw permanently. Since few universities treat performing arts as a valid academic pursuit, students with strong performance interest may be dissuaded or distracted by the requirements and expectations of the university.

The objective, "making a theoretical contribution to science" yielded the most variation among these four objectives. Among freshmen, 19.9% indicated that this objective was "very important or essential," compared to 16.6% of the seniors surveyed (Sax, 2000, p. 86, and Korn, 2002). This decrease may be related to student interest in applied sciences and engineering as opposed to the creative aspects of theoretical science. Few professors are skilled enough to teach science not only as a method, but also as an art. Perhaps student change with regard to interest in theoretical science is related to the attitudes of faculty and science departments at particular institutions. However, once again, the difference between freshman and senior objectives is minimal, suggesting low university impact.

Apparently, the university experience has little influence on student interest in the creative expression. In one way, this is comforting; it indicates that the multiversity and its extra-curricular do not exclude the artist. On the other hand, the fact that students do not gravitate towards creative expression during college is somewhat troubling. The desire to create is often a non-judgmental form of exploration, discovery, and therapy. While appreciating art is a cultured act, creating art is a liberating, learning act (Chipp, 1968). Politically and socially, creating art can bring non-artists together to change and enrich the world, as evidenced by the flourishing of protest art, poetry slams, and other public arts. Similarly, interest in theoretical science fosters self-awareness and discovery among students of science, who may otherwise be mired in the details. All of these objectives indicate a desire to dig deeper, to understand what artist Paul Klee called "the functioning of forms" (Klee, 1925). The university's apparent noninvolvement in this

quest for creative depth implies that such searching may not be valued or covered in higher education.

6.2.1.2 Social Contributions and Influence

Another major goal of many higher education institutions is to foster active participation, responsibility, and interest among students in the world around them (Greater Expectations Update, 2001, p. v). The second set of objectives relate to social contributions and influence. The eight objectives in this set are:

- Influencing the political structure
- Influencing social values
- Helping others who are in difficulty
- Becoming involved in programs to clean up the environment
- Participating in a community action program
- Helping to promote racial understanding
- Keeping up to date with political affairs
- Becoming a community leader

Students either maintained or increased their interest in each of these objectives during their undergraduate experience. Of these objectives, "influencing the political structure" and "becoming involved in programs to help clean up the environment" were least important to students, with about 20% of freshmen and seniors supporting each (Sax, 2000, p. 86). By far the most important of these objectives to students was "helping others who are in difficulty," with 63% of freshmen and 71% of seniors supporting its importance (Sax, 2000, p. 86).

The difference between student desire to "influenc[e] the political structure" and "influenc[e] social values" is interesting in its implications. While 20.8% of freshmen wanted to influence the political structure, 37.9% of freshmen wanted to influence social values (Sax, 2000, p. 86). As seniors, the desire to influence the political structure maintained at 20.6%, while interest in influencing social values increased to 45.5% (Korn, 2002). Why is there such a gap between interest in these two objectives? On the surface, they are similar; presumably, social values guide the political structure, which in turn directs social action. However, I think the difference in the wording of these objectives yields these disparate results. The political "structure" invokes images of a large, unwieldy institution, and students may believe the only way to influence the political structure is through work in government or law. In contrast, social "values" are less defined and more accessible than a "structure," and many actions may influence social values, the simplest being to live by one's own values by example.

I find it perplexing that students do not increase their interest in "influencing the political structure" over their undergraduate careers. About the same number of students, 9%, predicted participating in student government as did so (Sax, 2000, p. 88, Korn, 2002).

Interest in student government is low on many campuses, with only 17% of seniors reporting ever voting in a student election during college (Korn, 2002). To many students, student government may be just another example of the dispassionate, uninteresting "political structure". Only 51.2% of seniors reported voting in national or state elections in the past year; as has been recognized nationally, students rarely turn out significantly for elections (Korn, 2002). However, according to the 2000 CSS, 14.7% of students reported participating in organized demonstrations, compared to 6.6% of freshmen who predicted doing so (Sax, 2000, p.88, Korn, 2002). This increase suggests that students may be exploring other methods of political expression, which may seem more compatible with their own values and needs. Given this increase, I am surprised that more seniors do not report wanting to "influenc[e] the political structure;" I would hope that nontraditional political experiences would expand students' perception of what the political structure is and how it might be influenced.

Despite low interest in "influencing the political structure" and low student voter turnout, both on and off-campus, there is some increase from freshman to senior year in student desire to "keep up to date with political affairs". Among freshmen, 39.2% indicated that this objective is very important or essential, compared to 40.3% of seniors surveyed (Sax, 2000, p. 86, Korn, 2002). This increase is extremely slight and probably not statistically significant.

While student interest in political affairs may not have impacted interest in influencing the political structure, it may impact the increases in student interest to "clean up the environment," "participat[e] in a community action program," "help to promote racial understanding," or to "becom[e] a community leader". As noted above, cleaning up the environment was lowest on students' list of important objectives, although students exhibited 5% increase in interest from freshman year to senior year, with senior interest at 22.3% (Korn, 2002). The comparative low interest in the environment compared to these other objectives may have to do with the specificity of this objective; with the exception of racial understanding, no other objective in this group addresses a particular community issue directly. Others in this group may suffer from vagueness. Interest in "community action program[s]" maintained at 27% over the undergraduate years, which may in part be due to the possibility that few freshmen or seniors know what a "community action program" is!

Interest in the objective "helping to promote racial understanding" increased slightly among students. Among freshmen, 37% indicated that this objective is very important or essential, compared to 38.3% of seniors surveyed (Sax, 2000, p. 86, Korn, 2002). Additionally, 16.8% of freshmen agreed that "racial discrimination is no longer a major problem in America," compared to 13.4% of seniors responding to the CSS (Sax, 2000, p. 29, Korn, 2002). This decrease indicates that while students' personal objectives may not have changed, their awareness of racial issues in America increased somewhat as students. This increase in interest in racial understanding hopefully derives from positive experiences of diversity rather than exposure to exclusionary or discriminatory acts on university campuses.

The most popular objective in this set was "helping others who are in difficulty"; among freshmen, 63.9% indicated that this objective was very important or essential, compared to 71.2% of seniors surveyed (Sax, 2000, p. 86, Korn, 2002). In many ways, this is a "feel good" objective that conjures up images of hurt puppies; after all, who doesn't want to help others who are in difficulty? This objective reflects basic Judeo-Christian tenets of morality with which most American students identify. It is also the simplest social contribution represented by these objectives; a person need not "influence" social structures or commit to a single cause (racism, the environment) to help those in difficulty. The increase from freshman to senior interest in this objective may relate to the 8% increase in social and intellectual self-confidence from freshman to senior year as documented in the 2000 CSS (Sax, 2000, p. 74, Korn, 2002). Students may leave college with a heightened sense of duty to the community; their confidence may make them feel like advantaged people with a desire to give back to others. Comparing Freshman Survey data to CSS data, about 20% fewer seniors reported doing volunteer work in the past year than freshmen; however, at many high schools volunteer work is a requirement, while college students may be volunteering of their own volition (Sax, 2000, p. 76, Korn, 2002).

"Becoming a community leader," interestingly, is the only objective in this set that showed slight decrease in value; 36.3% of freshmen reported that this objective was important, compared to 33.0% of seniors surveyed (Sax, 2000, p. 86, Korn, 2002). Given student interest in "influencing social values," low response to this objective is curious. Students may feel that they have little concept of themselves as members of a community; in the 2000 CSS, 21.2% of students reported stronger abilities in "understanding of social problems facing our nation," while only 17.7% reported stronger "understanding of the problems facing our community" (Korn, 2002). While many universities work hard to establish and encourage a campus community, students may identify that community as an institutional construction, divorced from the forms and functions of a non-institutional community. The "ivory tower" mentality may encourage some students to forget their neighboring communities. Many of the students I interviewed commented about poor town-gown relationships and their frustration at personal isolation from surrounding communities (Strote, personal communication).

6.2.1.3 Vocational Accomplishment and Recognition

As discussed in the literature review and Freshman Survey analysis, many of today's university students have high interest and concern for their academic, vocational, and financial futures. The third set of objectives considered, which pertain to vocational accomplishment and recognition, include:

- Becoming an authority in my field
- Obtaining recognition from my colleagues for contributions to my special field
- Having administrative responsibility for the work of others

- Being very well off financially
- Becoming successful in a business of my own

The first two objectives deal with contributions and influence in a special field; student interest in both of these objectives was high, but changed little from freshman to senior year. Interest in "becoming an authority in my field" increased slightly over time; among freshmen, 64.4% indicated that this objective was very important, compared to 66.1% of seniors (Sax, 2000, p. 86, Korn, 2002). Fewer students indicated that "obtaining recognition from my colleagues for contributions to my special field" was very important; 54.6% of freshmen supported this objective, compared to 55.4% of seniors (Sax, 2000, p. 86, Korn, 2002). High student interest in both of these objectives reflects both the field-specific dreams of freshmen and the focused education reported by seniors. In the 2000 CSS, 65.3% seniors reported significant increase during college in their abilities in "knowledge of a particular field or discipline"; this increase was the greatest reported for any kind of growth or learning during college (Korn, 2002).

Apparently, students put more value on being an "authority" in a field, which implies external prestige, than on recognition from colleagues, which implies internal prestige. The ten-point percentage difference between these objectives may have to do with the difference in specificity between the two. The first encompasses the second; a person could be an authority in their field and obtain contribution from colleague for contributions. On the other hand, the second objective seems to limit the reach of personal influence through work. The difference in response to these objectives suggests that students have bigger dreams than dynamic contributions to their own departments; many students dream to impact the world beyond their office space.

Student interest in "having administrative responsibility for others" and "being successful in a business of my own" both centered around 40% and changed somewhat from freshman to senior year. Both of these objectives concern personal responsibility and control in a career situation. Among freshmen, interest in administrative responsibility increased from 37.1% to 40% among seniors (Sax, 2000, p. 86, Korn, 2002). Interest in a personal business dropped from 39.4% to 38.9% among seniors (Sax, 2000, p. 86, Korn, 2002). The combination of these two implies that students grow more interested in job security in a larger corporate structure than in building their own businesses. Perhaps during college, students become more concerned with security and less with vocational freedom; alternatively, the difference in interest here may reflect the institutional alignment of students with their universities. Interest in these objectives stays relatively consistent over the years, which suggests that student interest in vocational autonomy is not heavily impacted by the university experience.

The most highly valued of these objectives was "being very well-off financially". Among freshmen, 70.5% indicated that this objective was very important, compared to 65.4% of seniors (Sax, 2000, p. 86, Korn, 2002). This objective enjoyed significant change over time, with a five percent drop from freshman to senior valuing. This drop may appease the educators who were worried when 64.7% of freshmen stated they wanted to go to

college "to be able to make more money" (Sax, 2000, p. 27). The shift from freshman to senior year in interest in this objective suggests that students leave college less materialistic than they arrive, though wealth is still a high priority in their lives.

