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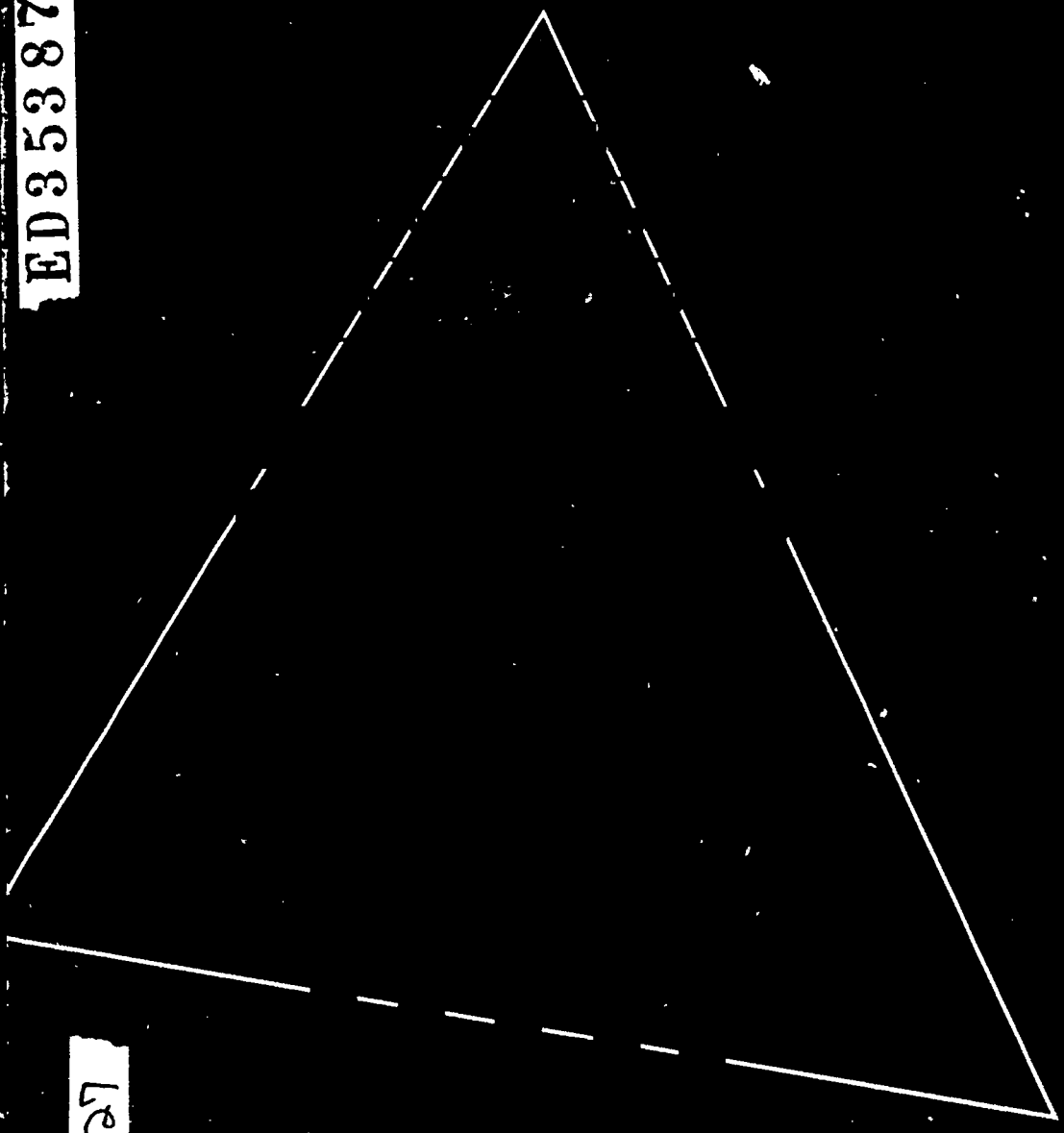
ABSTRACT

This book offers essays on the response of public four-year colleges to the enrollment trends and challenges of the 1980s, particularly the challenges of providing service in light of the unexpected demand for higher education in that decade. The issues and lessons of the experience of the 1980s are covered in 10 chapters by higher education experts and practitioners. The chapters are as follows: (1) "Public College Enrollment Trends of 1979-1989" by Ernest L Boyer; (2) "Immigration: Recognizing the Benefit, Meeting the Challenges" by Lee Kerschner; (3) "Institutional Outreach: Enrollment Issues of the 1980s, Enrollment Strategies for the 1990s" by Shirley F. Binder; (4) "Rethinking Institutional Outreach" by Wayne Sigler; (5) "Looking Back While Moving forward: Curricular Lessons from the 1980s for the 1990s" by Stephen R. Portch; (6) "The Changing Nature of the Transfer Student Population" by Louis W. Bender and Harry C. Doster; (7) "Democracy's Promise: Access for Adults in Higher Education" by Timothy Lehmann and Mary Edinburgh; (8) "Better Measures of Equity in Minority Participation and Enrollment" by Richard C. Richardson and D. Michael Pavel; (9) "Minority Participation in Higher Education: Trends, Implications, and Imperatives" by Muriel Morisey Spence; and (10) "Building an Ethnically Diverse Institution" by Eugene M. Hughes. References accompany the articles. (JB)



A Challenge of Change:

Public, Four-Year Higher Education Enrollment Lessons from the 1980s for the 1990s

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Preface

Purpose

A *Challenge of Change: Public, Four-Year Higher Education Enrollment Lessons from the 1980s for the 1990s* is written from the perspective of the nation's public colleges and universities. An examination of the trends of enrollment at these colleges was last done in a study published by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities in January 1980 entitled *Enrollment Trends and College Costs*. The author, Jacob Stampen, began with the observation that "AASCU member state colleges and universities have not followed paths suggested by the most popular theories." Instead, according to the author, enrollments increased responding to policies which "eased access." However, as the new decade approached, the public colleges and universities were listening carefully to trends predicted for all of higher education.

In 1979 an article by Fred Hechinger in the *New York Times* reported that "the enrollment drop by 1990 may be double what is now forecast. . . ." A *Challenge of Change* picks up the thread of the Stampen analysis in 1979, examines the 1980 enrollments at all public, four-year colleges and universities, and presents the views of administrators and educators working in these colleges and universities about the challenges they anticipate in the 1990s.

One important attribute of colleges and universities in the 1980s was their resilience, their ability to recover from or adjust easily to misfortune or change. Public colleges and universities were forced to recover twice during the 1980s: first, from the shock of increasing enrollments, as student participation defied the predictions; and second, from the declining support of state and federal governments for the business of education. Increased numbers and the changing demographics of student bodies—more immigrants, a majority of women, an increased share of minority students, more part-time students, extended enrollment careers, and shifting institutional allegiances—require increased resources.

Themes of the Chapters

In the view of our contributors the 1980s were years of recognition and renewed planning for unanticipated changes. The 1990s will be a time of implementation of responses and evaluation of their effectiveness. The authors who chose to contribute to this volume write about this recognition and response.

Ernest L. Boyer begins the group of essays and reports by summarizing the challenges to institutional administrators in the 1990s. Boyer ties the themes in the writings together around the story of diversity and the commitment of public higher education to diversity.

A description of the enrollment trends for the public, four-year sector by the AASCU Office of Association Research (Meredith Ludwig and Laura Stapleton) documents the changing composition of enrollment with details about academic level, type of institution, geographic location, and minority composition.

Lee Kerschner, interim president of the California State University, Stanislaus, explains how the nation's treatment of immigrants is linked to its regard for this critical resource. Citing education policies within his own state, Kerschner describes the potential return on economic and educational investments made by the California State University System which directly recognizes the needs of new immigrants and mandates instruction about the contributions to American culture from past and current waves of immigration.

Shirley F. Binder, The University of Texas at Austin, writes of the expanding role of admissions officers at state universities matching the demographic challenges. In recognition of the information, academic preparation, and retention needs of prospective students, admissions officers, says Binder, are working more closely with high schools and with academic administrators at their own universities. In effect, admissions officers are extending their professional interaction with students from about two years to almost six years.

Wayne Sigler, The University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, continues the theme of outreach, by defining a model of enrollment management. The purpose of enrollment management should be to achieve a vitality of the student body, notes Sigler, and he suggests a customer-oriented frame of reference to guide state colleges and universities during an era marked by both competitive recruitment among peer institutions and cooperation between two-year and four-year sectors to advance academic achievement.

Stephen R. Portch, vice president for academic affairs, the University of Wisconsin System, reviews the implications of the 1980s' enrollment growth for curricular change. Portch finds a spirit of creativity and self-examination in the academic environments of state colleges which grew as the stability of enrollments and challenges of diverse students were acknowledged. In this climate, there was a tension between traditional and innovative curriculum thought, which led to concentrations on revising the general education curriculum, the study of the relationship between professional and liberal arts disciplines, identification of what students should know, study of good teaching, encouragement of active learning, and programs to foster retention. As the decade concluded, Portch laments a real loss of resources which threatens to halt the process of curriculum examination and change.

Louis Bender and Henry Doster, Florida State University, address the particular concerns of students transferring from two-year institutions to public, four-year colleges and universities with degrees or emphases in practical or applied programs. The authors detail the state of data about the nature of the transfer population in specific states and point to a trend for these students to continue through an academic program at a four-year institution. Bender and Doster report the results of a survey undertaken for this paper about the matriculation of applied associate degree transfer students in degree-granting proprietary institutions.

Timothy Lehmann and Mary Edinburgh of Empire State College describe the changes in philosophy and practice within the higher education academy because of the strength of participation of the adult student. One response that was a sign of this change is the development of the external degree program. Lehmann and Edinburgh provide the background of this movement and detail the practice of Empire State College, identifying the important elements of learner-centered education, faculty development, and expanded instructional delivery in its success.

Richard Richardson, Arizona State University, and Michael Pavel, University of California at Los Angeles, have developed a yardstick to measure the accomplishments of the public, four-year colleges and universities regarding equity goals. The authors analyze the proportional representation of minority groups among undergraduate student bodies at these institutions and among graduating baccalaureate classes as two tests of equity of access and achievement. Richardson and Pavel provide a model of institutional adaptation which leads administrators to a continuous assessment of responses to student diversity, rather than to one-shot, isolated programs.

Muriel Morisey Spence, Temple University, calls our attention to public policy which affects the participation of minority groups in higher education. Morisey Spence defines essential questions for policy makers she believes will affect the educational and social futures of minority groups. She calls for policy makers to attend to specific principles for developing and assessing policy and recommends the establishment of a coordinating body to focus on minority participation in higher education.

Eugene Hughes, Northern Arizona University, completes the set of essays and reports by describing the work of one university as it faces the critical needs of regional ethnic populations. Hughes, the president of the university, calls for a dedication to a set of principles through which college and university leaders can manage a continuous process of attention to diversity.

Acknowledgments

The original plan for the development of the book, A *Challenge of Change*, was developed by Robert Aaron, former director of Communications Services at the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC) and currently director of Public Affairs at Illinois Wesleyan University; Meredith Ludwig, director of Association Research at the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU); with the support of Allan Watson, former vice president of Educational Resources; and Joanne Erickson, AASCU director of Publications.

I am grateful for the technical assistance of Patrick Galligan, an independent consultant, and Michael Guerrieri, AASCU Information Systems manager, in preparing the 11 files of HEGIS and IPEDS data for analysis. Laura Stapleton, research associate, AASCU Office of Association Research, worked most consistently with the data files preparing them for analysis and producing endless tables for review. Laura's editing and writing suggestions on the trends chapter earned her co-authorship recognition. She also provided supportive material and analysis for the chapter by Morisey Spence on policy.

Three individuals reviewed the enrollment trends chapter in its various forms. Dr. Gwendolyn Lewis provided the most extensive review and recommendations for consolidation, table display, and issues raised and missed in initial drafts. Dr. Judy Grace reviewed the chapter for readability. Dr. Susan Broyles graciously took time to answer our questions on presentation of HEGIS and IPEDS data. Dr. James Palmer and Dr. Bernard Greene were friendly sounding-boards regarding the conclusions of various other chapters.

The production of the entire book was under the able direction of Joanne Erickson with production and typesetting accomplished by Trudy James.

I thank everyone for their time and patience, especially the authors, as the preparation of the data took much longer than ever anticipated and was a key reason for many delays. It is gratifying to see their work and patience rewarded in print.

Meredith Ludwig

Introduction: Renewing Campus Life

Ernest L. Boyer
President
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A *Challenge of Change* provides a thoughtful series of perspectives on higher education enrollment issues of the 1980s. Despite gloomy predictions of declining enrollments, the nation's colleges and universities closed the decade with *more* students. The number of women and older, part-time students increased, and a larger percentage of high school graduates went on to higher education than at any time in history. Community development efforts burgeoned, becoming an important part of the mission of virtually every public college and university. The decade ended with growing campus attention to general education, the development of structures to address the various developmental learning needs of many of these new students, and considerably more involvement with the public schools.

Such were the high points of the decade. But there were also some critical shortfalls, which are addressed in this volume. The most prominent is minority enrollment—something we all need to ponder.

After two decades of continuous growth in minority enrollment in higher education, fulfillment of some of the educational promise of the civil rights movement appeared imminent. A *Challenge of Change* makes clear, however, that the promise was never kept. While high school completion rates in the 1980s increased among African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans, in particular, their participation in higher education, unfortunately, declined. This has to be a serious concern for our colleges and our society.

Several of the writers, in discussing minority enrollment, argue convincingly that recruitment, while complicated, may not be as difficult as retention. They assert the need to ensure a campus environment that is supportive, curriculum and pedagogical approaches that recognize and celebrate diversity, and a community committed in action as well as words to social justice. They also acknowledge, as they should, how difficult this effort is in a society that doesn't always manifest such values.

Another dimension of diversity examined in this volume is the rapidly growing enrollments of new immigrants, principally from Southeast Asia. These individuals—from Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, Samoa, and the Philippines—represent the fastest-growing population of students in the nation's higher education institutions. They add greatly to the diversity, enriching campus life in important ways, while needing resources that many colleges and universities are struggling to provide, especially in regard to language. In this respect, as one author notes, California's public institutions have become crucibles for forming productive responses to these new populations.

The challenge of the decade ahead, foreshadowed well in A *Challenge of Change*, is to construct genuine communities of learning on our campuses that will promote for *all* of these diverse students—the young, seniors, women, and persons from various racial, ethnic, linguistic, and religious backgrounds—their fullest development.

Inasmuch as this book coincides with the current work of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching regarding the matter of community, it seems appropriate to share a personal perspective on the growing diversity in higher education.

During a recent study of campus life conducted by The Carnegie Foundation, even as colleges called attention to and praised their diversity, we found considerable evidence of divisiveness along racial and ethnic lines. At one institution, for example, a white student suggested that the mere existence of a black student union "polarized the students." An officer of the black student union responded angrily to this charge, stating that "if black students were inclined toward separation, they never would have come to this predominantly white institution in the first place. . . . The problem is," he said, "that blacks, once they come to this campus, discover that they need support from fellow blacks to emotionally survive."

Although it may be the most pervasive and visible, racism is not the only sign of fragmentation on campuses. Many women students who were interviewed during the Carnegie study also had disturbing stories to tell. "My professor told me not to bother to apply to business school because they never take women," said one female student. A woman at a different college reported that a male instructor reacted with surprise and perplexity when she expressed an interest in taking a particular advanced course. Other observers reported that anti-Semitic acts, too, are prevalent on many campuses today, perhaps more than at any other time in the past ten years. And other students spoke of different tensions—for example, between young and old students, commuters and residents, Greeks and non-Greeks.

What can be done to resolve these conflicts?

To start, colleges and universities must continue their efforts to increase the diversity of the student body. Every campus in the country *must* reaffirm, in particular, a commitment to equality of opportunity, establishing goals for minority enrollment and setting timetables for achieving them. The need actually to plan for diversity through well-developed and articulated goals is an important message in A *Challenge of Change*.

Further, higher education must concern itself with diversifying the faculty, because the next generation of scholars will be challenged as never before by diversity in the classroom. This goal, as several authors suggest, also needs conscious planning and a larger commitment than it has so far

received. Public colleges and universities have a special obligation to fulfill this mandate, as they are accountable not only to the students they serve, but also to taxpayers and to state government.

Additionally, colleges and universities should seek to learn more about themselves by conducting on a regular basis detailed studies of the ethnic and racial climate on their campuses. As observed by one college president, "It is important that we confront racism, recognizing its complexities and its deep-rootedness in our culture. We must face up to its particular manifestations [on campus], not treat it gingerly and pretend it's irrelevant to us."

The goal of a campus climate inventory would be to gather more precise information on the depth of ethnic and racial tensions, to better understand how students from various groups really feel about their situation, to see how administrative officers and academic programs are viewed, and to hear how various student populations—minority and majority—feel that current conditions might be improved. Such information should then be shared in an organized way with the campus community at every level—students, faculty, and administrators. Building a community, after all, must be everyone's responsibility.

Through self-examination, higher education institutions may find that student life is organized almost exclusively around separate racial and ethnic enclaves. It's understandable that students want to gather, and self-generated activity by student groups brings vitality to the campus. Yet tensions can increase and prejudices can be reinforced when separation becomes more important than the larger, more integrated interests of the community as a whole. Striking a balance between special groups and the larger community is a central challenge for colleges, as it must also be for the nation.

Beyond efforts to build communication and understanding among various student groups, the university must find ways to deal with conflicts and misunderstandings. And perhaps most important, they must find ways to prevent abusive language and other forms of bias from poisoning the campus, while also protecting free speech. Broadly speaking, higher education institutions must define high standards of civility and condemn, in the strongest possible language, any violation of these standards.

No one would argue that colleges should return to the days of *in loco parentis*; yet a community of learning, at its best, should be guided by standards of conduct that define acceptable behavior and integrate the academic and nonacademic dimensions of campus life. For example, privacy should be respected, security improved, and thoughtful discourse encouraged while slander is discouraged without resorting to censorship.

The goal is not to have a list of unenforceable commandments but rather to ensure that all parts of college life are governed by high standards.

Colleges should seek to strengthen not only the social and civic dimensions of racial and cultural understanding, but the educational dimension, as well. As part of the formal program of instruction, there should be courses that give students the opportunity to learn, within a well-balanced curriculum, about the heritage and traditions of other racial and ethnic groups. A *Challenge of Change* probes these curricular matters, suggesting that a broadened curriculum would allow students to understand their own culture in a larger perspective.

When all is said and done, a college or university should be a just and open community, a place where the sacredness of each person is honored and where diversity is aggressively pursued. Higher education institutions must build communities from the rich resources of all their members—communities in which prejudicial judgments are rejected, diversity celebrated, and all members served effectively. Public institutions, in particular, have an important obligation to define larger, more inspired goals for campus life. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that in so doing they can serve as a model for the nation and the world. That message comes through well in A *Challenge of Change*, a book particularly illuminating as we begin the work of this last decade of the twentieth century.

Chapter 1: Public College Enrollment Trends of 1979-1989

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The 1980s were a turbulent decade for higher education. Programs and enrollments grew, resources fluctuated and campuses experienced real funding declines. In the early 1990s, numerous reports reviewed and analyzed the 80s, looking at, among other factors, participation in postsecondary education. Higher education enrollment patterns are an indicator of the health of the institution or sector. It was important to look at the effects of external factors on participation; the impact of institutional, state and federal policies of admissions and student assistance on student access; and the relationship of general population demographics to student demographics.

Reviewing past participation trends to plan for the future is not new. In 1979, education writer Fred M. Hechinger warned of an enrollment crisis in the 1980s that could result not only from "declining birth rates" but also from a "waning interest" in college attendance.[1] His predictions were echoed by others. Retrenchment became the buzz word for public higher education. However, the decade saw the "patient" make a miraculous recovery: postsecondary enrollments increased almost 12 percent (11 percent increase in public, four-year institutions) from 1980-1989. Contributing factors included: moderate cost increases, increased state and federal support of public and private higher education, and the growth of both the proprietary and public sectors, including growing enrollments in the public two-year institutions.[2]

The prime factor in the enrollment recovery of the 1980s was the dramatic change in student characteristics. From 1980-88 there was a 5 percent increase in higher education participation among persons aged 25-34 and a 46 percent increase among those 35 and older, reflecting the increase in the population for those age groups.[3]

Improved rates of enrollment of high school graduates in higher education sustained the participation levels for the traditional college-age students.[4] Increased immigration raised the overall number of persons eligible for postsecondary education.[5]

Finally, but not least of all the changes, was the dramatic rise in participation rates for women in higher education overall. Rates among adult white women increased 24 percent between 1980 and 1989, compared with a 15 percent increase for their male counterparts. Adult black women increased their college-going rate by 14 percent in the same time period, a rate of increase almost triple that for black adult males. For adult Hispanic women, the rate of participation increased by 9 percent—nearly twice that size of the increase reported for Hispanic males.[6]

In 1990 and 1991, those making projections and predictions once again cautioned the higher education community to expect enrollment

declines. Decreases in enro ents were projected for the first two to three years of the new decade, bas on indications that the traditional college-age student group and the 25-34-year-old group of eligible students would decrease. Lack of growth in participation by students of various minority groups, as well as institutional financial difficulties resulting in reduced aid and deteriorating facilities, and restricted services and class offerings also led to altered expectations. There was general uncertainty about the capacity of higher education to support the growth in enrollments that had already occurred, and the new buzz word for the times became *rightsizing*. Reflecting this uncertainty, the National Center for Education Statistics' (NCES) publications projecting enrollments had to be revised each year, reflecting unexpected increases. (NCES is the data-gathering arm of the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement [OERI].)

Table 1 shows how expectations for higher education enrollments changed from fall 1988 to fall 1991 alone, based on NCES publications.

In January 1992, NCES released an update of *Projections of Education Statistics to* 2002, with the news that enrollment in public, four-year institutions would climb every year from 1991 to 2002. Although increases in enrollment are expected to be gradual up to 1995, the projections for succeeding years indicate much larger increases. NCES projections show that overall the public, four-year sector will see the student population grow by 13.5 percent from 1991 to 2002.[7] These projections are based on the assumptions that college enrollment rates will rise and that the number of 18-to 24-year-olds will increase, beginning in 1995. After conducting our own analysis, we think there will be dramatic increases in the 35-and-over age group enrollment, as the country experiences an economic downshifting that severely affects workers in this age group. The proportion of all higher education enrollment occupied by students of this age group was already projected to increase to 23 percent by 2001.[8]

Whatever the decade ahead brings, it is helpful to colleges and universities planning programs, services, and human and fiscal resources to see that growth patterns can be linked to specific institutional and student characteristics. In this chapter we have chosen to focus exclusively on the changing enrollment conditions in the public, four-year sector during academic years 1979-1989. For historical information we turned to the institutional enrollment reports in the standardized Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS) and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) files, two survey programs of NCES that have been continuous since 1966.

General Enrollment Patterns in Public, Four-Year Colleges and Universities

Participation in public, four-year colleges and universities increased every year from 1979-89, except 1983-84. From 1983-84 a one percent decrease in full-time enrollment resulted in an overall head-count decline. Throughout the rest of the decade the enrollment continued to rise, resulting in an overall 14.4 percent increase from 1979-89.

Most students in public, four-year institutions are undergraduates. The proportions of undergraduates and graduates remained nearly the same over the 11-year period of 1979-89; graduate students made up about 14 percent of the total enrollments, while undergraduate students made up 75 percent. The increase in undergraduate enrollment of 14.5 percent from 1979-89 was larger than that for graduate enrollment (11.5 percent), which actually caused the undergraduate share of enrollment to increase slightly from 74.8 percent to 75 percent and the graduate share to decrease from 13.9 to 13.6 percent.

It is not surprising, given the strong foundation of undergraduate students in this sector, that there has been great stability in the percentage of students who enroll full time. From 1979-89, full-time and part-time participation shifted by only 1 percentage point. In 1979, 70.2 percent of students attended full time and 29.8 percent part time. In 1989, 69.2 percent attended full time and 30.8 percent part time.

Full-time first-time freshman students have gradualiy become a smaller part of the undergraduate student body at public colleges and universities over the past 11 years, shifting from a 22.6 percent share in 1979 to a 20.5 percent share in 1989. The proportions of full-time and part-time undergraduates who are first-time freshmen have both decreased. The total number of first-time, full-time freshmen remained relatively stable, increasing by 1.5 percent, while a decrease of 8.6 percent was noted for first-time, part-time freshmen.[9] (*See Table* 4.)

Meanwhile, the number of full-time undergraduate students with one year, two years, three years, and four or more years of credit has grown from 1979-89, indicating the importance of two phenomena in public, four-year institutions: the average time span of baccalaureate study has lengthened, and student persistence and retention has become as critical to institutional size as recruitment.

Among full-time undergraduate students are those classified as "first year," two-thirds of whom are first-time freshmen and one-third of whom are first-year students attending full time who have earned less than 30 credits. This seems to indicate that over half of first-time freshmen remain

as first-year students following one "year" of attendance. The extra time needed to complete the first "year" of postsecondary education has been studied, along with general patterns of student persistence, by NCES statistician Paula Knepper. Knepper found, from analyzing persistence patterns in the 1972 National Longitudinal Study of High School Graduates, that the "freshman year" is the longest one to complete, with students taking 18 months on average to complete it. This, states Knepper, is twice as long as normally expected based on traditional credit requirements.[10]

The trends for first-time freshmen did not prevent the overall growth at public colleges and universities. A steady increase in enrollment at public colleges and universities has been possible because of the growth in the number of undergraduate, graduate, and unclassified students. The number of undergraduates attending public colleges full time has increased by 12.2 percent from 1979-89, while the number of part-time undergraduates increased 25.2 percent.

The growth in full-time graduate enrollment exceeded that for undergraduates: 19.7 percent as compared with 12.2 percent. However, the growth in part-time graduate enrollment was about one-fourth as large as that for part-time undergraduates. Full-time first-professional enrollment increased by 5.9 percent overall (*see Table* 4).

The predominance of full-time students in public, four-year colleges and universities provides such a strong foundation of enrollment that, even though the overall number of part-time students increased at a greater rate—18.4 percent—than for full-time students, it was the actual increase in the number of full-time students that contributed 62 percent of the total increase in enrollments from 1979-89. The increase in part-time enrollments yielded 38 percent of the overall growth.

"Unclassified" students represent a small proportion—9 percent—of the total enrollments in public, four-year colleges and universities, but the growth in this category was substantial in the last decade.[11] About 64 percent of unclassified students are undergraduate students. There was a 43.4 percent increase from 1979-89 in the number of full-time and a 24.5 percent increase in part-time undergraduate unclassified students.

Reasons for the increasing numbers of unclassified students are difficult to determine because the students' participation and intent is so diverse. For some students—for example, transfers—their classification as unclassified may be short-lived, as credits are being assigned during the fall semester. For other students, their participation status may be more indicative of nontraditional, non-degree seeking participation.

