COLLEGE *and* UNIVERSITY

Logistic Modeling of
University Choice among
Student Migrants to Karnataka
for Higher Education

Practice What We Teach:
Using the TPACK Framework to
Connect Professional Development and
Academic Programs and Processes

105th

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Editor's Note

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Fall is the season when many state and regional associations hold their annual meetings. AACRAO holds its Strategic Enrollment Management conference in the fall, and EDUCAUSE holds its Annual Conference then, as well. No doubt, there are other conferences, meetings, and events of interest to members of our professions. Perhaps you will find inspiration for an article for *College and University* at one of these!

This edition includes two feature articles. In "Logistic Modeling of University Choice among Student Migrants to Karnataka for Higher Education," Veena A and Sandeep Rao report on a study using the logistic regression model to assess the probability of selection of a private university by students who migrated to Karnataka for higher education. In "Practice What We Teach: Using the TPACK Framework to Connect Professional Development and Academic Programs and Processes," Patrick Elliott argues that institutions should align profession development and academic programs using the TPACK (Technical, Pedagogical, and Content Knowledge) framework.

There are two Research in Brief articles, "Free Speech and Controversial Speakers: Public Institutions Legal Responsibility, and Recommendations for Re-sponse," by Brad Pulcini, and "Miscalculating Need: How the Free Application for Federal Student Aid Misses the Mark," by Katy Matthuews.

There are also three Campus Viewpoint articles, "Designing Positive Effects: Orientation and Student Success," by Matthew Davis, "Evolution of a Gap Semester Program: An Experiential Challenge," by Elizabeth Coder, Eric Hall and Rodney Parks, and "Innovation to Inquiry: Creating Additional Value from Credential Expansions," by Alexander Taylor, Rachel Brown, Rodney Parks, Jesse Parrish, and Casey Hayes.

The edition also contains a book review by Stephen J. Handel, *Pathways to Reform: Credits and Conflict at the City University of New York* by Alexandra W. Logue, and one by Brad Pulcini, *Tyranny of Meritocracy* by Lani Guinier. It also contains reviews by S. Abu Turab Rizvi, *Demographics and the Demand for Higher Education* by Nathan D. Grawe, and by Matthew Fifolt, *America's Broken Promise: Bridging the Community College Achievement Gap* by Eduardo Marti and John Ebersole.

I hope dear reader that you are inspired this fall by a book or article you read, by a presentation you attend, or by a conversation with a colleague, and will consider submitting an article to *College and University*!

Logistic Modeling of University Choice among Student Migrants to Karnataka for Higher Education

In India, universities often study the broad characteristics of students who migrate to their state for educational purposes. This provides them with opportunities to collaborate with the state government in order to introduce education policies that can influence future students' migration decisions. While studies already exist that focus on the determinants of student migration, this paper uses the logistic regression model to assess the probability of choice of private universities while using primary data collected from students who migrated to Karnataka. This paper also reports on tests of various hypotheses and on the finding that the admission quota has no significant effect on migrant students' choice to enroll at a private university.

By Veena Andini and Sandeep Rao

E ducation migration provides useful insight for policy makers regarding its determinants and effects and how these may lead to regional imbalances and impede structural economic development in certain states. Choice of education is based mainly on rational thinking. However, irrational behavior among student populations can also influence their migration decisions. There exists a legion of literature on push and pull factors for both interstate and international migration. Two primary factors influence students' decision to migrate: geographic location and choice of the type of institution for education. Researchers have contributed significantly to the first question while addressing the reasons for students' migration to a specific geographic location (*e.g.*, within the country or abroad). This paper tries to establish whether students' demographic factors influence their choice of type of higher education institution and specially references Karnataka, India. According to the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka, this Indian state has an annual GSDP of ₹ 8,71,995 crores and a GDP of ₹ 1,21,65,481 crore (2016–17). The 2011 census shows that 720,385 of a total of 25,078,333 migrants were for the purpose of education, an increase of 3800 percent over the 18,190 student migrants as per the 2001 census.

The 2009 Right to Education Act of the Indian Constitution provides free and compulsory schooling for all children between the ages of 6 and 14 years. The stages of the Indian education system are shown in Table 1; classifications are in five broad categories—primary, secondary, higher secondary, under graduation, and post-graduation—based on age group and degree.

Table 1. Education System in India		
Level	**Description**	**Age Range**
Primary School	First to Fifth Standard	6–10
Secondary School	Sixth to Tenth Standard	11–16
Higher Secondary	Eleventh and Twelfth Standard/Pre-University	16–17
Under Graduation	A three-year degree (specialization courses like engineering and medicine can be longer)	~
Post-Graduation	Highest education (masters degree)	~

This paper focuses on migration for higher education (under-graduation and post-graduation levels). India has 45 central universities (40 are under the purview of the Ministry of Human Resource Development [MHRD]), 318 state universities, 185 state private universities, 129 "deemed" universities, 51 institutions of national importance (established under Acts of Parliament) under Ministry of Human Resource Development (Indian Institute of Technology–16, National Institute of Technology–30 and Indian Statistical Social and Economic Research–5), and four institutions es-

tablished under various state legislations (MHRD 2014). These institutes are classified broadly into private and public higher education institutions (HEI). For this study, private HEI include private universities, deemed universities, and autonomous institutions wholly managed and run by private bodies, societies, and/or trusts. All other HEI are classified as public HEI.

Literature Review

The higher education choice process has changed significantly during the past half century as a result of shifts in student demographics as well as the development of institutional admissions and marketing practices (Kinzie, *et al.* 2004). The student decision-making process is classified into three phases: aspirations development and alternative evaluation; options consideration; and evaluation of remaining options and final decision (Jackson 1982).

Many previous studies distinguish among the importance of different choice factors (Bers and Galowich 2002; Geraghty 1997; Harrsiosn and Freeman 1999;

Price Matzdorf, Smith and Aghai 2003; Sevier 1993; Shin and Milton 2006). (*See* Table 2, on page 5.)

Essentially, most of the research has concluded that college and university administrators need to realize that students have become very selective and are more well-informed in selecting the higher institutions at which to pursue their education. This requires more research to better understand students' needs and requirements.

Conceptual Framework and Need for the Study

The literature review identifies various demographic factors related to migration. Existing research shows how the factors influence migration but do not determine university choice. The current research uses the same hypotheses and the logistic (logit) regression model to investigate whether the demographic factors identified by previous research have any significant influence on students' choice of type of HEI.

The primary objective of this study is to predict the likelihood of respondents' preference of private univer-

Table 2. Summary of Literature

Serial No.	Variables Identified (Literature Review)	Reference
1	Learning environment, political environment, concern for students, cost of education, facilities, location parental preference and influence of peers,	Baharun, *et al.* 2011
2	Field of study, course preferences ,institutional reputations, course entry scores, easy access to home and institutional characteristics	James, *et al.* 1999
3	Type of school attended	Hoxby and Long 1999
4	Familial groups such as parents,relatives and teachers	Oosterbeek, *et al.* 1992; Hossler, *et al.* 1999
5	Academic reputation, course availability, location, tuition costs as well as campus amenities ,study mode, tuition fees and the university itself	Hagel and Shaw 2007
6	Reputation of the institution	Kusumwati *et al.* 2010
7	Degree program flexibility, academic reputation , prestige reflecting national and international recognition, physical aspects of the campus such as the quality of the infrastructure and services, career opportunities upon completion, location of the institution and the time required for the completion of the program.	Joseph and Ford 1999
8	Income or the socioeconomic status of students	Heller 1997
9	Academic achievement of students or standardized examination results	Braxton 1990
10	Excellence in teaching	Keskinen *et al.* 2008; Sidin, *et al.* 2003; Soutar and Turner 2002
11	Demand for private universities tends to be higher level of price sensitivity than public ones	Bezmen and Depken 1998
12	Importance of price depends on the income and quality of the student	Long's 2004
13	Gender differences	Paulsen 1990; McDonough 1997
14	Women view safety as an important determinant factor of choice while men place more importance on scheduling and sporting activities. Females prefer information regarding institutions from close social connections more than males	Baharun *et al.* 2011
15	Females also prefer information provided by the institutions above males.	Joseph and Joseph 2000
16	Attending a private university	Ciriaci 2014
17	Lack of access to higher education in certain regions, a commonality of languages as well as availability of technology based programs	Mazzarol and Soutar 2002, 2008
18	Types of academic programmes available, quality of education, administration standards, faculty qualifications and convenient accessible location	Baharun 2002
19	Institution's good image	Mazzarol 1998; Gutman and Miaoulis 2003

Table 2. Summary of Literature

Serial No.	Variables Identified (Literature Review)	Reference
20	Good job prospects, the reputation of the university, the availability of programmes desired by students and the reputation of the programmes	Nagaraj 2008; Jacqueline Fernendez 2010
21	Availability of required programme, academic reputation of university/college, quality of the faculty/lecturers and financial assistance offered by university/college	bin Yusof *et al.* 2008
22	Field of study preferences, course and institutional reputations, course entry scores, easy access to home and institutional characteristics	James, *et al.* 2000
23	Quality and responsiveness of staff, research activities, social opportunities, economic considerations and the size of the institution	Baksh and Hoyt 2001; Bradshaw, *et al.* 2001
24	Campus safety and flexibility in course offering	Espinoza, *et al.* 2002
25	Academic rating	Arpan, *et al.* 2003
26	Famousness of the university, public relations and stability	Punnarach 2004
27	Reputation and prestige, career preparation, specific academic programmes, distance from home, quality of research programmes and library resources	Martin 1994
28	Auxiliary services, reputation of the institution and admission	De Jager and Du Plooy 2006
29	Gender roles are changing- males and females differ in terms of consumer traits, information processing, decision-making styles and buying patterns	Hoyer and MacInnis 2001: 384
30	Gender influences both purchase and consumption situations	Sheth, Mittal and Newmand 1999
31	Variety of gender differences	Galotti and Mark 1994; Desjardins *et al.* 1999
32	Females rated residential life as a more important factor in the selection process than their male counterparts	Litten 1982
33	Importance of financial aid, security, academics, atmosphere and religious culture	Mansfield's Research 2006
34	Female students view security as a more important choice factor than their male counterparts	De Jager and Du Plooy 2006

sity based on their demographic characteristics—*e.g.*, age, gender, current level of study, current domain of study, quota through which admission is sought, current annual income of the family, and type of previous education organization attended.

Hypotheses for the Study

Following are the hypotheses:

◆ **Age** has no significant effect on predicting migrant students' selection of a private university at which to pursue higher education in Karnataka.

◆ **Gender** has no significant effect on predicting migrant students' selection of a private university at which to pursue higher education in Karnataka.

◆ **Current level of course** has no significant effect on predicting migrant students' selection of a private university at which to pursue higher education in Karnataka.

- **Current domain of study** has no significant effect on predicting migrant students' selection of a private university at which to pursue higher education in Karnataka.
- **Admission quota** has no significant effect on predicting migrant students' selection of a private university at which to pursue higher education in Karnataka.
- **Annual family income** has no significant effect on predicting migrant students' selection of a private university at which to pursue higher education in Karnataka.
- **Previous education organization** has no significant effect on predicting migrant students' selection of a private university at which to pursue higher education in Karnataka.

Limitations of the Study

- The study was limited only to students who migrated to Karnataka for higher education.
- Data were only from education hubs of Karnataka.
- Data were not collected from medicine-related areas of higher education.

Research Methodology

The research method was descriptive—that is, the study was designed to facilitate accurate understanding of the respondents who participated in the study. Survey method, one of the three types of descriptive research, was featured. The study required primary and secondary data; primary data were collected from a survey conducted in Karnataka.

Primary data relating to personal and other information required for the study were collected by making personal visits to the participating colleges. Secondary data for literature review were collected from the EBSCO database, online sources, and prior research on this topic.

Table 3. Focus Group and Their Reference Categories of Predictive Variables

Predictive Variable	Focus Group	Reference Group
Age Group	15–20 Years	20–25 Years
		25–30 Years
Gender	Male	Female
Current Level of Course	Under Graduate	Post-Graduation
		Others
Current Domain of Study	Engineering	Commerce
		Management
		Pure Science
		Others
Admissions Quota	Management Quota	General Merit
		Other Quotas
Family Income	< ₹ 5,00,000	₹ 5,00,000–10,00,000
		₹ 10,00,000–20,00,000
		> ₹ 20,00,000
Previous Educational Organization	Private University	State/Central University
		Deemed University
		Autonomous
		State/Central Education Board

Table 4. Case Processing Summary

Unweighted Cases*		n	%
Selected Cases	Included in Analysis	352	100
	Missing Cases	0	0
	Total	352	100
Unselected Cases		0	0
Total		352	100

* If weight is in effect, see classification table for the total number of cases.

Because a common database on educational migrants was not available, purposive sampling—a non-probability technique—was used for data collection. Purposive sampling is a method whereby the researcher chooses a certain group of people or place to study because it is known to be of the type needed (McNeill and Chapman 2005). In purposive sampling, population elements are purposively selected and represent a population of interest; these populations can offer the contributions sought (Churchill Gilbert 2009). The survey comprised closed and open-ended questions

Table 5. Categorical Variable Codings

		Frequency	Parameter Coding			
			-1	-2	-3	-4
Previous Educational Organisation	Private University	75	1	0	0	0
	State/Centel University	92	0	1	0	0
	Deemed University	6	0	0	1	0
	Autonomous	16	0	0	0	1
	State/Centa l Education Board	163	0	0	0	0
Current Domain of Study	Engineering	207	1	0	0	0
	Commerce	31	0	1	0	0
	Management	67	0	0	1	0
	Pure Science	30	0	0	0	1
	Others	17	0	0	0	0
Family Income	< ₹ 5,00,000	112	1	0	0	
	₹ 5,00,000–10,00,000	115	0	1	0	
	₹ 10,00,000–20,00,000	88	0	0	1	
	> ₹ 20,00,000	37	0	0	0	
Addmission Quota	Management Quota	179	1	0		
	General Merit	162	0	1		
	Other Quota	11	0	0		
Current Leavel of Course	UG	290	1	0		
	PG	53	0	1		
	Others	9	0	0		
Age Group	15–20 Years	181	1	0		
	20–25 Years	156	0	1		
	25–30 Years	15	0	0		
Gender	Male	263	1			
	Female	89	0			

and also solicited age, gender, previous study details, current study details, and more. On the basis of Rao's software sample size calculator, a sample size of 364 was planned. Ultimately, data were collected from 360 respondents. The survey questionnaire included categorical and continuous variables.

Results

The researchers utilized logistic (logit) regression to predict the likelihood of respondents' choice between two outcome categories—'selecting private university' or 'not selecting private university'—when migrating to Karnataka for higher education. (Logistic regression helps distinguish between two groups.) Using IBM SPSS-21.00, the logistic regression output was generated using 'selecting private university' or 'not selecting private university' as dependent variables and age group, gender, current level of course, current domain of study, admissions quota, family income, and previous education organization as explanatory variables. In the logit model, 'selecting private university' is treated as success and coded as "1" whereas 'not selecting private university' is treated as failure and coded "0."

Table 3 (on page 7) presents all the predictive variables, respective focus group, and reference categories.

A Hosmer and Lemeshow test statistic was generated with a 0.05 level of significance for odds ratio. The classification cut-off (0.5) was used to classify each case into reference and focus group.

The output of binary logistic regression is as follows. Tables 4 (on page 7) and 5 show the total number of respondents processed for analysis and the frequencies of categorical variables. Table 6 (on page 9) shows

the intercept model without any independent variable; 52.8 percent of students who migrate to Karnataka would have chosen the private university for higher education in Karnataka, without further categorization of students.

Table 7 displays the variables in the equation for the intercept model with no other predictive variables; an odds ratio of 1.120 denotes that there is 1.12 times greater likelihood that a student migrant will choose to pursue higher education at a private university in Karnataka.

Table 8 shows the results of Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients. The model chi-square is 59.340 and is statistically significant at the 5 percent level of significance with 18 degrees of freedom.

The Nagelkerke R-square value is 0.207 (*see* Table 9), suggesting that approximately 21 percent of the variance associated with the selection of private university is explained by all the independent variables considered in the model. An R-squared value equal to or greater than 0.20 in research relating to social science is considered substantial (Cohen 1998).

The Hosmer and Lemeshow Test assesses how well the predicted probabilities match the observed probabilities using the Chi-square goodness of fit statistic. The goal is to obtain a non-significant p-value (Mayers, Gamst and Guarino 2013).

Table 10 shows a chi-square value of 2.312 with a p-value of 0.97, which is non-significant at the 5 percent level of significance. This shows that there is no significant variance between the predicted and actual probabilities.

Table 11 (on page 10) shows the contingency table for the Hosmer and Lemeshow test. Table 11 makes it clear that the observed value and expected value of the choice of private university are approximately equal.

Table 12 (on page 10) shows the overall predictive accuracy of the model to be 66.2 percent with various independent variables introduced in the model.

Table 12 indicates that 130 cases had observed cases of 'selecting private university' and were correctly predicted as the case of success; 103 cases were observed to 'not select the private university' and were correctly predicted as failure. However, 63 cases observed to be 'not selecting private university' were predicted as 'selecting private university,' and 56 cases were observed as success instead of failure. Thus, approximately 66 percent of students who migrate to Karnataka would have chosen to pursue higher education at the private university.