6.2.1.4 Personal Values

The last pair of objectives pertains to personal life goals and values. These objectives are "raising a family" and "developing a meaningful philosophy of life". Both of these objectives enjoyed increase in student support from freshman to senior year, with "raising a family" emerging as the most valued objective of the entire list.

Among freshmen, 73% (norm) indicated "raising a family was very important or essential, compared to 77.6% of seniors (Sax, 2000, p. 86, Korn, 2002). In the context of American social expectations and mores, it is not surprising that many students want families; however, I find the increase during college in this desire to be fascinating. How does the college experience encourage students to raise families? Students who are already raising families often find college life too straining and drop out of college with higher frequency than their fellow students; it is unlikely that student interest in families increases by exposure to peers with families (Horn, 1998, p. 46). Perhaps by the end of college, students begin to think of themselves as adults and have more serious interest in adult situations. They may feel less like the children of their parents and more like the adults of the future. Understanding why students have such high interest in raising families is a fascinating endeavor, but one which is outside of the scope of the project. I recommend further research into this question.

6.2.2 What Did You Do? Evolution of Institutional Relationships

This section examines the ways that student-university relationships change over the undergraduate experience. It is difficult to conceptually understand the "relationship" between a person and an institution, especially one with such varied and diverse functions as the university. What is a good relationship? What constitutes change? If we think of the university in the corporate model as an institution that renders educational services, we could define student-university relationships in terms of student expectations and satisfaction, as well as the extent to which students are informed or uninformed consumers of higher education. However, given the diverse role of the university in student life, student-university relationships are often more personal than economic relationships. If we think of the university as a person, student-university relationships

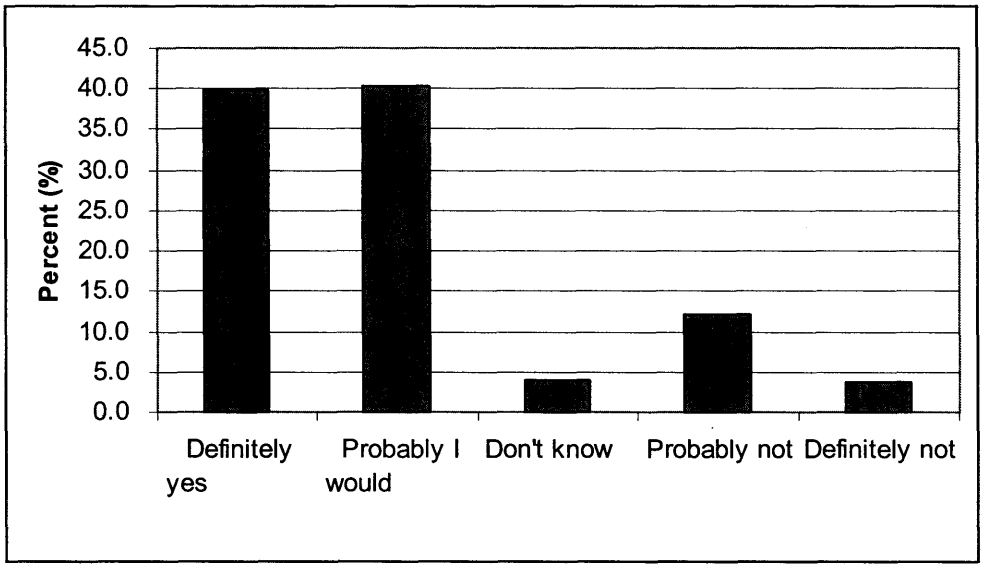
may be considered in terms of mutual respect, engagement, and satisfaction of both the student and university. On a basic level, survey data on student choice to stay in or leave institutions and student reports on satisfaction reveal student satisfaction with the college experience. However, because many students do think of their university on a personal level, student interviews and statements give insight into the complexity and depth of student-university relationships.

In section 5.1.2 and 5.1.3, I analyzed freshman predictions of satisfaction and major actions during college years. Most freshmen have conservative visions of their college experience; most expect to maintain a single major field of study at a single institution for four years, without leaving or transferring universities. Looking at the reflections of older students in the 2000 CSS and other sources, it is clear that students change their educational objectives and institutions with much higher frequency than they initially predicted.

6.2.2.1 Student Satisfaction

In the 2000 Freshman Survey, 58.7% of first-year, first-time university students predicted "a very good chance" that they would "be satisfied with [their] college" (Sax, 2000, p. 28). Given the amount of preparation, investment, and choice that goes into the college admissions process, and compared to other more optimistic freshman predictions, this value seems low. However, when compared to senior reflection in the 2000 CSS, this prediction of satisfaction may be overly optimistic. While the majority of seniors surveyed in the 2000 CSS expressed satisfaction with their academic experience, less than half expressed satisfaction with student services, counseling, and "sense of community on campus" (Korn, 2002). To understand student satisfaction in a more general way, I considered senior response to Section 8 of the 2000 CSS. Section 8 asks students, "If you could make your college choice over, would you still choose to enroll at your current (or most recent) college?" (Korn, 2002). While this question does not ask directly whether students have been satisfied with their college experience, it asks them to make a general, qualitative judgment of their experience. Positive response to the question posed implies some level of satisfaction with the undergraduate experience. The implications of these responses will be discussed further in this section. Figure 5-5 displays senior responses to this question (Korn, 2002).

Figure 5-5. Would you choose to reenroll at your current institution?



The 39.8% of students who answered that they "definitely" would choose to reenroll in their current institution presumably are very satisfied with their college; college was worthwhile enough and satisfied enough of their needs and expectations that they would do it all over again. It is striking that while most of these students have devoted four years to college, only 39.8% would choose to have the same experience again. The actual figure may be less than 39.8%; since only students who successfully reach their senior year take the CSS, others who have dropped out are not represented in this data. Furthermore, the CSS often has a skewed return rate, with successful students returning the survey with greater frequency than less successful students (Korn, personal communication). While it is possible that academic success does not predict student satisfaction, receiving good grades is positive reinforcement for successful students, which may cause them to have a more benevolent outlook on the college experience.

While Section 8 provides an idea of distribution of student satisfaction with the college experience, the context for this satisfaction is missing. WHY would students choose to reenroll (or not to do so) in their current institution? Educators may look at this chart and presume that students who answer "definitely yes" do so because they have learned a lot and developed personally during college. However, some students see college as an escape, an opportunity to enjoy freedom in a protected setting. Some may respond "definitely yes" because they will never have another chance to live without the burden of personal responsibility. On the other hand, students who get a lot out of college, who grow personally as well as academically, may be less likely than their peers to answer "definitely yes". Some students may learn enough from their college experience to understand that there are better choices they might have made as high school seniors. A successful student-university relationship should allow the student to discover and

explore his or her own interests as well as the interests of the university. Some students may realize after the fact that their institutions did not best serve their interests.

6.2.2.2 Transferring, Taking Time Off, and Dropping Out

Looking at the CSS results discussed above, it is clear that the majority of graduating seniors have ambiguous feelings about their college experience. While CSS results include the responses of some students who transferred or took time off from college, CSS results are primarily for students who followed a traditional four year path through college; 59.8% of CSS respondents spent four years in a single institution, and 65.7% spent four years in two or more institutions (Korn, 2002). Some students who feel the ambiguity displayed in figure 5-5 took action before senior year to change their situation, by transferring, taking time off, or dropping out of school. Feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction may lead students to question, affirm, or change their relationships with their universities. Taking action by leaving indicates major relationship change.

6.2.2.2.1 Transferring

Of the freshman respondents to the 2000 Freshman Survey, only 2.9% predicted there was a very good chance they might transfer to another school (Sax, 2000, p. 28). It is not surprising, given students' ambiguous predictions and reflections on satisfaction, that these predictions fall far short of reality. In 2000, 17.4% of CSS respondents reported transferring at least once between institutions (Korn, 2002). Considering that CSS respondents are in general high achievers who may be more satisfied on average than their peers with college, the actual number of university students who transfer may be even greater than 17.4%.

Transferring implies incompatibility between a student and a particular institution; it does not necessarily imply incompatibility or dissatisfaction with the college experience in general. Consider the experience of Noah Strote, a senior graduating in 2002 from Columbia University (Strote, personal communication). Noah entered Columbia as a freshman, then transferred to Yale University as a sophomore, then returned to Columbia as a junior. He chose Columbia for its core curriculum, which provided breadth; he was unsure of his interests and wanted a chance to sample many disciplines. At the same time, he felt that "socially, [Columbia] felt like graduate school"; he spent most of his time in the library and felt "there weren't many opportunities to meet people outside of the dorm or classes". Noah called Columbia "a cold atmosphere," especially compared to his "warm and fuzzy" high school experience.

Noah transferred to Yale to join his girlfriend there, and also hoped to find "a more intimate college experience, what [he] had always thought college was supposed to be". Noah said that Yale's "house system," which encourages close relationships by housing students together for the first two years, "really fosters that [intimate experience]"; however, ultimately he found Yale to be socially very "superficial". While he made more friends at Yale, Noah realized that his few friends at Columbia were much more important to him. He decided to return to Columbia, and calls it "the best decision he ever made". Noah doesn't regret the entire experience despite the fact that he feels now that he left Columbia for bad reasons. He boiled it down succinctly; "I wasn't happy at Columbia because I wasn't with her, but then I wasn't happy at Yale because I was in the wrong place". He returned to Columbia with new perspective on "the value of having opportunity outside of the campus" and new ideas about friendship in college.

Noah's institutional relationships are reminiscent of Goldilocks and the three bears; he kept trying schools out until he found the best situation for himself. His move from Columbia to Yale and back prompted a great deal of self-reflection and discovery; Noah became invested in the particulars of each institution – Columbia's core curriculum, Yale's house system, their respective locations and social composition – and learned more about what was most important to him and to his education. Noah doesn't feel that his educational goals have changed; as he said, "I think the philosophy of education that I had in the beginning in terms of getting a broad, diverse education, didn't change much". He didn't express dissatisfaction with higher education in general, but rather with his particular situation in each institution. He felt some judgment for his apparently indecisive course of education, posturing that some might wonder, "what is this guy up to? Why is he so unhappy everywhere? He can't make up his mind..." But for Noah, transferring twice helped him eventually find a place where he was happy, where he felt comfortable with his environment. Noah commented that "It's really just a matter of finding your niche"; for him, finding that niche meant exploring more than one university experience.

6.2.2.2.2 Taking Time Off

Taking time off implies a trial separation between student and institution. In most all cases, during their time off, students do not attend any conventional institution of higher education; for this reason, taking time off is a break from the entire institutional experience of college rather than the particular experience of a particular college. Students may decide to take time off for reasons particular to their universities; similarly, they may choose transfer to another school after the break.