Enrollment Change and Institutional Characteristics

Recognizing distinctions among types of public, four-year institutions is necessary to understand the changes in student enrollment over the past decade. Several classification systems are used in the literature to organize and report institutional data. Probably the most commonly used is the Carnegie Classification of Institutions, which provides an organization code for types of higher education institutions by research and degree-granting emphasis.[12] In this report, we have used the Carnegie Classification to group institutions by type. In order that institutions could be divided into Carnegie Classification categories, the Carnegie code for each institution was added to an institutional characteristics file that was complementary to the 11-year file of enrollment data and could then be used with it.

Other vocabulary used to describe the differences among institutions within the four-year, public sector has found common usage among administrators and faculty in these institutions, researchers, and even legislators and the public. It refers to the research or land-grant institutions, most of which are members of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC); and the "state colleges and universities," the comprehensive, baccalaureate and specialized institutions, most of which are members of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities.

Degree-Granting Emphasis and Membership Status

From 1979-89, enrollments at the public, four-year institutions belonging to AASCU increased more sharply than those at the NASULGC-member institutions. Full-time enrollment at AASCU-member institutions increased by 14.9 percent; NASULGC, by 4.2 percent. Part-time enrollment increased by 14.4 percent at AASCU institutions and by 11.9 percent at NASULGC member institutions. (*See Table* 4.)

It is interesting to note that much of the growth in public, four-year colleges and universities has been at the comprehensive and baccalaureate institutions. Nearly 81 percent of AASCU members are comprehensive institutions. Approximately 7 percent are baccalaureate degree-granting institutions and another 8 percent are doctoral. Specialized institutions make up 3.2 percent, while other public, four-year, including upper level institutions, make up 1.6 percent.

NASULGC member institutions are primarily doctoral—74.2 percent—and comprehensive—23.5 percent. An additional .8 percent are baccalaureate, and .8 percent are specialized.

Also found in the 11-year enrollment trend file created for this study is a group of public, four-year institutions not affiliated with either organization. There are 90 of these colleges and universities, and they, too, are varied in institutional type. Within the nonaffiliated group, the doctoral institutions represent 7.8 percent and the comprehensive institutions 22.2 percent. An additional 6.7 percent are classified as baccalaureate institutions, 51 percent are specialized, 10 percent are other kinds.

Because the comprehensive and baccalaureate institutions showed the greatest growth in full-time and part-time enrollment, it was not surprising that the AASCU institutions reflected this growth. Comprehensive institutions grew at nearly every academic level by more than 10 percent. Unclassified enrollment, primarily representing undergraduate students, grew by more than 30 percent, as did graduate full-time enrollment. Baccalaureate institutions showed the most dramatic change, especially at the part-time level, with undergraduate and graduate enrollment each growing by 140 percent. (*See Table 5 for percent changes by Carnegie Classification.*)

Three other trends from 1979-89 are worth noting as contributors to the enrollment growth in AASCU-member institutions. First, as a group, AASCU-member institutions have a greater proportion of part-time students than do NASULGC members (35 percent as compared with 25 percent). Therefore, the larger part-time increases would have affected the AASCU-member institutions more. Second, undergraduates comprise a slightly larger share of all students in the AASCU member-institutions than in the NASULGC member-institutions (79 percent compared with 72 percent). Again the overall growth in undergraduate students was larger than for graduate students. Finally, female students registered the greatest increases at all academic levels compared with males. Once again, female students are a greater share of all students at AASCU-member institutions compared with NASULGC members. In 1989, the proportion of women among all students at AASCU members was 56.4 percent; at NASULGC institutions the proportion was 49.8 percent.

The full-time/part-time distribution of students at the doctoral institutions shifted by just 1 percentage point from 1979-89. Similarly, the comprehensive institutions remained stable in student participation, with almost 65 percent attending full time and 35 percent attending part time.

However, students in both baccalaurate and specialized institutions shifted to a stronger part-time participation style. Part-time students at baccalaureate institutions increased their share of enrollment from 32.2 percent in 1979 to 38 percent in 1989. At the specialized institutions, their participation share increased from 22.8 percent to 30.3 percent over the 11

years. (*See Table 6 for percent distribution of full-time/part-time participation by Carnegie Classification.*)

Location

One institutional characteristic frequently examined in enrollment comparisons is location, specifically, metropolitan or nonmetropolitan. These areas, identified by size of the city and surrounding areas, have been historically defined as "rural" or "urban." We have chosen to describe the growth by location of public, four-year institutions using as a reference the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) of the institution, rather than using "urban" or "rural" because of the lack of consensus about the meaning of these terms.[13]

The growth of the suburbs in the 1970s and 1980s was particularly important to the establishment of state colleges and universities, some of which emerged first as branches of land-grant universities. Approximately 40 state colleges and universities were established in the 1970s. They were primarily comprehensive in type (73.7 percent). Of all new public colleges and universities established in the 1970s, an additional 2.6 percent were doctoral institutions, 21.1 percent baccalaureate, and 2.6 percent specialized. Sixteen institutions were located in areas outside an SMSA or in an SMSA of less than 250,000. Sixty percent of the AASCU-member institutions are located either outside an SMSA or in SMSAs with less than 250,000 people, compared with 50 percent of the NASULGC land-grant institutions. More NASULGC-member institutions are found in SMSAs of 1 million and more people: 26.5 percent compared with 17.5 percent of the AASCU-member institutions.

In the 1980s, the largest enrollment changes for all public, four-year institutions occurred in the nonmetropolitan and smaller metropolitan areas (city size less than 250,000). As of 1989, 37 percent of the public, four-year colleges, and 27 percent of their enrollment, were located in areas outside any SMSA. An additional 16 percent of the enrollment was concentrated in the institutions in cities of fewer than 250,000 people. At the other end of the city-size scale, almost 26 percent of the public college and university enrollment is found in institutions in cities of 1 million or more people. Another 5 percent of enrollment is found at institutions whose city size was not identified on the file.

Table 7 compares the rates of growth in total, full-time and part-time enrollment for all public, four-year colleges and universities classified by SMSA category.

Part-time enrollment at institutions located outside SMSAs or in metropolitan areas with populations of less than 250,000 grew at almost twice the rate of institutions in larger metropolitan areas. Institutions in cities with less than 250,000 people experienced the greatest growth in full-time enrollment: 15.6 percent.

The full-time/part-time composition of institutions in nonmetropolitan and smaller metropolitan areas also differed from that of institutions in larger metropolitan areas. In 1989, colleges and universities in the smallest two SMSA categories had the highest proportion of full-time students: 76.6 percent and 74.8 percent. As the SMSA size increases, the part-time composition of institutions in the larger metropolitan areas gradually increases: from 29 9 percent in areas with populations of 250,000-499,999; to 35.1 percent in areas with populations of 500,000-999,999; and finally to 38.9 percent at institutions located in SMSAs of 1,000,000 and more people.

Historically Black Public Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

The 35 historically black colleges and universities in the public sector increased total enrollment from 1979-89 by 10.9 percent. However, the full- and part-time enrollments at these institutions fluctuated over the first half of the 1980s. Since 1986, these institutions have undergone a steady growth.

A greater proportion of students at these institutions attended full time, compared with students at the public, four-year colleges as a whole. However, there was a slight decline in the proportion of students attending full time, from 1979 (78.5 percent) to 1989 (76.6 percent).

In 1989, 81 percent of students at public HBCUs were undergraduates, 9 percent were graduate students, and another 8.5 percent were unclassified. The number of first-professional students at HBCUs was very small and represented about 1 percent of all HBCU enrollment. Table 8 describes the changes in full- and part-time enrollment by academic level at historically black public colleges and universities.

The role of female students in maintaining the growth of public college enrollments is clear. (See section on "Enrollment Change and Student Characteristics: Gender.") The enrollments of female students were especially important to sustaining a growth in undergraduate enrollment as a whole at historically black public colleges and universities in light of the decreased participation of male students.

During the 1980s, male enrollments at HBCUs actually decreased at the undergraduate level, while increasing at the graduate, first-profes-

sional and unclassified levels. The decline in male undergraduate full-time enrollment offset gains made at the graduate and first-professional levels for an overall decrease in full-time participation. While the number of male, full-time, first-time freshmen increased, the number classified as second year, third year, and fourth year decreased, driving the overall undergraduate enrollment down.

Male student participation rates differed at HBCUs from rates for males at all public colleges and universities. At historically black public colleges and universities, there was a decline in male participation at the undergraduate level of 2.5 percent for full-time participants and 6.5 percent for part-timers. In the public, four-year sector as a whole, undergraduate male students increased their full-time participation by 6.1 percent and their part-time participation by 15.4 percent.

Another difference in participation was found at the freshman level. Full-time, first-time freshmen male students at HBCUs increased from 1979-89 by 8.9 percent, while public, four-year institutions experienced a drop of 1.8 percent in full-time, first-time freshmen and 8 percent in part-time, first-time freshmen. At the graduate and first-professional levels, male enrollment increased at HBCUs. In all public, four-year institutions, full-time male enrollment at the graduate level increased by 12.2 percent, about the same amount by which it decreased at the first-professional level. Part-time participation by males decreased at both graduate and first-professional levels at all public, four-year institutions. (*See Tables 9 and 10 for changes in enrollment by academic level and gender.*)

There were more female students enrolled in HBCUs in 1979 than males, and their participation increased by 20 percent over the 11 years, compared with the stability shown by male students, whose enrollment increased by .4 percent. Female students are more likely than male students to enroll part time. Part-time participation of women in HBCUs increased from 23.2 percent to 25.5 percent in 11 years. The proportion of males participating part time was lower to begin with—19.5 percent in 1979—and increased to 20.5 percent in 1989.

Female students at HBCUs clearly compensated for decreases in the participation of males at the undergraduate level, with increases of 14.9 percent and 23.6 percent in undergraduate full- and part-time enrollments. In the 1980s women were increasingly attracted to graduate and first-professional programs at HBCUs, increasing their representation in the latter by over 100 percent from 1979-89.

A great deal has been written recently about the stagnation of black, non-Hispanic student enrollments in higher education, and one factor cited has been the decrease in participation of black males.[14] In our

analysis of HBCU enrollment, we found a loss of over 5,000 black male students from 1980-86, most of whom were undergraduates. However, from 1986-88, there was an increase in the participation of black males in HBCUs. This, added to increases of Asian, Hispanic, and white, non-Hispanic males, brought stability to the overall trend. Thus, 1988 may have been the turning point for participation of black males in higher education and in the public, four-year institutions, and the trend seems to be on the rise. According to new data released in January 1992 by NCES, between 1988 and 1990, black male enrollment increased by 7.4 percent.[15] The greatest growth—13,000 students—was in the public, four-year sector.[16] Whether this growth will be maintained and will continue to affect the historically black public colleges and universities remains to be seen.

Historically black, public colleges and universities were established to serve black students eligible for higher education, who had been systematically excluded from many of the nation's other colleges and universities. In this trend study we noted a shift in the racial and ethnic composition of many of these institutions, consisting of increases in majority (white, non-Hispanic) and other minority student participation.

From 1980-90 the percentage of black students in these colleges and universities decreased from 82.8 to 81.6 percent. The percentage of white students increased from 10.9 to 14.2 percent of the total enrollment. Asian and American Indian students made slight gains, and Hispanic students increased from .3 percent to .7 percent. Non-resident aliens decreased in their share of the overall enrollments, from 5.3 to 2.6 percent. The increased participation of students from a variety of race and ethnic groups is evident not only at the undergraduate but also at the graduate and first-professional levels. Tables 11 and 12 describe the changes in student demographics at HBCUs by race and ethnicity and by academic level.

Enrollment Change and Student Characteristics

Gender Differences. An important factor in enrollment growth from 1979-89 at public, four-year colleges and universities was the large increase in full- and part-time female participation. The increase in full-time enrollment of female students was four times that of males, and for part-time, nearly three times. (*See Table 10 for percent change by academic level and full-time/part-time participation.*) Female students are more likely than male students to attend part time; 34 percent of female students did so in 1989, compared with 28 percent of male students.

Male and female participation differences can be found at all academic levels. For example, while the enrollment of first-time freshmen

decreased across most types of institutions, the number of first-time freshmen who are female increased by 3.3 percent. By comparison, male enrollment at this level decreased by 2.3 percent.

Female students comprised 51 percent of all first-time freshmen in 1979. The peak year for growth in female first-time freshman participation was 1988. By 1989 the total number of female first-time freshman students remained higher than that of their fellow males, and their share of the total first-time freshman enrollment had increased to 52.9 percent. Proportionately fewer female students were classified as first-year students after the freshman year.

At the other end of the academic ladder, female students at the fourth year of full-time undergraduate studies increased their enrollment by 32.7 percent from 1979-89, possibly indicating a higher rate of retention than that for males, whose increase was 13.9 percent.

Women increased 55.6 and 26.9 percent in full-time and part-time first-professional enrollment and 29.9 and 12.3 percent in full-time and part-time graduate enrollment. The greatest change for women was in their share of all public, four-year, first-professional enrollment. In 1979, this share was 27.5 percent; in 1989, it rose to 41.2 percent, a change of 54.2 percent (*see Table* 13). It is clear that public colleges and universities have contributed to the professional preparation and retraining of women already in the work force, as well as those preparing to enter it. Finally, female students represent the greatest share (60 percent) of unclassified students at public, four-year colleges and universities.

First-Time Freshmen. The overall changes in first-time freshmen—a 1.5-percent increase in full-time and 8.6-percent decrease in part-time—mask important regional and institutional changes from 1979-89. Full-time, first-time freshmen are typically high school graduates who go directly on to college or university after graduation. As a class, first-time freshmen are the chief source of students for the first- and second-year classes at their institution. Therefore, at the beginning of the 1980s, an impending decrease in the number of high school graduates was the springboard for gloomy forecasts for higher education enrollments.

There was a notable decline of 12.7 percent in public high school graduates from academic year 1979-80 to 1989-90.[17] However, this decline was not reflected in a drop of the same magnitude in the overall first-time freshman enrollments at the public colleges and universities, nor in the overall enrollment changes. Table 14 summarizes the percent change in public high school graduates, the percent change in first-time freshman enrollment, and the change in total enrollment by region for the public,

four-year colleges and universities from 1979-89. The expected change in public high school graduates from 1988-2000 is provided as well.

Total enrollment increased for all these regional groupings over the same period of time. The first-time freshman enrollment, however, varied in its direction. This variation is likely to continue, according to recent reports from NCES and from the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE), because the projected growth in the number of high school graduates will vary by race/ethnicity and region.[18] The growth in the number of high school graduates is projected to begin in earnest in 1995 and build in strength until 2002.[19]

Changes in the enrollment of first-time freshmen are not completely reliant on shifts in the number of eligible high school graduates. There are other factors affecting the level of participation of first-time students in these various regions, including economic downturns and student migration. To gauge the impact of these forces, one needs to examine smaller groupings of states and even individual states.

Many students leave their state to attend college elsewhere. This migration is a stabilizing force for some states that are experiencing decreases in the number of high school graduates. A recent study of freshman migration patterns by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching shows to what extent movement of prospective freshmen can benefit different states.[20] Between 1979 and 1986, a 22.3-percent growth in outmigration occurred. While overall, student migrants are more likely to attend a private institution, the Carnegie study pointed out that the 1979 rate of leavers (42.7 percent) who subsequently attended a public institution increased to 46 percent in 1986.

For five states—South Dakota, Minnesota, North Dakota, Arkansas, and Alaska—more than 60 percent of their emigrant students went to public institutions in 1986. The Carnegie report calculated increases of more than 40 percent in the rate by which freshmen left these borders for public institutions elsewhere between 1979 and 1986: Arkansas, Alaska, South Dakota, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Two states, Massachusetts and North Carolina, were cited as having the most success at maintaining a balance between the number of emigrant and immigrant students. New Hampshire and Vermont were examples of states able to make net gains in enrolling freshmen.

Minority Student Enrollments. Enrollments for all groups of minority students increased from 1980 to 1988, the years for which enrollment was reported by race/ethnicity on the HEGIS and IPEDS files comprising the eleven-year enrollment file used for this trend analysis. The 1980-88 overall enrollment increase of 8.2 percent was supported by increases in specific

minority groups: non-resident alien, 25.8; American Indian/Alaskan Native, 14.5; Asian/Pacific Islander, 77.7; and Hispanic, 35.4.

Modest increases in total enrollments were found for both white, non-Hispanic and black, non-Hispanic—5 and 2.4 percent respectively. However, both groups decreased in their share of the public, four-year enrollments. (*See Table 15 for the actual enrollment, the change between 1980-88, and the shifts that have occurred in the distribution of each race and ethnic group among all students in public, four-year institutions.*) Although gains in enrollment have been made, public colleges and universities continue to be concerned that their student bodies represent changes in the population as a whole.

The IPEDS 1990 enrollment data (released January 1992) indicate that the efforts of colleges and universities in this sector to address this representational concern are being rewarded.[21] When the 1990 enrollment data are compared with the total enrollment by race/ethnic group from the 11-year file, there are some dramatic changes apparent. The small increase over the previous eight years for black, non-Hispanic students was considerably boosted: between 1988 and 1990 it was 7.9 percent. The large gains made by Asian students as a group from 1980-88 (77.7 percent increase) seemed to persist, as the change from 1988-90 amounted to a 12 percent increase. The rate of increase in enrollment of white, non-Hispanic students continued to diminish. The rate of increase was 5 percent between 1980-88 and 1.2 percent between 1988-90. The rate of increase for Hispanic students seems to be sustained. Between 1980-88, the rate was 35.4 percent. From 1988-90 the rate was 9.2 percent (*see Table* 16).

Many possible explanations have been offered for the differing participation rates among race and ethnic groups.[22] One pertinent statistic is the modest increase from 1980-88 in the college enrollment rates for 18-24-year-olds. Enrollment rates for black, non-Hispanic students and Hispanic students, however, experienced a smaller increase than for their white, non-Hispanic counter parts.[23] With projected increases in the number of public high school graduates of Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian background from 1986-95, and overall increases anticipated from 1995 to 2002, past gains may be seen as a strong foundation upon which public colleges and universities may build increased participation of eligible students from a variety of race and ethnic backgrounds (*see Table* 17).

Table 18 shows at what academic levels the growth of students from different race and ethnic backgrounds has occurred from 1980-90, the most recent date for which detailed data were available. The participation of black, non-Hispanic students in public, four-year institutions increased, especially at the first-professional and unclassified academic levels. Non-resident aliens increased their participation the most at the graduate and

first-professional levels. The most dramatic changes in graduate enrollment for this group of students were found among NASULGC members, while the largest change in first-professional enrollment occurred among AASCU members.

Asian student enrollment posted large increases at all levels within the public sector, but gains were greatest at the doctoral universities at every level except first-professional. White, non-Hispanic student enrollment grew at a much greater rate at the undergraduate level in comprehensive and baccalaureate colleges and universities than in the research universities. The number of American Indians participating in the public, four-year sector is small, but this group of students made proportionately large gains across institutions of all degree-granting emphasis and association membership. Hispanic students were consistent in their increased enrollment from 1980-90 at each academic level and across all types of institutions.

Many of the large increases in students of different race and ethnic backgrounds were at the graduate and first-professional level. This trend reflects important changes in the 1980s in the interest of students in these occupational programs, in the education community's interest in attracting more diverse students to these programs, and in the development of new programs. The same factors apply to the trend in graduate enrollment, as well as an often publicly stated goal to prepare students of diverse race and ethnic backgrounds as future faculty.

Looking Forward

One certainty emerging from enrollment analyses is that the number of high school graduates alone is not an effective predictor of the long-term enrollment health of colleges and universities. Retention of full- and part-time students and continued participation of female and minority students are two factors more relevant to assessing where we have been and anticipating our future. However, over and above these distinct factors are the political and economic conditions under which public colleges and universities operate. Enrollment is affected not only by student interest and choice to attend college, but also by restrictions of institutional size, financial support, and responsiveness to social and economic needs. We cannot base projections on estimates of numbers alone. The potential for satisfactory participation is good, but it is the context and availability of services that will enable institutions to realize it.

In the past two years, AASCU and NASULGC members have reported a new direction in enrollment planning in annual surveys. A large majority

attributed increases in enrollment to improved retention efforts (72 percent in 1990 and 61 percent in 1991). Of declining importance in the past two years is recruitment of first-time freshmen and the recruitment of other students.

Showing stability in 1990 and 1991 among the responding public, four-year colleges and universities are enrollments of first-professional, foreign, and residential students. Increasing in enrollment are graduate, older, minority, and transfer students.

The factors contributing to enrollment decreases have also shifted in importance from 1990-91. A smaller pool of high school students was noted as an important factor by 74 percent of the colleges and universities in 1990. But in 1991, only 62 percent identified it as important. Rising tuition and fees was considered an important factor in enrollment decreases by 42 percent of the survey respondents in 1990. In 1991, 48 percent considered it so. Finally, there was a shift in the percentage of respondents selecting the local or state economic conditions as a factor in decreasing enrollments—from 39 percent in 1990 to 48 percent in 1992.

Between fall 1989 and fall 1990, the public, four-year institutions continued their trend of rising head count enrollment for an overall increase of 2.7 percent. The baccalaureate institutions continued to be the fastest-growing group. From 1990-91, the rate of increase for all public, four-year institutions surveyed slowed to 1.9 percent. Preliminary data from fall 1992 show a further slowdown. Increased retention and growth in transfer and graduate students are sustaining enrollment levels.

Findings

Our trend analysis of enrollments in the public, four-year sector revealed some surprises in student participation, enrollment growth, and institutional and student characteristics.

Most students attending public, four-year institutions still do so full time. Full-time/part-time participation shifted by only one percentage point in over 11 years.

Most students in the public, four-year sector are undergraduates. Although the undergraduate population has increased slightly from 1979-89 and the number of graduate and first-professional students has increased, the ratio of undergraduate to graduate student has not changed from 1979-89.

Part-time enrollment has increased at a faster pace than has full-time enrollment. Still, full-time enrollment increases have contributed almost two-thirds of the overall enrollment increase.

In the 1980s, comprehensive and baccalaureate public colleges and universities grew more rapidly than all other types. Many of these master's and baccalaureate-granting institutions had been newly established during the previous decade, and most are located in smaller metropolitan areas.

Historically black public colleges and universities marked a 10.9-percent enrollment growth from 1979-89. Although public HBCUs have a higher proportion of full-time students than do other types of public, four-year institutions, even they experienced a slight decline in the proportion of such students during the decade.

Male and female students at HBCUs have different participation histories. Women's attendance grew by 20 percent while men's was static (.4 percent). Female students tend to participate part-time more often than do men. The decreases in black, non-Hispanic male enrollment from 1980-86 were substantial but began to recoup from 1986-88. From 1988-90, there has been real growth.

The distribution of minority groups within the student population at public HBCUs shifted from 1980-90. White, non-Hispanic students increased from 10.9 to 14.2 percent of the population; non-resident alien students decreased from 5.3 to 2.6 percent. The proportion of Asian and American Indian students increased slightly within the student population at HBCUs, while Hispanic students shifted from .3 to .7 percent of the population.

Public, four-year colleges and universities experienced large increases from 1979-89 in the number of women attending. Women made up 49.7 percent of all public, four-year students in 1979 and 53 percent in 1989. The participation of female students increased at the first-time freshman level, bucking the trend for all students in this sector, and at all other academic levels, including graduate and first-professional.

Declines forecast in the traditional-college-age population materialized during the 11-year period but did not affect the overall growth in headcount enrollment. Such declines affected the enrollment of first-time freshmen in some regions more than in others, as did student migration. There was a slight increase in full-time, first-time freshmen (1.5 percent) and an 8.6-percent decrease in part-time, first-time freshman enrollments

In the 1980s, students of different races and ethnic groups grew in significant numbers at all public, four-year colleges and universities, shifting in distribution within the student population and yielding more diversity. White, non-Hispanic and black, non-Hispanic students both decreased in their share of the student population up to 1988, while Asian, Hispanic, and non-resident alien students increased by the greatest rates.

The IPEDS 1990 enrollment reports show an increase from 1988-90 in the proportion of black, non-Hispanic students, a reversal of the preceding downward trend. At the same time there has been a slight decrease in the enrollment share of white, non-Hispanic students.

From 1986-95, the numbers of white, non-Hispanic and black, non-Hispanic high school graduates in some regions are expected to decrease. On the other hand, the number of public high school graduates eligible for college may increase in some regions from 1988-2000. As shown in this volume, the retention and graduation of students—especially of racially and ethnically diverse students—will become more and more critical to success in maintaining and increasing enrollment.

About the Survey Data

The Office of Association Research of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities obtained the "Fall Enrollment" survey data tape from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) for each year from 1979-89. Data from 1979-85 were collected under the Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS) and data from 1986-89 were collected under the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). Because the categories of enrollment were broken into more detail on the IPEDS form than on the HEGIS form, some IPEDS categories had to be combined to match the HEGIS categories to facilitate the computation of totals, percent changes, and frequency distributions.

The HEGIS and IPEDS enrollment files contain data obtained from NCES surveys mailed to postsecondary institutions in the United States and outlying areas. The survey collected data describing the status of student enrollment by academic level and full-time/part-time participation. These data were collected by gender for six racial/ethnic categories as defined by the U.S. Office of Civil Rights in every other year. Enrollment data are collected as a "snapshot" of enrollment on one day in the fall of each year. Response rates for each year fell between 73 and 100 percent. Data for nonresponding institutions were imputed by NCES either by prorating their previous year's data or by matching institutions selected from stratifications based on sector and state.

AASCU used only the enrollment data from those institutions in the file that were classified as public, offering programs of four or more years. Regional data were calculated using the Department of Commerce, Office of Business Economics Region Code for each institution as it appeared in the HEGIS data file in 1985. Data calculated for doctoral, comprehensive, baccalaureate and specialized institutions were organized by assigning the

1987 Carnegie Classification code to each institution and locating this information in an institutional characteristics data file that was complementary to the 11-year enrollment trend file. Data calculated by city size were organized by using the city size variable in the NCES HEGIS enrollment file of 1985. The code for historically black public colleges and universities was assigned from the AASCU/NASULGC enrollment file of 1988.

Table 1. Three Successive Reports of Higher Education Enrollment, Fall 1988 through Fall 1991
(numbers in thousands)

	Fall 1988	Fall 1989	Fall 1990	Fall 1991
First Report	12,560	12,570	12,585	12,529
Second Report	12,849	13,087	13,213	13,233
Third Report	13,043	13,490	13,715	14,157

Source: First Report, *Projections of Education Statistics to* 1997-98. Second Report, NCES *Targeted Forecast*, 1989. *Higher Education Enrollment: Fall* 1987 *to Fall* 1993. Fall 1988 is an estimate, and fall 1989 through 1991 are revised projections. Third Report, the NCES Early Estimates Series, *National Higher Education Statistics: Fall* 1989, *Fall* 1990, *and Fall* 1991. Fall 1988, fall 1989, and fall 1990 are total enrollment figures based on the IPEDS surveys conducted in those academic years. Fall 1991 is an estimate obtained from a sample survey of 665 institutions of higher education representing more than 3,500 in operation in 1991.