Table 6. Classification Table, Step 0

Observed Choice of University	Predicted Choice of University		
	Public	Private	Correct %
Public	0	166	0.0
Private	0	186	100.0
Overall %			52.8

Table 7. Variables in the Equation

		β	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(β)
Step 0	Constant	0.114	0.107	1.135	1	0.287	1.12

Table 8. Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		χ²	df	Sig.
	Step	59.34	18	0
Step 1	Block	59.34	18	0
	Model	59.34	18	0

Table 9. Model Summary

Step	-2 Log Likelihood	R²	
		Cox & Snell	Nagelkerke
1	427.499a	0.155	0.207

Table 10. Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	χ²	df	Sig.
1	2.312	8	0.97

Table 11. Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test, Step 1

Group	Choice = Public University		Choice = Private University		Total
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
1	28	28.203	7	6.797	35
2	22	23.678	13	11.322	35
3	21	20.980	13	13.020	34
4	21	18.223	11	13.777	32
5	18	17.940	17	17.060	35
6	12	14.398	19	16.602	31
7	15	14.277	19	19.723	34
8	13	12.000	22	23.000	35
9	9	8.971	26	26.029	35
10	7	7.329	39	38.671	46

Table 12. Classification Table, Step 1

Observed Choice of University	Predicted Choice of University		
	Public	Private	Correct %
Public	103	63	62.0
Private	56	130	69.9
Overall %			66.2

Table 13 (on page 11) shows the variables in the equation, significance levels, and their odds ratio. Table 14 (on page 11) presents the significance of predictive variables and the support for hypotheses.

Thus the Logistic model can be written as:

$$P(success) = A/(1+A),$$
$$\text{where } A = e^{(\log(\text{odds of choice 1 (selecting private university)}))}$$

If the value of probability is greater than 0.5, then the respondent is considered to select a private university (otherwise, the respondent selects a university other than private, which could be state, central, or deemed university).

Exp(β) column in Table 15 (on page 12) shows the odds ratio associated with each predictor at a 5 percent level of significance. The odds ratio for age group 20–25 years, 3.395, can be interpreted as the odds of respondents belonging to this age group selecting a private university being 3.395 times the odds of the age group 15–20 years, controlling all other explanatory variables. The odds ratio of female to male is 1.705; the odds of students studying in state/central university for selecting private university is 3.773 when compared to those already studying in private university; and the odds of students studying post-graduation to select private university is 0.645 than those studying undergraduate programs.

Discussion

Using predictor variables like age, gender, current level of course, current domain of study, admissions quota, family income, and previous education institution, this paper predicts the likelihood of respondents' choice between two outcome categories—'selecting private university' or 'not selecting private university'—when migrating to Karnataka for higher education. The Nagelkerke R-square value shows that approximately 21 percent of the variance associated with the selection of private university is explained by all the independent variables in the model; the Hosmer and Lemeshow test shows the overall predictive accuracy of the model to be 66.2 percent with various independent variables. While all the factors tested for hypotheses show a significant effect on predicting migrant students' selection of a private university for higher education in Karnataka, admissions quota has no significant effect.

The odds ratios for choice of a private university show that the odds of respondents belonging to the 20–25 years age group selecting a private university are 3.395 times those of respondents belonging to the 15–20 years age group. Similarly, 'female' has an odds ratio of 1.705, 'post-graduation' (current level of course) has an odds ratio of 0.645, and 'studied previously at a state/central university' has an odds ratio of 3.773 compared to those who studied previously at a private university.

Table 13. **Variables in the Equation, Step 1**

	β	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% CI for Exp(β) Lower	Upper
Age Group			9.844	2	0.007			
Age Group (1)	1.222	0.605	4.083	1	0.043	3.395	1.037	11.113
Age Group (2)	0.431	0.605	0.507	1	0.478	1.539	0.470	5.038
Gender (1)	0.534	0.291	3.366	1	0.087	1.705	0.964	3.016
Current Level of Course			5.713	2	0.057			
Current Level of Course (1)	-0.438	0.862	0.258	1	0.611	0.645	0.119	3.494
Current Level of Course (2)	0.671	0.926	0.526	1	0.468	1.957	0.319	12.010
Current Domain of Study			13.932	4	0.008			
Current Domain of Study (1)	-1.268	0.698	3.299	1	0.069	0.281	0.072	1.105
Current Domain of Study (2)	-1.370	0.792	2.992	1	0.084	0.254	0.054	1.200
Current Domain of Study (3)	-1.409	0.764	3.403	1	0.085	0.244	0.055	1.092
Current Domain of Study (4)	-2.820	0.825	11.682	1	0.001	0.060	0.012	0.300
Admissions Quota			0.666	2	0.717			
Admissions Quota (1)	0.341	0.715	0.228	1	0.633	0.711	0.175	2.885
Admissions Quota (2)	0.486	0.719	0.456	1	0.499	0.615	0.150	2.520
Family Income			9.504	3	0.023			
Family Income (1)	-1.442	0.469	9.462	1	0.002	0.236	0.094	0.593
Family Income (2)	-1.205	0.466	6.693	1	0.010	0.300	0.120	0.747
Family Income (3)	-1.183	0.478	6.114	1	0.013	0.306	0.120	0.782
Previous Educational Organisation			17.731	4	0.001			
Previous Educational Organisation (1)	1.328	0.334	15.830	1	0.000	3.773	1.962	7.258
Previous Educational Organisation (2)	0.165	0.300	0.304	1	0.581	1.180	0.655	2.123
Previous Educational Organisation (3)	-0.667	0.986	0.457	1	0.499	0.513	0.074	3.545
Previous Educational Organisation (4)	0.690	0.631	1.195	1	0.274	1.993	0.579	6.862
Constant	**1.761**	**1.511**	**1.357**	**1**	**0.244**	**5.818**		

Table 14. **Significance and Hypotheses Support**

Null Hypotheses	P Values	Hypotheses Support
Age has no significant effect on predicting the selection of private university for higher education in Karnataka by migrant students.	0.007	Yes
Gender has no significant effect on predicting the selection of private university for higher education in Karnataka by migrant students.	0.067	Yes
Current level of course has no significant effect on predicting the selection of private university for higher education in Karnataka by migrant students.	0.057	Yes
Current domain of study has no significant effect on predicting the selection of private university for higher education in Karnataka by migrant students.	0.008	Yes
Admission quota has no significant effect on predicting the selection of private university for higher education in Karnataka by migrant students.	0.717	No
Annual family income has no significant effect on predicting the selection of private university for higher education in Karnataka by migrant students.	0.023	Yes
Previous educational organization has no significant effect on predicting the selection of private university for higher education in Karnataka by migrant students.	0.001	Yes

Table 15. Odds Ratio of Predictor Variables

Reference Group	Reference Group Variable	Exp(β)
Age Group (1)	20–25 Years	3.395
Age Group (2)	25–30 Years	1.539
Gender(1)	Female	1.705
Current Level of Course (1)	Post Graduation	0.645
Current Level of Course (2)	Others	1.957
Current Domain of Study (1)	Commerce	0.281
Current Domain of Study (2)	Management	0.254
Current Domain of Study (3)	Pure Science	0.244
Current Domain of Study (4)	Others	0.060
Admissions Quota (1)	General Merit	0.711
Admissions Quota (2)	Other Quota	0.615
Family Income (1)	₹ 5,00,000–10,00,000	0.236
Family Income (2)	₹ 10,00,000–20,00,000	0.300
Family Income (3)	> ₹ 20,00,000	0.306
Previous Educational Organisation (1)	State/Central University	3.773
Previous Educational Organisation (2)	Deemed University	1.180
Previous Educational Organisation (3)	Autonomous	0.513
Previous Educational Organisation (4)	State/Central Education Board	1.993
Constant		5.818

Conclusion

Understanding migrant students' choice of university type at which to enroll is important for private education institutions as it provides them the necessary data to probe further into how they could improve their admissions and also better formulate their promotion strategies. While private institutions are keen to do this, the governments of both the migration destination and the origin state can use the information to analyze the impact of India's state policies on higher education. At the most basic level, the odds of 'admissions quota' have been found to have little influence on the choice of university type, especially by migrating stu-

dents. Questions to ask are whether the quota system in an institution's own state is influencing migration and how effective this system is in achieving its intended objectives.

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Practice What We Teach: Using the TPACK Framework to Connect Professional Development and Academic Programs and Processes

Professional development is important to any organization, and sometimes quickly overlooked. The importance of professional development magnifies in institutions of higher education and the AACRAO professions, all of which are in the business of teaching and learning. This article examines how colleges and universities may improve professional development by aligning it with traditional academic programs. The author advocates for a new application of the Technology, Pedagogy, and Content Knowledge (TPACK) framework, a model of the knowledge required for effective teaching. By extending the TPACK model to the program level, this article offers a blueprint of how professional development programs may sync with the academic enterprise for potential improvements in outcomes, efficiency, and cost. The TPACK model appears well-suited for this new application but is untested and will require further research.

By **Patrick S. Elliott**

The social media sphere frequently portrays a famous business parable: A chief financial officer (CFO) asks his boss, the chief executive officer (CEO), "What if we train our people and they leave?" The CEO responds, "What if we don't and they stay?" Despite the associated costs and potential risk of losing on the investment, staff development is a necessary and valuable endeavor. Many education workers believe in the value of this proposition, but learning and development budgets are often the first to be cut. During the 2009 recession, companies across all industries reported a 4 to 8 percent reduction in learning and development staff (Chakrabarti 2010, Leonard 2010). These data suggest that many organizations believe only half-heartedly in training and staff development. As education professionals, we must demand that higher education do better; we must find ways to lead by example.

Professionals in the registrar, admission, and enrollment management fields often joke that nobody ever said she wanted to grow up to be a registrar or admission officer. Therefore, to improve succession and contingency planning and prepare for the next generation, leaders must build pathways of professional development (Taylor and Taylor 2014). In 2006, the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers published an article that recommended a human-centric approach to staff training (Bunis). The author concludes that "[t]he point [of staff development] is that if you care about outcomes, you need to focus on inputs" (Bunis 2006, 58). As academic technology expands, institutions of higher education (IHEs) focus primarily on the technology itself and not on training faculty and staff to use it properly (Rienties, Brouwer, Carbonell, Townsend, Rozendal, van der Loo, Dekker, and Lygo-Baker 2013).

Ward (2008) advocates for professional development programs that look beyond skill and knowledge tied directly to job duties, suggesting that such programs must also explore the business of higher education and its core function. A focus beyond immediate job duties better positions staff for long-term career growth. Ward's analysis highlights another challenge: organizations often view staff development as a discrete subfunction. As a result, staff development is typically not linked to the organization's academic units, pedagogical models, or learning technology.

Colleges and universities should apply their student learning models, technology, and content to staff development programs. After all, these programs are mission-critical functions for all IHEs and thus are the areas in which they excel. Linking staff development to the student learning organization and processes will improve the quality of professional development by folding it into the institution's core competencies and offerings and will increase the organization's learning agility (*i.e.* its ability to respond to challenge through learning) (Amato and Molkhia 2016, Clark and Gottfredson 2008). By unifying student and staff learning, the organization will gain efficiency through an economy of scale. The Institute of Higher Education Policy (1998) found that higher education has numerous individual benefits—economic and social—for students. Learners enjoy higher salaries and better benefits, increased

professional mobility, and better decision making. By elevating staff development to the same level of importance as higher education, employee learners likely would reap similar advantages. It is a win-win scenario.

Aligning staff development with academic programs is ambitious, but some existing models—for example, the Technology, Pedagogy, and Content Knowledge (TPACK) framework—may ease the process. The framework itself focuses on the teaching discipline by dividing it into overlapping areas—technical knowledge (TK), pedagogical knowledge (PK), and content knowledge (CK)—in a specific context (Koehler and Mishra 2009). The framework sits inside a given context, such as a high school or college learning environment. Applying TPACK to professional development requires only a change to the context. A professional development program differs from an individual teacher. While the TPACK model focuses on the teacher, the framework is generalizable to the program. Institutions of higher education can link their professional development and academic programs through TPACK's three areas (TK, PK, and CK) and their overlap. This article examines how IHEs may use the TPACK framework to align staff development with traditional academic apparatuses, benefiting both the institutions and their staff.

Scholarly Framework

Professional Development

It goes by many names: staff development, professional development, training, on-the-job learning. In fact, for education workers, professional development covers a broad range of activities and learning (Professional development 2013). Learning activities can be formal or informal, structured or unstructured, individual or group. Professional development is the process by which employees ascertain or improve the knowledge, skills, and abilities (KSAs) their professions require; it is also learning more about the industry and work context (Ward 2008).

This article uses the terms "professional development," "staff development," and "staff learning" interchangeably to refer to all of the various activities that contribute to the growth of faculty staff, and administrators' KSAs. Professional development programs are those structured learning initiatives that an employer or external organization manages. While the research

derives from work within the administrative functions of higher education, the concepts extend to all types of professional development.

People often associate professional development with teachers and education workers. For example, the No Child Left Behind Act focused, in part, on professional development (No Child Left Behind Act [NCLB] 2002; U.S. Department of Education 2002). It allowed more flexibility for schools to spend their federal dollars even as it mandated that a school use at least 10 percent of its Title I funds for professional development. NCLB also provides some guidelines and standards for high-quality professional development (U.S. Department of Education 2002). These programs also benefit education administrators, who typically work outside of the classroom. Bunis (2006) concludes that "[a]s administrators in institutions devoted to developing the potential of students who come seeking knowledge, we must constantly ask ourselves how we can better serve that mission. One important way is to develop the potential of every person on our team to perform at the highest levels" (69).

Professional development programs provide benefits to employees and their organizations. Reconsidering the conversation between a hypothetical CFO and CEO, the CEO's point is that without professional development, staff may not be prepared to do their job and fulfill the mission of the organization. Training programs offer a two-way channel for teaching and learning from employees (Bunis 2006). Development opportunities help push staff beyond their comfort zone and may propel them to the next level of their career (Taylor and Taylor 2014).

Such programs also help managers and staff build relationships (Bunis 2006). Bunis argues that professional networks are just as important as KSAs. Training programs—especially those that allow coaching and mentoring—build relationships that help teams work together and organizations accomplish their goals.

The CFO's concern about the loss of investment exposes the primary challenge of professional development: it is costly and, therefore, a significant investment in the employee. Funding professional development is a major challenge; organizations often cut it during economic slowdowns (Chakrabarti 2010, Leonard 2010). Education workers constitute a highly trained and skilled workforce, making it easy for some leaders to come to the short-sighted conclusion that training and on-the-job learning are not necessary. These assump-

tions, however, overlook the need for learning emergent KSAs and improving previously developed KSAs.

Campuses typically experience competition for training resources, whether monetary or human (Ward 2008). Often, professional development resources are in high demand. Program structure varies between institutions and can range from centralized (often controlled by the human resources department) to dispersed among various divisions, or a combination thereof.

While few would argue that there are no benefits of professional development, there is some debate in the education community about the risk and effect of poorly designed and low-quality offerings (Professional Development 2013). This risk suggests inconsistencies in these programs. IHEs might improve consistency and quality by aligning professional development with typically more rigorous and standards-based student learning.

The registrar, admissions officer, and enrollment professions are rooted in professional development. In 1910, 24 registrars and university accountants met in Detroit, Michigan, to discuss their profession and best practices for their institutions (AACRAO 2010). Professional development was a focal point of this first gathering of what would eventually become the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (AACRAO). AACRAO's current mission "is to serve and advance higher education by providing leadership in academic and enrollment services" (AACRAO 2010). Professional development is a core component of AACRAO's service and advancement in the profession. For example, the organization has core principles that all members "remain knowledgeable of current principles and processes of the profession; contribute to the continuing advancement of the profession; and encourage the professional development of individuals at all levels of academic and enrollment services" (AACRAO 2010). AACRAO offers career development opportunities to the higher education community and expects its members to actively engage in and support professional opportunities outside of the organization. For AACRAO, lifelong professional learning is an implied value.

In 2011, AACRAO began to list professional skills and competencies for its related professions—*i.e.* admissions, registrar, and enrollment management (AACRAO 2015). AACRAO encourages professionals to use these competencies to create professional development profiles, to participate in self-assessment, to benchmark, and to create or evaluate profession descriptions (AACRAO

2017). AACRAO refined and updated its professional competencies in 2017, and member IHEs began to develop plans to incorporate them into their professional development offerings (Shendy, Bream and Elliott 2017). Work to define the skills and competencies required for the registrar, admissions, and enrollment professions underscores the association's commitment to professional development by providing a framework and standards that practitioners can adopt and utilize.

Benefits of Higher Education

People who pursue postsecondary education increase their earnings: Just two years of college can increase annual income by 20 percent (Institute for Higher Education Policy 1998). Furthermore, higher education is correlated with job attainment (Hartle 1998, Institute for Higher Education Policy 1998). The Institute for Higher Education Policy (1998) identifies four categories of benefits: public economic, private economic, public social, and private social. Higher education provides immense benefits to individual learners and society as a whole. It improves the quality and effectiveness of the labor force and increases tax revenue (public economic benefits) while also increasing earnings and job mobility (private economic benefits). It improves communities through charitable giving, community service, and reduced crime (public social benefits) while enhancing people's quality of life through better health, decision making, and leisurely activities (private social benefits).

In the two decades since the IHEP (1998) report, higher education and the public's perception of it have shifted. Higher education has experienced demographic, economic, and cultural disruption (McGee 2015), including a shift toward enrolling older students, increasing costs, and commoditization and a technical revolution. Economic factors pose the greatest challenge to the economic benefits identified by IHEP (1998). Increasingly, students have to borrow more money in order to enroll in higher education, and they are experiencing lackluster results in finding jobs. As a result, the public and personal economic value of higher education decrease. Despite these changes, McGee (2015) notes that in 2011, 75 percent of Americans perceived higher education as unaffordable. This percentage is high, but it is essentially unchanged since the early 1990s.