According to the 2000 Freshman Survey, only 0.9% of private university first-year students predicted there was a very good chance they might drop out of school temporarily (Sax, 2000, p. 88). Of seniors who responded to the 2000 CSS, 6.4% reported "tak[ing] a leave of absence" and 3.9% reported "withdraw[ing] from school"

during their college careers (Korn, 2002). In most institutions, a student may "take a leave of absence," which effectively puts his/her education on hold. If a student chooses to withdraw, typically the university removes the student from the list of current undergraduates, and the student must reapply as a transfer student if he/she wishes to reactivate undergraduate status.

As stated earlier, CSS samples may not be representative of entire student populations, with its particular bias towards students who follow conventional paths through college. In 1998, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) published a report on undergraduates who leave college during their first year, with particular focus on the differences between students who return to college and those who withdraw permanently (Horn, 1998). Since this project is only concerned with private universities, I only used NCES data for private, 4-year institutions. According to the NCES study, 12.5% of freshmen who entered "4-year, not-for-profit" institutions in 1989 left without finishing the 1989-1990 school year (Horn, 1998, p. 8). Of these, 8.3% were "stopouts" – students who eventually returned either to their first institution or transferred to another institution after some time away from school (Horn, 1998, p. 8). Stopouts are not the same as transfer students; stopouts leave during the school year and spend some time away from higher education before returning. This figure includes results from non-profit colleges as well as universities; however, considering the trends demonstrated across institutional stratifications in the CSS, addition of 4-year colleges probably results in a more conservative rather than more inflated number of stopouts (Korn, 2002). The NCES report only concerns students who leave during their freshman year, which is considered by many to be the pivotal year in higher education developmentally for students (Horn, 1998, p. 7). Given the combination of CSS and NCES results, it is possible that 10% or more of private university students take time off at some point during their college career.

Why take time off? For some students, taking time off gives them a chance to sample other experiences not available to them in college, whether these are political, artistic, vocational, or volunteer ventures. In their book, *Taking Time Off*, Colin Hall and Ron Lieber present case studies of many students who took time off from college; some of these students' activities included joining the military service, studying in other countries, working and traveling in the U. S. and abroad (Hall, 1996). Additionally, I interviewed several students who took time off. Of these students, one left school to take a semester at sea, two left to work on political campaigns, one left to travel in Mexico, one left to travel and work in Israel and Los Angeles, and a sixth left to deal with personal problems.

Many students may also take time off to distance themselves from the institutional experience for a while. Many of the students I interviewed reported a general malaise or disinterest in college during the time directly before they took time off. Some just need a break; one student, Alvina Kittur, who left Washington University in 2000 and eventually transferred to University of Chicago, had a personal breakdown and had to leave school to get herself out of depression (Kittur, personal communication). Alvina was truly sick of school – sick of the social pressures and academic expectations.

Others may feel sick of the institutional nature of school. One student, Ted Conover, who took time off in 1980 to ride freight trains with hoboes, commented, "I'd really done nothing my whole life except go to school. How, if school is your main experience in the world, were you supposed to know what you want to do in the world after school?" (Hall, 1996, p. 200). Ted's comment appears radical, and yet its truth is simple; he has uncovered the American obsession with institutional learning. In as far as the university is an ivory tower offering students a simulated sample of life, it is not a complete preparation or education for that life. Indeed, many students took time off as an opportunity to explore options that would inform both immediate and long-term life choices. For example, Gabrielle Tiven, who left Yale in 2001 to work on a city political campaign, commented that before leaving, she felt "undirected" in her academic interests. On the campaign, she learned "what kind of jobs I like, what kind of bosses I like, what kind of coworkers I like" (Tiven, personal communication). Gabrielle will return to Yale fall of 2002 hoping to "transfer some of the things I learned from this experience to other sectors of the economy". For Gabrielle, taking time off did not limit her academic interests; instead, it allowed to her to more clearly articulate her goals.

For many students, taking time off gave them exposure to new things that changed their perspective and interest in higher education. Most spoke enthusiastically about the friends made and lessons learned during time off, whether it was spent on the campaign trail or the sea. Molly Lindsay, who left Yale University in 2001 for a semester to work in Mexico, commented that her trip was "one of the things that makes me feel like college isn't necessary in a lot of ways" (Lindsay, personal communication). She did not leave Yale because she was dissatisfied; Molly said the idea to take a semester off had always been in her head and she wanted to learn Spanish in a rigorous, new context. In Mexico, for the first time, she had to establish her own relationships, living and working situation, without the benefit or interference of any external institutions. Similarly, Ben Lehrer, who left Princeton University for a year from 2000 to 2001, said that he learned more from working on Los Angeles construction sites than he ever had in classrooms, that the "realness" of the experience made it stand out in his life (Lehrer, personal communication).

For many, taking time off is also a way to confront discontent with the institutional experience. Peter Hegel, who left Washington University for a semester in 2001, remarked that before taking time off, he was only interested in his social education at college, and felt uninspired by the academic education he received (Hegel, personal communication). Taking a semester at sea made him "appreciate the academic," and he returned to school a more serious and academically involved student. Similarly, Molly, who left Yale generally discontented by the social "fakeness" of Yale, returned after her semester in Mexico with a new perspective on making good friends and meaningful social relationships (Lindsay, personal communication). Some students, like Gabrielle, became more self-confident because of their experience. Gabrielle commented that when she came to Yale, she always felt that Yale was perfect and she an inferior consumer of a Yale education (Tiven, personal communication). Working in New York City politics,

she "felt satisfied with the work I did" and gained confidence in her own abilities to succeed both in school and without.

For other students, institutional discontent only increases during time off from school. Ben Lehrer returned to Princeton as a senior in 2001 "just to get the degree and get out" (Lehrer, personal communication). Ben's experience in the real world only heightened his disillusionment with the "superficiality" and "fantasy world" of Princeton. While he says that he sees the value of having a college degree, he feels that his time spent at Princeton was mostly an educational waste.

Taking time off from college allows students the room to assess and reconfigure their own institutional relationships. Many students echoed Gabrielle's sentiment that she "didn't know why [she] was there [at Yale], spending all this money" (Tiven, personal communication). Many students returned to college more able to articulate their interests and educational goals. In many cases I studied, student left colleges for more restrictive situations – they took on jobs and responsibilities far beyond those expected in school. And yet, for most of these students, taking time off is a liberating experience. It gives them a chance to learn and grow on their own terms, rather than those of the institution.

6.2.2.2.3 Dropping Out

Some students leave college and never come back. It is difficult to find national data on college dropout rates; while information on dropouts is very important to individual institutions, it is rarely examined as a national educational trend. In the 2000 Freshman Survey, 0.7% of first-year private university students predicted there was a very good chance that they would drop out of college permanently (Sax, 2000, p. 88). Since the CSS is administered to seniors in attendance at universities, there is no comparable data from HERI on seniors. Looking at the NCES study on first-year leavers, 4.2% of freshmen at 4-year, private institutions "stayed out" of higher education through the next five years of their lives (Horn, 1998, p. 8). Students who "stopped out" were most likely to return to higher education within a year of leaving; by the fourth year, only 4.6% returned to school, compared to 48.4% in the first year (Horn, 1998, p. 14). For this reason, it is reasonable to assume that the 4.9% of freshmen who stayed out for five years were permanent or at least long-term college dropouts. Again, this number only represents those who left during their first year at college; probably, the national dropout rate for private universities is higher than 4.9%.

There are many reasons for students to drop out of college. Some may leave for personal, financial, or academic reasons. Others may leave to pursue other opportunities. Many of these reasons overlap; the college experience may not fit a student well for any number of reasons. However, it is important to point out the significant difference between those who stop out and those who stay out. People may stop out or stay out for the same reason, for example, financial inability to pay for college. However, stopouts are students

who find the means to return to college, indicating some initiative to return. Many stayouts may not feel that same initiative as their peers who do return. Stayouts who leave because of financial or personal problems may have more problems or be more severely affected by their problems than those who return to school.

Many students I spoke to who dropped out of school left for non-academic reasons. Students commented on the excesses promoted by college life -- drinking, recreational drug use and sexual activity. For some, these activities overshadowed their studies; Meredith Nestor, who left New Mexico State University in 1999, commented that "studying irrelevant information that has no bearing on the rest of my life really got in the way of consuming any and everything that would get me either drunk or high" (http://www.geocities.com/CollegePark/7734/cdoaa.html, 2002). Others were repulsed by these activities and generally disgusted by the immature indulgences of college life.

Some students left universities for specific reasons related to their courses of study; however, it was more common for such students to stop out than to stay out. One drop out, Christine, left Boston University in 1995 because she "hated engineering with a passion" and threw herself into student government and other activities which detracted from her academic career (http://www.geocities.com/CollegePark/7734/cdoaa.html, 2002).

More common than Christine's story, however, were stories of students who were disillusioned with the college experience in general. Some students felt a strong itch to start their own businesses or work and considered college a waste of their time. But others were disturbed on an ideological level. Steve Murgaski, who left Queen's University in 2000, commented, "my image of university was a place where people really talked, not just about trivialities, but about original ideas" (http://www.geocities.com/CollegePark/7734/cdoaa.html, 2002). Steve's idealistic image of college degenerated after a year of writing "formulaic essays and watching everyone get drunk"; he remarked that leaving "felt more like a divorce than like dropping out" (http://www.geocities.com/CollegePark/7734/cdoaa.html, 2002). This comment suggests an interesting institutional relationship; by the time he left, Steve thought of the university as a person with whom he was no longer compatible rather than an institution to which he was obligated.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

In this project, I examined freshman and senior perspectives on the private university experience, with emphasis on student-institution relationships. The private university is many things to many students. For some, the university is a family that provides personal support and facilitates academic, social, and spiritual growth. For others, the university is an intellectual service industry in which students are both consumers and employees. Student-institution relationships are rarely one-dimensional; the college experience touches most students on many levels, from the superficial to the profound.

But how profound? In my research, I found that contemporary students in private universities are more self-centered than their predecessors. Historically, the university was seen as a wealth of knowledge and development, a molder of young minds. Today students enter and leave college somewhat inured to the experience. Freshman expectations of the college experience are self-oriented. Freshmen want to learn about things that interest them rather than those which interest the institution. Many freshmen are more concerned with their eventual ascension to graduate school and the workforce than the growth that comes from exploration in the undergraduate years.

Comparing freshman and senior life objectives, students' personal values and goals demonstrate very little change over the undergraduate experience. While students may gain academic skills, confidence, and hone their individuality in college, their personal orientations deviate only slightly from the paths they set at the end of high school. Granted, student interests may fluctuate during college, but by senior year differences from freshman interests are insignificant.

Student self-assertion and singleness of mind indicate strength in student principles and conviction. Armed with a healthy skepticism of institutional programming, students should, theoretically, choose paths through college that best serve them. However, the self-orientation described above does not reflect the whole story. While students may know what they want from life, few know what they want from college. From freshmen to seniors, I observed a disturbing lack of intentionality in student choices with regard to the undergraduate experience. While freshmen seem able to indicate why they chose to attend college, less than half feel confident that they will have a satisfying undergraduate experience. Despite their uncertainty with regard to satisfaction, freshmen overwhelmingly predict that they will follow conservative paths through college by pursuing a single major at a single institution for four years. While many students end up pursuing many fields academically during their college years, few choose to transfer, take time off, or drop out of college, choices which would change their institutional relationship and educational experience dramatically.