Table 2. Enrollment by Academic Level and Full-Time/Part-Time Status, Fall 1979

(Public, Four-Year Institutions by Membership Status)

Academic Level	Headcount Enrollment, Fall 1979					
	All Public, Four-Year Institutions		AASCU-Member Institutions		NASULGC-Member Institutions	
	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time
All Students	3,528,633	1,498,309	1,617,717	860,854	1,772,412	558,017
Undergraduate	3,071,371	693,448	1,511,259	420,843	1,474,498	249,743
First-Time Freshmen	695,013	72,883	358,995	48,868	321,632	23,773
Graduate	281,733	420,288	63,049	228,817	204,327	173,960
First-Professional	103,216	4,278	5,443	1,372	64,359	1,756
Unclassified	72,313	380,295	37,966	209,822	29,228	132,558

Note: Membership numbers may not add to totals because some public, four-year institutions are not members of either association and some are members of both associations

Table 3. Enrollment by Academic Level and Full-Time/Part-Time Status, Fall 1989
(Public, Four-Year institutions by Membership Status)

	Head-Count Enrollment, Fall 1989					
	All Public, Four-Year Institutions		AASCU-Member Institutions		NASULGC-Member Institutions	
Academic Level	**Full-Time**	**Part-Time**	**Full-Time**	**Part-Time**	**Full-Time**	**Part-Time**
All Students	3,977,346	1,773,978	1,859,204	985,056	1,846,895	624,360
Undergraduate	3,445,078	868,431	1,720,781	514,149	1,526,112	260,484
First-Time Freshmen	705,722	66,630	358,006	40,192	309,630	19,369
Graduate	337,172	445,516	83,805	221,955	227,682	196,678
First-Professional	109,311	3,962	7,580	1,252	66,799	1,680
Unclassified	85,785	456,069	47,038	247,700	26,302	165,518

Table 4. Percent Change in Enrollment by Academic Level and Full-Time/Part-Time Status, 1979-89
(Public, Four-Year Institutions by Membership Status)

Academic Level	All Public, Four-Year Institutions % Change 1979-89		AASCU-Member Institutions % Change 1979-89		NASULGC-Member Institutions % Change 1979-89	
	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time
All Students	12.7	18.4	14.9	14.4	4.2	11.9
Undergraduate	12.2	25.2	13.9	22.2	3.5	4.3
First-Time Freshmen	1.5	-8.6	-0.3	-17.8	-3.7	-18.5
Graduate	19 7	6.0	32.9	-3.0	11.4	13.1
First-Professional	5.9	-7.4	39 3	-8.7	3.8	-4.3
Unclassified	18.6	19.9	23 9	18.1	-10.0	24.9

Table 5. Percent Change in Enrollment by Students' Academic Level and Type of Institution Attended, 1979-89

Academic Level	Doctoral % Change 1979-89		Comprehensive % Change 1979-89		Baccalaureate % Change 1979-89		Specialized % Change 1979-89	
	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time
All Students	6.8	12.1	14.2	14.6	37.7	77.6	-1.8	44.2
Undergraduate	6.1	10.2	13.0	24.1	32.5	140.0	-7.6	45.9
First-Time Freshmen	-2.8	-12.2	-0.7	-13.1	-1.4	-62.6	-10.3	-40.7
Graduate	14.6	8.2	31.7	-0.8	211.0	139.6	37.9	13.5
First-Professional	5.4	-1.5	11.1	-17.8	NA	NA	-2.2	11.1
Unclassified	-12.9	21.6	38.1	11.4	32.4	24.2	17.9	82.1

Note: Type of institution was determined by using the Carnegie Foundation's A *Classification of Institutions of Higher Education*.

Table 6. Percent Distribution of Full-Time/Part-Time Students by Type of Institution Attended, 1979 and 1989

	All Public, Four-Year Institutions Percent Distribution	
Type of Institution	**Full-Time**	**Part-Time**
Doctoral		
1979	75.1	24.9
1989	74.1	25.9
Comprehensive		
1979	64.7	35.3
1989	64.6	35.4
Baccalaureate		
1979	67.8	32.2
1989	62.0	38.0
Specialized		
1979	77.2	22.8
1989	69.7	30.3

Table 7. Percent Change in Total, Full-Time and Part-Time Enrollments in Public, Four-Year Institutions, Classified by SMSA Categories, 1979-89

Institutions' SMSA Size	Percent Change 1979-89 Total	Full-Time	Part-Time	Percent Distribution of Enrollment, 1989
City Size Not Identified on File	19.7	17.9	22.5	4.8
Outside Any SMSA	11.0	8.7	19.4	26.8
Less than 250,000	17.9	15 6	25.2	16.3
250,000 - 499,999	11.5	11.1	12.5	14.8
500,000 - 999,999	13.5	14.2	12.0	11.5
1,000,000 and over	8.1	5.7	11.9	25.8
All Institutions	14.4	12.7	18.4	100.0

Note: SMSA category for each institution was included in the 1985 HEGIS enrollment data file

Table 8. Percent Change in Enrollment at Each Academic Level and by Full-Time/Part-Time Status, 1979-89
(Historically Black Public Colleges and Universities)

Academic Level	Head-Count Enrollment, 1979		Head-Count Enrollment, 1989		Percent Change 1979-89	
	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time
All Students	98,687	27,009	106,766	32,685	8.2	21.0
Undergraduate	93,064	12,835	99,347	14,101	6.8	9.9
First-Time Freshmen	23,091	1,764	27,076	1,611	17.3	-8.7
Graduate	3,281	7,982	3,486	9,498	6.2	19.0
First-Professional	701	31	1,126	32	60.6	3.2
Unclassified	1,641	6,161	2,807	9,054	71.1	47.0

Note: The actual numbers of first-professional and unclassified students are small; therefore any changes measured in percentages will seem especially high, compared with changes measured for other enrollment categories

Table 9. Percent Change in Male and Female Enrollments at Each Academic Level, 1979-89
(*Historically Black Public Colleges and Universities*)

	Percent Change 1979-89			
	Male Students		Female Students	
Academic Level	**Full-Time**	**Part-Time**	**Full-Time**	**Part-Time**
All Students	-0.9	5.6	16.3	32.1
Undergraduate	-2.5	-6.5	14.9	23.6
First-Time Freshmen	8.9	-25.0	24.6	4.9
Graduate	3.1	1.9	9.0	29.6
First-Professional	32.5	-24.0	127.4	116.7
Unclassified	56.5	40.5	84.7	51.0

Table 10. Percent Change in Male and Female Enrollment by Academic Level and Full-Time/Part-Time Status, 1979-89
(*All Public, Four-Year Institutions*)

	Percent Change 1979-89			
	Male Students		Female Students	
Academic Level	**Full-Time**	**Part-Time**	**Full-Time**	**Part-Time**
Total Enrollment	5.8	9.7	20.3	25.6
Undergraduate	6.1	15.4	18.5	34.2
First-Time Freshmen	-1.8	-8.0	4.8	-9.0
Graduate	12.2	-1.8	29.9	12.3
First-Professional	-12.7	-23.8	55.6	26.9
Unclassified	2 7	12.2	37.4	25.4

Table 11. Racial/Ethnic Composition of Historically Black Public Colleges and Universities, 1980 and 1990

Year	Percent Distribution						
	Non-resident Alien	Black	American Indian	Asian	Hispanic	White	Total
1980	5.3	82.8	0.1	0.6	0.3	10.9	100.0
1990	2.6	81.6	0.2	0.8	0.7	14.2	100.0

Note: 30.9 percent of all black students enrolled at AASCU institutions attend Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

Table 12. Percent Change in Enrollments for Each Race/Ethnicity, 1980-90

(Historically Black Public Colleges and Universities)

Academic Level	Percent Change 1980-90						
	Total	Non-resident Alien	Black	American Indian	Asian	Hispanic	White
All Students	15.6	-43.8	13.9	78.9	46.5	154.1	51.0
Undergraduate	14.2	-54.3	14.9	54.0	8.8	182.7	50.12
Graduate	5.1	18.8	-10.3	188.9	86.3	131.7	35.6
First-Professional	82.0	444.4	25.3	0.0	450.0	254.5	185.3
Unclassified	43.2	-78.3	35.3	211.8	331.1	0.0	59.0

Table 13. Male and Female Enrollment at Each Academic Level, 1979 and 1989
(All Public, Four-Year Institutions)

Academic Level	Head-Count Enrollment, 1979 Male	Head-Count Enrollment, 1979 Female	Head-Count Enrollment, 1989 Male	Head-Count Enrollment, 1989 Female	Percent Change 1979-89 Male	Percent Change 1979-89 Female
All Students	2,528,211	2,498,731	2,701,786	3,049,538	6.9	22.0
Undergraduate	1,900,768	1,864,051	2,047,549	2,265,960	7.7	21.6
First-Time Freshmen	372,619	395,277	363,980	408,372	-2.3	3.3
Graduate	351,694	350,327	368,279	414,409	4.7	18.3
First-Professional	77,944	29,550	67,698	45,575	-13.1	54.2
Unclassified	197,805	254,803	218,260	323,594	10.3	27.0

Table 14. Percent Change from 1979-89 in Public High School Graduates and in First-Time Freshmen by Region

Region	Public High School Graduates[1]	Percent Change 1979-89 First-Time Freshman Enrollment[2]	Total Enrollment[2]	Expected Percent Change[3] Public High School Graduates, 1988-2000
Northeast	-25.9	-18.7	2.7	-2.9
Northcentral	-17.5	0.2	12.3	-1.8
South/Southcentral	-5.2	5.2	17.1	5.4
West	0.9	-0.5	12.2	21.8
Total	-12.7	0.6	14.4	5.0

Sources: 1 Public High School Graduates 1979-89. National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics*, 1990. 2. Regional Changes in first-time freshman enrollments and total enrollments: AASCU Analysis of HEGIS and IPEDS Enrollment Data. 3 Expected Changes by Region for High School Graduates, 1988-2000. National Center for Education Statistics, *Projections of Education Statistics to* 2001.

Table 15. Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity, 1980 and 1988
(All Public, Four-Year Institutions)

	1980		1988		1980-88	1980-88
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number Change	Percent Change
Total Enrollment	5,175,479	100.0	5,600,296	100.0	424,817	8.2
Non-resident Alien	144,492	2.8	181,838	3.2	37,346	25.8
Black, non-Hispanic	439,764	8.5	450,311	8.0	10,547	2.4
American Indian/Alaskan Native	29,062	0.6	33,285	0.6	4,223	14.5
Asian/Pacific Islander	119,221	2.3	211,868	3.8	92,647	77.7
Hispanic	197,998	3.8	268,042	4.8	70,044	35.4
White, non-Hispanic	4,243,971	82.0	4,454,952	79.5	210,981	5.0

Table 16. Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity, 1988 and 1990

(All Public, Four-Year Institutions)

	1988		1990		1988-90	1988-90
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number Change	Percent Change
Total Enrollment	5,600,296	100.0	5,756,237	100.0	155,941	2.8
Non-resident Alien	181,838	3.2	192,630	3.3	10,792	5.9
Black, non-Hispanic	450,311	8.0	485,810	8.4	35,499	7.9
American Indian/Alaskan Native	33,285	0.6	38,063	0.7	4,778	14.4
Asian/Pacific Islander	211,868	3.8	237,300	4.1	25,432	12.0
Hispanic	268,042	4.8	292,798	5.1	24,756	9.2
White, non-Hispanic	4,454,952	79.5	4,509,636	78.3	54,684	1.2

Table 17. Projected Percent Change in Public High School Graduates by Race/Ethnicity (WICHE categories) and by Region, 1985-86 to 1994-95

Race/Ethnicity	Projected Percent Change 1986-95 South/Southcentral	Northcentral	Northeast	West	All Regions
White, non-Latino	-5.3	-10.5	-21.2	-1.2	-10.1
African-American	1.2	-5.6	-11.7	4.8	-2.6
Latino	50.7	41.2	24.0	65.5	52.3
Asian	71.4	48.8	78.2	50.9	58.0
American Indian	6.9	3.4	20.4	16.2	11.4
All Graduates	0.6	-8.5	-16.3	12.8	-3.5

Source: WICHE, *The Road to College*, 1991 Figure 4, p.4—All Regions, by race, Table 2, p 6—Public High School Graduates, percent change

Table 18. Percent Change in Enrollment by Students' Academic Level and by Race/Ethnicity, 1980-90
(AASCU-*Member and* NASULGC-*Member Institutions*)

	Percent Change 1980-90						
	Total	Non-resident Alien	Black	American Indian	Asian	Hispanic	White
AASCU							
Total Enrollment	15.1	9.6	8.2	29.9	80.9	44.1	13.1
Undergraduate	15.8	-6.0	8.3	28.3	93.3	48.0	13.9
Graduate	5.7	64.9	0 4	22.0	52.7	24.3	1.8
First-Professional	12.8	282.1	34.7	183.3	500.0	116.1	4.9
Unclassified	20.4	12.1	15 1	46.7	28.8	27.2	20.3
NASULGC							
Total Enrollment	8 1	51 3	8.7	32.6	109.5	44.1	1.2
Undergraduate	5 3	4.7	9.0	27.0	117.6	45.2	-1.0
Graduate	14.1	92 8	4.1	20 8	70.5	43.3	1.9
First-Professional	-2 0	90 9	25 2	57 3	169.1	35.5	-10.0
Unclassified	29 7	62.7	8 4	95.4	71.0	36 9	28.8

Notes

[1]Jay Stampen, *Enrollment Trends and College Costs* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1980), p. 1.

[2]K. Scott Hughes, et al., *Years of Challenge: The Impact of Demographic and Work Force Trends on Higher Education in the 1990s* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of College and University Business Officers, 1991), p. 17.

[3]Hughes, et al., p. 14.

[4]Nabeel Alsalam and Gayle Thompson Rogers, *The Condition of Education, 1991, Volume 2, Postsecondary Education* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1991), p. 18.

[5]Arthur Levine and Associates, *Shaping Higher Education's Future: Demographic Realities and Opportunities* 1990-2000 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989); Hughes et al.

[6]Hughes et al., p. 19.

[7]Jean Evangelauf, "Enrollment Projections Revised Upward in New Government Analysis," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 22 January 1992, pp. 1 and ff.

[8]Debra Gerald and William J. Hussar, *Projections of Education Statistics to 2001: An Update* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1990).

[9]For clarification, the Department of Education uses the following definitions for first-year students:

- *First-time freshman*. An entering freshman who has never attended any college. Includes students enrolled in the fall term who attended college for the first time in the prior summer term. Also includes students who entered with advanced standing (college credits earned before graduation from high school).
- *First-time student*. A student attending any institution for the first time. That is, the student enters an institution with no credit toward a degree or award.
- *First-year student*. A student who has completed less than the equivalent of one full year of undergraduate work, that is, less than 30 semester hours in a 120 hour degree program.

[10]Paula R. Knepper, *Student Progress in College: NLS-72 Postsecondary Education Transcript Study, 1984* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1989), p. 11.

[11]The HEGIS and IPEDS definitions for unclassified students changed with the 1986 survey year. For clarification:

- HEGIS: Unclassified students are students who are not candidates for a degree or other formal award, although they are taking courses for credit in regular classes with other students.
- IPEDS: The IPEDS enrollment survey separates degree-seeking from non-degree seeking students. Unclassified students are reported under the degree-seeking category. All other undergraduates enrolled for credit are reported separately
- In the historical files used for this analysis, the IPEDS lines for unclassified students and all other undergraduates enrolled for credit were combined to match the HEGIS line for unclassified students.

[12]A Carnegie Foundation Technical Report, *A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education: 1987 Edition* (Princeton: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1987).

[13]The urban/rural distinctions herein are based on the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA or MSA are equally acceptable references to these areas) categories. In the IPEDS surveys, the SMSA is defined by the Department of Commerce as, "a metropolitan area is one of a large population nucleus, together with adjacent communities which have a high degree of economic and social integration with that nucleus." According to standards adopted in 1980, each SMSA or MSA must include at least one city with 50,000 or more inhabitants, or a Census Bureau-defined urbanized area of at least 50,000 inhabitants and

a total MSA population of at least 100,000 (75,000 in New England). As of June 30, 1990, there were 268 MSA's and some 73 specially defined areas (metropolitan complexes of 1 million or more people) called Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (PMSA).

[14]Daniel Koretz, *Trends in the Postsecondary Enrollment of Minorities* (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1990).

[15]Nancy Borkow Schantz, "Trends in Racial/Ethnic Enrollment in Higher Education: Fall 1980 through Fall 1990" (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1992).

[16]Schantz, unpublished tabulations.

[17]Thomas D. Snyder, *Digest of Education Statistics* 1990 (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1991), p. 109.

[18]Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education and The College Board, *The Road to College: Educational Progress by Race and Ethnicity* (Boulder, 1991).

[19]Gerald and Hussar, pp. 51-54.

[20]Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, "Student Migration Patterns: What They Mean for States," *Change*, May/June 1989.

[21]Schantz.

[22]Koretz; Deborah J. Carter, "Racial and Ethnic Trends in College Participation: 1976 to 1988," ACE *Research Briefs*, Volume 1, Number 3, 1990.

[23]Muriel Morisey Spence, (*see Chapter 9, p.173*).

Chapter 2: Immigration: Recognizing the Benefit, Meeting the Challenges

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There is no greater challenge or opportunity for American higher education than serving the influx of new immigrants into this country. We are witnessing a demographic revolution of epochal proportions. According to 1990 Census figures, 7-9 million immigrants entered the country during the 1980s. They accounted for 33-40 percent of the nation's population growth of 23 million.[1] Current forecasts project that at least that many immigrants will arrive here during the 1990s.

An enormous challenge awaits, for these new people—with their heterogeneous languages, cultures, and nationalities—need and have every right to expect access to the best education we can provide. That is our job and, without question, a difficult one. Indeed, some would argue that higher education is already pushed beyond its ability to function effectively. So how can we in higher education even begin to identify and respond to the special needs of these diverse and often unprepared students?

The first step in addressing this complex issues is to examine and recast our attitudes about immigrants and diversity. This effort entails shedding misconceptions, stereotypes, and habitual modes of social perception. Myths about immigrant groups must be dispelled. Their most important educational needs must be identified and responsive programs developed for English proficiency, for better representation of immigrant group members among faculty and staff, for diversification of the curriculum, for targeted recruitment efforts, and for development programs designed to improve faculty multicultural awareness and teaching strategies.

The best way to serve the educational needs of immigrant populations is to see them as they are. As distinguished professor and author Ronald Takaki says, "likening the university to a sailing ship where issues of diversity are often kept below, we have to bring cultural diversity on deck . . . on deck in terms of foreign languages . . . in terms of English as a second language . . . in the teaching of economics . . . and in terms of sociology. . . . We are facing a future where racial minorities will constitute a majority of the people of the university."[2]

An economic crisis confronts the United States today. A report by the California Postsecondary Education Commission states that a productive economy "requires a highly educated labor force that competes in the international marketplace."[3] Who shall be trained to constitute that labor force? The fact is that the economic needs of the nation and the educational needs of millions of immigrants have converged. For better or worse, the future of our country now hinges, in large part, on the training of all students for a knowledge-based economy. Some of the most vivid ex-

amples come from California, where we are working to meet this great challenge.

The California Experience

California is experiencing many of the changes driven by high rates of immigration. Currently, two-thirds of the world's emigration is to the United States, with California accepting abut half of it. In many respects, this makes California the world's social laboratory in economics, politics, and education.

Because California receives so many immigrants, it provides a good test case. The state, in general, is on a strong growth path. California's gross product will double within the next five years. Projections indicate that the state's total economy in terms of goods and services will equal $1.5 trillion by the year 2000. Put in perspective, the gross national product for the United States in 1990 was a little over $5 trillion.[4]

Also placing the state at the fulcrum of global economic development is its burgeoning trade with Pacific Rim countries. In 1982, for the first time in U.S. history, trade with the Pacific Rim exceeded trade with European countries, and, again, California accounted for a major share. That commerce will continue to increase over the next several decades. This trade phenomenon has made the state an international success story. In fact, California will be the world's fourth largest economy by the year 2000. Perhaps that's why Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, in an address at Stanford University, called California "a national within a nation."

Demographically, California continues to receive high numbers of immigrants, and all indicators suggest the trend will increase. For example, world population is expected to reach at least six billion by 1999 and seven billion by 2010. Much of this growth will occur in less developed countries that will not have the economic base to provide jobs for their expanding populations. Many of these people will attempt to improve their quality of life by relocating to more economically prosperous countries, especially the United States.

According to the 1990 Census, California will gain seven congressional seats, giving it 52, or 12 percent of the total House membership. This additional representation is based on projections for a state population of 30 million, or one in nine of all Americans. The latest projections indicate that California's population will swell by 18 percent between 1990 and 2000, exceeding 35 million. Forty to 50 percent of that growth will be immigrants.

Yet, like the rest of the country, California has a two-tiered social structure. On one tier is a well-educated group of primarily Anglo and Asian

workers earning above $30,000. On the other tier are massive numbers of undereducated, underemployed, or unemployed people, predominantly African-American, Latino, and Native American as well as certain Asian subpopulations struggling for jobs, for affordable housing, and for any opportunity to break out of a cycle of borderline poverty.

The decreased level of immigration from Europe and the increasing levels from other continents represent a marked change in immigration patterns. Eighty percent of all recent and current immigrants are from Latin America and Asia. There will be 47 million Latinos and 12 million Asians in this country by the year 2000. Not only will California soon be the first state in the contiguous United States with no single ethnic or racial group in the majority, but it will also see the majority changing from predominantly Anglo to peoples of color. So the myriad problems associated with this two-tiered society will worsen, unless substantive steps are taken to raise the quality of life for those at the bottom.

Immigration has had a tremendous impact on the K-12 public schools. California is enrolling about 200,000 new public school pupils each year. The Intersegmental Coordinating Council reports that "nearly one in three California school children now comes from a family where English is not the primary language, and 29 percent of school-age children report that a language other than English is spoken at home. As many as one in six public school students is an immigrant. In some elementary school districts, the proportion of students classified as limited in their English proficiency is approaching 70 percent."[5]

This shift has profound implications. Those of us at the receiving end of the system—the colleges and universities—must be prepared for the increasing numbers of students expecting a college education. When these phenomenal numbers are combined with the increasingly diverse nature of the students' backgrounds, the bottom line presents a formidable challenge. We must grapple with a truly historic transformation in the state's (and the nation's) educational system. But that requires freeing ourselves of the stereotypes and myths that society, for many generations, has imposed on immigrant populations.

Dispelling the Myths

Many Americans, troubled by the perceived problems associated with increased immigration, are often perplexed by the rapid influx of people with different languages and customs. Many believe that immigrants well the welfare rolls and are a drain on the economy, directly and indirectly taking jobs from those whose families have been in this country

for several generations, and that they therefore generally degrade our quality of life. But such fears are unfounded and reveal a lack of understanding and appreciation of the customs and dignity of people from other shores.

In *The Economic Consequences of Immigration*, economist Julian Simon shows how immigrants help our economy. Simon asserts that we must "extend our time horizon so that we put heavy weight on the longer-run economic future of the country—months and years and decades in the future. . . . More immigrants can then be seen to be good for the standard of living."[6]

Simon further argues that in order to see clearly the impact immigrants have on our economy, we should realize that the typical immigrant is young and able-bodied. Twenty-six percent of the new arrivals fall into the prime labor-market age brackets of 25 to 34. Almost two-thirds of all immigrants come to the United States between the ages of 16 and 45. Emigrating is a young person's enterprise.[7] Thus, immigrants can swell the *working* population.

In fact, the chairman of the California State Legislature's Joint Committee on Refugee Resettlement, International Migration and Cooperative Development points to several studies that show that 90 percent of the 1.6 million adults who have been legalized under the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, are employed. He also notes that more than 80 percent of them have two jobs.[8]

Immigrants generate economic activity on their own behalf. George J. Borjas, immigration specialist and author of *Friends or Strangers: The Impacts of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy*, notes that an "important consequence of immigration is the creation and growth of immigrant enclaves in many American cities. These enclaves generate significant economic opportunities for immigrants, either because many immigrants start businesses in order to cater to members of their national-origin group or because the immigrant entrepreneurs often hire their co-nationals."[9]

Immigrants do not necessarily have a negative economic effect on the native-born. Borjas concluded that "immigrants have little impact on the earnings and employment opportunities of natives. Thus, the concern that has fueled much of the movement toward a more restrictionist immigration policy is, in terms of recent immigration, unjustified. Second, the skill level of successive immigrant waves admitted to the United States has declined precipitously in the past two or three decades."[10]

An article in the *Los Angeles Times* reported that rather than being a drain on the economy, immigrants contribute to its growth. The *Times* cited a study by the County of Los Angles that showed illegal immigrants

generating $3 billion in "assorted tax revenues during 1990-91." The study discovered, however, that the "bulk of those funds—$1.7 billion—went to Washington in the form of income tax and Social Security levies. . . ." Compared to the $3 billion these illegal immigrants contributed, the county calculated that it spent $413 million on expenses related to the immigrants. Clearly, there is a huge gap between the tax revenues generated by the immigrants and the amount spent on the population.[11]

Thus, immigrants need not be a drain on the economy, but educators must step in with a determined effort to reconceptualize curricula and teaching strategies to educate and train the newcomers.

Increased immigration does not necessarily drain Social Security funds. Researcher Stephen Moore states, "America needs to raise its gates to allow the entry of more taxpaying immigrants. . . . Let time bring the Treasury the rewards of a larger immigrant-worker pool."[12]

A Moore explains, "The Social Security Administration calculates that every additional 100,000 legal immigrants raise receipts and the net balance in the trust fund by about 0.1 percent of taxable payroll over their lifetime. Using this rule-of-thumb estimate, a recent report from the Alexis de Tocqueville Institution finds that the net value (in 1991 dollars) of an increase in immigration to 1 million per year for 50 years is $292 billion. No other conceivable investment that the government could make . . . would render this kind of dividend."[13] These figures suggest that most legal immigrants are taxpayers, not welfare recipients.

Such research underlines the economic pluses of immigration. Policy makers are beginning to see immigration as a solid, long-term economic investment. Based on new studies indicating the economic value of immigration, a new law increases the number of visas issued per year by 60 percent. The legislation increases the number of immigrants allowed into the country annually from 500,000 to at least 630,000. Rep. Bruce Morrison, a key backer of the measure, was quoted as saying that legal immigrants are "self-selected starters."[14]

An editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* noted that "survey after survey has shown that immigrants give more than they get—in hard work, good citizenship, creativity and, significantly, taxes paid. At the same time, this country is not producing enough skilled workers, and demographic factors are shrinking the number of young people entering the work force."[15]

There is a mistaken notion that the new immigrants will not become part of society. However, as Paul Ong, an urban planner at UCLA, noted, "Immigrants do make progress as they stay here, but the problem is, they're moving up at slower rates than in the past." Slowly, perhaps, but surely. Analyst Joel Kotkin has identified a 1985 Ran Corporation report showing

that 90 percent of all native-born children of Hispanic immigrants are proficient in English—and that nearly 25 percent speak no Spanish.[16]

Another UCLA researcher, David Hayes-Bautista, has discovered that immigrant Latinos are healthier in certain social and cultural ways than are succeeding generations who stay in the United States. As reported in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, "They have babies with higher birth weights. Among the [Latino] immigrant population, there is also less neonatal and infant mortality; females are less likely to drink or smoke and more likely to be married; and males are a little more likely to be active in the labor force" than succeeding generations.[17]

Hayes-Bautista notes that "some people want to limit immigration—or promote rapid assimilation—to limit the influx of minorities into the underclass. They don't recognize the strengths immigrants have."[18]

Kotkin thinks that the newcomers may be seen as "an incipient middle class, helping California's transition away from Pentagon dependency. Immigrants play critical roles—often by pooling their resources—in boosting retail and home sales in many parts of the state, such as East Los Angeles [a large Hispanic barrio], at a time when other regions, like Orange County, are beginning to hurt."[19]

When the recent flap over a California city's effort to deny social services to illegal aliens occurred, Jack Kemp, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, decided that his agency would continue to fund programs directed toward undocumented residents. As Secretary Kemp said, "I come to this issue with an understanding and sensitivity for the great wealth of talent that has come to our country from Latin America, the Caribbean and other nations." Secretary Kemp also noted that the immigrants "are not coming for welfare, they are coming for jobs and to give their children an opportunity to have a better life."