Linking professional development programs to higher education processes and content will extend some of those benefits to employees. Such programs

Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge (TPACK)

Technological
Pedagogical
Knowledge

Technological
Content Knowledge

Technological Knowledge

TK

TPK   **TCK**

Pedagogical Knowledge

PK   **CK**

Content Knowledge

Pedagogical Content Knowledge
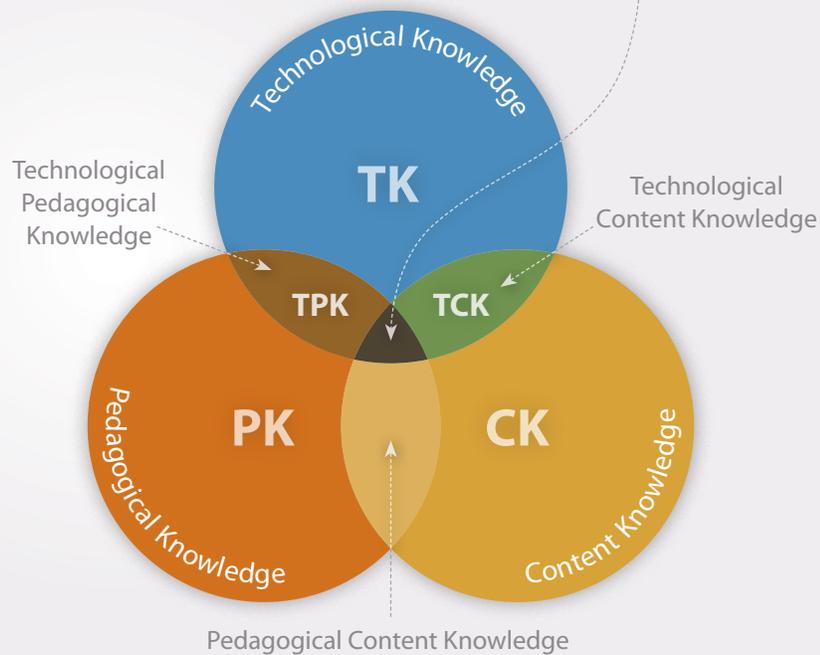
could extend public and private economic benefits, creating a well-educated and highly skilled workforce. Usually, the employee and the organization share the cost of professional development opportunities, with much of it borne by the employer. This model is much different from the pay-up-front and long-term return on investment typical of higher education. Therefore, expanding the scope and quality of professional development programs may help combat negative economic drivers by allowing employees to continue to grow and develop.

Technology, Pedagogy, and Content Knowledge (TPACK) Framework

Standards for teachers' technical knowledge and skills have evolved (Koehler and Mishra 2005). As technology became an important component of pedagogy, training standards included technical skills to implement in the classroom. Around the year 2000, the International Society for Technology in Education (ISTE) and the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) shifted the emphasis from basic technical skills to higher-order, overarching skills (Koehler and Mishra 2005). Koehler and Mishra (2005) contend that the technical content approach to teachers' technical skills did not help them learn how to apply those

skills or encourage deep learning. Teachers could learn the technical skills through applied problem solving in the classroom. Work in this area found that technology is a vital part of educators' knowledge framework, on the same level as pedagogical and content knowledge (Koehler and Mishra 2009).

TPACK builds on the Pedagogical and Content Knowledge (PCK) framework (Shulman 1986, 1987) by incorporating technical knowledge (TK) with pedagogical knowledge (PK) and content knowledge (CK) (Kohler and Mishra 2009). Figure 1 conceptualizes the model with the three knowledge domains and their overlap. CK is the instructor's knowledge of the subject matter and context (*e.g.*, U.S. history at the undergraduate level). PK is the instructor's understanding of the methods and practices of teaching and learning. TK is the instructor's understanding of technology and ability to apply it. The overlap among the three core areas is relevant and meaningful. Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK) is the instructor's understanding and ability to develop teaching methods that are well-suited for the content area. Technical Content Knowledge (TCK) is the understanding of how technology and content work with and constrain each other. Technical Pedagogical Knowledge (TPK) is the instructor's ability to modify the learning techniques

based on the applied technology. The overlap of all the core areas creates Technical, Pedagogical, and Content Knowledge (TPACK), which is a teacher's understanding of how all three areas work together to create new teaching and learning environments.

Analysis

Colleges and universities should align professional development and academic programs using the TPACK framework. Such an alignment could constitute a formal linkage of the programs or adoption of the processes and practices of academic programs into professional development. This application to program development is a natural extension of the TPACK framework. Using that model within the professional development domain could help maximize the efficacy and improve the outcomes of staff learning. This section further explores the feasibility and potential application of the TPACK framework to align professional development programs with academic programs.

Feasibility

At its core, TPACK is a teacher knowledge framework that guides professional development. The knowledge areas—technical (T), pedagogical (P), and content (C) and the overlap among them (PCK, TPK, TCK, and TPACK) create a relational map of which knowledge, skills, and abilities (KSAs) teachers need. Originally, the TPACK model focused on the individual teacher, not the program level. While this may be a new use for the TPACK framework, it is not a significant deviation from its origins. TPACK emerged from research on how to create professional development programs for teachers (Koehler and Mishra 2005). The primary difference is the scope. This article applies TPACK to the educational, organizational level, not just the individual educator. It also broadens the scope of teacher/educator to include faculty, staff, and administrators of IHEs. Given this evolution of the model, there are some contextual differences between higher learning and professional development for which the TPACK model must account.

Higher education programs typically culminate in credentials and degrees. This arrangement of KSAs provides a broad, nearly all-encompassing view of the content area. Undergraduate education includes a wide variety of content (often described as general education or liberal arts education) designed to provide students with foundational knowledge in the humanities, social sciences, literature and writing, math, natural sciences, and technology. Graduate-level education is designed to refine further students' KSAs in a narrow content area.

By comparison, professional development is typically more modular and context specific. Organizations often deliver more focused content over shorter intervals. For example, whereas a sixteen-week academic class that meets for three hours each week provides enrolled students with 48 instructional hours—equivalent to six full work days (assuming eight hours per day)—professional development rarely lasts more than a week.

There is one final contextual difference: Whereas higher education coursework generates revenue, internal professional development programs rarely create a direct revenue stream for the organization. This difference is at the core of the hypothetical disagreement between the CFO and CEO: The CFO perceives professional development as a risky investment because employees may leave before the training has any positive effect on the bottom line or the organization can gain a return on the investment; by contrast, the CEO understands the connection between training and organizational revenue. Regardless of the type of business (IHE or otherwise), professional development benefits the core mission and consumers.

Higher education is a business (Ward 2008), and learning is its product. Folding professional development into academic offerings may help the institution understand it as a potential core product. Professional development programs do not need to be internally focused. A successful program may be packaged and provided to external professionals—even at a cost. Employers may also award credentials and transcripts to employees who participate in professional development (Shendy, Bream and Elliott 2017).

These contextual differences require some tweaking of the TPACK framework for professional development program design. Aligning professional development with academic programs may generate benefits that outweigh the challenges.

Potential Application

Developers of professional development programs linked to traditional academic offerings could use the TPACK framework as a blueprint for integrating the two teaching and learning programs. This section discusses all of TPACK's core and overlapping areas and describes

steps to take and things to consider in implementation. (This analysis is a starting point that future work and research could expand upon and investigate.)

In staff development programs, CK constitutes the KSAs needed for an employee to do her job or grow in her career. As in teaching, there is an expansive list of relevant content, with some overlapping topics. For example, most of AACRAO's (2015, 2017) professional competencies constitute content for the related staff development program.

These content areas are analogous to academic disciplines. A benefit of aligning staff development programs with academic departments is access to content-specific experts, materials, and learning objects. For example, a professional development program in change management would incorporate learning materials from the academic courses in that discipline. Professional development programs should seek opportunities to draw from internal subject-matter experts, such as faculty, to create a deeper, more enriching learning experience (Shendy, Bream and Elliott 2017).

Given any institution's full breadth of content knowledge (CK), a professional development program will be limited only by the content of the institution's academic programs. This connection to academic content represents a shift from a piecemeal approach and increases learning agility by providing opportunities for employees to develop the skills they need.

Pedagogical knowledge (PK) comprises the teaching and learning techniques required for a professional development program. Because both traditional academics and vocational training represent forms of teaching and learning, PK is identical for the two learning contexts: A professor and a corporate trainer both need to know how to teach and should have the skill to use multiple pedagogical approaches.

The professional development program should align with the institution's prevailing pedagogical model. For example, an institution with a competency-based learning model may be better suited to adopt the AACRAO (2015, 2017) professional competencies (Shendy, Bream and Elliott 2017). Using the same learning model will create an economy of scale that will enable the institution to deliver professional development and academic instruction more efficiently. Discrete offerings may utilize the same resources and processes.

Program developers and administrators should give considerable thought to pedagogical content knowledge

(PCK). In most of the other areas, traditional academic processes supersede those of staff development. (Higher education is held to higher standards than are most professional development programs.) While general content KSAs are often the same as the content taught in academic programs, the PCK may not be. In other words, teaching methods unique to the content may vary from the "sterile" classroom to the realities of the work environment. Developers should ensure that they share on-the-job teaching and learning techniques with academic content experts so they are applied to the program.

Technical knowledge (TK) represents the technology utilized in the profession and the classroom. Developers should ensure that technology used on the job is available in the learning environment. The reverse is also true: any technology used in the classroom should also be available on the job. In many cases, innovations within IHEs have not resulted in measurable improvements because they have not embedded innovation or technology within the organization (Rienties *et al.* 2013). TK requires that the organization share technology and innovation between its professional development and academic programs. Technology is not neutral, bearing with it both biases and potentials (Koehler and Mishra 2009). For that reason, developers must look to the best technology and reconcile any differences among technology tools utilized in the different contexts.

Technical content knowledge (TCK) refers to the technology that relates to the content areas and the job functions of the staff. The professional development program must account for the systems, data, and technology the staff needs to do their work. Teaching the content without the technology may limit staff members' ability to apply their learning to their work. Program designers must make sure that the on-the-job technology required for a KSA is available.

Technical pedagogical knowledge (TPK) is the technology related to the learning and teaching—*i.e.* instructional technology. While an organization may have some teaching technology at the staff development level, this is another area where the designers will give the academic program the priority. The learning technology used in the academic context is likely to be more scalable and robust than in the staff training context. If tools in the staff development context are not being utilized in the academic context, then developers should share them with faculty and incorporate them into the joint program.

Technical, pedagogical, and content knowledge (TPACK) is contingent on the skills and competencies of the instructor and should be balanced. Therefore, developers of linked programs should strive to include all three core areas—including their overlap—in the program design. The TPACK areas should be balanced, without preference to anyone.

Conclusion

The title of this article, "Practice What We Teach," is a play on the adage "practice what you preach": We must model and conform to the standards and ideas that effectively teach others. This saying is particularly relevant in the education and professional development domains. Modeling and connecting professional development programs with traditional higher education pedagogy fulfill the vision of practicing what and how we teach.

This article advocates for a new application of the TPACK framework to program and not just teacher development. TPACK offers a checklist of which parts of a professional development program may sync with the academic enterprise. The model is well-suited for this new application but is untested. Future research should apply the TPACK framework to the creation of a professional development program and document the results, paying close attention to cost savings and training efficiencies. Researchers have used various qualitative methods, such as self-reporting, questionnaires, interviews, and observations, to study TPACK's efficacy (Koehler and Mishra 2009); these studies provide a starting point for the evaluation of TPACK as a program development model.

AACRAO's professional competencies are a recently developed resource that institutions could apply to competency-based learning models in order to develop professional development programs. University of Maryland University College (UMUC) has begun work on such a competency-based professional development program (Shendy, Bream and Elliott 2017). Applied work like UMUC's is ideal for testing the applicability of the TPACK model to professional development. In fact, this approach is not limited to any one type of professional development program and pedagogical model. AACRAO's and UMUC's work with competency-based professional development programs fits within their context and strategic direction. Future research could apply this approach to other types of professional development programs and learning models.

Reconsider the parable of the CFO and CEO discussing the risk and reward of staff training: The CEO—perhaps a college president—makes a compelling case that training is necessary to ensure employees' ability to meet students' needs while fulfilling their job duties. Using TPACK as a model to connect professional development to traditional higher education will help quell the concerns of the CFO: An institution will be more efficient in its delivery of professional development when it is linked to the mission-critical teaching and learning enterprise. The consequent economy of scale should decrease the cost to the institution of training. It should also produce better results, benefiting employees, the institution, and the community. Most important, this approach affirms the institution's commitment to being a learning organization dedicated to developing people regardless of their status—student, faculty, or staff.

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Disclosure

The author worked at University of Maryland University College (UMUC) and contributed to the development of a competency-based professional development program in the Office of the Registrar. While this article relates to the general topic of professional development programs, it is separate from UMUC's work. UMUC owns the rights to the intellectual property presented by Shendy, Bream, and Elliott (2017).

Free Speech and Controversial Speakers: Public Institutions' Legal Responsibility and Recommendations for Response

By Brad Pulcini

Recently, public higher education institutions have experienced an increase in requests from extreme political figures from both the right and left to speak on campus. College administrators must comply with laws and fulfill their legal responsibilities while addressing concerns about campus safety—including those held by students and faculty. This article is in three parts: The first reviews free speech principles and relevant legal cases; the second examines recent requests by controversial figures to speak on public campuses and steps institutions have taken to protect free speech; and the third recommends best practices that institutions should consider when responding to requests to host controversial figures on campus.

Free Speech Principles and Relevant Legal Cases

The U.S. Supreme Court has declared that "above all else, the First Amendment means that government has no power to restrict expression because of its message, its ideas, its subject matter, or its content" *(Police Dept. of Chicago* v. *Mosley* 1972). In addition, the court has explained that "content-based regulations are presumptively invalid" *(R.A.V.* v. *City of St. Paul* 1992). Further review of major free speech principles is needed to examine why schools—especially public institutions— may find it difficult to block controversial speakers from their campuses. The first free speech principle, "content discrimination," states that attempts to regu-

late the content of speech are suspect (Kaplin and Lee 2014). Viewpoint discrimination is almost always deemed unconstitutional *(Corry* v. *Stanford University* 1995; *Iota Xi Chapter of Sigma Chi Fraternity* v. *George Mason University* 1993; *R.A.V.* v. *City of St. Paul* 1992). Any institution thus should be leery of trying to limit a person's speech on the basis of disagreement with his viewpoints.

The next free speech principle is that of "offensive speech," which stipulates that speech cannot be regulated or prohibited solely on the grounds that people who hear the message may be offended by it (Kaplin and Lee 2014). Again, the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that the First Amendment prohibits any repression of an idea solely on the basis that society disagrees with the idea or finds it offensive *(Texas* v. *Johnson* 1989). Thus, even though a speaker's views may contradict the values of the university, speech on campus cannot be prohibited on the basis that many would deem the speech offensive. The "underbreadth" principle generally states that if the expression of certain viewpoints or topics in an unprotected area were restricted, then the expression of other viewpoints within that same area might also have to be restricted (Kaplin and Lee 2014).

The rights of minority opinions must also be considered. *Smith* v. *Collin* (1978) allowed a decision by a lower court to permit a group of Nazis led by Frank Collin to demonstrate and march in the Chicago suburb of Skokie. This decision is important for

two reasons: First, it confirmed that the First Amendment protected the right of minority groups to express unpopular viewpoints or ideas without government interference; second, it confirmed that at events held in public spaces and announced in advance, potential hate speech can be avoided or countered by opposing speech (Strossen 1990).

In the seminal case *Schenck* v. *United States* (1919), Justice Holmes's opinion, widely cited today, allows regulation or limitations on speech only if that speech creates a clear and present danger. Years later, the U.S. Supreme Court established the "fighting words doctrine" by a 9–0 decision in *Chaplinksy* v. *New Hampshire* (1942), in which it held that First Amendment protections are not afforded to "insulting fighting words, those that by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace." Proving that the speech creates clear and present danger or is classified as "fighting words" can be difficult. This is evident in a recent federal court ruling involving Auburn University.

Free Speech and Controversial Speakers on College Campuses Today

Multiple public institutions have recently responded to requests by controversial speakers to speak on campus. Auburn University tried to bar white nationalist Richard Spencer from speaking on its campus, citing safety concerns especially in the wake of then-recent events in Charlottesville, Virginia (Heim 2017). Court documents stated that Auburn University would have to prove that Spencer's words promote violence, or constitute fighting words, to justify cancelling the event (Williford 2017). On the basis of the First Amendment, the federal judge in the case reversed the school's decision to cancel the event *(Padgett* v. *Auburn University* 2017).

The University of Florida initially denied Spencer's request to speak on its campus (Associated Press 2017). As Auburn University had done, the school cited immediate concerns about campus security and cancelled the event after it assessed the risks to the campus, community, and law enforcement in light of the violence in Charlottesville, where Spencer had spoken (Associated Press 2017). After the institute Spencer heads threatened to file a federal lawsuit, the University of Flor-

ida reopened conversations to identify a new date for Spencer to speak on campus, in accordance with First Amendment principles (Weiner 2017). He spoke at the University of Florida in September 2017 and at Michigan State University in March 2018 (Mathias 2018).

A number of states proposed legislation in 2017 with the stated intent of reaffirming the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of speech on college campuses (Hinds 2017). Several of these bills passed in response to a proposal from the Goldwater Institute (Hinds 2017). The proposal includes provisions to prevent a campus from disinviting a speaker who has been invited by a member of the campus community and for campuses to sanction students who attempt to or successfully disrupt events or speakers (Kurtz, Manley, and Butcher 2017). This legislation is mostly a reaction to conservative leaders who perceive college campuses as too liberal.