There is a clear connection between student intentionality and student perspective on the institutional relationship. If students cannot fully articulate why they attend university, then they may find themselves caught up in institutional and societal expectations of them rather than following their own conviction.

I chose to study the private university in part because I believe it represents the most multi-dimensional undergraduate experience. The private university combines the personal and familial aspects of the private college with the impersonal, research-oriented aspects of public universities. In the private university, there is potential for undergraduate students to take advantage of both components of their institutions – to live among friends, learn in small groups, and work in high-level labs and research facilities. However, because the private university offers so much, students must be able to divine their own paths and interests from the opportunities at hand.

One of the best ways for students to find the right balance in their institutional relationships is to test them. Student choice to transfer schools, take a break, or drop out of college permanently should not be taken lightly. Each of these choices represents a serious shift in personal action, as well as in institutional relationships. I do not advocate everyone transferring, taking time off, or dropping out of college. However, it is healthy and important for students to think seriously about their own institutional relationships. I discussed the HERI results that suggest that students' personal goals do not change much over the college experience. It may be that students are not truly challenged in college to reassess their goals. It is easy to follow the conventional path through college; support services, social networks, and safety nets keep students, especially successful students, from having to really think about the meaning of their college education. Students who reflect, during their education, on the benefits and drawbacks of their institution in particular and the college experience in general may be more able to articulate their own educational and personal interests than their peers.

Students need to foster healthy, intentional relationships with their institutions. Attending private universities, and college in general, is an expensive, time-consuming effort. Few people would take a job for four years if they did not feel it was satisfying, enjoyable, or furthering their education and career. Similarly, students must keep their undergraduate experience meaningful and interesting by challenging their institutional relationships and seriously considering their educational needs.

This project focuses on the actions and interests of students; I gave little attention to the actions and needs of institutions. There is ample research on undergraduate programming and university action that enhances or detracts from student learning. As I found, much of this work may affect student retention of information or academic confidence, but it does not cut to the heart of student learning and the undergraduate experience. One of my most pressing recommendations is that more research be done on the actions and interests of students – not what college does to them, but what they do. It was particularly difficult to find national statistics on student action after freshman year, and I was surprised at the lack of research available on college dropouts and transfers.

I would guess that the majority of people reading this report are educators, not students. You may be wondering, well, what can I do to further student intentionality? How can the university help undergraduates act with conviction and self-awareness in their undergraduate experience? My recommendation is to consider the university from the student perspective, and to represent the university fairly and accurately to students. Institutional roles in promoting student intentionality begin with admissions. Universities should do their best to present themselves in the most truthful rather than the most attractive light possible. Encourage prospective students to think seriously about their institutional choices and other opportunities. Once they enter the university, advise students with their best interests in mind. Students come to university to receive higher education, and to develop into adults with meaningful interests and purposes. Give students the room to discover their paths without the pressure of institutional recommendations and expectation. Explain all of their options for education, including student opportunities to take time off, transfer, or drop out of college.

These suggestions may sound radical to university educators and administrators; after all, universities are often judged by the number of students they retain, not the number they advise to leave or make other choices. But universities, as discussed above, are not only economic entities, designed to maximize output in the form of graduates. Universities should be places of learning, and if the institutional model does not educate students to be intentional, strong people, then no retention rate will justify its means. In the best of institutional relationships, universities act as surrogate parents; while instructing and guiding students, universities should be constantly preparing the students to leave as independent, self-confident people. What will students do if they are really free to take higher education on their own terms? Maybe they will leave school. Maybe they won't. Maybe they will come to class with a real desire to be there, and then your job will be easier. Students need to articulate their own paths through higher education. Only then will the university become a true home for experimentation and discovery by all its members, on all levels.

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9. Appendix A – 2000 HERI Freshman Survey and Participants

Table 9-1 displays the private universities that participated in the 2000 HERI Freshman Survey. I separated these institutions by selectivity level. Institutions marked with an "N" were included in the 2000 norms I used in analysis.

Table 9-1. Participating Private Universities in 2000 Freshman Survey.

Low Selectivity (SAT < 1175)	Mid Selectivity (SAT 1175-1309)	High Selectivity (SAT > 1310)
Adelphi University (N)	American University (N)	Brandeis University (N)
Baylor University	Boston College (N)	Brown University (N)
Bradley University (N)	Clarkson University (N)	California Institute of Technology (N)
Butler University (N)	Cornell University (N)	Carnegie-Mellon University (N)
Catholic University of America	Creighton University (N)	Columbia University (N)
Drake University (N)	LeHigh	Duke University
Fordham University (N)	New York University	Emory University (N)
Hofstra University (N)	Santa Clara University (N)	Johns Hopkins (N)
La Sierra University (N)	St. Louis University	Northwestern University (N)
Loyola Marymount University (N)	Tulane University (N)	Stanford University (N)
Loyola University of Chicago (N)	University of San Diego (N)	University of Chicago
Loyola University of New Orleans	University of Southern California (N)	University of Notre Dame (N)
Northeastern University (N)	University of Tulsa	University of Pennsylvania
Pratt Institute	Wake Forest University (N)	University of Rochester (N)
St John's University - Jamaica (N)		Vanderbilt University
St John's University - Staten Island		William Marshall Rice Unviversity (N)
Seton Hall University		Case Western Reserve University
Southern Methodist University (N)		
Texas Christian University (N)		
University of Denver		
University of Miami		
University of Portland (N)		
University of the Pacific (N)		

The next pages provide the text of HERI's 2000 Freshman Survey.

PLEASE PRINT (one letter or number per box)

FIRST | M I | LAST

NAME:

ADDRESS:

CITY: STATE: ZIP: PHONE: – –

When were you born? Month (01-12) Day (01-31) Year

2000 STUDENT INFORMATION FORM

DIRECTIONS

Your responses will be read by an optical mark reader. Your careful observance of these few simple rules will be most appreciated.

Use only black lead pencil (No. 2 is ideal).
Make heavy black marks that fill the oval.
Erase cleanly any answer you wish to change.
Make no stray markings of any kind.

EXAMPLE:

Will marks made with ballpoint or felt-tip marker be properly read? Yes . . . ○ No . . . ●

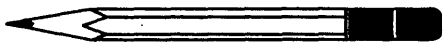
Dear Student:

This information is being collected as part of a continuing study of higher education conducted by the American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles. Your participation in this research will help us to achieve a better understanding of how students are affected by their college experiences. Detailed information on this research program is available from the Higher Education Research Institute at UCLA. Identifying information has been requested in order to make subsequent mail follow-up studies possible. Your responses are held in the strictest professional confidence.

Sincerely,

Alexander W. Astin

Alexander W. Astin, Director
Higher Education Research Institute



PLEASE USE #2 PENCIL

PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NO.	Mark here if directed	
	GROUP CODE A	GROUP CODE B

Your sex: ○ Male ○ Female

1. How old will you be on December 31 of this year? (Mark one)

16 or younger ○ 17 ○ 18 ○ 19 ○ 20 ○ 21-24 ○ 25-29 ○ 30-39 ○ 40-54 ○ 55 or older ○

Is English your native language?

○ Yes ○ No

4. In what year did you graduate from high school? (Mark one)

2000 ○ 1999 ○ 1998 ○ 1997 or earlier ○ Did not graduate but passed G.E.D. test ○ Never completed high school ○

5. Are you enrolled (or enrolling) as a: (Mark one) Full-time student? ○ Part-time student? ○

6. How many miles is this college from your permanent home? (Mark one)

5 or less ○ 6-10 ○ 11-50 ○ 51-100 ○ 101-500 ○ Over 500 ○

7. What was your average grade in high school? (Mark one)

A or A+ ○ A– ○ B+ ○ B ○ B– ○ C+ ○ C ○ D ○

8. What were your scores on the SAT I and/or ACT?

SAT VERBAL . . . . . SAT MATH . . . . . ACT Composite . . . . .

9. Citizenship status:

○ U.S. citizen
○ Permanent resident (green card)
○ Neither

10. Have you had, or do you feel you will need, any special tutoring or remedial work in any of the following subjects? (Mark all that apply)

	Have Had	Will Need
English	○	○
Reading	○	○
Mathematics	○	○
Social Studies	○	○
Science	○	○
Foreign Language	○	○
Writing	○	○

11. Prior to this term, have you ever taken courses for credit at this institution?

○ Yes ○ No

12. Since leaving high school, have you ever taken courses at any other institution? (Mark all that apply in each column)

	For Credit	Not for Credit
Yes, at a community/junior college	○	○
Yes, at a 4-yr. college or university	○	○
Yes, at some other postsecondary school (For example, technical, vocational, business)	○	○

13. Where do you plan to live during the fall term? (Mark one)

With my family or other relatives ○
Other private home, apartment or room ○
College dormitory ○
Fraternity or sorority house ○
Other campus student housing ○
Other ○

14. Is this college your: (Mark one)

First choice? ○ Second choice? ○ Third choice? ○ Less than third choice? ○

15. To how many colleges other than this one did you apply for admission this year?

None ○ 1 ○ 2 ○ 3 ○ 4 ○ 5 ○ 6 ○ 7-10 ○ 11 or more ○

16. Do you have a disability? (Mark all that apply)

None ○
Hearing ○
Speech ○
Orthopedic ○
Learning disability ○
Health-related ○
Partially sighted or blind ○
Other ○

17. What is the highest academic degree that you intend to obtain . . . (Mark one in each column)

	At any college?	At this college?
None	○	○
Vocational certificate	○	○
Associate (A.A. or equivalent)	○	○
Bachelor's degree (B.A., B.S., etc.)	○	○
Master's degree (M.A., M.S., etc.)	○	○
Ph.D. or Ed.D.	○	○
M.D., D.O., D.D.S., or D.V.M.	○	○
LL.B. or J.D. (Law)	○	○
B.D. or M.Div. (Divinity)	○	○
Other	○	○

18. Are your parents: (Mark one)

Both alive and living with each other? ○
Both alive, divorced or living apart? ○
One or both deceased? ○

19. How much of your first year's educational expenses (room, board, tuition, and fees) do you expect to cover from each of the sources listed below? (Mark one answer for each possible source)