Immigrants have provided the lifeblood and surge of ideas that have helped build this nation. History has shown that immigrants can contribute in spectacular ways to society. A majority of the leading scientists on the Manhattan project were immigrants. And over 50 percent of American Nobel laureates are immigrants.

A picture book about immigrants to the United States, *Strangers at the Door*, contains a most interesting section entitled "Famous Immigrants." There one finds people from various places and backgrounds who worked in nearly every area of human endeavor.

The list of famous immigrants includes Mother Frances Cabrini, first American Catholic saint; David Sarnoff, father of American television; Albert Einstein, renowned physicist; Werner Van Braun, godfather of rocket technology; Felix Frankfurter, Supreme Court Justice; Father Flanagan of

Boys Town Fame; super teacher Jaime Escalante; computer and business genius A. Wang. The list goes on.

Responding to the Challenge

Education is the prime requisite for economic success, particularly as the world is becoming, day by day, more informationally and technologically sophisticated. How colleges and universities prepare the student populations for a high-tech society will have far-reaching and long-lasting consequences for our economy.

An article in *The Executive Educator* noted that "immigration affects schools more strongly than it affects most other institutions."[20] A paper drafted by a national task force on immigration and American education, "Educating the Newest Americans," concluded:

> *Past experience teaches us that we cannot focus on newcomers alone. Successful integration, in the schools and elsewhere, requires a receptive host population as well as adjustments by newcomers. In all periods of American history, bias and discrimination have posed barriers to the integration of immigrants. If new groups are to acculturate successfully, we must reduce bias in the population.*[21]

The American system best equipped for such a task is education. The vast majority of immigrants come into contact with educational institutions in one way or another. Whether it is through their children's daily experience in K-12, their own night classes for learning English, retooling courses at a community college, or enrollment at a university, education affects their lives as no other institution can.

It is educators' responsibility to ensure that all citizens learn to function in a multicultural world and, moreover, learn to value cultural differences as assets rather than liabilities. If educators cannot, who can!

Aristide R. Zolberg, writing in the massive research report prepared under the aegis of the U.S. Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, expresses the problem: "It is evident that coexistence can be achieved only on the basis of mutual adaptation, but the natives generally believe that it is the newcomers who must make the greater effort and are quick to judge that they are not sufficiently forthcoming."[22] It is the task of educators to help people "learn" how to adapt to these new realities.

The process of adapting has multiple sides and is reciprocal. It is a matter of each side modulating its behavior on several levels. However,

change of this nature does not occur in a vacuum. "Mutual adaptation" will come only if people are taught how to adapt, why to adapt, and what to adapt. That is the mission and responsibility of education.

The CSU Response

Three segments of public higher education in California are charged with the mission to educate the state's future work force: the University of California, the California State University, and the California Community Colleges. Each is responding in its own way to the challenge; this chapter concentrates on the programs and initiatives of the California State University (CSU).

With 20 campuses spanning 1,000 miles from Humboldt County in far northern California to San Diego County in the southernmost portion of the state, CSU is the largest four-year, degree-granting university system in the world, enrolling 370,000 students taught by 22,000 faculty. Since 1960, 1.2 million students have graduated from CSU campuses. The system awards more than 50 percent of all bachelor's degrees in the state and about 10 percent of those earned in the nation.

Increasingly, CSU campuses reflect the state's ethnic diversity. Nonwhite enrollment nearly doubled between the fall of 1979 and 1989. Enrollments by campus show that Cal State Los Angeles has a nonwhite enrollment of 71.6 percent—highest in the system. Dominguez Hills is next with 62.3 percent, followed by Cal Poly Pomona at 47 percent, and San Francisco State with 46.7 percent.[23]

In working to ensure student sensitivity to other races and cultures, CSU has been a pioneer. On each CSU campus students participate in one of the most advanced multicultural programs in the nation. In fact, CSU long ago instituted a policy directing its campuses to expose their students to both Western and non-Western cultures.

In 1980, the CSU chancellor issued Executive Order No. 338 on General Education Breadth Requirements. According to the order, "Studies in [art, dance, drama, literature, and music] should include exposure to both Western cultures and non-Western cultures." In addition, the order mandated that "problems and issues in [human social, political and economic institutions, and behavior] should be examined in their contemporary as well as historical setting, including both Western and non-Western contexts."[24] Students should leave the university knowing something about the countries in and cultures of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, in which nearly 80 percent of the world's population lives. (CSU believes

that 30-40 percent of its students have origins in Asia, Africa, or Latin America.)

This goal complements the purpose of an undergraduate education—to prepare all students to lead full, productive, and useful lives. Education should instill in them the flexibility to adapt to changing economic and social conditions, new work-force needs, and the demands of a multicultural society. General education must help students develop critical thinking, creativity, adaptability, and intellectual flexibility. Ultimately, it must establish some common cultural frames of reference that are civilizing influences on society as a whole. It should include *mandatory* world language study and instruction in the thought and history of other cultures. And it should teach the value and importance of public service.

CSU was the first university system in the nation to allow a "naturally acquired language" to be counted as meeting the foreign language entrance requirement. That is a constructive step considering that in the San Francisco Unified School District, for example, one-third of all the graduating seniors are native Cantonese speakers. And over one hundred different languages are spoken in the homes of students in the Los Angeles Unified School District.

This points to a major concern: English as a second language. Because of increasing enrollments of immigrant students in the public schools, the need undoubtedly will become even more prevalent. When the growing population of Asian foreign youth is added to Latin American and Eastern European immigrant students, it is likely that one in three students will have limited English proficiency by the next decade.

English-language proficiency poses one of the biggest obstacles for immigrant students. They are often plagued and stigmatized by their inadequate English-language skills. It is time for universities to make the development of academic English proficiency a high priority. This is not remedial education. It is continuous college-level language training—no different from that for a native-born student studying four years of Japanese. CSU is taking a hard look at its structure of English-Language Training and English-proficiency tests, and requirements to ensure the tests meet the needs of all CSU students.

If America's "glue" is the English language, then we have an urgent need to learn to teach it better than ever before.

One way of responding to this particular need is to make sure students receive language training as early as possible. With that goal in mind, the Los Angeles Unified School District—the second-largest district in the country—is proposing the removal of certain key barriers to allow

immigrant college graduates the chance to teach. This would help ease the critical shortage of bilingual teachers in the district.

The district estimates a lapse of at least ten years before it can hire the necessary number of bilingual teachers. This new proposal would allow foreign-born college graduates to take the California state teachers examination in their native language. They would then have five years to perfect their English. In the meantime, they would be able to teach.[25]

CSU is intimately involved with the public schools by virtue of its mission as the primary provider of public school teachers in California. That mission is inextricably tied to CSU's intense educational equity efforts. Concerns about the quality of public school education have prompted statewide efforts to meet the needs of a diverse population by broadening and strengthening the curriculum, and by linking teaching strategies with learning strategies in order to narrow the "achievement gap" for underrepresented minorities.

This requires that all students and their teachers be prepared to value a socially and culturally diverse society. This, in turn, calls for developing new school curricula and revising college curricula. Literally hundreds of campus-based projects to address these needs have emerged on CSU's 20 campuses. These projects are being evaluated and brought on line as quickly as funding becomes available.

Educators and economists are beginning to understand that education and the labor market are tightly intertwined. If the needs of these segments are not addressed together, the United States will face an inescapable economic disaster by the year 2000. That disaster will not be brought about by immigration but by the lack of coordinated efforts to use this enormous asset.

Immigrant contributions reflect what is best about this country—the ability, over time, to adapt and to succeed despite barriers that we create for ourselves (and for each succeeding wave of "new Americans").

To meet the complex educational needs of multicultural and newly arrived students, we must learn to recognize the economic benefits of immigration and meeting its challenges.

Social and cultural integration are difficult issues. Misunderstandings do and will occur. Nevertheless educators will learn to see immigration for what it is: a positive and economically beneficial phenomenon that is, and has always been, uniquely American.

Without the leadership of educators, social confusion, bias, prejudice, and insensitivity will continue. Education has a critical role to play that could make or break this country's future.

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Chapter 3: Institutional Outreach: Enrollment Issues of the 1980s, Enrollment Strategies for the 1990s

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In the early 1980s, a group of admissions officers from flagship state universities created a new organization designed to provide an informal forum for discussing issues important to their institutions. The universities they represent share certain characteristics. They are, in the words of Clark Kerr, former president of the University of California at Berkeley, "multiversities." They are research universities offering graduate study to the doctoral level, they have national and/or international scholastic reputations, and they are assisted financially by state appropriations.

Admissions officers from these institutions have discussed and reached agreement on issues facing state universities in general and their admissions operations in particular. Although these issues differ widely, they all relate to the age-old question of "who shall have access to the university?"

The critical issues in enrollment faced by state universities are as often determined by forces external to the institution as internal. What are some of these forces, how have institutions responded to them during the past decade, and what changes are projected for the future?

External Forces

Decline in Applicant Pool

Although demographers predicted for the 1980s declines in college and university applications because of fewer high school graduates, those expected declines were regional and were offset by increases in the number of nontraditional and part-time students.

In fact, the National Center for Education Statistics reported a total enrollment in higher education institutions of 12.4 million in 1987 and 12.8 million in 1988 and projected an enrollment of 13.1 million for the fall of 1989. Based on early surveys of 1990 application and admission trend data, more institutions experienced a decline in enrollment than an increase. The predicted decline finally has become a reality. Furthermore, except for the young, Hispanic, college-bound population, additional declines in the *traditional* student population are projected.

Lewis Solomon, describing traditional college-age students in *Shaping Higher Education's Future*, states that "at its low point in 1992, the number of 18-year-olds will be 30 percent below the number in 1979. At the end of the period, in 1998, the number of 18-year-olds will be 20 percent less than the number in 1979. Nationwide we would expect to see a drop of over 868,000 white, 18-year-olds, a drop of 69,000 black 18-year-olds, and an increase of almost 34,000 Hispanic 18-year-olds by the year 1998."[1]

The declines will be regional and in some states—particularly California, Florida, New York and Texas—the numbers of immigrants from Asia and from Central and South America will almost offset the decline in 18-year-olds by the year 1998.

To maintain current levels of enrollment in the next decade, state universities must come to grips with these facts:

- The pool of graduating high school seniors will fluctuate over the first four years of the decade.
- In some states, there will be a shift in the balance of white and ethnic minority students in K-12; many large public school districts are already reporting this change.
- The high dropout rates for African American and Hispanic students will not improve radically in the short term.
- Even those African American and Hispanic students who graduate from high school are more likely than white students to come from low-income families and to be academically less well-prepared than white students.
- African American and Hispanic students in higher numbers and percentages will enroll in two-year public and proprietary schools, and white and Asian students in higher numbers and percentages will be found in four-year doctoral universities.

The latest predictions are that the number of students enrolled in higher education at the end of the current decade will be about 1.5 million more than the number enrolled currently—approximately 14,105,000.[2] To keep pace with these predictions, several changes will have to occur:

- A larger percentage of traditional white high school graduates will need to enroll in college.
- A larger percentage of African American and Hispanic high school students will need to graduate from high school and enroll in college.
- Retention of college students to graduation must be improved.

A change in the college-going patterns of African American and Hispanic students must be effected. Currently, the highest percentage of minority students is enrolled in two-year public colleges and under-two-year proprietary schools. Of the students enrolled in two-year public colleges, even those with expressed intent to pursue a four-year degree, the great majority do not transfer to four-year universities and complete a baccalaureate degree.

Recruitment/Marketing: Responding to a Declining Applicant Pool

The often predicted decline in college enrollment in the 1980s, based on the predicted and actual decline in the number of high school graduates, did not materialize because more traditional-age students, older students, African American and Hispanic students, and part-time students enrolled in college. The increased participation of traditional and nontraditional students may be related to the increase in the recruitment efforts of colleges and universities. Depending on their needs and on the degree of decline in high school graduates, state universities have begun to "market" themselves much as have the private colleges and universities.

One popular method used to improve institutional marketability has been the use of high-cost seminars, ranging from one day to a week or more in length, for admissions officers interested in developing a "recruitment" or "enrollment management" plan. Private, for-profit businesses produce informational literature about institutions that not only tells prospective students the academic offerings and the admissions standards, but purportedly the personality of the institution. Videos and laser discs describing college campuses in 8-10-minute film segments are not only written and produced by private companies but are distributed by mail to high schools and to students and their parents. Professional meetings of admissions officers include everything from hour-long sessions on selected recruitment issues, such as "how to use desktop publishing to produce brochures," to preconference workshops of one or two days' duration.

In other words, the recruitment of students to fill the freshman class—*and* the recruitment of students attractive in terms of academic, artistic, or athletic ability—has become a big business. High-ability students, especially ethnic minority students, begin to receive information from colleges immediately after taking their first standardized college admissions test. Programs such as the College Board's Student Search provide student

information to colleges for a fee. Without any action by students, other than giving permission to the agency to disseminate their names and test data, colleges begin a structured approach to recruiting desirable students.

On the positive side, students who have scored well on standardized tests receive information about college opportunities from coast to coast without having to request it. High school juniors and seniors report receiving information from colleges unknown to them. On the negative side, most colleges engaged in this activity target the same students. The much larger group of potential high school graduates with average or below-average test scores are left to seek information about college options on their own.

One also has to question the ethics of lyrical descriptions of some college campuses that overstate the quality of academic departments or create an unrealistic picture of the institution.

Residency

The desired residency mix for the freshman class, determined with input from the state legislature and/or from the university budget officer, may structure the recruitment activities for the admissions staff. The more traditional recruiting model, however, still gives priority to state residents and requires higher academic standards (and higher tuition) of nonresidents than of residents. A slight variation on this model is one that considers children of alumni as residents for admissions purposes but not for tuition purposes. The recruitment calendars of some state universities differ little from those of the selective independent institutions with national scope. For others, recruitment is not a function of the office of admissions but rather of a minority program office.

Universities in states with reduced high school graduating classes have extended their recruitment activities not only to contiguous states but also to other regions with richer applicant pools. In some cases, state legislatures have encouraged this activity. One model places a cap on the enrollment of state residents in the state university in order to promote optimal enrollment in the less competitive regional state colleges. Admissions officers representing the state university in this model spend a significant portion of their recruiting time and dollars outside their state boundaries.

Enrollment Controls

Not all states have had reduced high school graduating classes. The increased number of applications at state universities in the South and

West has led to increasing selectivity in the admissions criteria of flagship universities in Sun Belt states. Deadlines for applications moved from the summer months to early spring. For financial reasons as well as for enrollment control, application fees and tuition deposits became an accepted fact at institutions that had previously monitored enrollment on the date required by the state higher education coordinating body.

Some state universities are relieved to see a downturn in applications, the results of which are smaller class sizes, greater availability of classes for students, even some relief from parking and traffic congestion! However, in states with formula funding of higher education, a tension exists between the size of the enrollment and the size of the state appropriation in partial support of the institution.

Even in the face of decreased applicant pools for the first half of the 1990s, it is unlikely that flagship state universities will decrease their level of selectivity by relaxing application deadlines or removing the fees and deposits that have become a new source of revenue. Such practices have become invaluable tools for forecasting enrollment and better utilizing resources.

No decrease in the level of recruitment activity is expected. In fact, *retention* of enrolled students will take on added meaning. And as applicant pools decrease, state universities utilizing "wait lists," "deferred decision," or other tools to balance the enrollment will take larger numbers of less academically qualified students.

Minority Enrollment

For all the reasons pointed out by demographers, civil rights groups, and our own consciences, there is a driving need to increase the numbers of underrepresented minority students on college campuses.

The recruitment of minority students is probably the thorniest issue facing admissions officers at universities, but is probably felt most keenly by those at state universities, many of whom are undergoing state or federal plans to improve the ethnic mix in their student bodies. Recruitment activities for underrepresented ethnic minority students have included special financial aid packages, campus visits, area receptions, summer bridge programs, academic enrichment activities for middle and high school students, brochures designed to express "the Black (or Hispanic) Experience at XYZ University," and special action admissions for minority students whose academic profiles deviate from the general student profile. In some cases, universities have created new offices to plan and carry out the recruitment and admission of African American and Hispanic students; in others, this function is a major responsibility of the office of admissions.

In spite of all the recruitment and special financial aid offered to encourage the matriculation of African American and Hispanic students on state university campuses, there has been no significant increase in the representation of these populations in the total university enrollment. Granted, there are some notable exceptions (as with some of the historically black colleges); however, overall, the number and percentage of underrepresented minority students has not increased significantly in the total postsecondary enrollment.

Academic Preparation of Prospective Students

Harold Hodgkinson, noted demographer and educator, suggests that universities tend to select students rather than educate them. Indeed, university faculty generally expect students to grasp the theories and concepts presented regardless of the level and amount of the students' academic preparation. University faculty historically have not had an ongoing relationship with secondary school curricula and teachers. Placement tests given at the university level are often used to determine placement above the normal freshman class level; they are not, generally, diagnostic.

In an effort to improve the academic preparation of entering freshmen, many state universities implemented requirements for completion of specific high school courses as admission requirements during the last decade. These generally include English, mathematics, science, social studies, foreign language and, in some cases, computer science. High school principals have applauded this action and the leadership role taken by universities in the high school curriculum.

A strong voice for improved academic preparation of students was expressed by the National Collegiate Athletic Association through Proposition 48 in making completion of eleven core courses in high school mandatory for participation in intercollegiate athletics by student athletes. University admissions officers often serve as academic certification officers for athletes participating in Division I and II intercollegiate athletics. They see the high school core courses and the 2.0 grade-point average in those courses as minimal competency for university course work. They have expressed support for these basic academic requirements but not for the minimum test score requirement.

Admissions officers have known, intuitively as well as through research, that students with poor high school preparation in and limited exposure to mathematics will experience difficulties in college. It is gratifying to see that a study conducted for The College Board by Sol H. Pelavin and Michael Kane of Pelavin Associates found that substantially more

students—regardless of race or ethnicity—entered and persisted in college if they had planned to attend college and had taken algebra and geometry in high school.

Certainly, students in strong, well-supported high schools and with parents who are themselves college graduates are aware that they must prepare academically for college. However, students from inner-city schools, from schools with little or no counseling support, with parents who may not have completed high school and for whom English is not the first language in the home, are not exposed to this information.

If the number and percentage of minority students is to be increased at the flagship state universities, then universities have to be involved in the middle and high school guidance business. University faculty must interact with high school faculty in order to influence the level of instruction available to college-bound students. High school faculty need the support and leadership of university faculty to demand more of students academically.

Early Outreach

Traditionally, the period of time considered by admissions officers as the transitional period from high school to college has been junior year through matriculation. With the increasing concern about the academic preparation of African American and Hispanic students and their lower-than-average rate of success in higher education, colleges and universities have stretched their focus of attention, particularly for minority students, to the middle school years through the college freshman year.

In a variety of ways, universities, either through their admissions offices or their affirmative action offices, extend counseling and academic enrichment services to middle and high school students. In inner-city and rural schools, the counselor-student ratios are such that little traditional "college prep" advising is available. To fill this void and to encourage underrepresented minority and disadvantaged youngsters to keep their options open, universities are assuming enormous new responsibilities by establishing early outreach centers.

These "early outreach" programs—stressing strong academic preparation, promises of merit-based scholarships or "appropriate" need-based financial aid for future college work, standardized test awareness, academic enrichment, tutoring, and mentoring—have put admissions officers in direct contact with students, their parents, teachers, and counselors as early as the eighth grade. In some cases, these efforts are funded by state governments, in others by private endowments or even through funds from the universities themselves.

Among the benefits of these outreach activities have been the interaction of high school teachers and university faculty members and their mutual understanding of academic preparation needs and the realities of current conditions. Admissions officers and others at the university level gain a much better understanding of the hurdles faced by youngsters from inner-city or rural schools in terms of helping them "keep their options open."

It appears that admissions officers have become strong advocates for the improvement of secondary education, for early financial commitment for college expenses (as in the "I Have A Dream" program), and for the development of academic and social/emotional support programs at the university level for underprepared and underrepresented populations. Where once these university representatives spent their time with high school seniors and felt their job was complete when those youngsters began their first year on campus, they now plan programs on campus and in the community for fourteen-year olds to listen to rap music describing the college admission process and how to finance a college education.

At the other end of the process, admissions officers have extended their interest in these entering minority students through the end of freshman year and beyond. Efforts to recruit them and to support them through the application process for admission, financial aid, housing, and orientation are useless if little or no support is provided during the critical early weeks of the freshman year or if that support is not coordinated and not compulsory on the part of the student. This need creates a serious problem of resources and span of control for admissions officers: instead of a two-year interest in prospective students, they now have a potential six-year interest in those same students.

Student Financial Aid

Reference was made earlier to the "abysmal state of the student financial aid delivery system." One effect of the problems associated with the increased cost of higher education and the decreasing availability of student financial aid has been a closer working relationship between financial aid and admissions officers. The "enrollment manager" position, under a variety of titles, often carries with it responsibility for admissions, records and registration, and student financial aid. Although in some cases these three units still report to different vice presidents or chancellors, many universities have encouraged a closer working relationship among these "access" services by giving them a single reporting structure and, most important, linkage to a unified student data base.

Of all the questions posed to admissions officers by prospective students and their parents, one on which they can depend is, "How much will it cost and how can you help me finance it?" Unfortunately, when Congress determined that families should assume more of the burden of financing the higher education of their children, it did not provide lead time for families to resume the savings patterns necessary for that responsibility. Consequently, many middle- and upper-middle-income families showing on paper little or no financial need according to congressional standards are unable to produce the $8,000-$20,000 annual student expense budget at the college of choice for their child.

Institutions have responded with installment plans for tuition, institutional loan programs, scholarships based mostly on merit and only loosely related to need, job referral services, and so on. Scholarship search services offer families computer searches designed to produce the names of scholarship and loan programs whose resources are available and often underused. Unfortunately, these services, for which families pay a substantial amount, most often report the same information available at no cost from universities, public libraries, and state coordinating boards. Banking, accounting, insurance, and investment firms have begun offering educational financial planning services for families with young children. Some states with state-funded loan programs—such as Texas—offer tax-free bonds for sale to families for their educational savings plans.

At federal budget reconciliation time, one of the cost-cutting steps considered by Congress is the funding, through federal student financial aid, of developmental or remedial courses. Most affected, if the regulation allowing funding for such courses is rescinded, would be disadvantaged students with weak academic preparation, many of whom are African American or Hispanic.

Admissions officers, through their professional associations, maintain that admission decisions should be "need blind"—that is, not tied to the economic status of the student. One wonders whether this is a viable premise in this day of heavy dependence on loans, defaults by students unable to repay those loans, and the resultant misery experienced by the families of those students.

Once again, the facts point to a need for admissions officers to work with prospective students and their parents well before they begin final preparation for college.

Internal Forces

Admissions Office Budget Issues

Many public universities with tuition rates established by the state legislature have increased their revenues through user fees. In addition to fees supporting public transportation for students, the student union, computer use, etc., most public universities now require an application fee ranging from $10-$50 or more. Tuition deposits, once an expectation of private institutions only, are becoming the norm at state universities deeply committed to resource and enrollment management.

In some cases, application fees are part of the university's general revenue and the budget for the admissions office is established and funded without reference to income from fees. In other cases, however, the admissions office and its recruitment and processing components are funded directly by fees; programs and staff are subject to the ebb and flow of these resources.

Managing Enrollment

Although the term "enrollment management" seems to be most closely identified with strategies designed to increase an institution's applicant pool and yield to matriculation of desirable applicants, it also has implications for state universities facing significant increases in high school graduation rates in their state and, in addition, a concern on the part of state legislators, alumni, and others that efforts to control growth are synonymous with "elitism." For these institutions, with their traditional constituents, with new attraction for families who have previously only considered private higher education for their children, and with deep commitment to increasing the number and percentage of underrepresented minority students, enrollment management is of the highest priority.

The enrollment mix these institutions seek corresponds to institutional resources, both overall and by academic discipline; has minority representation that is, at the very least, representative of the college-bound minority population of the state; and is one whose nonresident and foreign population is not seen as taking seats from children of tax-paying residents of the state, and—to paraphrase Garrison Keillor, "whose students are all above average." This, truly, is enrollment management.

The number of applications submitted to the flagship state universities has increased in the last decade. A degree from a selective public or private institution has been correlated with financial success. The "value of the diploma" in terms of the cost of education—the "payback" or "bottom

line" cost of education—has become an issue with families as student expense budgets have increased and financial aid has become more and more the transfer of debt to the next generation.

The rate of high school graduation varies by ethnicity and by city location. White students graduate at a higher rate than do African American and especially Hispanic students. The trend has improved for African Americans, but until the past two years, 1988-1990, the enrollment rate in higher education did not match this improved rate. Asian American students are less likely to drop out of high school than are other ethnic minority students and, once graduated, are much more likely to attend college. At many colleges and universities, particularly in California, Florida, New York, and Texas, the fastest-growing minority population is Asian American.

As college costs escalated during the 1980s and the cost of education at selective private institutions soared to $20,000 and more a year, students from middle-income families who had not prepared by saving found themselves forced out of private higher education. The very rich could still afford to pay; lower- and lower-middle-income families were eligible for financial aid; more and more middle- and upper-middle-class families shut out of need-based financial aid and government-subsidized loans turned to lower-cost state universities. Taxpayers began to question the number and percentage of nonresident and foreign students at "their" university. Some state legislatures, in response to inquiries from constituents, have begun to investigate the residency of the applicants to their state universities.

The Bottom Line

The bottom line for state universities, as for all of higher education, is to balance enrollment and resources. State university admissions officers representing institutions with large enrollments must manage enormous amounts of information, including applications, transcripts, test scores, letters of recommendation, and essays in the tens and hundreds of thousands. Very sophisticated systems have been developed to assist in the capture and analysis of this information and in decision making.