The cases, rulings, and free speech principles described in this article make it difficult for public colleges and universities to bar speakers from campus on the basis of concerns about hate speech. The First Amendment and the Supreme Court remain constant in their protection of speech (Kaplin and Lee 2014). The court's rationale is based on the notion that the free exchange of thoughts and ideas—regardless of how hateful or vile some may be—is more beneficial than their suppression (Klepper and Bakken 1997). Rather than regulating hate speech on campus, student affairs professionals should encourage critical and honest evaluation of all forms of expression; teach acceptance; and provide evidence to the campus community of how destructive and harmful hateful expression can be (Klepper and Bakken 1997).

Recommendations

Although federal law and relevant court cases largely protect the rights of controversial speakers on public college and university campuses, institutions should not ignore student and faculty concerns. The Southern Poverty Law Center (Carrier 2017) provides guidance on responding to controversial speakers in a proactive way that does not limit free speech principles.

The Southern Poverty Law Center's guide recommends encouraging students to hold an alternative event, away from the speech in question, that highlights the campus's commitment to inclusion and the

nation's democratic values (Carrier 2017). This is similar to the approach Texas A&M took when Spencer spoke at its campus in late 2016. Texas A&M organized and sponsored a "counter event" that highlighted the school's commitment to inclusion and diversity, allowed speeches denouncing Spencer and hate movements, and provided a designated space in the form of a wall where people could write and express their unity (Jaschik 2016). Follow Texas A&M's lead: Plan an event at which students, faculty, and staff can celebrate their institution's commitment to the free exchange of ideas, diversity, and inclusivity.

In addition, institution officials should continue to explore opportunities to engage students in dialogue about hate speech (Hatfield, Schafer and Stroup 2005) and to encourage "moral conversations" that promote a collegiate environment that fosters student learning (Harris and Ray 2014). Research shows that engaging students in conversations about hate speech decreases their perception of the appropriateness of such speech and increases their overt reactions to hate messages (Hatfield,

Schafer and Stroup 2005). Initiating and continuing dialogues about hate speech can help institutions continue to work toward their missions of inclusion.

Higher education scholars have argued that "moral conversations"—the sharing of stories that give meaning to the lives of people—give students the opportunity to come together in community and make meaning of the world in which they live (Nash, Bradley and Chickering 2008). Student affairs professionals on the front lines should engage in moral conversations with students not only in times of controversy such as those our institutions are currently facing, but also as a matter of everyday discourse (Uecker 2011). "The complex diversity of today's college campus gives rise to environments that are rich with opportunities for learning, personal growth, and meaningful interactions" (Harris and Ray 2014, 185). Controversial speech on college campuses is not a new phenomenon. At the core of higher education's mission is equipping students with the tools with which to confront a host of different ideas with a bias toward open dialogue (Kruger 2017).

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Miscalculating Need: How the Free Application for Federal Student Aid Misses the Mark

By Katy Mathuews

At more than one hundred questions, the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) has often been the source of sharp criticism. Indeed, the length, complexity, and timing of the FAFSA have left many students, parents, and institutions frustrated, prompting policy makers to demand reform. The urgency to reform is especially salient when low-income students are not awarded enough aid to meet college costs or adequate resources to support a fulfilling college career. Despite recent improvements in the FAFSA's length, complexity, and timeliness (Dynarski 2016, Field 2017, Onink 2017, Stratford 2015), critics remain preoccupied with the form itself. Yet in order to make real progress in higher education accessibility and affordability, policy makers must reframe the conversation to consider more nuanced critiques of the FAFSA need calculation. This article reflects on common critiques of the FAFSA need calculation and introduces new considerations to improve the understanding of student need.

Critiques of the Formula

Onink (2017) points out that the FAFSA need calculation is only a snapshot of a student's financial status at one point in time, ignoring fluctuations within the year and from one year to another. Perhaps the most significant critique draws on the role of parental support. FAFSA need calculations are heavily weighted toward parental income and assets without any knowledge of parents' willingness or ability to support their college-going children (Goldrick-Rab 2016). This assumption ignores the fact that many students do not receive money from their parents and, in many cases, may be working to help financially support their parents, siblings, and other relatives. Goldrick-Rab (2016) asserts that "the financial situations of low-income students and their families are more complicated and challenging than FAFSAs reveal" (153). The assumption that parents have the luxury to provide financial support to their college-going children is a biased view that privileges higher-income students. In addition, parents may not be generally accommodating of the FAFSA process. Goldrick-Rab (2016) describes students whose parents did not readily provide their income tax information because they were skeptical of providing it when they were not helping the student pay for college.

Even these critiques, however, miss the mark. In order to truly gauge student financial need, calculations should ensure that student need is, in fact, being considered. Financial support for higher education is inadequate if students lack basic resources to make the most of their college experience. The following section highlights several areas that may be helpful to consider when determining student financial need.

New Considerations for the FAFSA Need Calculation

In an appeal to the Technical Review Panel of the National Center for Education Statistics' National Post-Secondary Aid Study, Goldrick-Rab and Nellum (2015) assert that the current model for determining student need is biased in favor of traditional college students. They contend that college students are increasingly nontraditional and face unique challenges that financial aid calculations do not consider, such as commuting distance and family obligations. In particular, they assert that food insecurity should be added to data gathering to more accurately assess student need (Goldrick-Rab and Nellum 2015).

A study by the Wisconsin HOPE Lab found that as many as 27 percent of Pell grant recipients in Wisconsin reported being food insecure (Goldrick-Rab and Nellum 2015). The study points out the inability of students to concentrate and make the most of their college experience when they do not receive proper nutrition (Goldrick-Rab and Nellum 2015). The struggle with food insecurity highlights one way in which students may demonstrate financial need that the FAFSA may not consider, with the result that students are awarded insufficient aid to make the most of their college experience.

Likewise, in *Paying the Price: College Costs, Financial Aid, and the Betrayal of the American Dream*, Goldrick-Rab (2016) asserts that aid calculations underestimate need in yet another way: housing insecurity. In recent years, the FAFSA began asking applicants if they were experiencing homelessness. In 2012–13, approximately 58,000 students who completed the FAFSA reported experiencing homelessness (Goldrick-Rab 2016). Not only are financial considerations a challenge for students experiencing homelessness, but the stresses of housing insecurity distract from the time and attention they can devote to coursework.

Even when students live with family, it can be easy to underestimate need. First, when students and their families complete the FAFSA, they must report where the student will live while enrolled. When the cost of attendance is considered in need calculations, schools use the estimated cost of living for both on- and off-campus options. Often, the cost of living on campus is estimated to be higher than that of living off campus, resulting in less aid for students who expect to live off campus. Goldrick-Rab (2016) notes, however, that at one-fifth of institutions in the United States, the cost estimates for off-campus living are at least 20 percent less than what would be required to maintain a modest standard of living. Further, living off campus often introduces challenges not considered by the FAFSA, such as inadequate heating, cooling, plumbing, and maintenance, both structurally and with regard to pests (Goldrick-Rab 2016). As with food insecurity, housing insecurity suggests that students who cannot afford a healthy and secure living environment may not be able to focus fully on educational pursuits and thus may be unable to maximize their college experience.

Other scholars are beginning to examine the impact of so-called "time poverty" on college students (Burston 2017). First introduced by Vickery (1977), time poverty challenges the notion of considering poverty on a strictly financial basis. Vickery (1977) contends that when poverty is measured by strictly monetary means, it ignores the usage of resources that households typically expend in an effort to overcome their poverty. Vickery (1977) explains that members of low-income households often work longer hours and participate in additional activities in order to compensate for financial shortfalls. This constrains not only the quantity of time but also the quality of time people can contribute to alleviating poverty and maintaining their well-being (Vickery 1977).

The same scenario can be applied to students. When student financial aid does not fully cover college costs, a gap occurs that students must make up via student loans or work at off-campus or on-campus jobs. School, work, self and family care, and household responsibilities create situations in which students are poor in time as well as money. The time deficit can lead to exhaustion and time away from curricular and co-curricular activities, adversely affecting student outcomes. In order to fully support students' financial and personal well-being, policy makers should consider time in addition to money deficits.

Recommendations

One way to better understand student need could be to shift the focus from income to ability to pay. Currently, the FAFSA does not consider financial obligations not reported on income tax forms, such as healthcare bills, transportation costs, or the support of family members. Rather than basing the FAFSA on income tax, there may

be value in basing it on the income statement or statement of cash flows approach of the accounting world. This would allow income to be considered in the context of all financial obligations in order to gauge the availability of money to allocate toward education expenses. This information could be paired with the availability of money in college savings plans (such as 529 plans), which could be further incentivized to encourage participation. Focusing on college-specific savings plans would also control for the willingness of parents to allocate money toward their children's schooling rather than assuming, as the FAFSA currently does, that the mere existence of assets indicates a willingness to help pay for college expenses. Moreover, adapting the formula to consider the amount of financial support necessary to ensure adequate food, housing, and time could help students maximize their college experience.

Conclusion

Ensuring that students can afford access to college has long been a value of higher education. Yet the process for receiving financial aid is often critiqued as long and arduous, which may limit access. While this is a valid critique, it falls short of identifying the methods of calculating need as the source of the problem. The FAFSA aid calculation attempts to consider the expected family contribution, student contribution, and cost of attendance, but the calculation is biased toward traditional students and does not provide an adequate representation of financial need. Many students experience challenges such as food insecurity, housing insecurity, and time poverty that are not documented on income tax and FAFSA forms. When aid calculations do not include information reflective of students' real experiences, students are not awarded aid that is sufficient for them to maximize their college education. Awarding aid more accurately is not just about students' paying their bills; it is about ensuring that students are truly able to access higher education without having to also overcome the kinds of obstacles the FAFSA need calculation fails to acknowledge.

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Designing Positive Effects: Orientation and Student Success

By Matthew Davis

It is easy to believe that the better prepared someone is for an undertaking, the more successful the endeavor could be. The same could be said of a student beginning a new experience at a college or university. There are academic plans to review and choose and resources to know about and use throughout the course of an academic career. At many institutions, the answer to students' needs for preparation has been in the form of new student orientation. Orientation experiences have been designed to support student performance and retention and also to ease students' transition from secondary to postsecondary education. These experiences are designed to complement the transactional nature of first-term enrollment in college and ultimately to deliver a more transformative student outcome. Thus, the short-term gains of orientation might include a positive emotional change for the student, an opportunity to network with a group of peers, and just-in-time knowledge transfer for enrollment procedures. It is the student's longer-term performance gains, broader academic and career networking, and persistence that complete the overall picture when considering student success measures.

To truly determine if a student's overall success has been influenced by participation in orientation, several factors need to be examined. Simply reviewing the student's opinion of the experience and how her feelings and knowledge have changed would not provide a complete view of the transformational changes, though these factors are important. More concrete examples of student success—such as academic performance, student experience, feelings of fitting in, and overall learning outcomes—should also be considered in measuring the effects that orientation experiences can have on a student.

Measures of Success

Among the measures of success that appear to be influenced by orientation experiences—and the one that is perhaps most intuitive when thinking about student success—is academic performance. In a study at The Ohio State University, Black and Murphy (2017) tracked all students who completed the orientation experience and compared that list with one of students who were still enrolled in subsequent years. By comparing students who had completed orientation with those who had not and then correlating supporting data on students' GPA as well as program, status, etc., differences between the two groups were identified. Average GPA increased significantly for students who completed the orientation experience as compared to those who did not.

Overall student retention is another measure that indicates the effectiveness of orientation experiences. Academic performance is key, but absent retention, performance cannot be an indicator for the student who disenrolls and consequently is excluded from internal academic performance tracking. In addition, retention is viewed as a key indicator in the success of the student

because only retained students are able to be served and assisted through the resources presented at orientation. In Black and Murphy's (2017) study at Ohio State, student retention was tracked and analyzed in the same manner as academic performance. Students who completed orientation and who remained enrolled at the institution during the study period were retained at 93.7 percent whereas those who did not complete orientation were retained at only 82.7 percent (412). Regarding predominantly online and distance learning students, Jones (2013) reported overall student retention in online courses of 7.7 percent at Richland Community College after its orientation.

Student experience itself can be another measure of the success of an orientation program. Hullinger and Hogan (2014) examined pre- and post-experience anxiety levels in incoming graduate students. They found that anxiety levels were significantly lower after the orientation experience (mean scores decreased from 38.4 to 36.3 across the entire sample). Jones (2013) found that among students who completed orientation, 90 percent felt that orientation was helpful, and 93 percent reported feeling either confident or very confident when considering their use of the college's learning management system (a key outcome of the orientation curriculum).

Evaluation of students' perceptions (as through Jones' 2013 survey) provides valuable insight into a strong predictor of success. Mayhew, Vanderlinden, and Kim (2010) concluded that students' perceptions were one of the most important predictors of the impact of orientation: "How students evaluated orientation with helping them understand academic and social expectations was also highly predictive of an orientation's impact" (338). Worrall (2007) noted importance in how students perceived that they either did or did not fit in with regard to whether they were ultimately successful in college and drew linkages between orientation experiences and those feelings. Further, because orientations are designed to help students feel that they are expected and welcome, students' perception of belonging and fitting in increases after their participation. This is corroborated by Hatch, Mardock-Uman, Garcia and Johnson (2018) in their description of orientation experiences as "rehearsing college going." This idea of students' getting to "try out" both the social and the learning aspects of college prior to engaging in *real* classroom learning with peers in an environment where their performance results in grades is key. Students who feel a sense of belonging have fewer social distractions in the classroom and, consequently, greater ability to focus on the academic portion of their college experience.

Learning outcomes based on orientation curricula also have a strong impact on students' success overall through the skills they learn as part of the orientation experience. In Samson's (2010) study on information literacy as a contributing factor to success, mere exposure to certain tenets of the literacy model resulted in learning. The finding that "first-year students cited newspapers and Web sources significantly more than capstone students" (204) indicated that learning was applied and knowledge maintained through the educational experience. While the population has shifted such that more students who are entering college are already computer literate, information literacy remains an important part of orientation curricula. As a student progresses through an institution's program, instructors can focus students' attention more on research and the citation of primary sources when defending ideas. Many orientations include either visits to the college library or librarians teaching in the classroom. It is no surprise then that Samson (2010) reported that "student work product is an extremely useful gauge of the role of library instruction in higher education" (209) as, in fact, information literacy is directly linked to performance in other classes.

Design

To ensure that students achieve success and learning outcomes as a result of participating in orientation, consideration should be given to the design of the experience itself. The outcomes sought from such an experience will dictate its design. Mayhew, Vanderlinden, and Kim (2010) noted the importance of incorporating a diverse set of learning opportunities to ensure that minority and non-minority students learn in settings in which both feel comfortable. Planning to meet students' various traditional and social learning needs in the orientation experience can have either positive or negative outcomes. Following a social learning model, Mayhew *et al.* (2010) suggest that a return to the "'fun and games' approach" (339) could yield significant results as social learning takes a more predominant place in the design of orientations.

Orientations can be delivered in face-to-face and virtual formats. Wilson and Minhas-Taneja (2016) note

several issues with face-to-face orientation—including length of orientation, volume of information offered, and students' need to wait until orientation to receive information—that can be overcome by offering online formats. The authors advise that investment and buy-in from the entire institution is important to making sure that orientation remains focused on the student experience. Jones (2013) notes that the mandatory orientation experience at Richland Community College is online and, thus, self-paced but stresses that the content is allocated into modules that students complete in a specific order. In this way, the asynchronous and online version of orientation content traditionally developed and shared face to face retains the quality of a guided experience without the limitations of face-to-face delivery.

In Worrall's (2007) experience developing orientations for nursing students, the design of an orientation that incorporated "forced networking" immediately bolstered feelings of belonging while "failure to introduce students to key people could add to feelings of not fitting in" (31). Along with a campus tour, the communication of facts about the institution and other basic knowledge transfer that is completed during classroom instruction allow for additional social learning.

It is important to note that the actual content of the orientation curriculum is perhaps the most impactful design element. As mentioned, a feeling of belonging and inclusion in social learning remains a key tenet of orientation; designing experiences accordingly is likely to foster student success. Benavides and Keyes (2016) echo the importance of how peer groups are designed, with some of their study's participants expressing fear or anxiety with regard to the age gaps between themselves and their orientation classmates; other students expressed appreciation for the participation of alumni and graduate students.

Conclusion

By looking first at the different measures of student success that can be influenced by orientation experiences, developers of both curriculum and delivery have a focus on which to base their review of existing curriculum for improvement and their design of future

orientation programming. With the key measures of academic performance, retention and persistence, and social well-being serving as the blueprint, strong design elements can help ensure that students are equipped for success. Of course, much work and research remain to be completed. Much of the research outlined in this article focuses on the general facets of success (*e.g.*, performance, retention, etc.)—those most commonly measured through survey and statistical analysis. But there is a dearth of information comparing how students en-

tering with partially complete ideas about how they will be successful in college modify those ideas as a result of participation in orientation. In addition, providing more direct linking between specific design elements and various student types can help ensure that the needs of the overall student population are better met. The more specific information and correlation research can provide, the better instructional design and orientation delivery can become. Ultimately, this will result in better success for student consumers of these services.