	None	$1 - $499	$500 - $1,499	$1,500 - $3,000	Over $3,000
a. My Own or Family Resources					
Parents, other relatives or friends	○	○	○	○	○
Spouse	○	○	○	○	○
Savings from summer work	○	○	○	○	○
Other savings	○	○	○	○	○
Part-time job on campus	○	○	○	○	○
Part-time job off campus	○	○	○	○	○
Full-time job while in college	○	○	○	○	○
b. Aid Which Need Not Be Repaid					
Pell Grant	○	○	○	○	○
Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant	○	○	○	○	○
State Scholarship or Grant	○	○	○	○	○
College Work-Study Grant	○	○	○	○	○
College Grant/Scholarship (other than above)	○	○	○	○	○
Vocational Rehabilitation funds	○	○	○	○	○
Other private grant	○	○	○	○	○
Other Government Aid (ROTC, BIA, GI/military benefits, etc.)	○	○	○	○	○
c. Aid Which Must Be Repaid					
Stafford Loan (GSL)	○	○	○	○	○
Perkins Loan	○	○	○	○	○
Other College Loan	○	○	○	○	○
Other Loan	○	○	○	○	○
d. Other Than Above	○	○	○	○	○

20. What is your best estimate of your parents' total income last year? Consider income from all sources before taxes. (Mark one)

○ Less than $6,000	○ $40,000-49,999
○ $6,000-9,999	○ $50,000-59,999
○ $10,000-14,999	○ $60,000-74,999
○ $15,000-19,999	○ $75,000-99,999
○ $20,000-24,999	○ $100,000-149,999
○ $25,000-29,999	○ $150,000-199,999
○ $30,000-39,999	○ $200,000 or more

21. Current religious preference: (Mark one in each column)

	Yours	Father's	Mother's
Baptist	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Buddhist	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Eastern Orthodox	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Episcopal	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Islamic	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Jewish	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
LDS (Mormon)	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Lutheran	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Methodist	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Presbyterian	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Quaker	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Roman Catholic	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Seventh Day Adventist	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
United Church of Christ	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Other Christian	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Other Religion	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
None	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ

22. For the activities below, indicate which ones you did during the past year. If you engaged in an activity frequently, mark Ⓕ. If you engaged in an activity one or more times, but not frequently, mark Ⓞ (occasionally). Mark Ⓝ (Not at all) if you have not performed the activity during the past year. (Mark one for each item)

	Frequently	Occasionally	Not at all
Attended a religious service	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Was bored in class	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Participated in organized demonstrations	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Tutored another student	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Studied with other students	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Was a guest in a teacher's home	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Smoked cigarettes	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Drank beer	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Drank wine or liquor	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Felt overwhelmed by all I had to do	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Felt depressed	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Performed volunteer work	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Played a musical instrument	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Asked a teacher for advice after class	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Overslept and missed class or appointment	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Discussed politics	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Voted in a student election	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Socialized with someone of another racial/ethnic group	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Came late to class	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Attended a public recital or concert	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Visited an art gallery or museum	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Discussed religion	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Communicated via e-mail	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Used the Internet for research or homework	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Participated in Internet chat rooms	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Other Internet use	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Performed community service as part of a class	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ
Used a personal computer	Ⓕ	Ⓞ	Ⓝ

23. How many Advanced Placement courses or exams did you take in high school? (Mark one in each row)

	None	1-4	5-9	10-14	15+
AP Courses	○	○	○	○	○
AP Exams	○	○	○	○	○

24. What is the highest level of formal education obtained by your parents? (Mark one in each column)

	Father	Mother
Grammar school or less	○	○
Some high school	○	○
High school graduate	○	○
Postsecondary school other than college	○	○
Some college	○	○
College degree	○	○
Some graduate school	○	○
Graduate degree	○	○

25. Are you: (Mark all that apply)

- White/Caucasian ○
- African American/Black ○
- American Indian ○
- Asian American/Asian ○
- Mexican American/Chicano ○
- Puerto Rican ○
- Other Latino ○
- Other ○

26. In deciding to go to college, how important to you was each of the following reasons? (Mark one answer for each possible reason)

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
My parents wanted me to go	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
I could not find a job	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
Wanted to get away from home	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
To be able to get a better job	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
To gain a general education and appreciation of ideas	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
To improve my reading and study skills	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
There was nothing better to do	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
To make me a more cultured person	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
To be able to make more money	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
To learn more about things that interest me	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
To prepare myself for graduate or professional school	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
A mentor/role model encouraged me to go	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
To get training for a specific career	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ

27. Rate yourself on each of the following traits as compared with the average person your age. We want the most accurate estimate of how you see yourself. (Mark one in each row)

	Highest 10%	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Lowest 10%
Academic ability	○	○	○	○	○
Artistic ability	○	○	○	○	○
Computer skills	○	○	○	○	○
Competitiveness	○	○	○	○	○
Cooperativeness	○	○	○	○	○
Creativity	○	○	○	○	○
Drive to achieve	○	○	○	○	○
Emotional health	○	○	○	○	○
Initiative	○	○	○	○	○
Leadership ability	○	○	○	○	○
Mathematical ability	○	○	○	○	○
Physical health	○	○	○	○	○
Popularity	○	○	○	○	○
Public speaking ability	○	○	○	○	○
Self-confidence (intellectual)	○	○	○	○	○
Self-confidence (social)	○	○	○	○	○
Self-understanding	○	○	○	○	○
Spirituality	○	○	○	○	○
Understanding of others	○	○	○	○	○
Writing ability	○	○	○	○	○

28. Mark only three responses, one in each column.

Ⓜ Your mother's occupation
Ⓕ Your father's occupation
Ⓨ Your probable career occupation

NOTE: If your father or mother is deceased, please indicate his or her last occupation.

	Ⓨ	Ⓕ	Ⓜ
Accountant or actuary	○	○	○
Actor or entertainer	○	○	○
Architect or urban planner	○	○	○
Artist	○	○	○
Business (clerical)	○	○	○
Business executive (management, administrator)	○	○	○
Business owner or proprietor	○	○	○
Business salesperson or buyer	○	○	○
Clergy (minister, priest)	○	○	○
Clergy (other religious)	○	○	○
Clinical psychologist	○	○	○
College administrator/staff	○	○	○
College teacher	○	○	○
Computer programmer or analyst	○	○	○
Conservationist or forester	○	○	○
Dentist (including orthodontist)	○	○	○
Dietitian or home economist	○	○	○
Engineer	○	○	○
Farmer or rancher	○	○	○
Foreign service worker (including diplomat)	○	○	○
Homemaker (full-time)	○	○	○
Interior decorator (including designer)	○	○	○
Lab technician or hygienist	○	○	○
Law enforcement officer	○	○	○
Lawyer (attorney) or judge	○	○	○
Military service (career)	○	○	○
Musician (performer, composer)	○	○	○
Nurse	○	○	○
Optometrist	○	○	○
Pharmacist	○	○	○
Physician	○	○	○
Policymaker/Government	○	○	○
School counselor	○	○	○
School principal or superintendent	○	○	○
Scientific researcher	○	○	○
Social, welfare or recreation worker	○	○	○
Therapist (physical, occupational speech)	○	○	○
Teacher or administrator (elementary)	○	○	○
Teacher or administrator (secondary)	○	○	○
Veterinarian	○	○	○
Writer or journalist	○	○	○
Skilled trades	○	○	○
Other	○		
Undecided	○		
Laborer (unskilled)		○	○
Semi-skilled worker		○	○
Other occupation		○	○
Unemployed		○	○

29. Mark one in each row:

① Disagree Strongly
② Disagree Somewhat
③ Agree Somewhat
④ Agree Strongly

	④	③	②	①
There is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals	○	○	○	○
Abortion should be legal	○	○	○	○
The death penalty should be abolished	○	○	○	○
If two people really like each other, it's all right for them to have sex even if they've known each other for only a very short time	○	○	○	○
Marijuana should be legalized	○	○	○	○
It is important to have laws prohibiting homosexual relationships	○	○	○	○
Employers should be allowed to require drug testing of employees or job applicants	○	○	○	○
The federal government should do more to control the sale of handguns	○	○	○	○
Racial discrimination is no longer a major problem in America	○	○	○	○
Realistically, an individual can do little to bring about changes in our society	○	○	○	○
Wealthy people should pay a larger share of taxes than they do now	○	○	○	○
Colleges should prohibit racist/sexist speech on campus	○	○	○	○
Same sex couples should have the right to legal marital status	○	○	○	○
Affirmative action in college admissions should be abolished	○	○	○	○
The activities of married women are best confined to the home and family	○	○	○	○
People have a right to know about the personal lives of public figures	○	○	○	○

30. During your last year in high school, how much time did you spend during a typical week doing the following activities?

Hours per week:	None	Less than 1 hour	1-2	3-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	Over 20
Studying/homework	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Socializing with friends	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Talking with teachers outside of class	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Exercise or sports	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Partying	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Working (for pay)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Volunteer work	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Student clubs/groups	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Watching TV	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Household/childcare duties	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Reading for pleasure	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Playing video/computer games	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Prayer/meditation	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

31. Do you have any concern about your ability to finance your college education? (Mark one)

- ○ None (I am confident that I will have sufficient funds)
- ○ Some (but I probably will have enough funds)
- ○ Major (not sure I will have enough funds to complete college)

32. How would you characterize your political views? (Mark one)

- ○ Far left
- ○ Liberal
- ○ Middle-of-the-road
- ○ Conservative
- ○ Far right

33. Are you presently married? ○ Yes ○ No

34. Did your high school require community service for graduation? ○ Yes ○ No

35. Below are some reasons that might have influenced your decision to attend this particular college. How important was each reason in your decision to come here? (Mark one answer for each possible reason)

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
My relatives wanted me to come here	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
My teacher advised me	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
This college has a very good academic reputation	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
This college has a good reputation for its social activities	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
I was offered financial assistance	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
This college offers special educational programs	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
This college has low tuition	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
High school counselor advised me	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
Private college counselor advised me	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
I wanted to live near home	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
Not offered aid by first choice	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
This college's graduates gain admission to top graduate/ professional schools	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
This college's graduates get good jobs	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
I was attracted by the religious affiliation/orientation of the college	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
I wanted to go to a school about the size of this college	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
Not accepted anywhere else	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
Rankings in national magazines	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
Information from a website	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
I was admitted through an Early Action or Early Decision program	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
My friends are attending	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
I was offered: an athletic scholarship	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
a merit-based scholarship	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ
a need-based scholarship	Ⓥ	Ⓢ	Ⓝ

36. Below is a list of different undergraduate major fields grouped into general categories. Mark only one oval to indicate your probable field of study.