Although most universities still rely on the traditional application process involving the student's completing a 3-4-page application and submitting it, together with the required data, another model begins with the electronic receipt of standardized admission test scores (either American College Testing or the Scholastic Aptitude Test) by the university. Receipt of test scores triggers production of a document for th applicant

to complete and return. The effect of this process is to reduce the data entry necessary and also to all but eliminate the lost or misplaced files that occur in large front-end loading procedures.

Electronic transmission of transcript data further reduces the need for data entry and, when combined with computer-assisted transfer equivalency procedures, improves both the timeliness and accuracy of evaluation of undergraduate transfer applicants.

These technological advances have permitted admissions officers to collect and analyze massive amounts of data in order to predict enrollment, identify trends and, for the most part, balance the enrollment and resources parts of the equation. Generally, they are benign tools of the trade, supportive of the small number of professional staff who rely on them to process application data and to provide information in useful fashion. They do not replace and reduce the need for personnel. Although many institutions purchased or developed software to create student records systems with the hope that they could eventually reduce the number of administrative and clerical staff required to evaluate and process the mountains of admissions paperwork, this goal was unrealistic. The computerization has not reduced the need for staff; rather it has improved management decisions and increased the need for staff with more specialized knowledge.

Despite all today's sophisticated techniques of computerization of admissions—market analysis, projections, automated application handling, and transfer course evaluation—the key to a successful operation is still people, not machines. The people who represent the university through outreach and recruitment, who greet visitors to the campus, who interpret the policies, and who care about quality education are still the "bottom line."

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Chapter 4: Rethinking Institutional Outreach

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If you want to survive during hard times, you had better scratch a little deeper, a little faster and a little bit more frequently than all the other chickens on the farm.

—Bernard Fuchs, Houston-based fashion retailer

Recent application and enrollment statistics as well as demographic projects indicate that many institutions are feeling unease, if not downright discomfort, over the level of their applications and/or enrollments, while other fortunate institutions are enjoying a surplus of applications. Given demographic projections, however, even these institutions are beginning to recognize that the competitive environment for new students will force them to "scratch a little harder" to continue to meet enrollment objectives such as maintaining the current quality level of their student bodies.

The Chronicle of Higher Education reports:

As competition for new students grows tougher, college presidents are treating admissions directors like football coaches, firing those who can't put the numbers on the board.[1]

At the same time colleges and universities are forced to "scratch a little harder" to meet enrollment objectives, some observers are becoming increasingly critical of college admissions and marketing practices.

Faced with a shrinking pool of applicants, more colleges are inundating impressionable kids with glossy brochures, photo-filled publications called viewbooks, videotapes . . . and even telephone sales pitches from alumni.

There's nothing wrong with schools trumpeting their virtues, especially if their aim is to help students understand the significant differences among America's 3,125 colleges and universities. But most marketing material seems designed to obfuscate rather than inform.[2]

Given the increasing competition for students, the question is not whether institutions will choose to compete. They have no choice. The level of an institution's enrollment affects its very vitality—its ability to carry out its major objectives—its morale, and its view of the future. The key question for colleges and universities is how to compete for students in a manner that serves both the student and the institution. This chapter will address this highly importantly issue by:

- examining several aspects of institutional competition for students
- tracing briefly the emergence and status of enrollment management as a comprehensive approach to achieving enrollment objectives
- presenting a model for achieving enrollment vitality. The model will serve as a frame of reference for reviewing the various ways state colleges and universities can, with a customer-oriented focus, address the challenges and opportunities resulting from increasing competition for students and changing demographics.

This chapter is not intended to be a primer on institutional outreach and enrollment management. It is designed primarily to challenge institutions to reexamine some of the ways they are doing business and to stimulate thinking about new approaches to achieving enrollment vitality.

Competition

Of course, every institution should be constantly working to improve itself in a variety of ways consistent with its mission. Some define "improving" as changing the position they occupy in the higher education market place. It is not unusual for institutions to speak of themselves as working to become a "major research" institution or building a particular academic program into a "top 20" program. While these goals may be laudable and, in some cases, achievable, institutions must be frank with themselves about the possibility of actually achieving their goals.

Although bold dreams and goals may, at least temporarily, serve to "rev up" the troops and the alumni, they must be grounded in reality. The importance of understanding an institution's *realistic* position in the market place cannot be overemphasized and is underscored by various experts:

> *In the final analysis it is the market that actually positions the product. Today, what you "are" is based on the perception of what you have been. Over time, you "are" what you really are.*[3]

> *The key to successful recruitment effort is to be able to identify a large number of prospects within the primary market with interests and abilities similar to the profile of students currently in attendance. . . . A college must acknowledge the type of institution that it is, unless it is prepared for the long and difficult task of radical change.*[4]

Recent enrollment statistics reveal that the public colleges and universities whose enrollments have been most affected by demographic changes are "lesser-known public universities and some flagship state schools in rural locations."[5] Given the continuing urbanization of America, colleges and universities in or near metropolitan areas will clearly find their location and population base major competitive advantages.

The Chronicle of Higher Education reports that leaders of urban public universities, along with many state legislators, maintain that the local public colleges are best suited to serve a variety of needs such as upgrading the skills of workers, conducting research for area businesses, and making higher education more accessible to minorities. Therefore, they say, their campuses should no longer have to defer to the states' premier research universities in requests for general state support and for new programs.[6] There are many facets to this debate, not the least of which involves political clout. The issues will likely be resolved in a variety of ways; however, as in real estate sales, the premier advantages of "location!, location!, location!" will prove to be a major competitive advantage for urban public universities.

Colleges that have allowed their enrollments to grow relatively unfettered are likely to face disconcerting disruptions in enrollment levels. Institutions that have, by design, kept their enrollments reasonably in line with their mission and resources instead of letting them grow to levels no longer easily sustainable are at an advantage. Such institutions have often faced political pressures to expand their enrollment. Now, however, in view of the smaller pool of high school graduates, they can more easily maintain their enrollments by such measures as intensified recruiting and/or reasonable adjustments in admission standards. This will, in turn, affect the "tier" of institutions "below" in terms of admissions selectivity. The next tier of institutions will have to make their own perhaps more difficult or painful adjustments to meet their enrollment objectives.

The process for considering proposals for new academic programs used by some state boards for higher education can, albeit unintentional, give an advantage to larger, well-established universities. Such institutions usually have already developed a reasonably broad array of academic programs at the baccalaureate and often graduate level. When new programs are proposed by state colleges and universities, they often must be justified in respect to non-duplication/overlap and a clear need for the program. Politically powerful and astute institutions can often block, for perhaps highly rational and valid reasons, implementation of new programs that would pose competition. This approach can tend to maintain the status quo in size, prestige, and competitive advantage of certain state

colleges and universities. Given the budget stringencies facing many states, however, the alternatives to requiring such justification of new programs can be equally troublesome. Also, in any free-market environment, those who enter the market first often have the best chance of sustaining a lead.

Athletics is another area in which market competition comes into play. There is widespread discussion about the possible realignment of athletic conferences partly to enable certain institutions to better tap the revenues and exposure generated by television. In the event that a relatively few "superconferences" emerge, this is likely to further strengthen the already ordered structure among the various types of colleges and universities. Institutions with big-time athletic programs sometimes experience well-publicized problems such as athletic budget deficits and disagreements about the proper balance of athletics in an educational institution. The flip side of this debate argues that properly managed major athletic programs can generate visibility and a prestigious position in the market place. The recent comments of an athletic director of a public institution that will petition the NCAA for reclassification from Division II to Division I-AA are instructive. "This nation is so caught in Division I and Division II classification it's begun to use that tag for the entire school as well as athletic department. We want to be discussed as a Division I school. The only way to do that is to reclassify. It wasn't an athletic move."[7]

Academically talented student recruitment in many instances reflects the competitive intensity long associated with the recruitment of blue-chip athletes. Institutions view the enrollment of a substantial number of academically talented students as a way to affirm or improve the institution's reputation. The competition for Merit and Achievement Scholars in some parts of the country is extremely intense, with institutions working to achieve a certain national ranking in the enrollment of such students. An increasing number of institutions have implemented or are expanding honors programs or colleges. Large non-need-based scholarship packages are often the norm in recruiting honors prospects.

However, unless such students are an institution's bread and butter, campus leaders should examine their institution's position in the market and what they can realistically accomplish through honors recruiting before embarking on this type of recruitment. They should also determine whether this type of recruitment coincides with their mission. Competing for top student scholars can absorb enormous institutional resources, often for a relatively small pay-off, especially when the institutions are counting on these efforts to effect relatively "overnight" changes in their image. It is also important to note that, in view of changing demographics,

such efforts are subject to charges of elitism unless institutions are careful to take steps to ensure diversity in their honors programs. Debates may also arise about the merits of devoting considerable institutional resources to relatively few students.

Over the last twenty years many institutions have become aware of their obligation to have their student bodies reflect the increasing diversity of the population in their service areas. Consequently, minority student recruitment has become a priority for many colleges and universities. Some institutions have also improved student retention through programs targeting special groups, including minorities. Given the changing demographics in certain areas of the country, the recruitment and retention of minority students must be an extremely high priority for most institutions.

Despite the often intense competition among colleges and universities, there are also encouraging signs of cooperation among institutions. In addition to their roles in minority student recruitment and retention, many colleges and universities also recognize their responsibility to help expand the pool of minority students academically prepared to continue on to higher education. To be successful, this effort requires partnerships with parents, schools, community leaders, and the business sector. In some instances, institutions are combining efforts, recognizing that the need to expand the pool is so urgent and resource-intensive that much more can be accomplished through collaboration.

Some astute four-year institutions are finding that meaningful cooperation with the community colleges in their service territories enhances enrollment health and allows students and two- and four-year institutions all to emerge as winners. The key word is *meaningful* (cooperation), entailing not only the mechanics of cooperation (e.g., articulation agreements) but a genuine respect on the part of four-year institutions for the important role played by two-year colleges. These issues are not new; they have been discussed for years. However, some four-year colleges still view higher education in terms of the old, status-conscious "junior"/"senior" hierarchy.

The Emergence of Enrollment Management

As the competition for students has intensified, many institutions have undergone a transition in their outreach efforts. The first phase entails the recognition that higher education has moved from a seller's to a buyer's market. Consequently, recruitment efforts have intensified. Most institutions have gradually adopted at least some aspects of a marketing approach to enrollment enhancement that focuses not only on recruitment but also on the market demand. Many colleges and universities are now

recognizing the need to develop comprehensive enrollment management programs.

Enrollment management has been defined as:

> *an organizational concept and a systematic set of activities designed to enable educational institutions to exert more influence over their student enrollments. Organized by strategic planning and supported by institutional research, enrollment management activities concern student college choice, transition to college, student attrition and retention, and student outcomes. These processes are studied to guide institutional practices in the areas of new student recruitment and financial aid, student support services, curriculum development and other academic areas that affect enrollments, student persistence, and student outcomes from college.*[8]

It is this author's conviction that few state colleges and universities, *especially large institutions with major research missions*, have *truly comprehensive* enrollment management programs. This viewpoint is essentially validated not only by enrollment management practitioners but also by literature on the subject.

Michael G. Dolence notes that "the evolution of enrollment management has been fairly rapid by academic standards but still lags behind the needs of these changing times." Dolence has identified twelve criteria for evaluating enrollment management programs: leadership, comprehensiveness, timing, systems, resources, strategies, key performance indicators, definitions-classifications, participation, assessments, evaluation, and documentation. Examining the enrollment management programs at 22 institutions (16 independent and six public institutions), Dolence found that fewer than half met enough of his criteria "to qualify under the definition as a comprehensive approach requiring the integration of related functions to achieve the optimum recruitment, retention, and graduation of students where 'optimum' is defined within the academic context of the institution."[9]

A 1986 survey of selected four-year public and independent institutions by Pollock and Wolf indicated that some type of an enrollment management program existed on three of every five campuses. Programs were most likely to be established at independent institutions (64 percent independent, 54.3 percent public).[10]

KPMG Peat Marwick conducted an enrollment management survey in 1986 of all 1,416 four-year degree-granting institutions of higher education in the United States with enrollments of at least 500 (702 questionnaires

were used in the analysis: 59 percent private and 41 percent public institutions). Although the majority of the respondents (55 percent) cited some structure (committee, a formal position, or office) for enrollment management, 45 percent of the public and 44 percent of the private institutions had no formal structure in place. Of the institutions reporting no enrollment management structure in place, 18 percent of the private institutions and 14 percent of the public institutions indicated their institution was contemplating establishing an enrollment management office or structure.[11]

There are other indicators that the higher education community is paying increased attention to the concept of enrollment management. The American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (AACRAO) has formed an Enrollment Management Committee as part of its formal committee structure. Although AACRAO has for several years featured topics on enrollment management in its annual meeting, this relatively new committee was formed in recognition of the growing importance of this approach. Likewise, Georgia State University has recently added an enrollment management concentration as a new option for its Ph.D. program in Higher Education Administration.

There are a number of models available for institutions wishing to initiate or refine enrollment management programs. These include, among other excellent articles and publications, those by Dolence (*Evaluation Criteria for an Enrollment Management Program*), Ihlandfeldt (*Achieving Optimal Enrollments and Tuition*), Ingersoll (*The Enrollment Problem*), Hossler, Bean and Associates (*The Strategic Management of College Enrollments*), Kemerer, Baldridge, and Green (*Strategies for Effective Enrollment Management*).[12]

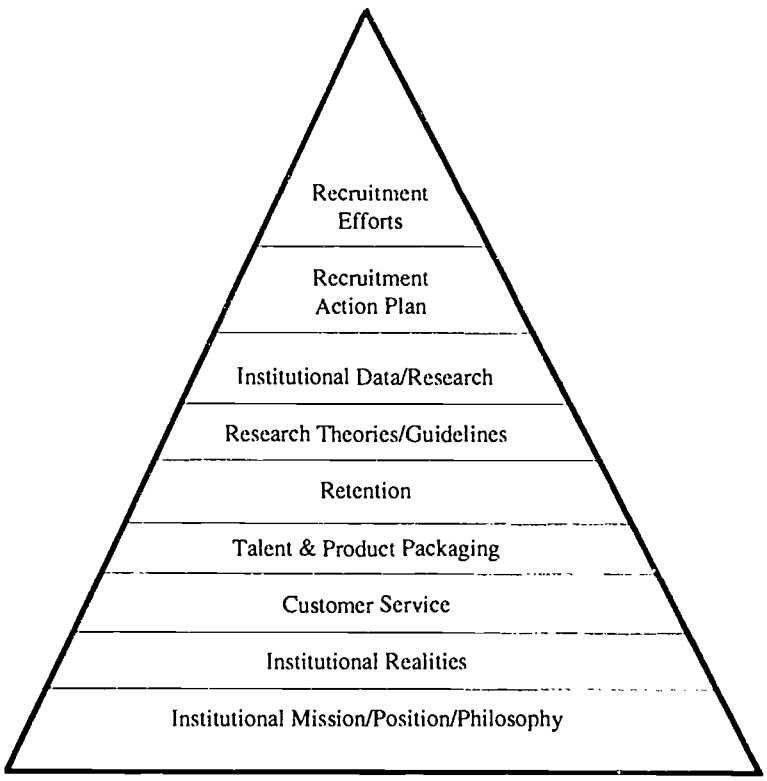
In today's highly competitive environment, a college's development of an effective enrollment management approach is not a luxury but a necessity. The larger, the more complex and diverse the institution, however, the more difficult it is to implement a truly comprehensive enrollment management program. The political realities of campus management and governance, for example, present formidable obstacles. In reality, the development of an effective enrollment management program will likely be an ongoing process of development because it is ambitious and complex, and a relatively long-term endeavor. Such an endeavor may, in some ways, resemble higher education's version of the search for the Holy Grail: a process rigorous and often frustrating but worthwhile.

The Building Blocks of Enrollment Vitality

To sort out the many options for building an outreach program, the author developed a model, "The Building Blocks of Enrollment Vitality," presented in the following diagram. The model was initially constructed in 1987 and titled, "The Building Blocks of Recruitment." It has been updated to reflect more recent developments relating to enrollment development.

The model is configured as a pyramid to indicate that, ideally, each block should be completed before the next block is put in place. This is an ideal, of course, because most institutions have already adopted some approach to recruitment or enrollment management. The building blocks model is useful, however, in reminding the enrollment manager that unless each block is in place and effectively functioning, the entire enrollment management effort is hindered.

The "Building Blocks" model will be used in the remainder of this chapter to discuss key issues and trends in enrollment management in the 1990s.



Trends, New Ideas, and Approaches to Institutional Outreach

■ *Institutional Mission/Position/Philosophy*

Each college or university must address several crucial, interrelated issues relating to institutional outreach:

- What is the *mission* of the institution?
- What *position* (i.e., segments/niches) does it wish to occupy in the higher education market place?
- What is its *philosophy* on key issues, such as customer service?

■ *Institutional Mission/Position*

An institution's mission serves as the foundation for the development of an outreach program because it essentially identifies the institution's reasons for being in business. Peter Drucker observes that the best nonprofit organizations "devote a great deal of thought to defining their organization's mission." Drucker outlines several advantages to starting with the mission and its requirements. "It focuses the organization on action. It defines the specific strategies needed to attain the crucial goals. It creates a disciplined organization. It alone can prevent the most common degenerative disease of organizations, especially large ones: splintering their always limited resources on things that are 'interesting' or look 'profitable' rather than concentrating them on a very small number of productive efforts."[13]

Another example of the importance of clearly defining institutional mission is provided by Frances Hesselbein, former national executive director of the Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. Hesselbein is highly regarded for the leadership she displayed in revitalizing the Girl Scouts. Taking over leadership of the national organization at a time when it was facing difficulties, Hesselbein began with a major reexamination of the organizational mission. "We kept asking ourselves very simple questions. What is our business? Who is the customer? And what does the customer consider value? If you're the Girl Scouts, IBM, or AT&T, you have to manage for a mission."[14]

Unfortunately many colleges and universities have not clearly defined their missions sufficiently to allow being *operationalized* on a *sustained* basis throughout the institution. Why not?

- For starters, defining a mission involves making risky decisions. When an institution makes a decision to define its place clearly in the market place, it also limits its options. Many institutions try to hedge this difficult decision and attempt to be all things to all people—to the detriment of their effectiveness.

- The political nature of any college or university makes it difficult to achieve a consensus and get almost everyone on the "same page." Although the collegial-governance approach of universities is an enormous strength, it often does not make for clear-cut decisions on institutional goals and priorities.

- The relatively high turnover of college/university presidents and other top administrators causes disruptions in the continuity of strategic planning and implementation processes. State college presidents generally serve only 4-7 years.

- Many institutions are in transition as they work to improve their academic standing and mission.

An example of a blurred sense of institutional mission and position is evidenced by the fact that most public institutions at the four-year level call themselves universities, instead of colleges, because the title "university" is perceived as more prestigious. In reality, the term university, when used to define institutions with a major research mission, does not accurately describe many institutions. Unfortunately this well-intentioned effort to add "prestige" to many institutions has served to blur their market position. Changing the names of some public four-year institutions that emphasize teaching and service back to that of "college" might better enable them to stand out from the crowd.

A mid-size or small institution that attempts to compete with a "Goliath" institution will have difficulty if it tries to take on the giant at its point of strength or in ways inconsistent with its own institutional strengths. Answering *and* operationalizing the key questions of mission and position can lead to enrollment vitality for medium and smaller-size institutions. The following are two relevant examples from the corporate sector:

- Small-town retailers often tremble when the retail giant Wal-Mart enters their market. Retail consultants offer this formula for their survival. "They say the little guys have got to give unflagging customer service, fill the higher-quality merchandise niche that discounters avoid, and look for ways to build customer traffic; . . . Most of all: specialize, specialize, specialize."[15]

- Marketing experts cite the difficulty the Oldsmobile division of General Motors is having in developing an image that set it apart from other GM products, such as Buick. *Business Week* posed this question: "What makes

an Oldsmobile distinct from, say, a Buick? Unfortunately for General Motors Corp.'s oldest division, no one seems to know." *Business Week* pointed out Olds' sales problems and theorized that "Olds' fuzzy marketing image draws much of the blame."[16]

Given the various challenges involved in developing an institutional mission, it is probably too idealistic to expect all higher education institutions to develop mission statements that every employee can embrace and consistently implement over a long period of time. However, most institutions can and must do a much better job of defining and operationalizing their missions. Those that do will enjoy a substantial competitive advantage.

■ *Institutional Philosophy*

Institutions that want to be truly competitive in student recruitment will take time to develop, articulate, and implement certain basic philosophies, such as their position on dealing with *competitors* and prospective and current *customers*. Institutional philosophy on key issues, such as an ethical approach to student recruitment and serious commitment to customer service, is the basis for much of the core values that help guide institutional operations.

A highly competitive student recruitment environment does not justify hard-sell tactics or unflattering statements about competing institutions. Good relations with competitors and ethical treatment of both prospective and actual customers proves over time to be good for business, despite any short-term indications to the contrary.

■ *Institutional Realities*

The folks of Madison Avenue might characterize it as choosing to sell either the "steak" or the "sizzle." In a highly competitive environment, especially if an institution is experiencing enrollment difficulties, a great deal of attention is generally placed on improving and intensifying recruitment and other public relations activities. These activities are, of course, crucial to enrollment success. It is, however, extremely shortsighted to give undue attention to recruitment without assessing the status of other key factors that ultimately play a much greater role in the attractiveness of an institution to prospective students. Sooner or later an institution must assess what it actually has to offer the public.

Kotler and Andreasen point out that a key step in the market planning process is developing the marketing mix," . . . the particular blend of controllable marketing variables that the firm uses to achieve its objective in the target market."[17] They also note that the many variables that make up

the marketing mix have been classified by E. Jerome McCarthy as the "four P's"—product, price, place, and promotion.[18]

Two things need to be emphasized about McCarthy's "four P's" as they relate to higher education marketing. First, with the exception of "promotion," three of the four factors—product, price, and place—are not under the direct control of the enrollment management staff. Decisions about these three factors must be made by top-level administration and, in most instances, governing boards. Second, an institution that gives undue attention to the promotional aspect without seriously addressing the other three factors, resembles a physician who treats a serious illness only with aspirin. Institutional outreach/promotion is indeed highly important to enrollment success. However, simply strengthening recruitment and public relations programs, which may be viewed as a quick fix, ultimately cannot substitute for strengthening the product—the key assets an institution seeks to "sell" to prospective students.

The rapidly emerging consumer movement will force higher education to give increased attention to "institutional realities." Various groups and individuals such as Congress, some state legislatures, and the media are pressuring colleges to report data that will enable prospective students and their parents to be better informed as they move through the college selection process. The recently enacted Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act—which requires colleges to disclose murder, rape, robbery, and other crimes on campus is one example. Rankings and college guides published by the media and commercial firms are other examples. Colleges may in some cases be able to help shape or refine these consumer-oriented measures. They will, in the end, have to recognize that the market place is focusing on certain "institutional realities," and, when these do not compare favorably with the competition, to make improvements.

■ *Customer Service*

Colleges and universities committed to gaining a competitive, cutting-edge advantage should consider employing the following formula in their institutional outreach programs: Recruitment = communication + service before enrollment + service after enrollment. Effective and consistent application of this formula will enhance three important aspects of institutional outreach: (1) providing information to prospective students, (2) problem solving, and (3) facilitating their decisions to enroll and to stay enrolled. Given the time pressures that most adults and teenagers face, such customer service aspects as convenience should not be overlooked.

Although sometimes not perceived as a direct and crucial part of institutional outreach, effective customer service can be a highly significant

outreach and retention tool for a college or university. The following observation by Davidow and Uttal emphasizes the importance of customer service in competing for business: "Though nobody has developed a general model of service costs and benefits and applied it to different industries, we can confidently make one assertion: In all industries, when competitors are roughly matched, those that stress customer service will win."[19]

Despite the immense attention in the media and academic literature to the importance of customer service, it is probably safe to state that few state colleges and universities: (1) have comprehensive customer service programs that receive sustained top-level direction and support; (2) formally evaluate their service to their customers; and (3) directly reward employees (including faculty) for providing excellent customer service.

According to a cover story in *Fortune*, the most important element of service customers want is *personal*—the "personal touch." . . . the kind of service "that is delivered by live bodies behind the sales counter, a human voice at the other end of the telephone, real folks in the tellers' cages at the bank."[20] Given limitations on resources, colleges and universities must be creative in the ways they deliver service. Davidow and Uttal argue that "developing a service strategy is an essential step toward choosing an optimal mix and level of service for different customer sets. Provide too little service, or the wrong kind, and customers will leave; provide too much, even the right kind, and your company will go broke or price itself out of the market."[21]

It is important for public colleges and universities to develop appropriate service strategies because they enroll many students for whom cost was a major consideration in their choice of institution. It may be admirable for a large state university to work toward offering the caring, personal attention to students often found at smaller institutions. It may not, however, be realistic to promise that *degree* of service given the financial constraints of its customers. Students at a large university will often be willing to forgo certain aspects of service as a trade-off for the strengths of such an institution (low to moderate tuition and fees, large number of programs offered, facilities, etc.). Richard C. Whiteley, president of the Forum Corp., a Boston consulting firm that specializes in customer service, warns companies not to overpromise because consumers rank reliability as the key ingredient of good service.[22]

Marketing professor Theodore Levitt argues that service can be "industrialized" (in essence, through a high-productivity, less labor-intensive approach to service) through the appropriate use of hard, soft, and hybrid technologies to improve efficiency and productivity.[23] Colleges and

hybrid technologies to improve efficiency and productivity.[23] Colleges and universities are expanding this approach to facilitate customer service through the application of voice response/Touch-Tone technology in registration and in enrollment service units with a high telephone volume. The development of articulated transfer credit programs, automation of transfer credit evaluations, and the sending and receiving of high school and college transcripts via electronic networks are other examples of ways to "industrialize" service.

Talent and Product Image

The personalities, attitudes, commitment, and expertise of the persons representing a college or university have an enormous impact on its enrollment. Another key influence is the appearance of the campus grounds and facilities and other components of an institution's image.

Theodore Levitt's observations about selling intangibles, such as services, have enormous implications for institutional outreach efforts. Levitt notes that intangible products "can seldom be tried out, inspected, or tested in advance. Prospective buyers are generally forced to depend on surrogates to assess what they're likely to get. . . . The less tangible the generic product, the more powerfully and persistently the judgment about it gets shaped by the packaging—how it's presented, who presents it, and what's implied by metaphor, simile, symbol, and other surrogates for reality."[24]

■ *Talent*

In profiling companies it dubbed the "Killer Competitors," *Fortune* identified the following as one of their slogans" "People make a difference." "Tired of hearing it?" "The article ran. Too bad. Both high-technology outfits . . . and low tech ones. . . spend abundant time and money on selecting, training, and motivating workers."[25]

- *Selecting Outreach and Other Frontline Staff*

  Extreme care must be taken to select and retain the best possible people for institutional outreach and other service functions. This includes both salaried staff and volunteers. Good staff training starts with the hiring process. The authors of *Service America! Doing Business in the New Economy* point out that "if you really believe your employees need training in how to be civil, or that they don't know the Golden Rule applies in public contact jobs, perhaps you need to review your procedures for selection and hiring. . . . A case where the employee truly lacks the most rudimentary social skills is a selection problem, not a training problem."[26]

- *Training Outreach Staff*
  Colleges and universities often offer instruction in customer service and various aspects of administration, management, and leadership. Ironically, in outreach efforts they often overlook the value of their own frontline people and expertise readily available at the institution.