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Evolution of a Gap Semester Program: An Experiential Challenge

By Elizabeth Coder, Eric Hall, and Rodney Parks

This study examines the college transition of first-year students who engaged in a university-sponsored gap semester program during their first semester. A transition survey collecting both short-term and longitudinal data (depending on the class year of the respondent) was administered to first-year students, sophomores, juniors, and seniors who completed the gap semester program. Findings indicate that the retention of the gap-semester program participants was significantly lower than that of their peers who did not complete the program. This was based on myriad factors including social integration with peers upon their return and campus culture.

Gap Semester Program

In an effort to create innovative pathways in undergraduate education, a mid-sized liberal arts university in the southeastern United States (referred to here as Southern University) launched a semester-long gap program. The experience was developed on the theoretical foundation that many young adults seek to become more self-aware and independent prior to beginning their formal undergraduate studies and that this may be best accomplished through so-called high-impact practices (Kuh 2008, Swaner and Brownell 2009). The program was conceptualized to meet a charge in the university's strategic plan to create a first-year gap semester program that would integrate service learning and evolve to include other high-impact practices, including leadership and global engagement. Students develop leadership skills through a 26-day wilderness expedition with the National Outdoor Leadership School (NOLS) focusing on leadership; methods and approaches to team building; emergence of individual leadership styles; "leave no trace" principles and certification; and other outdoor skills necessary to survival in the backcountry. Courses offered through NOLS are transcripted by the University of Utah and entered as transfer credit in the form of four credit hours that count toward the university's core curriculum requirements.

After completing NOLS, students begin the service-learning portion of the experience, traveling across the country to learn about social justice issues and to engage in service with local non-profit agencies meeting community-identified needs. Each week represents a different service locale at which students explore topics ranging from poverty and oppression to hunger and food systems, environmental management and culture, and homelessness and community organizing. During each service week, a faculty or staff member from Southern joins the group to help facilitate the service-learning curriculum and to further connect the group to members of the Southern community. A curriculum-specific text provides background information on each community partner and social issue that will be focused on during the week. Students are also encouraged to think critically and reflectively about their experience by generating weekly goals and blog entries, responding to prompts, and engaging in daily structured group discussion. Students earn one course credit for this portion of the semester-long experience and meet an

experiential learning requirement in service learning for the university.

After a weeklong fall break, students engage in a six-week global engagement experience and Spanish immersion in either Costa Rica or Spain. To complement the coursework, students live with local host families to improve their cultural competence and Spanish-language skills. Classes are held daily, with weekend excursions to areas of cultural and/or historical significance. Students earn four academic course credits for this part of the semester, which also counts toward core curriculum requirements. In total, students earn nine academic course credits for the semester-long experience, satisfying areas of the Southern core curriculum including completion of one of two experiential learning requirements.

Gap students enroll in one four-credit class on campus the following January, during winter term. Gap students have several transitional touchpoints during winter term, including a meeting with a librarian to learn about research resources, a resume workshop with the career counseling office, and a one-on-one meeting with the coordinator of gap programs, the professional staff member who oversees the program and travels with the cohort during the service-learning and global engagement portions of the program. The spring semester starts at the end of January. First-year students admitted for the spring semester and mid-year transfer students typically enroll at Southern at the start of the spring semester. During the spring semester, the gap cohort is enrolled in the same first-year one-credit-hour seminar course, which serves as an extended orientation and re-entry course coupled with academic advising. Gap students are also paired with sophomore mentors (who completed the program the previous year) to help ease the transition to campus.

Southern's Gap Program: Following the Traditions of Experiential Education

University-sponsored gap semester programs are relatively young within the burgeoning field of student affairs. To date, little formal research on this unique population of students has been conducted. Southern's Gap Experience students are exceptionally unique in that they are first-semester, first-year students who are fully matriculated Southern students completing coursework in three highly experiential off-campus environments.

Southern University has embedded experiential learning in its curriculum for more than twenty years, offering deep structural support for high-impact practices (Kuh 2008). In recent years Southern has advanced and deepened the general education requirement that students complete two units of study from five designated experiences: study abroad/study USA, service-learning, leadership, undergraduate research, and internships. Each of these experiences is mentored by university faculty or staff and integrates the traditional liberal arts curriculum—in which students are introduced to concepts, theories, and methods—with knowledge gained through experience. The combination has powerful and transformative results and produces graduates who can think critically and solve problems.

These same foundations underlie Southern's semester-long Gap Experience, with mentored programming in service learning, leadership, and global engagement. While little research exists on the impact of a gap semester, Ethan Knight (2016) of the American Gap Association points out that "when students return to campus, they are more motivated to do well and engaged in the classroom because they have a taste of what the world will be like after they graduate." Research on students who took a gap year found improved academic performance in college, with the strongest impact for students who had applied to college having earned grades in high school at the lower end of the distribution (Crawford and Cribb 2012). There is no question that college can be an exploratory time for students to discover their passions with the help of teachers, mentors, and peers. But what differences exist for students who participate in a structured gap semester?

Methods

In March 2016, a transition assessment was designed and sent to all four Gap Experience cohorts. Twenty (43%) of the 46 Gap alumni completed the survey. Participants included eight first-year students, five sophomores, three juniors, and four seniors. Students were asked to use a Likert scale to respond to questions about the student experience, including how informed they were about the transition to campus, course registration, campus housing options, financial aid, declaring a major, academic advising, and involvement in co-curricular experiences, among others. Although the response options differed according to the questions, a

response of 1 indicated the most successful outcome and a response of 4 the least successful outcome.

Transitioning to Campus

Students felt most informed about Southern's month-long winter term, course registration for spring, and campus housing options. Students felt the least informed about campus culture, with a total of fifteen (75%) saying they were neutral, somewhat informed, or not informed.

When asked about their transition to campus after the fall semester, eleven students (55%) indicated that it was either very easy or somewhat easy; nine (45%) indicated that it was either difficult or very difficult. In their qualitative responses, students expressed a wide variety of opinions about the benefits of arriving on campus during winter term. One (5%) indicated that "winter term was a great time to come into campus because things were slower" whereas another wrote that "I felt like there was no one on campus and no way for me to get involved during this time. After having a very tight and busy schedule on Gap, I had nothing to do all day during winter term." More than half of students (55%) indicated a significant difference between the types of students they met on Gap versus those they met on campus: "I think multiple parts were hard, but the hardest parts were…expecting Southern students to be similar to the students that did the Southern gap semester." Three respondents (15%) expressed similar sentiments about the differences between students who participate in Gap and the 'typical' Southern student. This is clear cause for concern and serves as a call to review many facets of the program, including recruitment and selection, re-entry, and transition programming.

Students were also asked about their orientation experience—including meetings with the coordinator of gap programs about course registration, academic advising, and housing selection—in addition to the orientation held once students arrive on campus in January. All students indicated that these meetings were somewhat helpful, helpful, or very helpful; that the orientation process is necessary; and that a more robust orientation incorporating previous Gap Experience students as mentors would be beneficial.

When asked how confident they were in their ability to find the appropriate campus resource when in need of assistance, students' responses varied. Only two (10%) indicated that they were not confident in finding

appropriate campus resources whereas eighteen (90%) indicated some level of confidence. The coordinator of gap programs, the university website, and other gap alumni were the three most commonly cited resources students sought out to assist them with integration. Sixteen students (80%) indicated that they figured things out for themselves.

When asked about their level of campus engagement and whether they considered themselves engaged members of the Southern community, all 20 respondents (100%) said yes. Sixteen students (80%) indicated that they were members of a student club and/or organization, and fourteen (70%) had attended university-sponsored events and were members of a sports team (club or intramural). Eleven students (55%) had continued their involvement in service or volunteer activities, seven (35%) obtained on-campus employment, and two (10%) had engaged in undergraduate research. Thus, gap students displayed a willingness to engage with the campus community following their gap semester.

When asked if they felt connected to their residential community upon their arrival on campus—whether through attendance at campus events or interaction with a resident advisor (RA) or other residents—results were divided evenly, with ten students (50%) indicating that they did feel connected and ten (50%) indicating that they did not feel connected. The reasons for this varied widely. Students indicated that having a roommate, suitemates, and floormates who were welcoming helped them feel connected to their residential community; conversely, other students cited the outgoing or approachable nature of their RA and the physical location of their residence as hindrances to their sense of connection.

Half of respondents (50%) indicated that their residential community made an effort to engage with them, and half indicated that it did not. As mentioned, the reasons for this varied widely. Some students felt that other students on their floor already had a group of friends or were participating in sorority recruitment and thus were not interested in fostering new friendships; others mentioned that their roommate's and resident advisor's willingness to engage helped them feel connected. Overall, the data indicate that the gap coordinator should further collaborate with residence life to provide information for resident advisors about the needs of incoming Gap Experience students—information that is also pertinent for January-start and mid-year transfer students.

Responses to an inquiry as to how connected Gap students felt to other Gap alumni revealed that all twenty (100%) felt at least somewhat connected, confirming that having a gap alumni community is a valuable resource for newly transitioning gap students. However, when asked about the process of integrating into existing social circles upon their arrival on campus, fourteen students (70%) considered their path to engagement on campus easy, whereas six (30%) considered it difficult. The primary reason respondents gave for the challenge of integrating into existing social circles was a feeling that continuing students on campus had already formed firm social groups.

When asked about the most rewarding aspect of transitioning to Southern, gap students indicated that gaining an alternate perspective, sharing their gap experience, bringing the lessons they learned from gap to their coursework and co-curricular experiences, settling into campus life, and creating new friendships were highlights of their experience. Students also indicated that knowing about the university's writing center, hearing from their gap mentor (a sophomore student who completed the program the previous year), knowing more about what life is like on campus, and additional academic advising would have been helpful in their transition to campus life.

Retention

One of the most important measures of the viability of the gap semester is retention. Students have been successfully retained following their participation in the Gap Experience. First- to second-year retention is a key performance indicator for the university and is critical to evaluating the success of the gap semester program. (*See* Table 1, on page 41.)

A total of 75 students have enrolled in Southern's Gap Experience program since the program's inception in 2012; of those, seventy-one (95%) completed the fall semester program. Interestingly, Southern Gap Experience students have an overall lower than average retention rate from the first to the second year (87 percent) than do Southern students who did not participate in the Gap Experience. Absent a formal exit interview for students who have left Southern, their reasons for doing so are purely speculative. Qualitative data collected via exit interviews indicate that several students over at least the past two years indicated their intent to transfer early in the fall semester, prior even to their arrival on campus. This suggests that some students are interested in participating in the Gap Experience but are not committed to Southern. (Two students from the 2015 cohort transferred in the fall of their sophomore year.)

Some data have been analyzed to better understand where the 75 gap alumni currently reside. (*See* Table 2, on page 41.)

Baseline qualitative feedback from students who decided to transfer described the students who participated in the fall semester Gap Experience program and those on Southern's home campus as coming from "two different schools." Students who transferred also pointed out that they sought "more opportunities to engage with people from different backgrounds and socioeconomic statuses similar to their gap cohort [who] were not found on campus." One student who transferred pointed out that there is "not a lot of socioeconomic diversity on campus" while another said that "it feels like most people at Southern are only focused on partying, and there is too big of an emphasis on Greek life."

Baseline Assessment

At its inception in 2012, the Gap Experience opted to utilize the Global Perspectives Inventory (GPI) (Braskamp, Braskamp, Merrill, and Engberg 2012), an instrument designed to assess a global and holistic view of student development, to assess the program's original learning outcomes (*see* Appendix) which aligned closely with the goals of the GPI. The GPI assesses development across three dimensions: cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal. At the time, the Global Education Center (GEC) at Southern utilized the GPI in order to assess the intercultural competency development of upperclassmen students studying abroad; the gap semester program was one cohort within this group that was analyzed.

The Global Perspectives Inventory is a self-assessment of what Braskamp *et al.* (2012) define as "the capacity and predisposition for a person to think with complexity, taking into account multiple perspectives, to form a unique sense of self that is value based and authentic and to relate to others with respect and openness especially with those who are not like [him/herself]" (p. 2). The measure consists of six subscales within three broad dimensions:

Table 1. Completion, Retention, and Persistence to Degree

Students who…	Gap 2015		Gap 2014		Gap 2013		Gap 2012	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
began the program	15	100	15*	100	15	100	15	100
completed the program and attended spring semester	15	100	13	87	15	100	15	100
were retained first to second year	13	87	13	100	11	73	15	100

* In fall 2014, two students were dismissed from the program and were suspended for the semester for violating the student Code of Conduct during NOLS. One of those students returned to Southern for the spring, and the other transferred. Because they did not complete the program, they are not included in the first- to second-year retention.

◆ Cognitive (knowing; knowledge);
◆ Intrapersonal (identity; affect); and
◆ Interpersonal (social responsibility; social interactions).

The inventory is administered pre–, post–, and delayed post– (April) gap semester. Results are pre- and post-aggregated across the three cohorts (2012, 2013, and 2014). A summary of these data indicates that gap students at the end of the semester rate themselves, on average, somewhat higher than norms for first-year undergraduates. These data indicate that gap students report statistically significant growth (pre- to post-) for the following subscales:

◆ **Knowledge** (cognitive): degree of understanding and awareness of various cultures and their impact on the global society and level of proficiency in more than one language;

◆ **Identity** (intrapersonal): level of awareness of one's unique identity and degree of acceptance of the ethnic, racial, and gender dimensions of one's identity; and
◆ **Social Interaction** (interpersonal): degree of engagement with others who are different from oneself and degree of cultural sensitivity in living in pluralistic settings.

Additional assessment of the most recent cohorts of students is needed to better understand the impact of the Gap Experience.

Conclusion

One of the most concerning outcomes of the Gap Experience semester is decreased retention. While it is clear that students are successful during the gap term and their subsequent transition to the home campus, decreased overall retention from students' first to second year is disconcerting. Whether gap students already possess certain qualities and characteristics that can make them feel like outsiders on campus or whether these qualities and characteristics are cultivated during the Gap Experience is largely unknown. What is known is that these incoming first-year gap students have an experience that is incredibly unique compared to that of their peers, and there is a distinct disconnect between their experience of Southern University during the fall semester and their experience on campus. Additional work is needed with the Office of Institutional Research to administer the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) Survey (a survey that all other incoming first-year students at Southern complete during New Student Orientation), for gap students may help

Table 2. Current Status of Gap Experience Participants, 2012–2015

Status	Number of Gap Experience Alumni
Currently Enrolled	47
Graduated	13
Transferred	9
Dismissed (Honor Code Violation)	1
Medical Withdrawal	1
Joined Military	2
Unknown	2

clarify key indicators that could inform strategies for increasing gap student retention.

Results suggest a more robust January orientation process for gap students upon their arrival on campus. With only five (25%) indicating that they felt informed about the campus culture at Southern, more work is needed to help educate students about what to expect during their transition to the home campus.

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Innovation to Inquiry:
Creating Additional Value
from Credential Expansions

By Alexander Taylor, Rachel Brown, Rodney Parks, Jesse Parrish, and Casey Hayes

The Challenge of Innovation in the Knowledge Economy

To stand out in a crowded marketplace, every organization must find or create a competitive edge. Companies without a unique advantage get lost in a tide of rivals. A reliable first-level approach to honing this edge is to focus on one or more elements of the marketing mix, traditionally defined as the combination of product, price, promotion, and place. Most successful ventures depend on at least one of these elements, even at the expense of another. However, in today's economy, markets are inundated with a bevy of new competitors each year—largely as a result of the computerization of information—and each addition further dilutes the value of a unidimensional advantage. Numerous start-ups are riding the wave of the "everything as a service" model, which features low barriers to entry, little to no capital expenditure, and massive scalability.

This environment seems to demand innovation that transcends the concepts of the traditional business model. It fosters today's *disruptive innovation,* "a process by which a product or service takes root initially in simple applications at the bottom of a market and then relentlessly moves up market, eventually displacing established competitors" (Christensen n.d.). As companies innovate faster than the needs that their customers require, they create products or services that are actually too sophisticated, too expensive, and too complicated. This allows disruptive products to enter the marketplace and outperform competitors in the field.

While disruptive innovations tend to gain headlines in the media, severe disruption in industries such as higher education could have detrimental consequences. A recent article in *Inside Higher Ed* describes how disruptive innovation can easily become destructive. Higher education today can be viewed as a partnership among institutions, individuals and their families, and employers. This partnership is grounded in the trust that institutions will provide substantive skills that graduates can apply in the workplace and in life. Disruptive innovations, though groundbreaking, may erode trust if proper measures of accountability and means of communication are not implemented (Warner 2017).

Typically, disruptive innovation consists of momentous change and requires significant overhaul of standard procedures and/or service delivery. To the detriment of budgets, this means that if such a solution cannot be created internally, it must be purchased. For organizations adrift in a sea of competitors, the most pressing question is "What can we do to maintain competitiveness without increasing cost?" This question has become especially significant for the registrar profession. As higher education enrollment and funding fluctuate, administrators increasingly are expected to meet students' demands with fewer staff, fewer resources, and fewer funds. If any investments are made, they are subject to scrutiny.

Return on innovation investment is assessed primarily on the basis of impact; the chief criterion to consider is *additionality* (Brest and Born 2013). Roughly, "additionality" means that an innovation must yield some positive effect or contribution beyond the solution it provides. For example, if a university plans to deploy an online advising model to facilitate advising conversations, but engagement in and satisfaction with these conversations remains the same, it is not *additional.* By contrast, if the new model generates greater interest in the advising program or earns the institution renown that attracts more applicants, then its implementation has yielded *additionality.*

In the context of higher education, the registrar's office rarely commands the resources to achieve dramatic overhauls. Rather, incremental innovation offers a far more efficient use of available human and material resources. Unlike disruptive innovation, which seeks to develop new solutions altogether, incremental innovation focuses on improving existing solutions (Norman and Verganti 2014). This approach requires changing component elements of service delivery or value proposition, not reinventing the process from end to end.