ARTS AND HUMANITIES
- Art, fine and applied ..... (1)
- English (language and literature) ..... (2)
- History ..... (3)
- Journalism ..... (4)
- Language and Literature (except English) ..... (5)
- Music ..... (6)
- Philosophy ..... (7)
- Speech ..... (8)
- Theater or Drama ..... (9)
- Theology or Religion ..... (10)
- Other Arts and Humanities .. (11)

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCE
- Biology (general) ..... (12)
- Biochemistry or Biophysics ..... (13)
- Botany ..... (14)
- Environmental Science ..... (15)
- Marine (Life) Science ..... (16)
- Microbiology or Bacteriology ..... (17)
- Zoology ..... (18)
- Other Biological Science .... (19)

BUSINESS
- Accounting ..... (20)
- Business Admin. (general) .. (21)
- Finance ..... (22)
- International Business ..... (23)
- Marketing ..... (24)
- Management ..... (25)
- Secretarial Studies ..... (26)
- Other Business ..... (27)

EDUCATION
- Business Education ..... (28)
- Elementary Education ..... (29)
- Music or Art Education ..... (30)
- Physical Education or Recreation ..... (31)
- Secondary Education ..... (32)
- Special Education ..... (33)
- Other Education ..... (34)

ENGINEERING
- Aeronautical or Astronautical Eng ..... (35)
- Civil Engineering ..... (36)
- Chemical Engineering ..... (37)
- Electrical or Electronic Engineering ..... (38)
- Industrial Engineering ..... (39)
- Mechanical Engineering .... (40)
- Other Engineering ..... (41)

PHYSICAL SCIENCE
- Astronomy ..... (42)
- Atmospheric Science (incl. Meteorology) ..... (43)
- Chemistry ..... (44)
- Earth Science ..... (45)
- Marine Science (incl. Oceanography) ..... (46)
- Mathematics ..... (47)
- Physics ..... (48)
- Statistics ..... (49)
- Other Physical Science ..... (50)

PROFESSIONAL
- Architecture or Urban Planning ..... (51)
- Home Economics ..... (52)
- Health Technology (medical, dental, laboratory) .... (53)
- Library or Archival Science .. (54)
- Medicine, Dentistry Veterinarian ..... (55)
- Nursing ..... (56)
- Pharmacy ..... (57)
- Therapy (occupational, physical, speech) ..... (58)
- Other Professional ..... (59)

SOCIAL SCIENCE
- Anthropology ..... (60)
- Economics ..... (61)
- Ethnic Studies ..... (62)
- Geography ..... (63)
- Political Science (gov't., international relations) .... (64)
- Psychology ..... (65)
- Social Work ..... (66)
- Sociology ..... (67)
- Women's Studies ..... (68)
- Other Social Science ..... (69)

TECHNICAL
- Building Trades ..... (70)
- Data Processing or Computer Programming... (71)
- Drafting or Design ..... (72)
- Electronics ..... (73)
- Mechanics ..... (74)
- Other Technical ..... (75)

OTHER FIELDS
- Agriculture ..... (76)
- Communications ..... (77)
- Computer Science ..... (78)
- Forestry ..... (79)
- Kinesiology ..... (80)
- Law Enforcement ..... (81)
- Military Science ..... (82)
- Other Field ..... (83)
- Undecided ..... (84)

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA

37. Please indicate the importance to you personally of each of the following: (Mark one for each item)

(N) Not Important (S) Somewhat Important (V) Very Important (E) Essential

- Becoming accomplished in one of the performing arts (acting, dancing, etc.) ..... E V S N
- Becoming an authority in my field ..... E V S N
- Obtaining recognition from my colleagues for contributions to my special field ..... E V S N
- Influencing the political structure ..... E V S N
- Influencing social values ..... E V S N
- Raising a family ..... E V S N
- Having administrative responsibility for the work of others ..... E V S N
- Being very well off financially ..... E V S N
- Helping others who are in difficulty ..... E V S N
- Making a theoretical contribution to science ..... E V S N
- Writing original works (poems, novels, short stories, etc.) ..... E V S N
- Creating artistic work (painting, sculpture, decorating, etc.) ..... E V S N
- Becoming successful in a business of my own ..... E V S N
- Becoming involved in programs to clean up the environment ..... E V S N
- Developing a meaningful philosophy of life ..... E V S N
- Participating in a community action program ..... E V S N
- Helping to promote racial understanding ..... E V S N
- Keeping up to date with political affairs ..... E V S N
- Becoming a community leader ..... E V S N
- Integrating spirituality into my life ..... E V S N

38. What is your best guess as to the chances that you will: (Mark one for each item)

(N) No Chance (L) Very Little Chance (S) Some Chance (V) Very Good Chance

- Change major field? ..... V S L N
- Change career choice? ..... V S L N
- Graduate with honors? ..... V S L N
- Participate in student government? ..... V S L N
- Get a job to help pay for college expenses? ..... V S L N
- Work full-time while attending college? ..... V S L N
- Join a social fraternity or sorority? ..... V S L N
- Play varsity/intercollegiate athletics? ..... V S L N
- Make at least a "B" average? ..... V S L N
- Need extra time to complete your degree requirements? ..... V S L N
- Get a bachelor's degree (B.A., B.S., etc.)? ..... V S L N
- Participate in student protests or demonstrations? ..... V S L N
- Drop out of this college temporarily (exclude transferring)? ..... V S L N
- Drop out permanently (exclude transferring)? ..... V S L N
- Transfer to another college before graduating? ..... V S L N
- Be satisfied with your college? ..... V S L N
- Participate in volunteer or community service work? ..... V S L N
- Seek personal counseling? ..... V S L N
- Develop close friendships with other students? ..... V S L N
- Communicate regularly with your professors? ..... V S L N
- Socialize with someone of another racial/ethnic group? ..... V S L N
- Participate in student clubs/groups? ..... V S L N

39. Do you give the Higher Education Research Institute at UCLA permission to include your ID number should your college request the data for additional research analyses? ○ Yes ○ No

The remaining ovals are provided for questions specifically designed by your college rather than the Higher Education Research Institute. If your college has chosen to use the ovals, please observe carefully the supplemental directions given to you.

40. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	47. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	54. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ
41. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	48. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	55. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ
42. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	49. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	56. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ
43. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	50. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	57. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ
44. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	51. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	58. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ
45. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	52. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	59. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ
46. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	53. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ	60. Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ

THANK YOU!

·2654-54321

10. Appendix B – 2000 HERI College Student Survey and Participants

Table 10-1 displays the private universities that participated in the 2000 HERI College Student Survey. In total, 6,501 private university undergraduates from fourteen institutions responded to the 2000 CSS. Table 10-1 displays the participating institutions and their selectivity level, as defined by HERI in 2000.

Table 10-1. Participating Private Universities in 2000 CSS.

Institution	State	Selectivity
Butler University	IN	low
Creighton University	NE	mid
Fordham University	NY	low
Loyola Marymount University	CA	low
Northeastern University	MA	low
Saint John's University-Jamaica	NY	low
Saint John's University-Staten Island	NY	low
Santa Clara University	CA	mid
Southern Methodist University	TX	low
Texas Christian University	TX	low
Tulane University	LA	mid
University of Portland	OR	low
University of Southern California	CA	mid
Vanderbilt University	TN	high

The next pages provide the complete text of the 2001 College Student Survey. I was not able to obtain a copy of the 2000 survey; however, the 2001 survey is identical to the 2000 survey for all sections of interest in this project.

PLEASE PRINT (one letter or number per box)

NAME: FIRST | M I | LAST

ADDRESS:

CITY: STATE: ZIP: PHONE: – –

When were you born? Month (01-12) Day (01-31) Year

2001 COLLEGE STUDENT SURVEY

DIRECTIONS

Your responses will be read by an optical mark reader. Your careful observance of these few simple rules will be most appreciated.

- Use only black lead pencil (No. 2 is ideal).
- Make heavy black marks that fill the oval.
- Erase cleanly any answer you wish to change.
- Make no stray markings of any kind.

EXAMPLE:

Will marks made with ballpoint or felt-tip marker be properly read? Yes . . . No . . . ●

FORM NO.: 270799

PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NO.

Mark here if directed: GRP. CODE A, GRP. CODE B

Dear Student:

This information is being collected as part of a continuing study of higher education conducted by the American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles. Your participation in this research will help us to achieve a better understanding of how students are affected by their college experiences. Detailed information on this research program is available from the Higher Education Research Institute at UCLA. Identifying information has been requested in order to make subsequent mail follow-up studies possible. Your responses are held in the strictest professional confidence.

Sincerely,

Alexander W. Astin, Director
Higher Education Research Institute

PLEASE USE #2 PENCIL

1. What year did you first enter:

(Mark one in each column)

	Your 1st College	This College
2000 or 2001		
1999		
1998		
1997		
1996 or earlier		

2. Your sex: Male Female

3. Please indicate the highest degree you (A) will have earned as of June 2001 and (B) plan to complete eventually at any institution.

(Mark one in each column)

	Highest Earned	Highest Planned
None	A	B
Vocational certificate	A	B
Associate (A.A. or equivalent)	A	B
Bachelor's degree (B.A., B.S., etc.)	A	B
Master's degree (M.A., M.S., etc.)	A	B
Ph.D. or Ed.D.	A	B
M.D., D.O., D.D.S., or D.V.M.	A	B
LL.B. or J.D. (Law)	A	B
B.D. or M.DIV. (Divinity)	A	B
Other	A	B

4. If you borrowed money to help pay for college expenses, estimate how much you will owe as of June 30, 2001:

$ _____ .00

5. Please provide your test scores on the tests below: (If applicable)

GRE: Verbal
GRE: Quantitative
LSAT
MCAT
GMAT

6. Since entering college have you:

(Mark all that apply)

- Joined a social fraternity or sorority
- Gotten married
- Failed one or more courses
- Had a part-time job on campus
- Had a part-time job off campus
- Worked full-time while attending school
- Participated in student government
- Taken a remedial course
- Taken an ethnic studies course
- Taken a women's studies course
- Attended a racial/cultural awareness workshop
- Had a roommate of different race/ethnicity
- Participated in an ethnic/racial student organization
- Participated in intercollegiate football or basketball
- other intercollegiate sport
- Taken a leave of absence
- Withdrawn from school
- Transferred from another college
- Been elected to student office
- Enrolled in honors or advanced courses
- Tutored another student
- Participated in an internship program
- Participated in leadership training

7. Since entering college, indicate how often (Frequently, Occasionally or Not at all) you:

(Mark one for each item)

	Frequently	Occasionally	Not at all
Worked on independent study projects	F	O	N
Took interdisciplinary courses	F	O	N
Discussed course content with students outside of class	F	O	N
Worked on group projects in class	F	O	N
Have been a guest in a professor's home	F	O	N
Participated in intramural sports	F	O	N
Failed to complete homework on time	F	O	N
Felt bored in class	F	O	N
Studied with other students	F	O	N
Challenged a professor's ideas in class	F	O	N
Voted in a student election	F	O	N
Felt your comments were not taken seriously by faculty	F	O	N
Turned in course assignments electronically	F	O	N
Received course assignments through the Internet	F	O	N
Missed class due to employment	F	O	N

8. If you could make your college choice over, would you still choose to enroll at your current (or most recent) college?

- Definitely yes
- Probably I would
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Don't know

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS BOX!