- *Motivating Outreach and Other Frontline Staff*
  In the unconscious view of many managers, frontline people are the *least* [emphasis added] important ones in the organization. Frontline jobs typically draw the lowest pay, get the least training and development, have the lowest potential for growth and advancement, and have the most turnover. If the frontline people do count, you certainly couldn't prove it by examining the rewards systems in most organizations.[27]

Most colleges and universities hire recent college graduates as entry-level admissions officers. They are often called "road runners" because of their heavy travel schedules Is it any wonder there is such high turnover in these positions when the salaries often do not even match those of notoriously underpaid entry-level public school teachers who usually work ten months instead of the admissions officers' twelve-month year. If institutional leaders thought more seriously about how important these positions are to the enrollment vitality of an institution, they would devote greater attention to selection, training, compensation, and career development.

A *Business Week* article highlighted some of the lessons the business world can learn from some of the best-run nonprofit organizations. One key lesson is to overhaul incentives. Institutions should "have employees set yearly goals and reward them for progress in reaching each objective."[28] Aside from the admissions director, development staff and the football and basketball coaches, *how many other people in colleges and universities are truly held accountable and rewarded for results*? Do institutions *really* measure the effectiveness of such services as registration, financial aid, orientation, housing, media relations, alumni affairs, student affairs, and other programs that affect customer service and, thus, enrollments? If institutions were to hire several "mystery shoppers" to report back to top-level administration on the quality of the service in various administrative and academic units, would they be pleased or dismayed with the findings? Some doubt the efficacy of a management by objectives (MBO) system in a higher education setting; however, without some semblance of a workable MBO-type approach, it is difficult to determine the effectiveness of personnel and units.

■ *Product Image*

In line with Theodore Levitt's insights on tangibles and intangibles, marketing Professor Leonard L. Berry lists the "tangibles of the product" as one of the ten ways customers judge service. These tangibles include tools, equipment, financial statements, physical appearance of personnel, and office facilities.[29]

Kotler and Andreasen believe that "marketing planners in the future will use atmospherics as consciously and skillfully as they now use price, advertising, personal selling, public relations, and other tools of marketing." They define "atmospherics" as "the conscious designing of space to create or reinforce specific effects on buyers, such as feelings of well-being, safety, intimacy, or awe."[30] Many universities are experiencing financial and spatial problems because of deferred maintenance. But there is an "atmospheric" problem, too, that often goes unrecognized. In view of the importance of "atmospherics," institutions should fully consider the *true and complete* costs of deferred maintenance.

Retention

Most public colleges and universities do not concentrate on *retaining* students as much as they do on *attracting* students. This is surprising in view of the substantial costs of attrition. Also, in view of today's competition for new students, focusing on students already attending allows an institution to further enrollment goals while competing merely with itself.

The corporate world has found it harder and more expensive to secure new customers than to hold on to present ones. Experts estimate that acquiring competitors' clients is as much as six times more expensive than selling to a current customer.[31] Reichheld and Sasser observe that "customer defections . . . can have more to do with a service company's profits than scale, market share, unit costs, and many other factors usually associated with competitive advantage. As a customer's relationship with the company lengthens, profits rise. . . . Companies can boost profits by almost 100 percent by retaining just 5 percent more of their customers."[32]

Word of mouth can be the best or worst form of institutional advertising. Admission officers clearly understand the value of good reports spread by "satisfied customers" (students). Admission officers know that no matter how hard they work using the tools of recruitment—such as school visits, direct mail, phone campaigns—they cannot begin to match the influence wielded by enrolled students in their casual contact with persons outside the institution. Then there are also the accounts that the parents, spouses, and friends of those students pass on to others.

Roger Nunley, manager of industry and consumer affairs at Coca-Cola USA, notes that some studies indicate that only one unhappy person in 50 takes time to complain; the other 49 switch brands.[33]

The actions institutions should be taking to increase retention are outlined in such publications as *Increasing Student Retention* by Noel, Levitz, Saluri, and Associates.[34] Institutional inactivity in this important "building block" carries a heavy price tag.

Research Theories/Guidelines

Because enrollment management is an eclectic discipline, enrollment managers should carefully monitor and learn from research and practices in such fields as psychology, communications, marketing, political science, sales, leadership, and management.

Target marketing is often used in business and political campaigns. This approach essentially entails identifying a segment of the market at which promotions such as direct mail will be aimed. The promotional message can be tailored to address the needs and interests of that particular group.

Admission officers have long known that they cannot afford to contact every prospect. Target marketing offers the advantages of a more focused "rifle shot" strategy, as opposed to more "shotgun" approaches. Because most public colleges and universities are facing tight budgets, target marketing can stretch recruiting funds, and many institutions are using this recruitment tool with increasing effectiveness.

Target marketing was cited by *The Money College Guide* because of its potential for appropriate use and abuse. Money included a comment by Martin Nemko, an independent educational consultant in Oakland, California: "If schools are trying to find students who will be a better fit, that's okay. But if they're targeting only the rich kids, it's indefensible."[35] The key to using this potent marketing tool stems from the "institutional philosophy" building block—a strong commitment to treating competitors and customers, future and current, with respect and integrity.

Institutional Data/Research

It is virtually impossible to manage enrollment effectively without relevant market and institutional data. Information can be obtained through various "outside" sources such as The College Board's Enrollment Planning Service. Each institution should obtain key enrollment/market data on an ongoing basis, as well as timely data on specific issues and questions.

Although it is reasonable to expect the admissions or enrollment management units to carry some of the market research responsibilities, college and university presidents should involve other institutional experts—researchers and faculty—as well. Ways should be found to tap their expertise while respecting their heavy schedules.

Recruitment Action Plan

Gerald A. Michaelson points out the importance of a written plan in a marketing campaign: A plan exists only when written down. If you do not have a document, "you may have a dream or a vision or perhaps even—a nightmare."[36]

If the other "building blocks" are correctly in place, selection and packaging of the appropriate recruitment/enrollment management tools should be relatively simple. If the elements are not in place, especially a clear sense of institutional mission and market position, recruitment planning can indeed be a nightmare. Failure to clearly define the institution's mission and sustain it over a relatively long period of time causes chaos for middle managers, especially those in enrollment service units who must develop services and interpret the university to its many publics. When the mission cannot be clearly operationalized, managers (this includes faculty in leadership roles, such as department chairs) are forced to hedge bets and dilute limited resources to achieve a variety of outcomes. Unfortunately, this often yields mediocre results.

Most people would agree about the need for an effective enrollment management/recruitment action plan. In evaluating their programs, presidents and vice presidents should ask themselves:

- How much time have I spent reviewing my institution's recruitment plan in the last twelve months?

- Is my institution's enrollment management planning (not just enrollment projections) directly tied to its budget planning process?

- Is the amount my institution spends on institutional outreach comparable to that being spent by institutions with whom my institution directly competes?

Recruitment Efforts

Most colleges and universities are reasonably aware of the recruitment tools at their disposal. Effective use of those tools requires: (1) diagnosing the situation correctly to determine which tools to use; (2) establishing targets/objectives; and (3) executing plans correctly, with appropriate timing. An appropriate, cost-effective blend of the various recruitment techniques must be employed. Obviously, market identification and segmentation are crucial. A computer/word-processing-supported prospect system is also essential.

As institutions attempt to stay on the cutting edge of institutional outreach, they will need to anticipate new trends and developments. The purpose is not to focus on the latest recruitment gimmick but to identify communications tools that can cut through the clutter of information deluging prospects and effectively and efficiently reach target audiences at various stages of the recruitment process. Some issues to consider:

- Will telemarketing in its present form still be effective? The public, especially parents, is already weary of intrusions over the telephone by the business sector. Answering machines are now screening calls. Will some of the other new technology make it even more difficult to use telemarketing effectively?

- There is no question that today's youth is television and video oriented. How can this trend be better utilized in a cost-effective manner?

- Will teleconferencing become more widespread?

- What potential does the fax machine and the "electronic library" hold for recruitment?

"At Your Service!"

The overriding key ingredient in the entire institutional outreach process is described in a Business Week article entitled "King Customer":

> *It seems so simple. Businesses exist to serve customers and should bend over backward to satisfy their needs. But too many companies still don't get it. And in the 1990s, more customers are likely to take the opportunity to reward the ones that do.*[37]

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Chapter 5: Looking Back While Moving Forward: Curricular Lessons from the 1980s for the 1990s

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It has often been observed that a prophet is someone who foresees trouble. In 1980, the prophets could hardly wait for the new decade to begin. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, for example, began with a less-than-optimistic new year article, "The 1980's: Higher Education's 'Not-Me' Decade." Accompanied by a doom-ladened map and threatening charts, this article contained many apocalyptic predictions. Perhaps the most dire came from David W. Breneman, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, who believed that 200-300 small colleges might close during the 1980s[1]—a rate of one every couple of weeks. Not a single voice in the wilderness of this article suggested that higher education enrollments would buck the predictions.

There was also a general consensus that the 1980s would be a decade of resource limitations, with costs outpacing revenues. These predictions came closer to the mark. Higher education faced spiraling costs in some traditional areas (such as library subscriptions), in some relatively new areas (such as computing), and in some unexpected areas (such as faculty salaries: when enrollments didn't go down, the demand for—and cost of—faculty went up). These costs, often coupled with relative declines in federal and state support, forced tuition rates ahead of inflation. And yet enrollments continued to grow, despite almost annual predictions to the contrary.

While the national crystal ball was dark indeed, those at the state level often saw even deeper shades of black. In Wisconsin, for example, the legislature required a 1979 report from the board of regents, "Preparing for a Decade of Enrollment Decline," that predicted a loss of about 15,000 students over the decade. Instead, enrollment increased by about 9,000 students (and would have increased even more without planned reductions). The report, however, accurately projected relative resource declines—declines that ironically led the University of Wisconsin to reduce its enrollment by 7,000 students in the last four years. States in the early years of the decade, though, prepared, in the parlance of the time, for "retrenchment," not for growth and true curricular innovation. The political and economic themes of the time spoke of enterprise, economic competitiveness, and advancing research on technology and science. Indeed, some began the decade by declaring the need to shift emphasis from teaching to research. Some felt the need to convince the public that, in the words of then president of the University of Minnesota, C. Peter Magrath, "research continues to be an excellent investment."[2]

Impact on Enrollment

What happened to enrollment? The other shoe never dropped: enrollments defied projections. Demographers accurately counted the heads of to-be-eighteen-year olds; however, they could not assess what these students would do with their heads. Increased proportions of high school graduating classes recognized the value of a higher education. In some ways this should not have been surprising because more of their parents had attended college. At the same time, in part as a response to social changes, significant numbers of students—not of traditional college age—flocked to campuses, bringing with them a challenge to the traditional curriculum and pedagogy.

Impact on Curricula

The impact of these unexpected enrollment trends on the curriculum is open to conjecture. A review of reports and activities on campuses at the beginning of the decade in no way foretold the focus on curriculum that would develop with such vigor. It is almost as if colleges, increasingly reprieved as the decade proceeded, issued a collective sigh of relief that turned into the breath of new (and sometimes renewed) life for curricular debate innovation. Retrenchment rarely creates an environment conducive to risk taking, while institutional growth or stability encourages faculty to take risks and seriously examine what and how they teach.

An environment that is conducive to change, however, does not alone guarantee change. Too often, paralysis follows the comfort-level of the status quo or the seduction of the golden age of our own education (which in truth was probably, as Will Rogers said, "Things ain't like they used to be, and they never were.") Other forces were also at work: enrollments, social forces, and pressure for accountability. The need to serve increasingly large groups of special students (such as nontraditional-aged students from deeper in the high school class, and minorities) spurred curricular reform. In social terms, forces of the Reagan revolution were at work. While overall economic prosperity probably benefitted higher education (although shifts in financial aid from grants to loans certainly hurt students), the conservative sermons, most eloquently but bitingly uttered from the bully-pulpit of then-Secretary of Education William Bennett, found many a disciple on university faculties and spawned a series of almost biblical books on curriculum. This conservative trend also led to more involvement from legislators and others toward making all levels of education to be more accountable for what students learned.

These essentially external forces provided additional impetus to a curricular reform movement that became almost universal. The American Council on Education annual publication *Campus Trends* (that began in 1984) allows tracking of the broad direction of that movement.[3] By 1984, 90 percent of the colleges surveyed (the sample of 458 institutions in 1984 represented two- and four-year colleges and universities in the United States. In 1991-92, the sample was revised and numbered 510 institutions) were either reviewing their curricula (60 percent) or had just completed a review (30 percent). In 1984, general education, skills, and competencies constituted the focal points. These trends continued throughout the decade—although some important additional elements developed. By 1987, virtually every college in the sample (95 percent) reported curricular activity.

The relationship to enrollment trends appears throughout the surveys. For example in 1988, *Campus Trends* reports that colleges consider that enrollment challenges will be important . . . primarily to maintain "enrollment levels in light of continuing demographic change."[4] Consequently, curricular initiatives affecting retention increased significantly. By 1990, the continuing strength of enrollment caused *Campus Trends* to conclude that "enrollment issues have dropped since 1988 as an area of wide concern."[5] However, they have been replaced by resource concerns that may be so severe that they force curricular change or shrinkage.

It is clear that the 1980s was the decade of general education. Between 1984 and 1990, the percentage of colleges surveyed that required general education courses rose from 75-95 percent. And the general education component of a degree generally increased: at many colleges today it constitutes about a third of graduation requirements.

At the beginning of the decade, discussions about and changes in curricula tended to be driven by a reaction to previous curricular sins and by the changing student population. Although the rhetoric often suggested a return to a restricted core curriculum, action more often reflected a modified cafeteria-style general education program. Certainly the take-your-pick approach of the 1970s more frequently was rejected. Lawrence Locke, reviewing a number of studies, reports that 93 percent of institutions have a course distribution system ranging from highly structured to highly individual. Yet still too often "the general education program seems an artifact of the catalog"[6] rather than a set of coherent expectations articulated clearly by the faculty.

More innovative approaches frequently suffered from academic politics. For instance, attempts to increase interdisciplinary courses to help students synthesize diverse subjects largely failed. Most general education

reform rested on combinations of existing courses and building skills (especially communication and quantitative).

This, then, marks Phase One (of at least three district phases) of curricular reform in the 1980s.

Of all the phases, it derives the most from enrollment-related issues. A return to some curricular fundamentals appealed to faculty; the changing nature of the student population made it almost a necessity. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 50 percent of 1980 high school graduates attended college. By 1990, the figure had reached an unprecedented 60 percent. These figures alone tell much of the enrollment story. For instance, the source of the other major enrollment trend of the period—the increase in participation by nontraditional students—can be spotted in the 1970s numbers (which reached a low of 48 percent in 1974). As awareness of the need for a college education increased (especially, in the "Me Decade", when the *financial* benefits of such an education were stressed), those who had missed out on a college education in the 1970s (or who had begun and dropped out to be a "traditional" parent) flocked to higher education in record numbers.

The back-to-basics movement took its strength from the secure enrollment picture. When enrollments decline, the typical curricular response seems to be a loosening of requirements and the addition of "attractive" programs. (See, for example, "The Adaptation of Liberal Arts Colleges to the 1970s.")[7] But with enrollments increasing and public dissatisfaction with colleges growing, the 1980s featured not only a call for action but action itself.

The calls came loud and clear. In *Integrity in the College Curriculum: A Report to the Academic Community*, issued by the Association of American Colleges, a typical pattern of these reports emerged. First came the resounding indictment:

> *Evidence of decline and devaluation is everywhere. The business community complains of difficulty in recruiting literate college graduates. Remedial programs . . . abound. . . . Writing . . . is widely neglected. College grades have gone up and up. . . . Foreign language incompetence is now . . . a national embarrassment . . . . We have become a people unable to comprehend the technology that we invent. . . . As for what passes as a college curriculum, almost anything goes.*[8]

Following the indictments came the testimonials for the curricular rigor of old. And finally, a prescription for the curriculum of the future to halt the decline in academic rigor was developed. It included nine key compo-

nents: (1) inquiry, abstract logical thinking and critical analysis; (2) writing, reading, speaking, and listening; (3) understanding numerical data; (4) historical consciousness; (5) science; (6) values; (7) art; (8) international and multicultural experiences; and (9) study in depth.

Calls for reform were heard throughout the nation. Virtually every college responded by revising its general education component. "Literacy"—from the traditional concept of literacy to multidisciplinary literacy, from cultural literacy to computer literacy—became a focus for change. Writing skills in particular received new attention as the proportion of high school graduates attending college increased. While only about half the colleges had writing requirements early in the decade, over 85 percent did by the end of the decade.[9] Increasingly, colleges recognized that writing needed to be integrated into the curriculum beyond the English department and could benefit from the increasing sophistication of computer-assisted instruction and the decreasing relative cost of such technology.

Although this writing-across-the-curriculum movement proved popular, remedial courses—both in English and math—became more and more controversial. Originally designed as "temporary" courses until the increased high school requirements made them unnecessary, they remained essential to the changing student population. Yet a chorus of voices questioned the appropriateness of using public resources to provide skills that should have been learned earlier.

In many instances, however, "earlier" proved to be a long time ago. For the nontraditional student, coming to college causes many anxieties—and math basic skills often dominate those anxieties. This is especially true because the majority of nontraditional students are female students who grew up in an era when both socialization in the family and curricular advising in high school frequently directed them away from the study of mathematics and science. Thus remedial (or, in current usage, *developmental*) courses took new directions because of this enrollment pattern.

Impact on Teaching

Although the impact of increased numbers of older students on other aspects of the curriculum defies measurement their presence has challenged traditional notions of pedagogy. As the decade progressed, the straight lecture as the sole method of instruction was challenged. Nontraditional students frequently tended to be active rather than passive learners, often challenging notions that their life experiences led them to question while also demanding value for their money. This trend toward more active learning was spurred by two 1984 reports (the first widely

recognized, the second less well-known): *Involvement in Learning: Realizing the Potential of American Higher Education* and "Seven Principles for Good Practice in Undergraduate Education."[10] These reports, and other publications issued during 1984 and afterward, mark Phase II of curriculum development in the 1980s.

Involvement in Learning raised concerns not only about *how* students were learning but *what* they were learning. Clearly, student interests steered curricular emphasis, as the leading indicators for business programs grew with the stock market (from 12-23 percent between 1975 and 1988); declines were recorded in traditional arts and sciences fields. (Between 1977 and 1984 intended majors in the physical sciences declined by 13 percent, humanities by 17 percent, social sciences by 19 percent, and biological sciences by 21 percent). Although some of the business "bubble" burst with the October 1987 stock market crash and ensuing layoffs on Wall Street (intended majors declined from 23-21 percent), the nation is still not producing the numbers of scientists needed; by most estimates, the nation will be 750,000 scientists short by the year 2000.

Another curricular impact from the focus on business in the decade came with the infusion of ethics courses after the various junk bond, inside trading, leveraged buyouts, and savings and loans scandals that rocked Wall Street.

Ethos rather than ethics, however, dominates the two reports; the ethos of connecting students and faculty. *Involvement in Learning* emphasizes "front loading" by ensuring that students receive a good start to their higher education. Additionally, it encourages involving students directly in their own learning, taking advantage of technology, improving advising, creating learning communities, requiring a full two years of liberal education, revising curricula to correspond to expected outcomes, rewarding faculty, and more. The "Seven Principles," issued as guidelines rather than commandments, sounds a similar theme: student-faculty contact, collaboration among students, active learning, prompt feedback, time on task, high expectations, respect for diverse talents and learning styles.

Impact on Retention

This renewed attention to undergraduate education related directly to enrollment: improved practices led to increased retention. Colleges realized that not only did their failure to retain a student result in a potential waste of human talent, but it also wasted their investment of human and financial resources in that student.

Spurred by a report from the U.S. Department of Education in 1983 showing that more than half the first-time enrollees failed to graduate, studies began rigorously to examine the dual phenomena of retention and attrition.[11] A consistent pattern of findings emerged: direct contact with faculty; student involvement in campus life; the quality of support services, such as advising; the quality and mode of teaching; and a relevant curricular design all turned out to be keys to increased retention. Those colleges that responded recorded significant improvements in their retention rates and, thus, in their overall enrollments. At times the results proved spectacular: Edward Williams College, a freshman-sophomore college within Fairleigh Dickinson University, increased its retention rate from 41-93 percent.

In some ways, this movement proved that what a college does outside or at the edges of its formal curriculum may have more impact on retention than has the curriculum itself. Informal contact with faculty and advising in particular reach students in helpful ways. At the edge of the curriculum, an important new concept was developed at the University of Missouri-Kansas City: the "high-risk *course*" (those with 40 percent or more earning "D", "F", or withdrawing) rather than the traditional "high-risk *student*." Arguing that by the time "high-risk students" get identified, it may already be too late to rescue them, the University promoted supplemental instruction in high-risk courses; this intervention involved discussion sessions led by a trained, advanced student. Such programs saved many a potential drop-out.

One direct curricular initiative of the decade also sought to intervene before it became too late (that is, from the moment a student came on campus): the freshman seminar. The work of Vince Tinto and others confirmed that the first six weeks of a college student's career was the critical period in determining both commitment and success.[12] John Gardner of the University of South Carolina became the national guru of the "Freshman Experience." His "University 101" course spawned many imitations: *Campus Trends* reported that 40 percent of colleges had freshman seminars by 1990—nearly all of them developed in the second half of the decade. Many colleges learned from, and shared at, the freshman experience conferences sponsored by the University of South Carolina at home and abroad.

The results of a successful program speak for themselves. In particular, freshman-year special courses have significantly improved the success rates of students whose traditional predictors of college success (for example, high school grades and ACT scores) have not been promising. It seems that format is secondary in impact to the interpersonal experience. At some colleges, the program has high intellectual content (for instance, a "Great Books" seminar); at others it concentrates on building basic

academic skills (such as studying, test taking, exam writing). For other colleges, an introduction to the values and traditions of the university (for example, extracurricular elements, policies and procedures, and the academic and historical aspects) provide the focus; while at still others, the uniqueness of learning at the university level (especially the different learning styles needed for varied disciplines) gets explored. And some colleges simply combine several of the components from each approach. Additionally, context varies as much as content. Some colleges award credit; others do not. Some make it mandatory; most (more than two-thirds) do not. Some run the course for a few weeks; others make it a total freshman-year experience. Whatever the approach, however, this curricular initiative inevitably helps first-year students adjust to college by making connections with students, faculty, and staff; with the university itself; with their college and career goals; and—perhaps most important—with themselves as bona fide college students.

Not surprisingly, the freshman experience proves popular and successful with the first-generation college student. Included in that cohort is a group of students whose presence and—to an even greater degree, absence—has caused the academy to examine itself deeply with regard to its policies, practices, environment, and curricula: minority students. The pace of these concerns clearly picked up in the second half of the decade (*Campus Trends*, for example, first began reporting on this area in 1987; by 1990, it had become a major issue), with increasing reports of racial tension on campuses.

Impact on Minority Enrollment

The minority enrollment picture remained mixed. The U.S. Department of Education reported that total numbers increased between 1978 and 1988 (Hispanic enrollment up 63 percent, Asian 111 percent, African American 7 percent). Even white enrollment increased 12 percent in the same period. However, these statistics don't show the paltry beginning point. More accurate, perhaps, are the participation rates for 18-24-year olds. While the rates for Anglos increased steadily (from 33-39 percent), the same cannot be said for Hispanics and African Americans (their rates fluctuated throughout the period and still only averaged 28 percent for African Americans and 30 percent for Hispanics). And, most disturbingly, black male enrollment has actually dropped 2 percent since 1978.

With increasing awareness that early in the next century minorities will make up more than a third of the U.S. population and will constitute a major part of the nation's work force, more and more colleges asked

themselves what curricular adaptations they could make to prepare what continued to be a dominant monocultural student body for the future challenges of a multicultural society. This curricular analysis also provided an opportunity to educate faculty and staff on campuses about how to attract higher rates of minority participation and graduation. It's unfinished business, to be sure. While about half the colleges reported requiring courses in Western civilization in 1990, less than a quarter required a course in ethnic or racial studies. (Maybe not coincidentally: about the same percentage of administrators cited improving cultural and ethnic diversity as one of their major challenges).

Impact on Higher Education Literature

The controversy over including such courses in the curriculum served as a signpost for the social forces that affected not only enrollment and curricula, but also the tone of the debate. Leading that debate with unprecedented vigor was then-Secretary of Education William Bennett. Gary H. Quehl, former president of the Council for Advancement and Support of Education in *Higher Education and the Public Interest: A Report to the Campus*, called Bennett "a phenomenon never before seen in higher education" and reported that he was viewed as "undermining higher education rather than supporting it, attacking higher education rather than working to find ways in which colleges and universities can be strengthened to better serve the nation."[13] Bennett's early report (1984) left little doubt from its title—"To Reclaim a Legacy"—that it would be looking back to the golden past.[14] He found many takers. Emboldened by the rancorous voice from Washington, conservative faculty challenged initiatives to move the curriculum toward a more multicultural focus. Bennett's oratory created a new public audience for what ails higher education.

That audience responded particularly to two books in 1987: Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind* and E. D. Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*. Both books became bestsellers, indicating that a responsive public nerve had been struck. While Hirsch's book had coherence and a solid, though narrow, argument, the Bloom treatise mixed selected philosophy with personal diatribe.

Unchallenged, Bloom and Bennett's philosophy would cause regression to the clean, well-lighted place of the 1950s with its bright and white, male and "normal" students. Since the 1980s featured greater participation by women, adult learners and minorities, this regressive philosophy could result in loss of hard-gained curricular ground. In particular, those who had brought women's studies to a position of strength and respectability fought

back. Sue V. Rosser, for example, in *Female-Friendly Science*, challenges Bloom. She notes that "Bloom's racist, elitist, sexist attitude" about the natural sciences being the preserve of white males could well lead to these fields' extinction.[16] She also decries the omission of serious discussion of women's studies in most of the reports of the decade. Enrollments in these courses and programs showed a dramatic increase in the 1980s because of their appeal to the many women (and some men) students who sought serious study of women's issues. These paradoxes—advances in ethnic and women's studies at a time when the political barometer pointed conservatively—mark one of the more fascinating aspects of enrollment, participation, and curricula in the 1980s.

No discussion of the impact of the reports of the 1980s would be complete without reference to the contributions of Ernest Boyer and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, particularly *College: The Undergraduate Experience in America* and *Campus Life: In Search of Community*.[17] Boyer echoes the call for more active learning and encourages greater links between high schools and universities. The latter theme struck some responsive chords, as a number of colleges, helped by funding from national associations and foundations, created academic alliances between college and high school faculties, often with a curricular emphasis. Boyer also promotes the rewarding of teaching; the developing of an intellectual, social, and just university community; and the reinvigorating of the sense of mission that guides students in both choosing a curriculum and in creating a sense of civic responsibility. Like many of the other reports, Boyer's work helps steer the curricular and extracurricular discussions and provides governing boards in particular with points of comparison. These points made *assessment* a key word in the second half of the decade, a term for phase III of curriculum development.