This paper outlines a pathway to incremental innovation befitting the work of the registrar in the context of credential expansion. Although disruption is prominent in many stories of innovation, it is not the goal of the registrar. Rather, the registrar's goal is to identify areas of improvement in the nooks and crannies of institutional operations and service delivery that increase value for all stakeholders, whether students, employers, or partners. Nevertheless, incremental innovation may *unintentionally* amount to disruption, as was the case with Elon University's implementation of the Visual Experiential Transcript (Visual EXP).

Elon's Visual Experiences Transcript (A Short Story)

Engaged learning at Elon University offers deep structural support for five high-impact practices (HIPs) (Kuh 2008): global education (study abroad), undergraduate research, internships, service learning, and leadership. To ensure student growth, each HIP incorporates critical reflection, such as written analyses or group discussions exploring how one's actions impact others and how to apply one's experiences to life after Elon. The Elon Experiences Transcript (EET), launched in 1994, was a student affairs initiative designed to capture and document these practices.

In 2012, Elon's administrators realized they had missed an important opportunity by limiting access to the EET to students, who could obtain copies only in print format from student affairs. Making the data accessible to academic advisors and faculty would allow these mentors to monitor their students' experiential learning progress in the same way they did their academic progress and thus to advise them academically and experientially. Incremental innovation was well underway at Elon in 2013 following the hiring of a new registrar who gradually transformed the letterhead experiential transcript into a verified university credential. These early steps were accomplished using existing technology.

As the benefactors of good fortune often parrot, "Luck is what happens when preparation meets opportunity." In 2015, AACRAO and NASPA teamed up to bring together registrars and student affairs professionals to identify emerging institutional practices that sought to document student learning in a broader way. The goal was to create a framework to guide the development of new credentialing models that would better serve students and external constituents. As a result of documenting nontraditional learning, learning outcomes, and co-curricular experiences, students could present credentials that would enable hiring supervisors to evaluate their workforce qualifications beyond their academic performance.

The partnership between AACRAO and NASPA was in conjunction with a $1.27 million Lumina Foundation grant to explore how to "collect, document, and distribute information about student learning and competencies, including what is gleaned outside of the traditional academic classroom" (Fain 2015). In recognition of the initial work to supplement the academic transcript with the experiential transcript, Elon University was selected as one of twelve members of the project, with a plan to convert the traditional EET into a graphical, fully electronic version. This resulted in the shift to the next generation of the EET: the Visual EXP.

Adoption of the new Visual EXP prompted the registrar's office to chart a course of incremental innovation, this time with an internal focus on performance rather than an emphasis on external promotion. Building on the established foundation, the Office of the Registrar identified a unique opportunity to continue to revamp its business processes. An important byproduct of
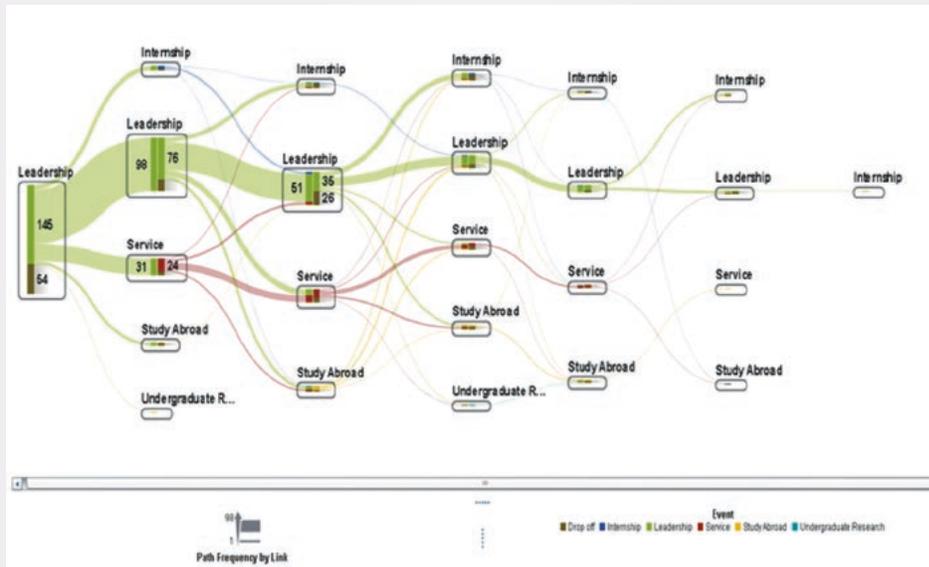
the development of the Visual EXP thus became the clean-up and reorganization of experiential data. Nomenclature was made more consistent, more robust descriptors were developed, and data were embedded in the transcript to showcase students' accomplishments.

These adaptations to the Visual EXP prompted further discussions about how to address retention and engagement. What could be learned about students and their experiences, and how could partners be empowered? The answers emerged when experiential learning data were mined to uncover patterns and inform conclusions about engagement across student cohorts and over time. With the revamp of business processes, Visual EXP data could be extracted from the student information system. For example, the registrar's office was already entering credit-bearing internships in the student record. To add depth to the co-curricular experience, fields such as the name of the organization with which a student interned, the number of hours the student participated in the internship, and other supplemental fields were incorporated.

A Focus on Outcomes

Before mining co-curricular data, the registrar's office had to identify which metrics would be tracked. The metrics would provide a framework for what conclu-

sions could be drawn and how they would tie to the mission of the office. For the first round of data mining, the focus was how co-curricular engagement influenced retention. Developing a relationship between co-curricular data and student retention was one of the primary benefits of tracking and certifying co-curricular data. A major institutional benefit of storing co-curricular data in a central database is the ability to analyze student profiles in ways that help the university identify which experiential pathways lead to higher retention rates. Path analysis can be challenging because there are multiple ways that a student may navigate various co-curricular opportunities. However, if the optimal paths (as measured by students' academic standing) correspond with higher retention, then institutions can allocate resources to new or existing programming accordingly.

Figure 1 presents the paths of students who participated in leadership experiences throughout their academic careers. These students also participated in other co-curricular experiences identified by the event category legend. Tying these unique pathways to metrics on academic standing can help institutions assess current programs and develop new opportunities.

Similarly, data can be used to compare the levels of engagement in co-curricular experiences among various student demographics. Figure 2 (on page 46) provides insight into the total number of co-curricular

Figure 2.

2012 Cohort Minority Students' Engagement vs. Average GPA

Figure 2. 2012 Cohort Minority Students' Engagement vs. Average GPA
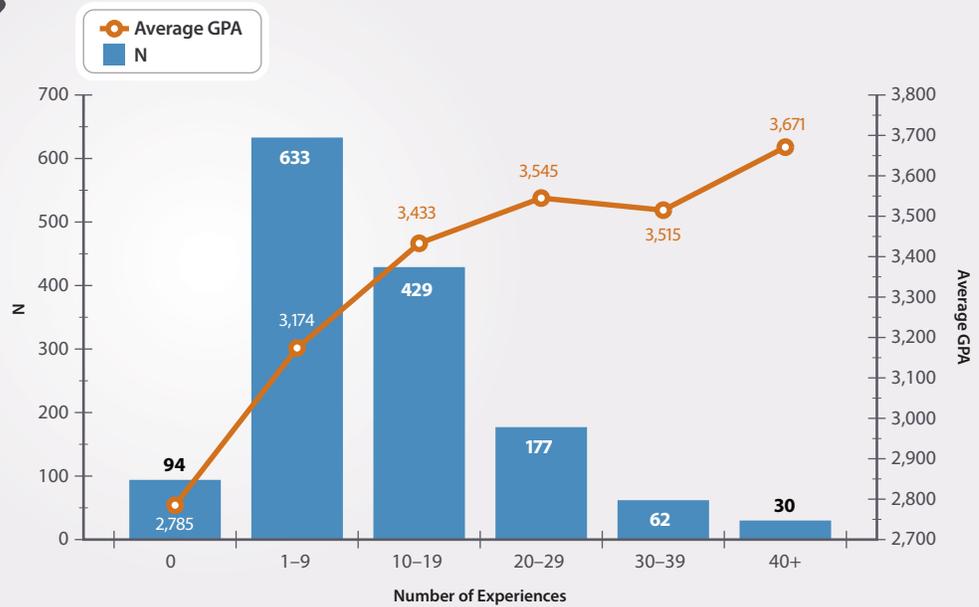
experiences and its relationship to GPA. This provides a snapshot of student behaviors that would not be captured through traditional academic metrics. Further data can be compiled by looking at each co-curricular category in the context of student retention.

The interconnected data embedded in the student system provide the ability to examine the experiential track of any demographic and ascertain the paths of successful Elon students. What do the experiential pathways of students who have withdrawn or been dismissed from the institution look like? Are differences in engagement evident within a single underrepresented group? These questions and many others provide a foundation for creating new models for student retention.

New Marketing Initiatives

With the adoption of new technologies and the decentralization of many of the registrar's traditional duties, students, faculty, and staff may wonder "What does today's registrar's office do?" After all, everything is online, right? The reality is that it's difficult to justify requests for new resources if campus constituents don't understand the scope and depth of the work registrars do day in and day out.

Co-curricular transcripts have the potential to increase awareness of the registrar's work by highlighting

new outward-facing initiatives. For example, the newly developed co-curricular platform provides an opportunity to produce new analytics that market student achievement. Registrars can showcase data-mining tools via touchscreen media (*see* Figure 3). Such programs give prospective students and parents a chance to mine experiential data, get a comprehensive view of the student experience, and imagine how they might contribute to the institution. These new tools can help attract incoming students by differentiating campus initiatives from those of peer institutions.

Lessons learned from analysis also inform marketing activities. For example, a heat map of participation in global education enables students to see where peers in their major tend to study abroad. This can inform students' and advisors' consideration of various programs abroad and reduce speculation about whether a program is feasible for a particular major.

Internal marketing of co-curricular initiatives to the institutional community is vastly important. It takes the whole community to encourage student buy-in to new initiatives such as co-curricular transcripts. When people care about and believe in an initiative, they're inspired by a common sense of purpose and identity and motivated to work harder to implement the change. Without community support, colleagues may intentionally or unintentionally undermine the institution's
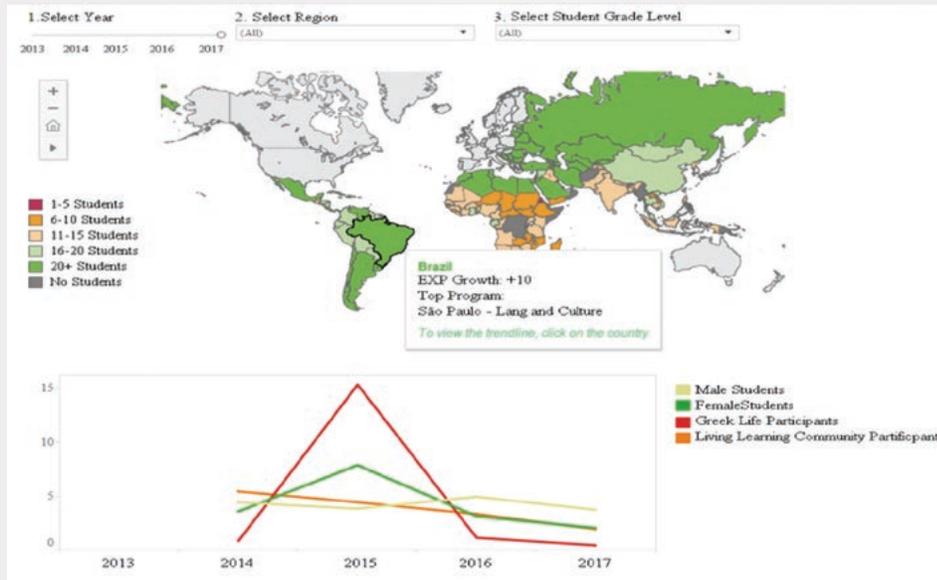
expectations relative to new initiatives. In some cases, they may not understand the goals of the project, with the result that they end up working at cross-purposes; in other cases, they may not trust the new technology or may feel disengaged—or, worse, hostile—in response to the additional work they perceive the technology will create for them or their office.

In an effort to put research into practice, the Elon University registrar's office launched a partnership—the Mobile Registrar—with the Student Professional Development Center (SPDC) to educate students and employers about the new credentials (the CeDiploma and Visual EXP). Both parties agreed that the new credentials were valuable to students and employers. The two offices set up tables during the bi-annual Career Expo and invited students to print complimentary resumes, transcripts, and co-curricular transcripts; information about the new credentials was distributed to more than 1,000 students. All students also received a pamphlet introducing the CeDiploma and Visual EXP and showcasing the services of Elon's registrar's office. (Elon currently charges $8.00 for an academic transcript, but students can order the Visual EXP for free at any time.)

With an increasing number of institutions adding co-curricular elements as graduation requirements, registrars must develop creative ways to program these requirements into the degree audit, for the benefit of academic advisors as well as students. Institutions should treat co-curricular transcripts like academic transcripts, providing unofficial versions to students via self-service portals. Providing static links to new co-curricular transcripts like the Visual EXP will allow the transcript to be hyperlinked within the body of the degree audit itself, offering a one-stop shop for academic and co-curricular advising.

With analytics indicating that engagement in co-curricular experiences yields higher retention rates, registrars can extrapolate the data to track which practices advisors may use to yield increased levels of student engagement. These results and conclusions can then be disseminated to advisors so they, in turn, can advise students about the value of co-curricular activity. Academic advisors must have access to view the transcript and be trained in how to help students accumulate co-curricular experiences in order to prepare for the workforce. Resources produced by the registrar can be utilized in numerous areas—from the writing center to academic advising, from career development to teaching and learning technologies—to improve student outcomes.

Conclusion

The world is always searching for easy answers. Disruptive innovation is often more alluring than incremental

innovation because it draws the crowds, the profits, and perspective. It is worth noting, however, that many of the greatest ideas in the information age—from smart phones to Gmail—have been the result of less exciting but equally useful ideas. Incremental innovation arguably provides the bulk of constructive potential.

Incremental innovation lends itself to inquiry more easily than does its disruptive counterpart because the changes that provoke learning are more manageable; more energy can be devoted to reflection and self-analysis before each successive design step. The Visual EXP's success can be attributed to the office of the registrar's focus on moderate functional improvements over time. The result of Elon's participation in the Extending the Transcript project could be considered a disruptive innovation as it fundamentally changes the way the institution and its students communicate with employers. Nevertheless, the Visual EXP would not have been possible without a litany of unnamed incremental innovations in prior years.

This type of thinking lends itself well to the habit and heritage of the registrar. Faculty, staff, and students have long maligned registrars as bearers of bad grades, institutional gatekeepers, and curmudgeons working at a glacial pace to process student requests. Although most registrars have evolved in the information age, the stereotype has proven difficult to overcome. In truth, registrars have rarely been at the forefront of change, compelled as they are to plod away at data entry and transcript printing like a modern-day Sisyphus. But they are not doomed to remain this way forever. As stewards of massive modern enterprise systems, registrars have the technology and expertise to make operational enhancements that benefit campus constituents. Incremental innovation is an exceptional fit for the technical and cyclical nature of the work of the registrar, leading over time to marked improvements in service delivery and analytical prowess.

Elon's Visual EXP is an excellent example of the fruit of deliberate endeavors: It has fostered a culture of progress that continues to stimulate improvement. Over the last four years, Elon's Office of the Registrar has reengineered itself and its services to promote and empower students. Elon alumni now have a concise, intelligible,
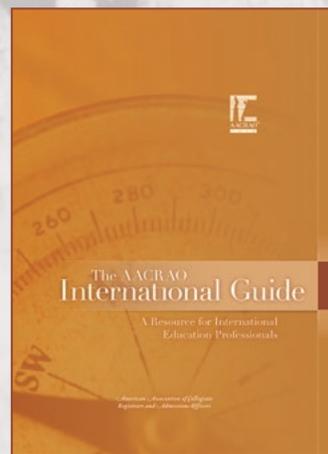
and interactive record of their co-curricular experiences—a record that has garnered interest and positive feedback from employers (Parks and Taylor 2016).

The registrar's office is harnessing its innovative expertise to improve the delivery of co-curricular experiences. The same data that power the Visual EXP are now used in sophisticated analyses that will reveal trends in participation, persistence, and effectiveness. These data, in turn, can inform decisions about new initiatives to improve student outcomes and institutional efficiency. These activities can address areas of considerable potential, including better understanding of an evolving student population; equipping campus partners with data of high quality, relevance, and utility; increasing the reach and impact of marketing activities; and enabling partnerships, all while preparing the institution for new industry-level inventions. Innovation is best complemented by inquiry—by connecting the doer's mindset to a learner's mindset, making incremental improvements, and probing the results carefully. The answers discovered through such a strategy may lead us to the next big thing.

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Advancing Global Higher Education

Pathways to Reform: Credits and Conflict at the City University of New York

LOGUE, A. W. 2017. PRINCETON, NJ: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS. 431 PP.

Reviewed by Stephen J. Handel

Nearly 50 percent of all undergraduate students in higher education are enrolled at community colleges. Surveys show that the majority of those who are first-time college students plan to transfer to a four-year institution and earn a baccalaureate degree. Given that the number of traditional-age college students seeking a four-year degree is leveling off or even decreasing in regions such as the Northeast and Midwest, it is clear that community colleges—and the transfer function—will become an increasingly important higher education pathway for students seeking the baccalaureate degree.