9. Please rate your satisfaction with your current (or most recent) college on each of the aspects of campus life listed below. (Mark one in each row)

	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Can't Rate, No Experience
General education or core curriculum courses	V	S	N	D	?
Science and mathematics courses	V	S	N	D	?
Humanities courses	V	S	N	D	?
Social science courses	V	S	N	D	?
Courses in your major field	V	S	N	D	?
Relevance of coursework to everyday life	V	S	N	D	?
Overall quality of instruction	V	S	N	D	?
Laboratory facilities and equipment	V	S	N	D	?
Library facilities	V	S	N	D	?
Computer facilities	V	S	N	D	?
Quality of computer training/assistance	V	S	N	D	?
Availability of Internet access	V	S	N	D	?
Sense of community on campus	V	S	N	D	?
Tutoring or other academic assistance	V	S	N	D	?
Academic advising	V	S	N	D	?
Career counseling and advising	V	S	N	D	?
Student housing	V	S	N	D	?
Financial aid services	V	S	N	D	?
Amount of contact with faculty	V	S	N	D	?
Opportunities for community service	V	S	N	D	?
Job placement services for students	V	S	N	D	?
Campus health services	V	S	N	D	?
Class size	V	S	N	D	?
Interaction with other students	V	S	N	D	?
Ability to find a faculty or staff mentor	V	S	N	D	?
Leadership opportunities	V	S	N	D	?
Recreational facilities	V	S	N	D	?
Overall college experience	V	S	N	D	?

10. Please indicate your enrollment status below: (Mark one)

- Full-time undergraduate
- Part-time undergraduate
- Graduate student
- Not enrolled

11. Mark the one oval that best describes your undergraduate grade average.

- A (3.75 - 4.0)
- A-, B+ (3.25 - 3.74)
- B (2.75 - 3.24)
- B-, C+ (2.25 - 2.74)
- C (1.75 - 2.24)
- C- or less (below 1.75)

12. How would you characterize your political views? (Mark one)

- Far left
- Liberal
- Middle-of-the-road
- Conservative
- Far right

13. Are you: (Mark all that apply)

- White/Caucasian
- African American/Black
- American Indian
- Asian American/Asian/Pacific Islander
- Mexican American/Chicano
- Puerto Rican American
- Other Latino
- Other

14. Please mark your probable career/occupation below:

- Accountant or actuary
- Actor or entertainer
- Architect or urban planner
- Artist
- Business (clerical)
- Business executive (management, administrator)
- Business owner or proprietor
- Business salesperson or buyer
- Clergy (minister, priest)
- Clergy (other religious)
- Clinical psychologist
- College administrator/staff
- College teacher
- Computer programmer or analyst
- Conservationist or forester
- Dentist (including orthodontist)
- Dietitian or home economist
- Engineer
- Farmer or rancher
- Foreign service worker (including diplomat)
- Homemaker (full-time)
- Interior decorator (including designer)
- Lab technician or hygienist
- Law enforcement officer
- Lawyer (attorney) or judge
- Military service (career)
- Musician (performer, composer)
- Nurse
- Optometrist
- Pharmacist
- Physician
- Policymaker/government
- School counselor
- School principal or superintendent
- Scientific researcher
- Social, welfare or recreation worker
- Therapist (physical, occupational, speech)
- Teacher or administrator (elementary)
- Teacher or administrator (secondary)
- Veterinarian
- Writer or journalist
- Skilled trades
- Other
- Undecided

15. For the activities listed below, please indicate how often (Frequently, Occasionally, or Not at all) you engaged in each during the past year. (Mark one in each row)

	Frequently	Occasionally	Not at all
Smoked cigarettes	F	O	N
Felt lonely or homesick	F	O	N
Socialized with someone of another racial/ethnic group	F	O	N
Felt depressed	F	O	N
Felt overwhelmed by all I had to do	F	O	N
Attended a religious service	F	O	N
Drank beer	F	O	N
Drank wine or liquor	F	O	N
Performed volunteer work	F	O	N
Participated in organized demonstrations	F	O	N
Discussed politics	F	O	N
Voted in a state/national election	F	O	N
Overslept and missed class or appointment	F	O	N
Took a prescribed anti-depressant	F	O	N
Sought personal counseling	F	O	N
Worked in a local, state, or national political campaign	F	O	N

16. During the past year, how much time did you spend during a typical week doing the following activities? (Mark one in each row)

	Hours Per Week							
	None	Less than 1 hour	1-2	3-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	Over 20
Studying/homework								
Socializing with friends								
Talking with faculty outside of class								
Exercising/sports								
Partying								
Working (for pay)								
Volunteer work								
Student clubs/groups								
Watching TV								
Housework/childcare								
Reading for pleasure								
Using a personal computer								
Commuting								
Playing video games								
Prayer/meditation								
Classes/labs								

17. What do you plan to be doing six months from now? (Mark all that apply)

- Attending undergraduate college full-time
- Attending undergraduate college part-time
- Attending graduate/professional school
- Working full-time
- Working part-time
- Participating in a community service organization
- Serving in the Armed Forces
- Attending a vocational training program
- Traveling, hostelling, or backpacking
- Doing volunteer work
- Staying at home to be with or start a family
- No current plans

18. Compared with when you first started college, how would you now describe your:

(Mark one for each item)

	Much Stronger	Stronger	No Change	Weaker	Much Weaker
General knowledge	5	4	3	2	1
Analytical and problem-solving skills	5	4	3	2	1
Knowledge of a particular field or discipline	5	4	3	2	1
Ability to think critically	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign language ability	5	4	3	2	1
Knowledge of people from different races/cultures	5	4	3	2	1
Religious beliefs and convictions	5	4	3	2	1
Leadership abilities	5	4	3	2	1
Interpersonal skills	5	4	3	2	1
Ability to get along with people of different races/cultures	5	4	3	2	1
Understanding of the problems facing your community	5	4	3	2	1
Understanding of social problems facing our nation	5	4	3	2	1
Writing skills	5	4	3	2	1
Public speaking ability	5	4	3	2	1
Ability to work cooperatively	5	4	3	2	1
Mathematical skills	5	4	3	2	1
Reading speed and comprehension	5	4	3	2	1
Computer skills	5	4	3	2	1

19. Indicate the importance to you personally of each of the following:

(Mark one for each item)

	Essential	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Becoming accomplished in one of the performing arts (acting, dancing, etc.)	E	V	S	N
Becoming an authority in my field	E	V	S	N
Obtaining recognition from my colleagues for contributions to my special field	E	V	S	N
Influencing the political structure	E	V	S	N
Influencing social values	E	V	S	N
Raising a family	E	V	S	N
Having administrative responsibility for the work of others	E	V	S	N
Being very well off financially	E	V	S	N
Helping others who are in difficulty	E	V	S	N
Making a theoretical contribution to science	E	V	S	N
Writing original works (poems, novels, short stories, etc.)	E	V	S	N
Creating artistic work (painting, sculpture, decorating, etc.)	E	V	S	N
Being successful in a business of my own	E	V	S	N
Becoming involved in programs to clean up the environment	E	V	S	N
Developing a meaningful philosophy of life	E	V	S	N
Participating in a community action program	E	V	S	N
Helping to promote racial understanding	E	V	S	N
Keeping up to date with political affairs	E	V	S	N
Becoming a community leader	E	V	S	N

20. Your current religious preference: (Mark one)

Baptist	Presbyterian
Buddhist	Quaker
Eastern Orthodox	Roman Catholic
Episcopal	Seventh Day Adventist
Islamic	United Church of Christ
Jewish	Other Christian
LDS (Mormon)	Other Far Eastern Religion
Lutheran	Other Religion
Methodist	None

21. Do you consider yourself a born-again Christian? Yes No

22. During the past year, how often did you:

(Mark one for each item)

	Daily	2 or 3 times/week	Once a week	1 or 2 times/month	Never
Communicate via e-mail:					
with faculty	5	4	3	2	1
with students at this college	5	4	3	2	1
with students at other colleges	5	4	3	2	1
with other friends or acquaintances	5	4	3	2	1
with your family	5	4	3	2	1
Participate in class discussions via e-mail/Internet	5	4	3	2	1
Use the Internet for research or homework	5	4	3	2	1
Use the Internet for nonacademic reasons	5	4	3	2	1

23. Do you own a personal computer? Yes No

24. Rate yourself on each of the following traits as compared with the average person your age. We want the most accurate estimate of how you see yourself.

(Mark one in each row)

	Highest 10%	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Lowest 10%
Academic ability					
Artistic ability					
Competitiveness					
Cooperativeness					
Creativity					
Drive to achieve					
Emotional health					
Leadership ability					
Mathematical ability					
Physical health					
Popularity					
Public speaking ability					
Self-confidence (intellectual)					
Self-confidence (social)					
Self-understanding					
Spirituality					
Understanding of others					
Writing ability					
Religiousness/Religiosity					

25. How often have professors at your current (or most recent) college provided you with:

(Mark one for each item)

	Frequently	Occasionally	Not at all
Encouragement to pursue graduate/professional study			
An opportunity to work on a research project			
Advice and guidance about your educational program			
Respect (treated you like a colleague/peer)			
An opportunity to publish			
Emotional support and encouragement			
A letter of recommendation			
Assistance to improve your study skills			
Negative feedback about your academic work			
Intellectual challenge and stimulation			
An opportunity to discuss coursework outside of class			
Help in achieving your professional goals			

26. Below is a list of different major fields.
(Mark only one in each column)

U Undergraduate major (final or most recent)
G Graduate major (omit if you do not plan to go to graduate school)

	U	G
ARTS AND HUMANITIES		
Art, fine and applied	U	G
English (language and literature)	U	G
History	U	G
Journalism	U	G
Language and Literature (except English)	U	G
Music	U	G
Philosophy	U	G
Speech	U	G
Theater or Drama	U	G
Theology or Religion	U	G
Other Arts and Humanities	U	G
BIOLOGICAL SCIENCE		
Biology (general)	U	G
Biochemistry or Biophysics	U	G
Botany	U	G
Environmental Science	U	G
Marine (Life) Science	U	G
Microbiology or Bacteriology	U	G
Zoology	U	G
Other Biological Science	U	G
BUSINESS		
Accounting	U	G
Business Administration (general)	U	G
Finance	U	G
International Business	U	G
Marketing	U	G
Management	U	G
Secretarial Studies	U	G
Other Business	U	G
EDUCATION		
Business Education	U	G
Elementary Education	U	G
Music or Art Education	U	G
Physical Education or Recreation	U	G
Secondary Education	U	G
Special Education	U	G
Other Education	U	G
ENGINEERING		
Aero-/Astronautical Engineering	U	G
Civil Engineering	U	G
Chemical Engineering	U	G
Electrical or Electronic Engineering	U	G
Industrial Engineering	U	G
Mechanical Engineering	U	G
Other Engineering	U	G