Impact on Assessment

Assessment is likely to become the higher education theme of the 1990s. Conducted correctly, assessment can contribute to continuing enrollment stability, innovative curricula, pedagogical development, and a renewed public trust in higher education. Mishandled, it could result in deepening divisions between legislators, boards, and the public on one hand, and faculties and staffs on the other.

The January 1990 report of the State Higher Education Executive Officers reveals that forty-one states have assessment initiatives, with most declaring goals of institutional and curricular improvements. *Campus Trends* also records the growing interest in assessment: the 1984 issue barely

mentions the topic; the 1986 issue has a small but separate section; the 1990 version contains a major section reporting that 82 percent of colleges have assessments underway and that a significant number already use the results to strengthen curricula and improve teaching.

Methods of assessment vary considerably. Some focus almost exclusively on "input" such as the average ACT score of students, the number of faculty with Ph.D.s, the number of library holdings. Others explore outcomes, including graduation rates, value-added testing, and overall performance testing. Increasingly, however, institutions have sought multiple approaches, from portfolio assessment to alumni surveys, from individual program goals and objectives to outreach measurements. Few use assessment to screen out or eliminate students. All need substantial resources to carry out a comprehensive and successful program.

So What's Next?

Never shy and ever quick to forget previous failures, prophets usually resurface. In some ways, today's predictions echo those of 1980. Although lacking some of the 1980 fervor, they nevertheless foretell significant enrollment declines, at least in the first half of the decade. They also predict once again, a frightening financial squeeze. Not surprisingly, the latter prediction carries more conviction.

However, a lesson learned is that the variables involved in predicting enrollment are unpredictable, with the most significant variable—human behavior—being the most unpredictable. *Strategies for Effective Enrollment Management* provides an example of the range of variables: proportion of high school graduates going on to college, birth rates, unemployment, draft policy, high school graduation rates, cost of living, financial aid policies, cohort size, composition of college-age cohort (racial/ethnic mix), percentage of new clientele, retention-attrition rates, state financial aid policies, and mix of vocational/academic demand.[18]

One example of unpredictability will suffice. Not long ago, military recruiters aggressively sought recruits (interestingly, with the lure of later college scholarships, a policy with implications for future enrollment growth) to maintain a military at levels needed for a significant presence in Europe and elsewhere. To everyone's amazement, events in Europe and the Soviet Union almost overnight reduced the need for the military to compete with college recruiters, or at least until the next Saddam Hussein came along.

Enrollment does depend in some measure on curricula. The decade of participation spurred curricular revisions that have the potential to

continue increasing the proportion of students who graduate. Assessment, if not bungled or misused, has the same potential. But in these curricular advancements, the question of adequate resources looms large.

This nation appears to be headed for a period of forced reconsideration of its ability to match aspirations with resources. Higher education aspirations have been raised in the 1980s in large measure because increased participation both encouraged and challenged curricular reform. Forces in the 1990s will advance some initiatives (perhaps energized by the expected infusion of new faculty), while allowing other practices to become entrenched into the campus culture (because of that critical sense of ownership). Again, demographics play a role in the predictions—a decline of high school graduates during the first half of the decade followed by a return to approximately present-day levels in the second half.

Yet it will not be demographics that determines the future of college curricula. It will be that delicate balance between desire and dollars. If a national will exists to support true access for all ethnic and economic segments of society, enrollments will remain stable and perhaps even grow (although the size of current freshman classes at many institutions suggests otherwise). But if the resources are not forthcoming to support that enrollment, changes in curricula will come largely at the insistence of boards, governors, and legislators—precluding, perhaps, the opportunity to engage the full creativity of faculty.

If the 1980s taught us anything, it is that real and substantial curricular change can occur throughout the nation's colleges if the climate remains essentially favorable. Isolated storms can actually aid the process. However if the economic drought remains in the 1990s, and if a new brand of academic leadership remains absent, then the forecasters who revel in doom and gloom will have a heyday. Yet the resilience of American higher education has consistently proved the prophets wrong. At least one more time, please!

Notes

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[2]*The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 7 January 1980, p. 9.

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[4]*Campus Trends*, 1988. VII.

[5]*Campus Trends*, 1990, VII.

[6]Lawrence, Locke, "General Education: In Search of Facts," *Change*, July/August, 1989, 22. Several articles in this issue discuss curriculum changes in the 1980s. In particular, *see* Jerry G. Gaff, "General Education at Decade's End: The Need for a Second Wave of Reform," pp. 11-19.

[7]*The Journal of Higher Education*, March/April, 1984, pp. 242-68.

[8]*Integrity in the College Curriculum*: A *Report to the Academic Community* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, 1985), pp. 1-2.

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[10]*Involvement in Learning*: *Realizing the Potential of American Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1984) and Arthur W. Chickering and Zelda F. Gamson, "Seven Principles for Good Practice in Undergraduate Education," American Association of Higher Education, The Education Commission of the States, and the Johnson Foundation, 1984.

[11]"Breaking the Attrition Cycle: The Effects of Supplemental Instruction on Undergraduate Performance and Attrition," *Journal of Higher Education*, 54, 1983, pp. 80-90.

[12]See V. Tinto, *Leaving College*: *Rethinking the Causes and Cures of Student Attrition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

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[15]Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987) and E. D. Hirsch, Jr., *Cultural Literacy*: *What Every American Needs to Know* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987).

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[17]Ernest L. Boyer, *College*: *The Undergraduate Experience in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987) and *Campus Life*: *in Search of Community* (Lawrenceville, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990).

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Chapter 6: The Changing Nature of the Transfer Student Population

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During their early years, member institutions of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) and the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC), when reviewing their heritage, had *practical education* as a prominent, if not primary, institutional mission. Today's emphasis, in most cases, is on the scientific, evidenced by the ambitions of many colleges and universities to be prominent research institutions. Schools of engineering technology experience a gravitational pull to become schools of engineering science, and business schools similarly respond to burgeoning admissions by establishing stricter academic criteria and limited access policies that emphasize theory over practice. Simultaneously, employers in business and industry lament baccalaureate graduates who often know the theory but cannot apply it. Nevertheless, schools of business, engineering, health, and computers continue to have among the most restrictive admissions requirements at public and private colleges and universities. Consequently, unmet student access demands are beginning to be satisfied by emerging alternative delivery systems.

The board of directors of the American Association of Community Colleges (now known as the American Association of Community Colleges, AACC), during its 1989 convention, commissioned a national study of state policies and practices relating to transfer and articulation between two-year and four-year institutions. Interestingly, during the ten-month period of the study, legislatures in at least 13 states approved bills or passed resolutions calling for action on transfer or articulation issues. Although the issues are many and complex, one major precursor of legislative concern revealed by the study was a persistent demand from students and graduates of applied associate degree programs for access to baccalaureate opportunities.

Neither current research nor state policies and data resources adequately describe the condition of this group of potential transfers. The literature on transfer and articulation issues almost without exception focuses only on the academic "university parallel" programs, which historically have been identified with the transfer function of the community and junior college. Concerned about the national implications of transfer issues, the Ford Foundation sponsored in 1990 a program of the American Council on Education, known as The National Center for Academic Achievement and Transfer, to deal with the problem. As the name implies, studies of that Center do not include the applied associate degree transfer phenomenon. A national survey of 1,366 two-year colleges conducted by the Center in April 1990 found 11 percent of the respondents had estimated or

guessed the numbers of their students who transferred, and 21 percent based their information on follow-up surveys (a method proven weak).[1]

Most state articulation policies, whether mandatory or voluntary, lack any reference to transfer of the practical or applied program students and are, moreover, known for their individualistic ways of defining applied program students. The reason is partly because no two states can be described as the same, despite the fact that national and local press, policy makers, and even researchers continue to promulgate claims of norms or guidelines of nationwide comparability based on assumptions of state uniformity. Yet size, geography, economy, and demographic differences are readily apparent, and dissimilar education governance structures—including key determiners such as definitions, formulas, and institutional contexts—have produced 50 different state postsecondary education delivery systems.

Further complicating the problem of understanding the changing nature of the transfer population is the variation in identifying the *practical* or *applied* programs from the academic transfer programs traditionally associated with the transfer function. In California, according to Dorothy M. Knoell of that state's Postsecondary Education Planning Commission, there is a deliberate policy to use the same associate degree credential whether for the transfer or applied programs.

To identify the practical programs, the American Association of Community Colleges recommends use of the Applied Associate in Science (A.A.S.) and the Applied Associate in Arts (A.A.A.) degree titles. Yet Florida uses the Associate in Science (A.S.) designator as its credential for such programs. Its Associate in Arts (A.A.) is the only recognized credential for academic programs designed for transfer. The Associate in Specialized Business (A.S.B.) and the Associate in Specialized Technology (A.S.T.) degrees are used in some states for recognizing programs that have as much as two-thirds of the work in the specialty area and the remainder in related course work with little or no general education. Pennsylvania restricts proprietary postsecondary institutions to the use of this credential regardless of whether general education is included. Still, graduates of these accredited proprietary postsecondary institutions are, in fact, increasingly being found among transfer populations in upper-division institutions.

The A.A.S. Transfer Phenomenon

Florida conducted in 1986 an early longitudinal study of applied associate degree transfer from public community colleges to state univer-

sities. An analysis was made, using the data base of the state's university system, of the 1979-84 graduating classes of community college applied associate degree students who transferred into a baccalaureate program at one of the nine public universities. In addition, a survey of the chairpersons of departments accepting the applied degree transfer was carried out to assess perceptions of the appropriateness and relevance of preparation of the two-year college transfers for upper-division work. Florida's twenty-eight community college districts produced over 1,000 associate degree transfers annually, with 1,344 in 1979-80, a high of 1,404 in 1983, and 1,343 in 1985, the last year examined. The data base also yielded a pattern of baccalaureate majors selected by the populations. The four most popular were business, engineering, health, and computer science. Department chair respondents concurred that the applied associate degree transfer phenomenon generally had not been discussed at their institution. At the same time, they also agreed that such transfer activity results from student demands for upward educational access, employer demands for more practical training within baccalaureate programs, and increasing acceptance of the transfer phenomenon based on successful experiences at the upper-division level.

The Florida State Board for Community Colleges Program Review Data for 1988-89 reveals that not only did approximately 25 percent of the Applied Associate degree graduates transfer to the state's nine universities, but their mean cumulative G.P.A. was higher than that of native students (2.90 versus 2.80).[2]

Fortunately, some states are identifying the applied degree population in their system data base or are carrying out studies that include this cohort for analysis. A few examples follow.

System Data Base

The University of North Carolina System publishes an annual *Statistical Abstract of Higher Education in North Carolina*, which includes analyses of the flow of transfer students among the public and private institutions in the state. North Carolina articulation policies are voluntary. Policies are developed by the Joint Committee of College Transfer Students, sponsored by The North Carolina Association of Colleges and Universities (which includes both the public and independent sectors). Guidelines adopted by the committee represent "the collective and continuing efforts of colleges and universities in North Carolina to preserve institutional autonomy in determining admissions and academic policies and at the same time to

eliminate unnecessary penalties to students who transfer among institutions."[3]

The historical origin of the two-year college system in North Carolina is also noteworthy in that the establishment legislation emphasized practical/occupational education. All 58 two-year institutions originally did not include the academic transfer function. Now, there are 33 community colleges with college transfer programs, and the other 25 institutions now are adding them. As revealed in Table 1, undergraduate transfers to both public and private baccalaureate institutions are increasing.

A separate table accompanied the above report, with the heading "Trends in Applications, Acceptances, and Enrollments of Transfers from the Community College System, Fall 1984- Fall 1989," which provides separate treatment for community colleges with transfer programs and technical institutes without transfer programs. That document reveals that all sixteen institutions in the University of North Carolina System accepted and enrolled students from both the community colleges and technical institutes. Furthermore, technical institutes without transfer programs consistently produced approximately 25 percent of the transfers reported in Table 1. Obviously, it can safely be assumed that a portion of the community college transfers also had practical rather than academic education backgrounds. The trend for both populations was upward, suggesting growing interest in baccalaureate opportunities.

Table 1. Undergraduate Transfers to North Carolina Colleges and Universities from Community Colleges and Technical Institutes

	Fall 1989	Fall 1988	Fall 1987	Fall 1986	Fall 1985
UNC system	2,868	2,554	2,416	2,339	2,242
Private 4-year	1,328	1,327	1,137	1,032	988

Source: *Statistical Abstract*, Research Report 1-90 (April 1990) p. 65.

The importance of the applied associate degree programs in North Carolina is suggested by the fact that, according to a June 1990 study, most two-year college students in the state enrolled in technical education programs—an increase from 47 percent in 1968 to 58 percent in 1988, while the college transfer population in 1988 was 19 percent, as compared with only 11 percent in 1979.[4] Because nearly 30 percent of all applied curriculum students plan to obtain a bachelor's degree, according to the same study, it would appear North Carolina, like most states, stands to benefit by studying the changing nature of its transfer population.

Survey Data Base

The Maryland State Board for Community Colleges conducts annual surveys of graduates, employers, and nongraduating students of its seventeen institutions. A survey of the 1986 graduates totalling 7,530 had an overall 55 percent respondent participation rate. In order to determine representativeness, respondent characteristics were compared with those of the total population. Male graduates (37 percent of the class) made up 48 percent of the respondent group. Similarly, minorities (21 percent of the graduates) made up 37 percent of the respondent group. Of the class of 1986 graduates who transferred, 41 percent had graduated from a career preparation program. (Maryland uses career program terminology whereas we have used the applied associate degree program for this group.) There had been 2,469 career program graduates, among whom 666 (27 percent) were enrolled at baccalaureate institutions. This compared with 935 of the 1,416 transfer graduates (66 percent) who were enrolled in upper-division institutions. The same survey asked respondents to indicate their degree of satisfaction with the community college preparation they had received. Among the transfer grads, 38 percent indicated a rating of "very good," while 28 percent of the career grad transfers reported the same for their programs even though job entry rather than college transfer was the primary purpose of their program.

In a comparable study of the graduates of the 1988 class, the Maryland State Board for Community Colleges reported quite similar distributions but with an upward trend. Thirty percent of the 1988 career graduates had transferred, 36 percent of whom rated their two-year college preparation as "very good" for their present pursuits. It would appear that Maryland, like most states, could benefit by examining its career graduate students to learn more about their experiences, their needs, and the implications for career programs.

Longitudinal Data Base

The Illinois Community College Board carries out periodic statewide studies of its transfer students attending public, four-year colleges and universities. A five-year longitudinal study of 9,757 students who transferred to the senior institutions in the fall of 1979 observed progress until graduation or discontinued attendance at the institution of original transfer. While the study focused primarily on the traditional transfer programs, it also examined records of students entering with the Associate in Applied Science degree as well as those with no formal degree, thus creating three

sub-populations for analysis. Persistence and graduation rates were determined for each year as well as over the five-year period, when 53.8 percent of the transfer preparation population had earned baccalaureate degrees in contrast to 48.4 percent of the A.A.S. student population. The same study revealed a significant finding that the A.A.S. students took longer than transfer students to complete baccalaureate degrees because they had not had as much general education. Seven percent (669) of the respondents had earned A.A.S. degrees before transferring and, as was the case with each of the pre-transfer degree status groups, the baccalaureate graduates of the A.A.S. population had the highest cumulative GPA at 2.96, compared with 2.74 for those still enrolled and 2.7 for those who had withdrawn.[5]

A similar longitudinal study carried out in 1988 examined the entering community college freshman class of fall 1980. Of the 32,771 first-time occupational students in that class, 1,107 earned baccalaureate degrees from the 12 public universities in Illinois. The study did not include students who transferred to private colleges and universities in Illinois or to institutions outside the state, and the report cautioned, "These factors should be taken into account in any interpretation of the data in this report since between 30 and 35 percent of the students who transfer from community colleges to baccalaureate degree-granting institutions in Illinois transfer to private colleges and universities."[6]

Student Unit Record Data Base

Colorado: Under accountability requirements of the Colorado Commission on Higher Education (CCHE), monitoring of students who continued their education after attending Colorado community colleges is reported using the Student Unit Record Data System of CCHE. (The data base does not include in-state private or out-of-state institutions.) Of 1,918 applied associate degree graduates in 1985-86, 370 enrolled in the public, four-year institutions of that state. Three years later, 52 had received the baccalaureate while 94.2 percent of the remaining population were still enrolled. A disquieting observation is the low average number of credit hours transferred. It would appear many Colorado applied associate degree graduates lose a year or more upon transfer. The Colorado legislature has charged CCHE with addressing articulation problems. The concern of the legislature in Colorado, and the attention paid to the credit transfer question nationally, probably reflect the interests of both students in particular and taxpayers in general.

New York: The State University of New York (SUNY) system carries out enrollment pattern studies in order to maintain a longitudinal profile of individual students transferring from each community college and each agricultural and technical college. (The former are locally sponsored while the latter are state-owned two-year colleges.) SUNY has developed one of the most comprehensive student unit record data systems in the nation and is able to examine trends and patterns of student cohorts by program, institution attended, academic progress, and degree earned.

As revealed in Table 2, the applied associate degree transfer cohort of the community colleges and agricultural and technical colleges represents a huge portion of the transfer population in the SUNY system. Since private in-state as well as out-of-state institutions are not covered, it can be assumed that even more applied associate degree graduates enrolled from the fall 1988 class. The highest enrollments of the applied transfers by rank order of program, were business and accounting, computer science, allied health, and education. There appears to be a high correlation of program demand in the applied fields among the states in this study.

Table 2. Unduplicated Transfer Applicants from a SUNY Two-Year to a SUNY Four-year Institution Fall 1988

	All Applicants	Accepted	Percent Accepted	Accepted and Enrolled	Percent
AA/AS	4,816	3,984	91.5	2,947	74.2
AAS	3,870	3,075	89.9	2,349	76.4

Source: Office of Policy Analysis, March 13, 1990 (SG90V3/TRANS4).

The 1988 enrollment profile is consistent with a ten-year longitudinal analysis of over 2,000 applied associate degree graduates transferring annually to four-year institutions in SUNY, a cohort that has consistently approximated 45 percent of the population of transfers with associate degrees. Such a dramatic ratio of applied/practical education transfers versus academic university parallel transfers deserves attention from institutional planners, programmers, and policy makers. The agricultural and technical colleges of SUNY have maintained a proportional segment of the two-year college transfer population. The same was the case in North Carolina in relation to the community colleges with transfer programs and the technical institutes without transfer programs.

Emerging Proprietary "For-Profit" Sector

But it is the "invisible" sector of practical/applied postsecondary education, the proprietaries, that reveals the significant change in the transfer phenomenon that is occurring. (Although "private, for-profit" descriptors are advocated by some, we will use *proprietary* because it is most recognizable, although some proprietaries are, in fact, non-profit.) Degree-granting proprietary institutions have received little attention or study because they are often mistakenly grouped with short-term vocational training and labeled "trade schools." The traditional higher education community is generally unaware of the size and scope of associate and baccalaureate programs offered, students served, or degrees awarded by the proprietary institutions.

To be consistent with the practical education population being studied, we sought to delineate only proprietary institutions that are accredited and degree-granting. We requested lists or directories of such institutions from each of the six regional accrediting agencies as well as from the two national accrediting agencies, Association of Independent Colleges and Schools (AICS) and National Association of Trade and Technical Schools (NATTS). Several regional accrediting agencies indicated they were unable to identify any proprietary members; therefore, we turned to *The* HEP 1990 *Higher Education Directory* and identified each institution having the IRS status of proprietary and accreditation from a national or regional accrediting agency.

From these sources, we were able to identify f48 accredited, baccalaureate, degree-granting, proprietary institutions and 231 two-year, associate-degree proprietaries, for a total of 279 schools and colleges enrolling 169,788 students in 1989. Sixty-two are accredited by a regional accrediting agency, and all six regions are represented. It was not unusual to find an institution holding both national and regional accreditation.

In order to determine whether the applied associate degree transfer phenomenon is evident within the proprietary sector, we designed a simple survey instrument soliciting data on enrollments, programs, degrees awarded, accreditation, and future plans. The instrument was mailed to all 48 of the accredited four-year proprietaries and to 116 (50 percent of the population) of the two-year institutions. Because of time constraints, only a limited data collection effort was made, involving an original request and a reminder mailed one week later.

Furthermore, we received several telephone calls from proprietary officials who cautioned us that response rates may be low because of misconceptions. One official observed, "Many of our CEOs evidence some

paranoia because of being stereotyped by the media with truck-driving trade schools, default rates, and the like."

Nevertheless, 26 of the 48 (54 percent) four-year proprietaries and 49 of the 116 (42 percent) of the two-year, associate degree-granting proprietaries responded. Both respondent groups reported a combined higher enrollment in 1989 than in 1985, with full-time students being approximately 85 percent of the head-count enrollment. Proprietaries have traditionally emphasized full-time student enrollment through concentrated schedules and programming. Furthermore, most four-year proprietary institutions offer both associate and baccalaureate degree programs. Consequently, it is not surprising to learn that specific recruitment and admissions programs focus on high school graduates, and separate recruitment and admissions efforts targeting public two-year college transfers, are utilized by most four-year proprietaries.

We were particularly interested in the four-year respondent group. The number of baccalaureate degrees awarded in 1990 by the 26 four-year respondents was 4,364, with 14.4 percent of the graduates being African American and 10.9 percent being Hispanic. The same institutions awarded 3,930 associate degrees in 1990, with 17.7 percent of the graduates being African American and 14.6 percent Hispanic. Such statistics are impressive and should be of interest to employers questing for diversity when recruiting.

Respondents were asked to report the three programs or majors for which the highest enrollment demand existed in 1989 and is anticipated to exist in 1993. The four-year institutions ranked business administration and accounting highest, followed by computer science, and allied health programs third. (These trends correlate strongly with those of the limited-access programs of AASCU- and NASULGC-member institutions.) The only change the respondents anticipate in 1993 is that electronics technology will replace allied health as third.

The two-year population of 49 institutions served slightly over 31,000 students in 1989, suggesting they are smaller on average than the four-year proprietaries. They estimate enrollments of 1990 and afterward to increase by only 4 percent annually, in contrast to 8-percent annual increases realized between 1985-89. Twenty percent of the two-year institutions reported future plans of becoming four-year, degree-granting while 60 percent indicated plans to seek regional accreditation.

Implications

Clearly, the applied associate degree transfer phenomenon does exist, whether recognized by institutional, state, or national leaders, policy makers, or planners. At the national level, AASCU, NASULGC, and AACC should recognize the opportunity for leadership in addressing the historical conflicts in attitudes about academic vs. practical education. The false dichotomy of prestige and worth accorded to academic vs. practical education could be revealed and resolved through collaborative projects, sponsored by national organizations, recognizing and supporting baccalaureate opportunities for applied associate degree graduates as well as traditional transfers. When asked why he was pursuing a baccalaureate in technology, an employed applied associate degree graduate retorted, "Next time I want my application and my interviews to take place in the executive office rather than in the personnel department of my company."

Member institutions need to acknowledge the applied associate degree transfer phenomenon and carry out studies of this transfer population, its characteristics, needs, and potential. Applied associate degree program requirements typically necessitate one or more terms of additional course work than academic transfer programs, and the limited evidence from the states we have examined would suggest they also encounter the same at the four-year institution. The question is whether such requirements are appropriate and necessary or whether the student is the victim. The answer can be found only through responsible institutional research.

State articulation groups can no longer ignore the increasing inclination of the applied associate degree student to transfer. Analyses of institutional and departmental articulation agreements can provide important information on enhancing continuity, which can benefit the institution, the student, and the taxpayer. State legislatures need to support comprehensive statewide student unit record data systems that can be used by the articulation groups and state leaders.

Notes

[1]"Transfer Feedback Information System for Transfers from Community Colleges and Colleges of Technology/Agriculture" (New York: State University of New York, 1990).

[2]Henry C. Doster, A *Longitudinal Study of the Use of the Associate in Science Degree for Transfer between Public Community Colleges and Universities within Florida*. Dissertation submitted to the Department of Educational Leadership (Tallahassee: The Florida State University, 1986).

[3]"Statistical Abstract of Higher Educatic. in North Carolina 1989-90," Research Report 1-90 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1990).

[4]Ronald W. Shearon, et al., "Student Diversity and the Emerging Workforce: The Changing Profile of Students in North Carolina Community Colleges" (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, 1990).

[5]"A Five-Year Study of Students Transferring from Illinois Two-Year Colleges to Illinois Senior Colleges/Universities in the Fall of 1979" (Springfield: Illinois Community College Board, 1986).

[6]Ibid.

Chapter 7: Democracy's Promise: Access for Adults in Higher Education

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I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and, if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with wholesome direction, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education.

—Thomas Jefferson

American society and American higher education have long responded to the Jeffersonian call for enlightened citizenship. Democratization of higher education—the process whereby new social groups demand access to and are accommodated by the academy—has proceeded on a scale and at a pace unparalleled in the history of industrialized societies. American higher education clearly has been responsive to cultural, economic, political, and social forces. Undergoing a transformation from a system for the elite to one for the masses to one for nearly everyone, it has developed new functions—beyond the traditional teaching, research, and service—to serve increasingly diverse groups. This open-ended effort to democratize American higher education is a great strength, yet also a cause of great concern. As this chapter discusses the democratization of higher education, particularly at Empire State College (ESC) (N.Y.), it will become evident that this process incorporates the highest goals of democratic culture and showcases higher education's responsiveness.

Elite System, Mass System, Universal System

According to historian Henry Steele Commager, sometime during the eighteenth century a distinctively American theory of humanity, education, and society emerged. In contrast to the European view of human nature as corrupt but stable, Americans saw humans as creatures of circumstance. In this context, education was to be a major instrument of change.

In the broad sense the schools were to be the chief instruments of change in the New World, change in man and change in society. They were to be the chief instruments for the growth of democracy, equality, and freedom, and of morality as well. Schools were the chief instrument for the regeneration of the human race.[1]

Since the eighteenth century, Americans have developed high expectations about what education can do. Believing that talent is evenly, and, on the whole, generously distributed throughout the population; that it is not fixed but can be discovered, encouraged, and developed, Americans value education as the development of talent.[2]

Table 1. The Character of American Higher Education, Post-Civil War to 1990

Years	Total Fall Enrollment (All Ages)	Percentage 18-21-Year Olds in College	Percentage of Students Attending Public Instit.	Number of Graduate Students	Total Number of Institutions	Number of Professional Staff	Higher Education Expenditures
1869-70	52,000	2	NA	NA	563	5,500	NA
1889-90	156,000	3	NA	2,400	998	15,800	NA
1899-00	237,000	4	39	5,800	977	23,900	NA
1909-10	355,000	5	NA	9,200	951	36,480	NA
1919-20	597,000	8	NA	15,600	1,041	48,600	199
1929-30	1,100,000	12	49	47,600	1,409	82,400	508
1939-40	1,494,000	15	53	105,700	1,708	148,000	679
1945-46	2,078,000	NA	49	NA	1,851	NA	NA
1949-50	2,659,000	30	50	237,000	1,858	249,000	2,246
1959-60	3,402,000	34	59	356,000	2,028	282,000	5,601
1969-70	8,581,000	49	74	1,031,000	2,551	546,000	21,043
1979-80	11,570,000	51	78	1,309,000	3,190	823,000	64,053
1989-90	13,043,000	52	78	1,720,000	3,535	1,276,500	108,810

Sources: American Council on Education, A *Fact Book on Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: 1969, 1984). Office of Educational Research and Improvement, *Digest of Educational Statistics* 1987; National Center for Education Statistics, 1987, Table 138; and National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Educational Statistics*, 1976, Tables 83 and 84. For specific definitions and for changes in the way data have been collected and reported see the footnotes to the 1984 *Fact Book*, Tables 50, 51, 56, 57, 59, 110, 114 and the *Digest* footnotes, *The Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac*, 5 September 1990, pp. 3-28. NA=data not available for that year. Higher education expenditures are in millions of dollars.