This should be music to the ears of enrollment leaders at four-year institutions throughout the nation. For most, however, it's not on their radar. Accustomed to recruiting high school students, the notion of recalibrating their efforts toward community college students is rarely considered in any serious way. It is hard to blame them. Helping students transfer from a community college to a four-year institution is a slog for students, a frustration for counselors, and an irritating distraction for faculty and administrators at both two- and four-year institutions. Not surprisingly, despite the fact that the vast majority of first-time community college students seek to transfer and earn a four-year degree, only a small proportion are successful.

In the midst of this transfer quagmire comes Alexandra W. Logue's *Pathways to Reform: Credits and Conflict at the City University of New York*. Her book is not only timely but also long overdue. The topic of transfer rarely captures the interest of book publishers (it is likely that fewer than a half dozen texts have been devoted exclusively to the topic in the past 30 years). The book also arrives at a time when there is upheaval relative to the cost and even the necessity of higher education. Critics openly question the "practicality" of a college degree; families are reluctant to rely on loans to fund their sons' and daughters' education; and states are less willing to invest in traditional public postsecondary education institutions. Reforming critical pathways to college completion—in this case, credit transfer among postsecondary education institutions—would be a productive way to bolster higher education's tarnished reputation. Logue seizes on this opportunity early in her book: "Awareness [is] just beginning to dawn in higher education that more effective credit transfer could offer another way to increase degree production without increasing funding per student" (4).

Logue begins her narrative in 2011 at a pivotal City University of New York (CUNY) Board of Trustees meeting. At that time, a comprehensive proposal to

streamline transfer throughout the system was debated. Logue served as the executive vice chancellor of the system and was the primary author of the proposal. The impetus for this reform was the fact that CUNY's transfer students were 18 percent less likely to earn a degree or credential compared to students who remained at a single institution and that 46 percent of CUNY's courses were deemed nontransferable among the campuses that comprise that system. These statistics, reminiscent of national figures concerning credit transfer, are more startling because they describe the failure of transfer within a *single* system—a federation of two- and four-year institutions governed by one board of trustees employing faculty represented by the same labor union and all within the boundaries of New York City. Logue turns this localism into a virtue by using CUNY's challenge as a case study to examine the broader—and sometimes broken—transfer system in America.

For Logue, what ails transfer at CUNY and across the nation are capricious, unfair, or absent institutional credit transfer policies that, however inadvertent, stymie the progress of students toward a degree or credential. Students plying a traditional transfer pathway—from a community college to a four-year institution to earn a baccalaureate degree—are at the mercy of the receiving institutions' willingness to accept their course credits toward their intended degrees. Although four-year institutions are unlikely to deny all credit previously earned by transfer students, evidence shows that these institutions will apply it, at best, as elective credit.

To combat this problem, CUNY's Board of Trustees instituted a new policy to streamline transfer. The components included the creation of a general education core curriculum that would be accepted by all nineteen CUNY colleges; a policy that all courses completed by students at any CUNY campus would be accepted for credit by all other campuses in the system; and a requirement that three to five courses required in the most popular majors would have equivalent courses at all colleges that offered the same majors.

From the outset, several constituencies opposed the proposal, the CUNY Academic Senate most vociferously as it brought suit against the trustees. But Logue's book also highlights the efforts of those who believed the proposal was a much-needed reform that would serve students and the institution well; these groups included most members of the board of trustees and, especially, currently enrolled students, whose advocacy

was especially notable given that they would not personally benefit from the policy's implementation.

Still, it is the antagonists—mainly the Academic Senate leaders—who take center stage in *Pathways to Reform*. Two main arguments framed their opposition: (1) revising the curriculum was the exclusive purview of the faculty; thus, the proposal was an overreach on the part of the trustees and therefore illegal; and (2) the proposal undermined student preparation by creating a systemwide curriculum that was not sufficiently rigorous and thus would dilute the value of CUNY degrees. Logue notes that the faculty's opposition to a change in curriculum was predictable; such a move is often a lightning rod for conflict at any institution that honors shared governance. And she acknowledges that precedent-setting actions by governing boards can have the long-term effect of undermining faculty authority in other areas. But Logue's sympathy for her colleagues is limited (she was once a member of the faculty). For her, it was hard to square the ferocity of the Academic Senate's challenge, which included lawsuits, publicity campaigns, and mobilization of local political officials, with the clear benefit that the proposal promised for CUNY students. If it was true that most transfer students struggled to have their course credit accepted at institutions within the same system, would it not make sense for like-minded academicians—with the deepest understanding of the curriculum, pedagogy, and academic progression—to develop at least a counterproposal? According to Logue, the Senate hinted on several occasions that it would offer its own solution but never did so. She also documents that previous attempts by the faculty to streamline transfer had led nowhere. Logue emphasizes that the trustees had no other recourse than to act boldly; the harm to students was too widespread and the risk to the institution's credibility too great.

Logue notes that there are all kinds of motivations for an institution to deny credit to transfer students. The sordid but largely untold story is that because courses equal enrollment and enrollment equals money, institutions are loath to allow students the opportunity to waive required courses or to substitute transfer credit for the completion of "local" courses. Quoting former Harvard President Derek Bok, "The typical college curriculum may lack a convincing rationale but it succeeds brilliantly in satisfying the concerns of all the principal interested groups" (43), Logue acknowledges that such self-interest is often disguised. Students

are told that the course they completed elsewhere is not "equivalent to" the course at the receiving institution or is simply not as rigorous. It is difficult to argue against such explanations, which are wrapped in the agreeable but perhaps disingenuous concern that it is in the student's best interest to be properly prepared academically before advancing toward the degree at that institution. For transfer students this amounts to a punch in the stomach. Spending two or more years at a community college with little to show in the way of progress toward a degree could be viewed as a higher education version of bait and switch.

Ultimately, the CUNY proposal was fully implemented, but the battle was hard fought. What Logue conveys effectively is how difficult it is to streamline the transfer pathway, even within a single institution; how intractable and entrenched the battle lines can become; and how individuals whose discourse is centered on the rational arts can act so irrationally. Yet, while *Pathway to Reform* helps the reader appreciate the need for transfer reform, the book does not inspire others to take up the challenge. Part of this stems from the book's extraordinary emphasis on the personalities who played a role in the CUNY saga. Logue's book shifts repeatedly from a traditional analysis of policy and practice to a step-by-step, occasionally moment-by-moment description of meetings, face-face conversations, and e-mail exchanges that relate to the implementation of this policy at CUNY. Logue alerts us of her strategy early in the book:

> *Events are not separable from the people who create and witness them, and thus understanding the interaction of people with their environments and with each other is key to understanding the events in which these people are involved* (3).

Accepting this premise as fair, however, does not mean it is successful. Logue confuses her interest in events with the reader's interest in reform and outcomes. Understanding the messy tactics and shameful public behavior of opponents who wished to prevent the implementation of her proposal makes for occasionally salacious reading but distracts us (and, apparently, the author) from the issue of transfer reform. The veracity of Logue's claims is not in question; she documents her conversations and impressions with the skill of an experienced academician. But this strategy occasionally comes off as score-settling rather than analysis, bulking up a book that at 431 pages is comprehensive but also wearing.

Perhaps Logue would argue that part of the lesson of this story is the multitude of constituencies that must be addressed or accommodated in the difficult work of higher education reform. Certainly *Pathways to Reform* is a testament to the administrators, faculty, and students who worked diligently despite entrenched opposition to bring clarity and honor to credit transfer while reshaping curriculum across a large and complex system. Logue's book also highlights important themes regarding transfer credit throughout the nation: Transfer is never "seamless," almost always requires students to complete more credits than they need, and is rife with inconsistent policies and practices that discourage even the most motivated students from successfully transferring from one institution to the next. Logue and her colleagues' success in improving the process for students at CUNY is reason enough to recommend *Pathways to Reform*, with the hope that it motivates higher education leaders across the nation to take a second look at their policies concerning credit transfer.

Tyranny of the Meritocracy: Democratizing Higher Education in America

GUINIER, L. 2015. BOSTON, MA: BEACON PRESS. 177 PP.

Reviewed by Brad Pulcini

In *The Tyranny of the Meritocracy: Democratizing Higher Education in America,* scholar and civil rights activist Lani Guinier argues for higher education institutions to shift away from so-called *testocratic* merit toward democratic merit. Guinier explains that in a testocratic society, merit is defined by test-based admission standards, such as ACT or SAT scores, that are a reproduction of privilege. Data support this, showing that SAT

scores are highly correlated with family income: The higher the family income, the higher the average SAT score (College Board 2016). Guinier (2015) goes so far as to state that the SAT is most reliable as a "wealth test."

Why democratic merit?

The U.S. higher education system is seen as a democratic institution that serves as an engine of social mobility. This purpose is especially important today, as low-income students are now enrolling in college at a higher rate than are students from the middle class (NCES 2017). In addition, the enrollment gap between more affluent students and low-income students continues to narrow (NCES 2018). Is the U.S. higher education system still selecting and graduating privileged, elite students while not meeting the needs of a democratic society?

This question is even more important given continued inequality in the childhoods and education of children in the United States. We do not live in a society where everyone encounters and is exposed to the same level of education and college preparatory programs within the K–12 system. Lareau (2011) found that working-class and poor youths aspire to attend and graduate from college but do so at lower rates than their middle-class peers. She examines a public high school where half the student body comes from low-income backgrounds. The school offers no AP, mandatory college prep, or SAT prep classes and employs one guidance counselor for 473 students. It is no surprise that the school has a much lower graduation rate than the middle-class schools in the same district or that its students' SAT scores, on average, are more than 300 points lower than those of students who attend the middle-class high schools (Lareau 2011). In a society that favors merit and academic achievement, the odds are stacked against a large proportion of U.S. society.

Democratic merit views higher education as a public good. Guinier (2015) writes that democractic merit does what testocratic merit fails to do by creating an incentive system that emphasizes the development of more individuals who contribute to and serve the goals of a democracy not only for their own good but also for the collective good of society. She argues that it is important that we grant these individuals access to our higher education system, regardless of any perceived talent in a testocratic society, in order to promote the development of higher-level problem solving.

Guinier divides her book into two parts: "the problem" and "the solution." In setting forth "the problem," Guinier describes the college admissions race and competition as a rite of passage for students that is beginning earlier and earlier in their K–12 education; how colleges came to rely on students' scores on standardized tests such as the SAT and ACT in making admissions decisions; how college rankings tie into admissions practices; and affirmative action, its current role in higher education, and the challenges to it in attempting to move away from a testocratic to a democratic merit system. In discussing the "solution(s)", Guinier devotes five chapters to examining how colleges, foundations, society, etc. are striving toward a more democratic merit system in higher education and the work that still needs to be completed.

The Problem

Early in the book, Guinier (2015) presents an argument for her central idea and theme—that we need to challenge and change our understanding of merit. In U.S. society, we put a premium on higher education merit defined as higher SAT and ACT scores and cumulative GPAs. This is evident in the so-called "admissions arms race." Students with higher scores gain admission to highly selective and selective institutions. In addition, merit is recognized and rewarded financially at most institutions as the top-performing academic students receive the highest amounts of institutional aid in the form of grants and scholarships. Guinier (2015) presents the opinion that to maintain a strong democracy, we need to most value students' abilities to think creatively and collaborate with others.

In Chapter 1, Guinier reminds the reader of the 2012 affirmative action case *Fischer* v. *University of Texas at Austin*. Justice Clarence Thomas agreed with the majority in the case but argued that affirmative action and any consideration of race in the admissions process is generally unconstitutional. In Thomas's mind, an attempt by a university to achieve diversity in the student population is the kind of racial discrimination that maintains segregation because it means the university is considering race in the first place (Guinier 2015). Thomas argues that affirmative action policies mismatch students, with the result that many black and Hispanic students who may have excelled at less selec-

tive schools are placed at more selective schools where underperformance is all but inevitable (Guinier 2015).

So why does Guinier focus on *Fischer* v. *University of Texas at Austin* and Justice Clarence Thomas's argument in support of the ruling? Guinier (2015) highlights that Thomas's mismatch argument is a reminder that institutions have moved away from their public missions of creating active citizens in a democratic society. The focus instead has shifted to the moment of admission. Have institutions developed into little more than sorting factories in an admissions-driven higher education system? Are colleges and universities only accepting and valuing through institutional aid disbursements those students who already possess the skills and attributes they need to be successful? How does the SAT factor into all of this?

Guinier provides the history of how the SAT came into existence and common use. Readers should spend some time on this section of Chapter 2 as it provides the context of how the SAT came to be the powerful gateway exam it is today. *Tyranny of the Meritocracy* invites readers to consider whether the College Board should control the K–12 curriculum by prioritizing the SAT as the sorting test that it is. Guinier (2015) acknowledges that nearly 800 institutions have moved away from or have devalued the SAT and standardized testing in their admissions and sorting practices. Yet doing so has compromised another important attribution of colleges and universities: their institutional ranking.

U.S. News & World Report's annual college ranking continues to promote a higher education arms race. The average SAT score of admitted students is an important determinant of a college's ranking. Schools that forgo the submission of SAT scores as part of their admissions process risk having their ranking negatively impacted. In *Tyranny of the Meritocracy*, Guinier describes how *U.S. News & World Report* dropped Sarah Lawrence College's average SAT score 200 points when the college decided to stop accepting the SAT, thereby negatively impacting its overall ranking. This action was explained to Sarah Lawrence College as follows: schools that do not accept the SAT must be admitting less capable students and should lose points on their selectivity index (Guinier 2015). Guinier (2015) argues that "this is testocracy in action, an aristocracy determined by testing that wants to maintain its position even if it has to resort to fabrication" (18).

The Solutions

Guinier argues that the solutions to dismantling our testocratic society are already occurring and highlights a number of different ways this is happening. The book provides a number of examples, two of which stand out. The first is University Park Campus School (UPCS) in Worcester, Massachusetts. The school is operated through a joint partnership between Clark University and Worcester Public Schools. Clark University master's students and undergraduates complete work-study requirements by tutoring students after school; UPCS teachers co-teach professional development courses with Clark faculty during the summer, and UPCS teachers and Clark faculty often teach together or teach one another's classes. Clark welcomes UPCS students to campus, where they carry college IDs of their own and have access to athletic facilities, the library, campus events, and mini-seminars offered by Clark faculty and can take courses tuition free (Guinier 2015). The school has ranked among the top urban schools that serve low-income students (a ranking based on students' scores on state English and mathematics graduation exams) and within the top quartile of all state schools over the last four years (Guinier 2015).

Guinier examines a number of challenges that the University Park Campus School and its students experience. While it is important to recognize these challenges, Guinier might have further discussed how K–16 collaborations have the potential to close the achievement gap and narrow the divide between secondary schools and higher education. In setting up "the problem" earlier in the text, Guinier provides relevant research and data to support her argument. It would have been beneficial if previous research and data on K–16 collaborations had also been included to further demonstrate how UPCS is an example of the dismantling of the testocracy. This could have been accomplished by citing studies similar to that by Domina and Ruzek (2012), who found that K–16 partnerships may increase high school graduation and college enrollment rates.

The second most prominent example Guinier provides is that of The Posse Foundation. The foundation's mission is to identify promising urban public high school students who lack what Guinier describes as traditional testocratic indicators of success, such as high SAT scores. The foundation sends selected students to college in

"posses" (groups) of ten. Guinier (2015) argues that this model is democratic merit in action: students are encouraged to work together to solve problems and attain success through the creation of supportive learning environments. Guinier describes The Posse Foundation in detail, including its selection process, students' experiences in the program, and student outcomes. Guinier (2015) writes that The Posse Foundation is redefining merit as "something other than cumulative GPA and SAT and AP scores and focusing instead on characteristics such as leadership, the ability to collaborate with and learn from others, and drive" (78–79).

Conclusion

There are myriad reasons that society has become testocratic, valuing academic achievement over all else. Guinier presents a number of these reasons in her text while offering hope that society can shift to more highly value democratic merit. In fact, Guinier (2015) writes in her conclusion that "a culture shift can happen. It is happening. And we need to work together to make it happen" (139). Given that three years have passed since *Tyranny of the Meritocracy* was published, this culture shift may be more important now than ever. Although

the enrollment of low-income students in higher education has increased (NCES 2017), how many low-income students does our testocratic society continue to keep out of higher education?

Tyranny of the Meritocracy is a great introduction to the inequality that continues to persist in higher education admissions as well as institutional policy and practices. The depth of explanation of "the problem" and "the solution" is limited by the book's 139-page length. Readers who want to dig more deeply into these issues should examine how differentiating levels of social class influence the experiences and success of students—especially of low-income students who are gaining additional access to higher education through the solutions described in Guinier's book. (Texts by Lee [2016] and Stuber [2011] are particularly worthwhile.) Guinier acknowledges and frames issues that continue to make higher education a systematic machine of horizontal stratification. The book offers some solutions and invites the reader to think more deeply and critically about how society can do better. *Tyranny of the Meritocracy* particularly invites consideration of how experiences and success—especially by low-income students—can be positively and negatively impacted by shifting toward becoming a more democratic merit society.

Demographics and the Demand for Higher Education

GRAWE, N. D. 2017. BALTIMORE: JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY PRESS. 192 PP.