	U	G
PHYSICAL SCIENCE		
Astronomy	U	G
Atmospheric Science (incl. Meteorology)	U	G
Chemistry	U	G
Earth Science	U	G
Marine Science (incl. Oceanography)	U	G
Mathematics	U	G
Physics	U	G
Statistics	U	G
Other Physical Science	U	G
PROFESSIONAL		
Architecture or Urban Planning	U	G
Home Economics	U	G
Health Technology (medical, dental, laboratory)	U	G
Law		G
Library/Archival Science	U	G
Medicine, Dentistry, Veterinarian	U	G
Nursing	U	G
Pharmacy	U	G
Therapy (occupational, physical, speech)	U	G
Other Professional	U	G
SOCIAL SCIENCE		
Anthropology	U	G
Economics	U	G
Ethnic Studies	U	G
Geography	U	G
Political Science (gov't., international relations)	U	G
Psychology	U	G
Social Work	U	G
Sociology	U	G
Women's Studies	U	G
Other Social Science	U	G
TECHNICAL		
Building Trades	U	G
Data Processing or Computer Programming	U	G
Drafting or Design	U	G
Electronics	U	G
Mechanics	U	G
Other Technical	U	G
OTHER FIELDS		
Agriculture	U	G
Communications (radio, TV, etc.)	U	G
Computer Science	U	G
Forestry	U	G
Law Enforcement	U	G
Military Science	U	G
Other Field	U	G
Undecided	U	G

27. Please indicate your agreement with each of the following statements.
(Mark one for each item)

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree st.
The Federal government is not doing enough to control environmental pollution	4	3	2	1
Abortion should be legal	4	3	2	1
The death penalty should be abolished	4	3	2	1
If two people really like each other, it's all right for them to have sex even if they've known each other for only a very short time	4	3	2	1
The activities of married women are best confined to the home and family	4	3	2	1
Marijuana should be legalized	4	3	2	1
It is important to have laws prohibiting homosexual relationships	4	3	2	1
A national health care plan is needed to cover everybody's medical costs	4	3	2	1
Racial discrimination is no longer a major problem in America	4	3	2	1
Realistically, an individual can do little to bring about changes in our society	4	3	2	1
Wealthy people should pay a larger share of taxes than they do now	4	3	2	1
Colleges should prohibit racist/sexist speech on campus	4	3	2	1
Affirmative action in college admissions should be abolished	4	3	2	1
There is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals	4	3	2	1
Just because a man thinks that a woman has "led him on" does not entitle him to have sex with her	4	3	2	1
The federal government should do more to control the sale of handguns	4	3	2	1
Same sex couples should have the right to legal marital status	4	3	2	1

28. Is English your native language? Yes No

29. Since entering college, how many of your courses have included community service/service learning?
None (skip to question 32) One Two or more

30. In your most recent course that included service, how often did the professor:
(Mark one for each item)

	Frequently	Occasionally	Not at all
Encourage class discussions	F	O	N
Deliver lectures	F	O	N
Connect the service experience to the course material	F	O	N
Require written reflections of your service experience	F	O	N
How often did you:			
Apply the course material to your service work	F	O	N
Feel that the service experience increased your understanding of the academic course material	F	O	N
Feel that your service made a difference	F	O	N

31. In this most recent course, community service was:
Required Optional

32. Do you give the Higher Education Research Institute at UCLA permissio to include your ID number should your college request the data for additional research analyses? Yes No

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS: If you received an additional page of questions, please mark your answers below:

33. A B C D E	40. A B C D E	47. A B C D E
34. A B C D E	41. A B C D E	48. A B C D E
35. A B C D E	42. A B C D E	49. A B C D E
36. A B C D E	43. A B C D E	50. A B C D E
37. A B C D E	44. A B C D E	51. A B C D E
38. A B C D E	45. A B C D E	52. A B C D E
39. A B C D E	46. A B C D E	**THANK YOU!**

11. Appendix C – 2000 College Student Survey Results

The following pages contain the 2000 CSS responses for private university undergraduates. The results for the 2000 CSS displayed in this section are for participating private universities only. I have only included responses to those questions I considered during my research. HERI Associate Director for Operations Bill Korn generously provided all data reported here.

2000 CSS data for Private Universities

ALL STUDENTS	Priv U
What year did you first enter: Your first college	
1999 or 2000	0.0
1998	0.0
1997	0.0
1996	65.7
1995 or earlier	34.3
This college	
1999 or 2000	2.7
1998	8.2
1997	8.6
1996	59.8
1995 or earlier	20.7
Your enrollment status (1)	
Full-time undergraduate	92.0
Part-time undergraduate	3.6
Graduate student	2.1
Not enrolled	2.2
Highest degree you will have earned as of June, 2000	
None	3.1

Vocational certificate	0.0
Associate (A.A. or equivalent)	1.7
Bachelor's (B.A., B.S., etc.)	92.7
Master's (M.A., M.S., etc.)	0.9
Ph.D. or Ed.D.	0.1
M.D., D.O., D.D.S., D.V.M.	0.1
LL.B. or J.D. (law)	0.0
B.D. or M.Div. (divinity)	0.0
Other	1.3
Highest degree you plan to complete eventually at any institution	
None	1.6
Vocational certificate	0.1
Associate (A.A. or equivalent)	0.2
Bachelor's (B.A., B.S., etc.)	13.8
Master's (M.A., M.S., etc.)	51.2
Ph.D. or Ed.D.	15.0
M.D., D.O., D.D.S., D.V.M.	6.6
LL.B. or J.D. (law)	8.7
B.D. or M.Div. (divinity)	0.1
Other	2.7
Undergraduate grade average	
A (3.75-4.0)	14.7
A-, B+ (3.25-3.74)	40.1
B (2.75-3.24)	33.1
B-, C+ (2.25-2.74)	10.3
C (1.75-2.24)	1.7

C- or less (below 1.75)	0.1

(1) This item not comparable to earlier years due to changes in response options.

Since entering college have you	
Joined a social fraternity or sorority	19.6
Gotten married	3.4
Failed one or more courses	14.6
Had a part-time job on campus	53.7
Had a part-time job off campus	69.9
Worked full-time while attending school	18.1
Participated in student government	9.1
Taken a remedial course	4.1
Taken an ethnic studies course	44.2
Taken a women's studies course	23.5
Attended a racial/cultural awareness workshop	24.3
Had a roommate of different race/ ethnicity	41.2
Participated in an ethnic/racial student organization	19.0
Participated in intercollegiate football or basketball	6.6
Participated in other intercollegiate sport	15.5
Taken a leave of absence	6.4
Withdrawn from school	3.9
Transferred from another college	17.4
Been elected to student office	10.7
Enrolled in honors or advanced courses	23.3
Tutored another student	28.8

Participated in an internship program	44.5
Participated in leadership training	21.2
Academic activities since entering college	
Worked on independent study projects	54.2
Took interdisciplinary courses	61.2
Discussed course content with students outside of class (2)	68.4
Worked on group projects in class	96.9
Have been a guest in a professor's home	30.3
Participated in intramural sports	44.0
Failed to complete homework on time	60.6
Felt bored in class (2)	27.7
Did extra (unassigned) work for a course (2)	10.3
Studied with other students	96.0
Challenged a professor's ideas in class	73.1
Voted in a student election (2)	17.0
Felt your comments were not taken seriously by faculty	58.9
Turned in course assignments electronically	64.6
Received course assignments through the Internet	73.9
Missed class due to employment	33.6

(2) Percentage reporting "frequently" only. Results for other items in this group represent the percentage reporting "frequently" **or** "occasionally"

General activities in the past year	
Smoked cigarettes (2)	12.3
Felt lonely or homesick	53.9

Socialized with someone of another racial/ethnic group (2)	52.9
Felt depressed (2)	7.1
Felt overwhelmed by all I had to do (2)	33.0
Attended a religious service	69.0
Drank beer	76.6
Drank wine or liquor	84.5
Performed volunteer work	69.2
Participated in organized demonstrations	14.7
Discussed politics (2)	14.1
Voted in a state/national election	51.2
Overslept and missed class or appointment	57.7
Lost my temper	59.1
Took a prescribed anti-depressant	6.0
Sought personal counseling	14.9
What do you plan to be doing six months from now?	
Attending undergraduate college full-time	4.4
Attending undergraduate college part-time	3.3
Attending graduate/professional school	23.1
Working full-time	70.6
Working part-time	11.0
Participating in a community service organization	7.4
Serving in the Armed Forces	1.8
Attending a vocational training pgm.	0.7

Traveling, hosteling, or backpacking	14.1
Doing volunteer work	11.9
Staying at home to be with or start a family	3.7
No current plans (3)	2.5
Students reporting much stronger abilities and skills compared to when they first started college in:	
General knowledge	49.4
Analytical and problem-solving skills	39.1
Knowledge of a particular field or discipline	65.3
Ability to think critically	40.0
Foreign language ability	12.2
Knowledge of people from different races/cultures	21.3
Religious beliefs and convictions	11.8
Leadership abilities	24.4
Interpersonal skills	32.7
Ability to get along with people of different races/cultures	20.9
Understanding of the problems facing your community	17.7
Understanding of social problems facing our nation	21.2
Writing skills	31.3
Public speaking ability	27.8
Ability to work cooperatively	25.2
Mathematical skills	14.1
Reading speed and comprehension	17.5

Computer skills	42.9
College activities noted as very satisfactory or satisfactory (6)	
General education or core curriculum courses	76.6
Science and mathematics courses	59.3
Humanities courses	67.5
Social science courses	68.0
Courses in your major field	84.8
Relevance of coursework to everyday life	64.3
Overall quality of instruction	79.2
Laboratory facilities and equipment	57.8
Library facilities	65.6
Computer facilities	65.9
Quality of computer training/assistance	42.9
Availability of Internet access	77.7
Sense of community on campus	47.9
Tutoring or other academic assistance	47.1
Academic advising	48.7
Career counseling and advising	44.0
Student housing	44.7
Financial aid services	43.6
Amount of contact with faculty	73.6
Opportunities for community service	65.2
Job placement services for students	47.0
Campus health services	40.5
Class size	80.1

Interaction with other students	79.8
Ability to find a faculty or staff mentor	69.9
Leadership opportunities	58.9
Connection with your peers	73.1
Recreational facilities	66.7
Overall college experience	83.1
If you could make your college choice over, would you still choose to enroll at your current (or most recent) college?	
Definitely yes	39.8
Probably I would	40.3
Don't know	4.0
Probably not	12.2
Definitely not	3.6

(5) Percentages may sum to more than 100.0 if any respondent marked more than one category.
(6) Students responding "don't know/can't rate" not included in these results.

Student objectives noted as essential or very important	
Becoming accomplished in one of the performing arts (acting,dancing,etc.)	14.9
Becoming an authority in my field	66.1
Obtaining recognition from my colleagues for contributions to my special field	55.4
Influencing the political structure	20.6
Influencing social values	45.5
Raising a family	77.6
Having administrative responsibility for the work of others	40.0
Being very well off financially	65.4

Helping others who are in difficulty	71.2
Making a theoretical contribution to science	16.6
Writing original works (poems, novels, short stories, etc.)	17.2
Creating artistic work (painting, sculpture, decorating, etc.)	17.9
Being successful in a business of my own	38.9
Becoming involved in programs to clean up the environment	22.3
Developing a meaningful philosophy of life	55.6
Participating in a community action program	27.6
Helping to promote racial understanding	38.3
Keeping up to date with political affairs	40.3
Becoming a community leader	33.0

(3) This question asked for the first time in 2000.