Reviewed by S. Abu Turab Rizvi

"There is no question," writes Nathan Grawe, that changes in the college-age population are coming. Patterns of immigration, movement across state lines, and changes in fertility mean that states with increasing numbers of high-school graduates will almost all be in the southwest and the northwest. Many states in the Northeast and the Midwest—regions long associated with large numbers of colleges and universities—will experience decreases in the number of high-school graduates of 15 percent or more. Regions of the United States that will experience increases have not had high rates of college attendance, and those that will experience decreases will be in areas that historically have had high college-attendance rates. Grawe, an economics professor at Carleton College, uses the 2011 American

Community Survey and extends his forecast period to 2029, when children born in 2011 will be of college-going age. Thus, his book has the clearest implications for the next decade—one that should be eventful. A key demographic pattern is the 12 percent decrease in fertility beginning with the great recession in 2007 (a phenomenon Grawe calls the "birth dearth") that shows no signs of reversing. This means that when post–great recession babies start to reach college age, in the mid 2020s, there will be a sharp decrease in the number of high school graduates (6).

These shifts in geographic, race/ethnicity, and high school graduate trends are familiar to admissions officials and registrars. What is not as clear is the answer to an even more important question: What is the prob-

ability that a student will want to enroll at a particular higher education institution? For example, a college in the Northeast United States might not be affected by the birth dearth in its region if the population decrease took place chiefly among families whose children did not typically attend college. Also: does it matter if a college is a two-year, four-year, or elite four-year institution? It is precisely in thinking through these kinds of questions that Grawe's book has ample value. With Grawe's book in hand, forecasters at particular types of institutions, in a given region, and with particular admissions goals can do better than simply rely on overall national trends.

Attention to demographic detail does make a difference. Grawe notes that enrollment patterns at different institutional types vary widely by region. Attendance rates at colleges ranked in the top 50 and at universities ranked in the top 50 by *U.S. News & World Report*—institutions Grawe calls "elite" or "top ranking"—are almost ten times greater in New England than they are in the Census region that includes Texas (West South Central). Race/ethnicity, family income, and parent education also matter, and they are all correlated with region and institution type. Almost half of non-Hispanic whites enroll at four-year higher education institutions, and 5 percent attend top-ranking schools. Asian Americans have even higher attendance rates at these institutions whereas those for Hispanic students are about half those of non-Hispanic whites. Children from families with annual incomes greater than $100,000 are six times more likely to enroll at an elite school than are those from families whose annual incomes are less than $50,000. Parental education also makes a big difference: A child with no parent who completed high school is half as likely to attend any postsecondary institution as a child with at least one parent with a college degree—and twelve times less likely to attend an elite institution (22–25).

It is clear that the chance that a high school student will attend a particular type of college varies significantly according to demographics. To describe these patterns does not imply that they are ideal or should be accepted as inevitable. To be sure, institutions try to counter these trends—for example, by recruiting underrepresented minority, low-income, first-generation, and geographically distant students—yet in the aggregate, these efforts have not had much impact. Consequently, for the purpose of his analysis, Grawe assumes

the existing patterns to be stable and notes that any given institution can make choices that counter the dominant trends.

The chapters of *Demographics and the Demand for Higher Education* explore the implications of these observations. In particular, Grawe develops the "Higher Education Demand Index" (HEDI); uses it to analyze the common wisdom on upcoming higher education demand; considers the implications for two- and four-year institutions; analyzes demand by students from families with high incomes; describes how institutional or policy responses can affect the trends he identifies; and, finally, peeks beyond the year 2030. In other words, Grawe covers a lot. This remainder of this review focuses on topics most relevant to admissions officers and registrars.

Higher Education Demand Index

Grawe divides the United States into 63 locations: the 29 largest metropolitan areas and the 35 non-metropolitan areas of states with populations of at least two million people. For each of these he estimates the expected number of college attendees by year based on how likely a student with particular demographic and locational characteristics will be to attend college, weighted by the total number of students with those characteristics. This is painstaking data work and bears the reader's careful review and attention. The choices Grawe makes in his estimations are sound, and he lays them out clearly. The HEDI is the foundation for the rest of the book.

Overall Trends

The HEDI generates the following results: The number of college-going students will hold steady through the early 2020s, then will increase for a few years by 5 percent before a "precipitous reduction of 15 percent or more" from 2025 until 2029 (45). Grawe calls this drop "staggering" because a reduction of this scale has never occurred in so short a time. (For example, this decrease would be twice as great as the 7 percent reduction between 2009 and 2012.) These changes will vary significantly by region. The detail is interesting: South Carolina, Charlotte, and Atlanta are among the bright spots in the East. The large markets of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston will experience 15 percent–plus decreases in the number of college-bound students. The

non-Hispanic white population will decrease by greater than 15 percent. Non-Hispanic black students of college age will experience some increase in non-urban areas in the West and also in the cities of San Antonio, Houston, and Philadelphia. However, the number of Asian and Hispanic students will increase significantly. Because college attainment rates have increased recently, there will be a broad-based and unappreciated increase in the number of households in which both parents have a bachelor's degree. This difference from the conventional wisdom, which focuses on increases in the population of first-generation college students, is striking. All in all, these pages merit careful study in setting institutional strategy.

Two- and Four-Year Institutions

The two-year higher education sector will experience an even greater reduction in overall enrollments than predicted for postsecondary education as a whole, according to Grawe. The forecast is for drastically decreasing numbers of non-Hispanic white and black students, with relatively modest increases in the number of Hispanic students. The four-year higher education sector will do better, with little change in overall enrollment until 2023. But then, following a 7 percent increase through 2025, there will be a 15 percent decrease until 2029, resulting in overall enrollment 10 percent less than at the beginning of the period. Regional and national four-year universities will demonstrate similar patterns of enrollment stability followed by a decrease while elite institutions will fare much better. Elite institutions will experience a significant enrollment increase—of 25 percent—until 2025, followed by a lower-than-average decrease of 9 percent. For them, there is growth over the forecast period rather than decline. Generally speaking, the more elite and selective the institution, the better it is forecast to fare.

Students Who Can Pay

Grawe makes a valiant effort to predict the number of high-pay students over the forecast period. He fully realizes that it is difficult to forecast who will have high incomes in seventeen years, by which time the economy may undergo any number of shifts. Grawe defines "high paying" as students whose family incomes are in the top eighth of the income distribution and who have two parents who have earned bachelor's degrees. Even if this definition can be questioned, Grawe approaches it with his typical clarity and honesty. And the question is crucial. Even if potential enrollments at an institution increase, there is no guarantee that students will have the ability to pay. To date, the overall pattern is concerning: Between 1965 and 2000, family incomes grew such that colleges could increase net tuition at rates greater than inflation and families could afford the increases. This was true even at lower levels of income (88). Since 2000, inflation-adjusted incomes have largely flattened, making it difficult for institutions to increase net tuition levels. This has meant that as sticker prices have increased, tuition discount rates have also increased as families' capacity to pay has stalled. Even in this environment, incomes in the top quintile have risen, leading colleges to enroll more high-paying students so as to increase net tuition revenue even as discount rates rise. (This assumes that increases in non-tuition revenue— say, from endowment income for private institutions and state aid for public institutions—are not sufficient to make up the gap.) The importance of high-paying students is clear. Grawe's analysis is encouraging as he predicts an increase in the number of such students until 2025, followed by a decrease because of the birth dearth, but an overall increase nonetheless.

Implications

What does this all mean? What's an administrative officer to do? Grawe discusses several possibilities, focusing on what he calls the "nimble path." This is to accept the realities of demographic change, use the HEDI to estimate more precisely the nature of this change, and seek ways for the "individual institution to beat the odds by carefully adjusting recruitment efforts to auspicious new student pools" (99). At the same time, it will make sense to attend to aspects of other paths Grawe explores. One option is to increase revenue other than through tuition and to be attentive to cost reduction; another is to monitor large-scale changes—as in the college versus high school income premium—and their effects on overall demand. A key takeaway is not to overcommit (*e.g.*, to tenured faculty, buildings, debt) on the basis of peak demand, taking on too much fixed cost prior to 2025, given that there will be a reckoning in the years following. Grawe realizes that in a broadly declining market, at least post 2025, not every institu-

tion will be able to follow the nimble strategy of "going where students are" because the losses will have to be distributed, too. Consequently, he predicts a need for continuous adaptation. In this quest, *Demographics and the Demand for Higher Education* and the style of analysis it contains will be a most helpful guide.

America's Broken Promise: Bridging the Community College Achievement Gap

MARTÍ, E. 2016. ALBANY, NY: HUDSON WHITMAN EXCELSIOR COLLEGE PRESS. 201 PP.

Reviewed by Matthew Fifolt

In *America's Broken Promise*, Martí recounts the historical development of community colleges in the United States and discusses how their multiple and frequently conflicting roles have both shaped postsecondary education and limited its potential. The author notes that from the very beginning, community colleges were unlike any other public or private educational enterprise; they were designed as both an endpoint to traditional secondary education and a beginning point for further study.

According to Martí, this duality of purpose and tacitly inferior role within higher education has remained a confounding legacy of community colleges in the United States. He states, "The early but firm association with secondary schools ensured that the attributes that made the junior college institution so ductile conferred on the institution a rigidly subordinate position in American higher education" (16). Nevertheless, community colleges have been notable for their open access policies for all students, regardless of gender, race, class, and creed.

Between the early and mid-20th century, community college courses and curricula shifted away from traditional transfer programs and toward vocational and occupational training. This strengthened the base of support for community colleges but further weakened their position as educational equals within U.S. higher education. By mid-century, many community college missions were so diffuse that they included "transfer, general, remedial, occupational, cultural, and continuing education" (34).

New Path Forward

Martí suggests that attempts to be "everything to everyone" have reached a liminal point. In order for commu-nity colleges to play a relevant and meaningful role in transforming higher education, leaders, administrators, faculty members, and policy makers must redefine and clarify the educational product of community colleges based on the promises of access *and* achievement.

Consistent with proposals by Bailey, Jaggars, and Jenkins (2015), Martí advocates that community colleges move away from the "cafeteria-style" model of education in which students select from an endless menu of program and course offerings to a "guided pathways approach" with fewer but more coherent educational course sequences. Even this approach, he says, may not go far enough. Therefore, Martí proposes a model of education in which administrators, faculty, and staff proactively intervene "before [students'] lives are pushed off course by circumstances that are often outside of their control" (67). He refers to this model as a "culture of care" and suggests that in order to be effective, postsecondary education needs to recognize a basic truth: "Community colleges and community college students *are* [fundamentally] different" (70).

Similar to findings by Cox (2009), Martí notes that community college students frequently struggle with low self-worth; their enrollment in community college often reinforces the message that they are not good enough for "real" college. However, by recognizing student differences, academic leaders can begin to develop structures and policies that support student success in community colleges. Martí states:

> Too many of our students come to community college unprepared and insecure: they constitute the majority, not the minority, of our population. These students need help, but they also need to know that providing that help is part of the community college's institutional promise. (69)

A culture of care recognizes that community college students have unique academic, financial, and social needs and seeks to address individual challenges in order to promote success. Building and promoting a culture that respects students as individuals, he notes, is a first and essential step to any effective retention program.

Remediation

To be more responsive to student needs, community college leaders, administrators, faculty, and staff must shift their thinking regarding the need for remedial education. Rather than viewing remedial education as a necessary evil, Martí sees it as a core tenet of the community college mission: "We must activate an attitude on our campuses that reflects a belief in remediation as a manifestation of the culture of care as a type of assistance from which the *majority* of our students can benefit" (97).

According to Martí, one of the biggest challenges to remediation is an ineffective system of placement tests. Currently, these tests "are incapable of functioning as a meaningful diagnostic tool" and too frequently promote a "one-size-fits-all approach" to student success. In lieu of placement tests, Martí recommends intensive academic advising and individualized entry-level services that balance student goals with realistic and navigable pathways to achievement (Rodriguez 2015).

Garcia (2015) notes that nearly half of students enrolled in remedial coursework at public two-year institutions never complete them, let alone credit-bearing courses that students could transfer or apply toward an associate's degree or certificate. In response, Martí highlights a number of schools and programs that have successfully combined remediation and pedagogical interventions to promote student progress in courses that fulfill degree requirements. This is an important distinction because remedial education courses do not count toward degree completion.

Featured interventions in remedial education focus on decreasing financial barriers for students, integrating remedial education into the academic community, and grouping students by areas of academic interest. Irrespective of emphasis, Martí notes that program success hinges on leaders, administrators, and faculty members working together to develop and implement remediation strategies. He states, "We must [work together to]… implement a *pervasive* culture whereby all participants

in community colleges recognize, accept, and welcome remediation as a part of every classroom" (97).

Student-Centered Services

In addition to offering inclusive and more effective remediation, Martí encourages community college leaders to use a team-based approach to provide academic and support services to students. Teams would comprise a success coach, faculty member, student support staff member, and other members of the college community according to a student's specific needs, such as mental health services, financial aid, and tutors. These teams would be responsible for addressing students' academic and nonacademic issues. Martí writes, "Crucially, the team approach to student success places the responsibility for retention on the *college* rather than on the student" (110).

The author also recommends greater use of high-impact practices in the classroom, such as learning communities, service-learning, technology, original research, and activities that address global and diversity issues. Kuh (2008) describes high-impact practices in higher education as activities that help students make meaningful connections between personal and academic experiences in a variety of contexts. According to Martí, "Community colleges must…meet the needs of those students who have secured access but who are not adept, interested, or engaged in the complexity of postsecondary success" (114).

Funding

Martí wisely notes that community colleges cannot adopt widespread structural or systemic change without first identifying significant and stable funding sources. Consistent with findings by previous authors, Martí observes that state appropriations are no longer a reliable, steady revenue stream for community colleges as states first must meet mandatory expenses for Medicaid, κ–12 education, and corrections (Best and Best 2014, Mettler 2014). He therefore recommends that community college leaders diversify funding sources through a combination of federal funds, strategic business alliances, traditional fundraising efforts, and philanthropic and private foundation support.

With regard to contractual alliances with community businesses, Martí suggests that these relationships

further and positively extend the hyperlocal nature of community colleges. At the same time, however, he cautions community college leaders and administrators to consider whether their institutions can "accommodate the needs of local employers without unfairly disrupting the mission of the institution" (136). Nevertheless, the author views these strategic partnerships as being as important to community college development as government funding.

In addition to external resources, Martí encourages community college leaders to closely examine internal operations to ensure that their institutions run efficiently without sacrificing the quality of education. Tough decisions may have to be made, including terminating persistently ineffective programs and firing or "facilitating retirement" of faculty and staff who are apathetic to the community college mission or who demonstrate a lack of commitment to college and/or student success (153). "Only by shoring up the financial viability of our institutions," states Martí, "can we enact student-centered transformation that will allow our schools to make good on their promises and fulfill their democratic potential" (150).

Moving Forward

To reinvigorate the institutional promise of community colleges and safeguard their relevance, Martí suggests that community colleges must demonstrate an incredible will to succeed. Furthermore, for community colleges to become student-centered institutions, all programs and personnel must be "functional and contributory to [a] common goal" (154).

At the same time, community colleges must support, recognize, and reward faculty and staff members for their contributions to student and institutional success. Martí encourages community colleges to extend the culture of care to faculty and administrative personnel through structured opportunities for professional education and development. The author notes that by building professional competence and engaging individuals in skill building—especially skills related to customer service—community college leaders ensure the institutional culture they wish to see for students (165).

In addition to advocating for full-time faculty and staff, Martí advocates for comprehensive and cohesive professional development for part-time/adjunct/contingency faculty. The author recognizes that more than half of all faculty members at community colleges are hired on a part-time basis and suggests that given the current economic climate, this hiring practice is unlikely to change anytime soon.

Yet in order to change the institutional culture, Martí argues that part-time faculty must be integrated more fully into the community college. Considering the challenges adjunct faculty face, including lower rates of compensation, few if any benefits, and lack of an institutional home, it seems highly unlikely that a large number of contingent faculty members could be mobilized in the near future. (One could argue that hiring faculty is as much about *values* as it is about *economics*.)

Finally, Martí recommends that community college personnel recognize student progress based on academic milestones. "Rather than pushing recognition and celebration to a traditional terminal point, milestones enable recognition of the *process* toward a goal that may still be in the distance" (172–73). The author identifies potential milestones as number of credit hours completed, percentage of degree requirements completed, or completion of intermediary steps toward a certificate. Current data regarding dropout rates among community college students indicate that this simple recommendation could go far in promoting student retention.

Summary

America's Broken Promise is a well-written and instructive text regarding the challenges and opportunities facing community colleges in the United States. With more than 30 years of executive-level experience in multiple community college settings and systems, Martí is an authority on the topic. More important, however, he demonstrates an empathic understanding of the needs of many community college students and offers recommendations not for self-promotion but from a genuine concern for the "least ready" students (Rodriguez 2016).

In many ways, Martí's suggestions are not revolutionary but rather best practice for serving students at all colleges and universities. For example, all students would benefit from excellent academic advising, thorough and intensive student support services, effective financial aid interventions, and extraordinarily well-prepared faculty members who understand the challenges students face every day (62). His recommendations for funding these interventions, however, are more general than specific, which may undermine their value.

Martí's call for efficient and effective systems for remediation, while exactly right in terms of need, is wildly ambitious given increasingly restrictive budgets. Even the author acknowledges that more than half of all students entering community colleges are either unprepared or underprepared for postsecondary education and will require one or more remedial classes. He makes no mention, however, of working with secondary education to bridge this gap. Furthermore, while Martí argues a strong case for the value of a well-educated and well-trained workforce, he concedes that community colleges have not effectively communicated this message to their constituents.

Overall, *America's Broken Promise* is an interesting and informative read, especially for individuals who are not familiar with the history of the community college system in the United States. Given the current national debate regarding free or subsidized tuition for the first two years of college and the national agenda for increasing the overall number of U.S. college graduates by 5 million in the year 2020, *America's Broken Promise* is both relevant and timely.

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