After World War II, with the advent of inexpensive and convenient colleges, a college education increasingly became an expectation, both for gains in income, prestige, and social mobility and for fuller participation in a democratic society. Thus parents were "much more likely to encourage their children to go on to college, as a part of the 'natural' progressive improvement in living standards across the generations that is so deeply a part of American values."[3]

At the turn of the century, American higher education was a privilege for the elite. As the figures in Table 1 reveal, only 4 percent of the 18-21-year old group attended college, even though this small proportion represented 237,000 students. By the outbreak of World War II, the American higher education system had changed orientation from the elite to the masses, encompassing a million and a half students representing 15 percent of the college-age group in over 1,700 colleges with almost 150,000 professional staff. After World War II, American higher education was transformed again, from a mass to a nearly universal system. In the 45-year period from 1946-90, student enrollments increased sixfold; the number of institutions almost doubled to 3,535; the proportion of 18-21-year olds in college tripled to over 52 percent; and the number of professional staff more than tripled. By 1990, American higher education had become a $109-billion-dollar enterprise.[4]

The Community College Movement

Viewed historically, increasing access to American higher education has been a remarkable part of realizing the American dream of a college education for everyone. The establishment of the comprehensive community college has been a major factor in the democratization process since World War II. This institution was designed to serve the local community by providing residents with vocational training, academic preparation leading to an associate degree or transfer to a senior college, continuing education, remedial or developmental education, and community-based education.[5] Such a mission meant that faculty members were hired as full-time teachers and not expected to conduct research or engage in extensive scholarly activities.

The popularity of this form of higher education can be seen in its growing numbers: in 1960, there were 521 community colleges enrolling 450,000 students. In 1970, there were 892 community colleges enrolling 2.2 million students, and by 1980, there were 1,274 community colleges enrolling more than 4.5 million students.[6] In 1989, there were over 1,400 community colleges enrolling 4.9 million students, comprising almost *half of the enrolled undergraduates* in the nation.[7] Adult learners constitute a

substantial proportion of all the students enrolled today in community colleges.

The External Degree Movement

By the end of the 1960s, traditional higher education had responded to the growth imperative by replicating existing models of the massive "multiversity," by upgrading regional state colleges, and by establishing comprehensive community colleges. For thousands of undergraduates, this growth translated into multiple sections of courses using a common syllabus, auditorium-sized classes "managed" by thousands of teaching assistants, and a loss of the goals of the individual in the educational process.[8]

During this same period, other indicators of social and economic change appeared. The civil rights movement, the free speech movement, the anti-war movement, and the women's liberation movement, among others, called attention to persistent inequities, enduring discriminatory practices, and a misguided foreign policy—all demanding that a democratic culture fully recognize the implications of a pluralist society and diverse social forms within that society.

In higher education, for example, a "golden era of growth" had spawned serious side effects. Frank Newman found "disturbing trends toward uniformity in our institutions, growing bureaucracy, overemphasis on academic credentials, isolation of students and faculty from the world—a growing rigidity and uniformity of structure that makes higher education reflect less and less the interests of society."[9] Sociologist Harold Hodgkinson's survey similarly concluded that homogeneity among American colleges and universities had increased since 1950, despite the outpouring of student protest during the 1960s.[10] Calls for *deschooling society* and the creation of free universities found willing listeners and participants. The Newman report concluded that "the foremost task of public policy is to create the conditions under which new educational enterprises can be founded and can endure."[11]

Recognizing that reform and responsiveness must become more central to higher education thinking and action, the College Entrance Examination Board and the Educational Testing Service (with a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York) established in 1971 the Commission on Nontraditional Study. Its mission was to provide a national perspective on the issues involved in nontraditional alternatives and to make recommendations for fulfilling the promise of the external degree movement. Several important reports came out of the commission's work: *Explorations in Nontraditional Study*, 1972; *The External Degree*, 1973; *Diversity by*

Design, 1973; and *Planning Nontraditional Programs*, 1974. The commission not only sparked nationwide debate over the need to diversify American higher education but also promoted the revitalization of many traditional colleges to serve new learners in new ways.

Against this backdrop of social and historical events, the external degree movement took shape, providing new lines of access for nontraditional students. Sometimes called the "extended degree" or "University Without Walls" phenomenon, the movement produced a host of new institutions in the early 1970s. Empire State College, for example, was founded in 1971, as was Metropolitan State University in Minnesota. Other institutions established during the period included Thomas Edison State College (1972, New Jersey), Evergreen State College (1967, Washington), Vermont Community College (1970), and the Regents External Degree, now Regents College (1970, New York).

Through these new institutions and programs developed at traditional colleges and universities, the external degree movement has provided access to higher education for a wide range of individuals and social groups heretofore excluded. External degree programs tend to be student centered, and the students are most often adults. Recognizing the importance of meeting the educational needs of these learners, external degree programs have responded by tailoring programs academically, as well as pedagogically and administratively, to the particular interests, motivations, objectives, and background experiences of adults. These programs represent a considerable departure from the traditional campus-based approach, which centers on faculty expertise and fixed content in a disciplinary and departmental context.

Opportunities and Options: The Place of Adult Learners

Aslanian and Brickell argue that "specific life events set the time on the learning clock; to know adults' life schedules is to know their learning schedules."[12] Adults in transition become learners to adapt to changing roles at work, at home, or in their communities. Specific "marker events" signal or trigger these transitions, such as getting hired or fired, promoted or transferred, married or divorced, sick or well, moving to a new city, or retiring. Aslanian and Brickell reported that 83 percent of the adults surveyed mentioned life changes as the primary reason for study and 56 percent cited transitions in their careers as a major impetus to their learning. These adults come to college with high expectations, are enthusiastic about earning a degree, and are seeking opportunities to improve themselves and enrich their professional and personal lives.

Adult learners are defined here *sociologically* as individuals beyond adolescence who become learners because their social roles have changed.[13] Thus age does not in itself determine who becomes an adult learner; but rather, it is social factors. "Baby boom generation," for example, refers to individuals in a specific cohort by a set of normative behaviors, such as attaining a college degree, in contrast to "Depression generation," among whom college degrees were not nearly as prevalent.

The external degree and adult learning movement has grown phenomenally. Some argue that the fastest-growing segment of American higher education today and for the next decade will be found among the over-25 age group. In 1985, the National Center for Education Statistics estimated that over 40 percent of all students were over 25 and that, by the early 1990s, more than half of the nation's 13 million college students will be.[14] In addition, more students are attending part time. In 1980, 40 percent of the 12 million students attended part time; by 1990, predictions are that almost half of all students will be learning part time, and by the year 2000, this proportion will climb to 60 percent.[15] Although these global statistics provide a national picture of the educational prospects for adult learners, it is the specific institutions and specific programs that provide the actual opportunities for learning.

Empire State College as a Democratic Experiment

Within the larger context of social, cultural, and educational reform, Empire State College was founded to accommodate, and even extend, the process of democratization to adults hitherto unserved or underserved by higher education.

As governor of New York State, Nelson Rockefeller emphasized in his 1971 budget message that Empire State would:

> *serve the many young people and adults for whom individual off-campus instruction will be more effective than traditional patterns of education. The State University of New York will create a new, non-residential University College with an unqualified commitment to test and experiment with new, flexible and individualized modes of learning, including new approaches to delivery of services, residency, certification and transfer.*[16]

Chancellor of the State University of New York Ernest Boyer argued that "a new focus and new shapes of education" are necessary ingredients to "make the substance of education and educational processes more relevant for the individual and more responsive to the needs of society."[17]

Learner-Centered Education

Empire State College is first and foremost a learner-centered public institution that is a part of the State University of New York. Its educational approach is to begin with the individual and then design an appropriate educational program to meet the individual's academic goals and interests and, ultimately, to connect the individual to the values and community of interests in society. This highly individualized approach to education is by definition designed to keep the democratization process in the forefront, ensuring the real connection among students, their studies, and the larger social context.

In developing the curricular strategy, organizational structure, and delivery system to fulfill the basic mission, the college endorsed three key educational principles:

- Effective learning derives from purposes and needs important to the individual.
- Learning occurs in varied ways and places.
- Styles of learning and teaching may differ significantly from person to person and from one setting to another.[18]

Over the years, Empire State College has refined its mission and developed a distinctive educational approach combining the following innovative elements:

- individualized education, carried out through a contract mode of learning
- an open format for access, placing minimal constraints on time, place, residence, and mode of learning
- a degree program developed by the student in consultation with faculty, joining the course of study to the student's educational goals
- a portfolio assessment process certifying prior college-level learning
- a flexible curriculum incorporating eleven broad areas of multidisciplinary study and modes of inquiry

Figure 1. ESC Learner Profile

Age:	Average 37, range 16-82, 90 percent over 25 years of age, 67 percent between 30 and 50
Sex and Marital Status:	63 percent women 48 percent of all students are married (men 55 percent, women 44 percent)
Race/Ethnicity:	8 percent African American, 5 percent Hispanic, 85 percent white, 2 percent other
Prior Education:	20 percent high school diploma only, 40 percent some college, 31 percent associate's degree, 9 percent college degree/graduate work
Educational Plans:	4 percent associate's degree, 39 percent bachelor's degree, 40 percent master's degree, and 17 percent doctorate/professional degree
Employment:	70 percent work full time, 15 percent work part time, 15 percent retired, unemployed or full-time student
Occupation:	48 percent professional, semiprofessional, supervisory; 24 percent clerical; 13 percent skilled and semi-skilled; and 16 percent are homemakers, full-time students, retired, other
1986 Income:	32 percent less than $10,000, 15 percent $10-15,000, 15 percent $15-20,000, 20 percent $20-30,000, and 18 percent over $30,000
Source of Financial Support:	59 percent earnings from work, 40 percent from grants, 24 percent employer support, 18 percent loans, 16 percent spouse's earnings, and 15 percent savings (Total exceeds 100 percent because individuals draw upon more than one source.)
Enrollment Status:	84 percent study part time
Applications:	83 percent apply only to ESC, 13 percent apply to 2 colleges, 4 percent apply to 3 or more colleges

Sources: Empire State College, 1986 through 1990. (This profile does not include students enrolled in specialized programs: The Harry Van Arsdale Jr. School of Labor Studies, The Graduate Program, and The Center for Distance Learning.)

- continuing development of learning resources using new pedagogies and technologies (most recently telecommunications)

- a highly dispersed and decentralized statewide college organization relying for its delivery on a unique mentor-student model.[19]

Democratic Demographics

For many years, Empire State College has extended access and expanded opportunities for adults to earn degrees. Evidence of the democratic nature of such access can be seen in the current profile of ESC adult learners, the demographic changes that have occurred in the past decade and a half, and a comparison of ESC learners with those of other adult education programs.

The composition of the Empire State College student body is not the same as that at the institution's founding in 1971. The Office of Research and Evaluation has conducted more than 200 studies spanning nearly twenty years and documented trends in the demographic characteristics of adult learners served. These trends reflect the extension of access and opportunity not only to groups historically underserved by higher education but also to adults in general with a need for higher education that is being provided by few institutions.

When the college first opened its doors, the majority of students (about 60 percent) pursued studies full time. At present only 16 percent are enrolled full time. This is not surprising given that 85 percent of all currently enrolled students are employed (70 percent full time and 15 percent part time). Empire State clearly fills a need for busy, working adults to pursue higher education studies in a manner that fits their lifestyles, schedules, and goals.

Women constituted 42 percent of the student population in 1972; by 1989 they accounted for 62 percent. Studies have also revealed noticeably higher persistence to graduation for women of ages 30 to 43 than for men in that same age range.[20] Empire State has provided women with increasing access over the years.

The marital status of the student population has also changed in the last decade and a half. The percentage of students who are married has declined, reflecting the larger proportions of divorced and never married people in society. Sixty-seven percent of students enrolled in 1975 were married (women 62 percent, men 73 percent). By the mid-1980s less than half (48 percent) were married (women 44 percent, men 55 percent). The percentage of unmarried women has remained consistently higher than that of men.

Progress has been made over the years in serving historically underrepresented minority groups as well. In the fall of 1988, minority enrollment levels at Empire State were higher than for the SUNY Arts and Sciences Colleges as a group and the SUNY Community Colleges. In the New York City metropolitan area, minority student enrollments account for 37 percent of the total.

The range of socioeconomic classes of ESC students has broadened, too. Fifteen years ago, almost two-thirds of students' occupations could be described as upper middle class and white collar. By 1985, the occupational mix had changed significantly. Less than half of the students were engaged in upper-middle-class, white-collar employment. Far more students entering the college had blue-collar employment backgrounds.[21] Many more held jobs in clerical, skilled, and semiskilled trades. The establishment of learning sites across the state in such places as New York City, Rochester, and Buffalo has brought an individualized, higher education program literally to the doorstep of lower-income, working class adults.

Comparative Perspectives

The demographic information on ESC adult learners reveals how the college serves not only a heretofore unserved and underserved population but also a more diverse and hence more "democratized" population.

Many researchers have found that adult learners frequently are relatively affluent, well-educated, white, middle-class individuals.[22] Cross states that the "elderly, blacks, those who failed to graduate from high school, and those with annual incomes under $10,000" are severely underrepresented in adult programs.[23]

By comparison, Empire State College's appeal has always been more democratic. The institution has a history of providing expanded access to those outside the mainstream of higher education. For example, since the college opened its doors, it has served a broad range of students from age 16 to 82. It has consistently appealed to students across the lifelong learning cycle. Also, the vast majority of students work. The mode of educational delivery is accessible and complementary to the lives of adults pursuing their educational goals while maintaining employment. It is deliberately designed for integration into busy, full lifestyles. Additionally, the college locations in major urban areas across the state often provide the only higher education avenues available to working class, heavily minority, and immigrant populations. The vast majority of entering students do not apply to any other college beside Empire State. Their needs and circumstances are simply not conducive to pursuing studies anywhere else. In contrast to other adult student programs, Empire State serves a significant

proportion of low-income and minority students and enrolls almost 20 percent with a high school diploma or less.

On the basis of democratic diversity, Empire State College differs from many external degree or university-without-walls programs because it attracts and seeks to serve a real cross-section of the population. With more than 17,000 graduates in twenty years, Empire State College provides an effective model for meeting the democratization challenge in American higher education.

Grapevine Enrollments—The Best Kind of Marketing

One of the most surprising and enduring features of ESC enrollments during the 1975-90 period has been their grapevine origin. Although Empire State learners come for many reasons, data collected since 1975 on the sources of information about the college show a remarkably consistent pattern. Entering students hear and learn about ESC primarily from other ESC students and graduates and from friends and family members—much more so than from ads from staff at other colleges. This trend reveals the importance and significance of word-of-mouth advertising to college enrollment. Despite ESC's more concentrated and systematic advertising and community relations activities in recent years, the most effective means of recruitment continues to be word of mouth. Grapevine enrollments are self-generating, are of low cost to the institution, and tend to draw in individuals most likely to graduate, and the match among college mission, program features, learner demographics, and adult commitment is high.

The Mentor: Democratizing the Teaching Role of Faculty

Crucial to the success of the teaching-learning process is the faculty mentor, whose role incorporates duties beyond those usually associated with traditional faculty and whose primary responsibility is teaching. External degree programs have expanded the teaching role of the faculty in part to meet the challenge of student diversity and in part to meet the challenge of improving the teaching-learning process. The process of democratization begun with student diversity now requires a democratization of the teaching role to meet more effectively the learning needs of adults. Mentors assist students in the development of individual degree programs, teach in their own areas of expertise, and facilitate learning in other areas through the use of tutors and learning resources. Mentors also advise and counsel students on academic and related matters, and retain responsibility for the overall evaluation of student work.

In recent years, alternative educational programs have incorporated new approaches to teaching and learning that are individualized, experi-

mental, collaborative, problem-oriented, active, and involved. Such innovative approaches create a corresponding set of faculty roles that go beyond the traditional, narrow teaching function of the classroom dissemination of knowledge. As Cross put it, even for traditional faculty, "It no longer is sufficient for faculty members to stuff students' heads with subject matter."[24] Even the name for teachers has changed—they have become "facilitators," "sponsors," "collaborators," "brokers," and "mentors."

Empire State College faculty members have creatively enlarged their roles to include contract learning and degree program design. As Clark notes, the elements of negotiation, active listening, astute questioning, and collaborative judgments about what is to be learned and how it is to be evaluated are central to the learning contract process.

> *In order to negotiate a learning contract with an individual in an effective manner, a faculty member must demonstrate the ability to ask provocative questions; listen to what students are really saying; provide appropriate information regarding the institution; help the student structure an individualized set of learning activities; suggest a number of alternative approaches to the content to be studied; and specify the methods, criteria and standards, the types of evidence or indicators to be emphasized in the evaluation of the student's performance.*[25]

Degree program planning involves determination of an appropriate and acceptable program of study. For this process to work, each student, with a faculty mentor, must carefully assess his or her educational goals, background, prior learning, and level of skill and preparation for college work, the type of degree to be pursued, and appropriate topics of study.

The mentor's role during degree planning entails more abilities than those in the formal process. To be effective, a mentor must be creative, astute, knowledgeable about a wide variety of curricula and degree requirements, and attuned to the cultural, economic, social, and political values of society.

Mentors, then, must be knowledgeable about a wide range of academic disciplines. They must understand disciplinary modes of inquiry and possess a repertoire of effective approaches to engage adult learners in their study. Mentors serve as expert advisors, resource brokers, and curricular planners with proven abilities to link the adult learner to the academic world; yet they are not "curricular czars" or omniscient guides who predetermine what and how adult learners acquire their degrees. The curriculum planning process they use is individually negotiated and tailored to each adult learner as well as to the requirements of each program of study.

Mentors also consult on program design issues with other faculty and draw upon an extensive bank of adjunct faculty and tutors statewide to assist students.

As the teaching role of the faculty in alternative programs becomes more democratized, faculty members also take on new dimensions in the advising and counseling process. Effective mentoring and advising requires an understanding of the phases of adult development—including turning points and role changes, stress, fear and trust, stock-taking, shift in time perspective and locus of control, aging—appropriate intervention strategies, and special counseling skills involving creative listening, life planning, and effective communication.[26] Mentors who have acquired such understandings, knowledge, and skills in advising have expanded their responsibilities and opportunities considerably beyond the traditional instructional/advisory role.

Because the student-mentor relationship is so intensely one-on-one, it often becomes very personal, creating specific sets of dependencies and interdependencies. This relationship may be hard to sustain and can be taxing to both student and mentor, infusing the advising process with emotionally laden issues, sometimes with long-term educational consequences. Placing educational matters in the context of adult development is important, but it is equally important that faculty who work closely with students not be expected to conduct therapy. A developmentally conscious faculty member, however, will be sensitive to the educational and personal needs of adults, recognize the developmental tasks ahead, and use the educational process to enhance adult learning.[27]

Location, Location, Location . . . The Setting for Adult Learning

Empire State College is a single statewide institution with no campus. Rather than bring the student to a single location, Empire State instead maintains regional centers and units in sizes and locations that bring the advisement, instruction, and evaluation sites as close to the learner as possible. Each of the more than 45 locations offers the entire academic program of the college. In addition, mentors can adapt particular programs to local situations. Furthermore, the college establishes, in response to particular needs, special-focus centers and programs. The college operates two such centers: the Center for Distance Learning in Saratoga Springs and the Harry Van Arsdale, Jr. School of Labor Studies in New York City.

From its beginning, Empire State College sought to deliver its program statewide at locations where unserved and underserved adults resided. To maintain its geographical flexibility, the college leases or rents

facilities and establishes offices on existing SUNY campuses or in state office buildings. On-site learning has been extended in recent years to businesses, labor unions, government agencies, and community organizations that have expressed interest in it and for which academic and fiscal resources have been secured and college faculty brought in to deliver the program. The motto "location, location, location" applies as aptly to adult learning as it does to real estate.

Enhancing Work-Based Learning: Building Competencies for the Year 2000

Empire State College not only brings learning programs to the work site, but also offers learning programs that enhance work skills. Almost all ESC students (over 85 percent) are employed. Study at ESC gives busy adults the flexibility to pursue study while maintaining a job—another "democratizing" feature of ESC.

A key feature of ESC study is the opportunity to earn college credit for work-based learning. Because the average age of ESC students is 37, most possess a substantial work history and considerable professional knowledge and skills. By carefully documenting their work-based learning, Empire State students have a way of enhancing their self-worth while earning college credits.

In addition to assessment of *prior* work-based learning, students can also pursue new career training through contract studies while completing their degrees. By using internships, work-based field experiences, and other forms of work-site studies, adult learners can improve their career skills, keep abreast of changing occupations, and prepare themselves for productive employment in the future.

Looking toward the year 2000 the American Society for Training and Development completed a series of studies pinpointing what needs to be achieved.

> *Education and training are critical not only to individual opportunity, but to productivity and competitive advantage of employing institutions and whole nations as well. Learning in school and learning on the job are by far the most important factors accounting for American growth and productivity in this century and will determine the nation's economic prospects in the next.*[28]

Seventy-five percent of all workers employed now will be in the labor force at the turn of the century. However, certain jobs are disappearing at an alarming rate as the nation's economy moves from an industrial base to

a service/information base. One-half of the jobs of the year 2000 do not yet exist. And the labor pool itself is shrinking.[29] A new generation of education models is needed to provide educational opportunity and work-life implementation over a lifetime. Empire State is such a model.

The future holds the prospect of well-educated and trained workers. Minority populations will constitute the major source of young workers over the next decade, yet these groups have the highest high school and college dropout rates. Women, who will fill three out of five jobs between now and the end of the century, still lag behind men in educational attainment. It is necessary to reach out to these unserved, underserved, and unprepared segments of society.

The Future: Continuing the Process of Democratization

One great strength of American higher education has been its responsiveness to the needs of a pluralistic society that requires its citizens be aware of their own individual interests and values and of their relationship to society and its values. American higher education has been elastic enough to accommodate new learners of every age, serving them in new and old ways to meet their own and society's educational needs. Brookfield argues that the context of learning and its link to the larger community is the dynamic that preserves and enhances the democratization process.

> *The extent to which adults are engaged in a free exchange of ideas, beliefs, and practices is one gauge of whether a society is open, democratic and healthy. If adults of widely differing class and ethnic groups are actively exploring ideas, beliefs, and practices, then we are likely to have a society in which creativity, diversity, and the continuous recreation of social structures are the accepted norms.*[30]

This historic process will continue into the foreseeable future in light of America's commitment to achieving universal higher education. The National Commission on the Role and Future of State Colleges and Universities has called for a "Marshall Plan" to strengthen education at all levels, ensuring that "at least 35 percent of American adults have a college degree by the year 2001." In the commission's words, "to accept this challenge, state colleges and universities will have to embark on an educational venture without precedent."[31]

"Indicator" States

Many say that the future begins in and belongs to California. California certainly has been a leader in the development of state higher educa-

tion. Public colleges and universities in California enrolled in fall 1988 1.8 million students, over a million of them in community colleges. By 2005, experts predict California will need to accommodate 700,000 additional students in its burgeoning system of higher education. Furthermore, women comprise 54 percent and minorities 32 percent of the enrolled students. Public college enrollments constitute 88 percent of the total enrolled students—1,754,000. Fifty-six percent of all students enrolled part time. In terms of the educational attainment of adults (based on 1980 Census data), 74 percent of California citizens had four years of high school, 42 percent had 1-3 years of college, and 20 percent had four years of college. California clearly exemplifies a nearly universal system of higher education opportunities. California's 1990 population exceeds 29 million residents.

In contrast, New York enrolled 584,000 students in public colleges and universities but only 231,000 in public community colleges. Women comprise 55 percent and minorities 24 percent of the enrolled students. Public college enrollments constitute 58 percent of the total enrolled students—1,007,000. Thirty-seven percent of all students enrolled part time in New York. In terms of the educational attainment of adults, New York had 66 percent of its citizens with four years of high school, 32 percent with 1-3 years of college, and 18 percent with four years of college.[32] In 1990, almost 18 million people resided in New York.

The above statistics on the two most populous and diverse states in the nation provide some perspective on the growing need for adult education. As a Pew Foundation policy statement says:

> *Colleges and universities are not just reflectors but agents of change; as such, they are both part of the problem and part of the solution. They must act deliberately, in a spirit of enlightened self-interest, to make themselves and other constituencies more adaptive, more receptive to blacks and Hispanics, more capable of a genuine outreach that stresses product and experience as much as marketing and recruitment. The imperative for colleges and universities is to make institutional investments in the good news scenario.*[33]

Prospects for Citizen 2000 in the Work Place 2000

In 1987 the Hudson Institute published *Workforce* 2000, which analyzed the requirements of the work place of the future. In order for America to remain economically competitive, all sectors of society will have to use fully the talents and skills of all citizens. According to the Hudson Institute, the year 2000 will mark the end of what has been called the American

century; because of this, the challenges facing policy makers in America for the 1990s include finding ways to:

- stimulate balanced world growth
- accelerate productivity increases in service industries
- maintain the dynamism of an aging work force
- reconcile the conflicting needs of women, work, and families
- integrate black and Hispanic workers fully into the economy
- improve the educational preparation of all workers.[34]

All of these policy concerns will deeply affect the character of adult learning today and in the coming decade.

The significance of skill development is underscored further in the Hudson Institute's analysis of the rising skill requirements of new jobs. When the math, language, and reasoning skills of new jobs are analyzed, 41 percent of new jobs require skills of the three highest types, compared with only 24 percent of current jobs.[36] There are enormous changes ahead in the work force, and higher education has a major role to play in preparing, credentialing, and perhaps reconfiguring working America to reflect population demographics—i.e., in democratizing the nation's work force.

The most important challenge ahead for higher education, especially adult education, is to prepare individuals for the year 2000. The nation's future will require not only that its human capital be properly developed and trained but also that individuals be prepared and educated for the responsibilities they will face as intelligent voters, astute consumers, responsible parents, and democratic leaders. As society becomes more diverse and technologically sophisticated, the kind of education needed will involve collaborative learning, interpersonal skills, global awareness and environmental conservation, enhancing diversity and simultaneously enhancing communal values. Parker Palmer contends that *community* must become a central concept in ways we teach and learn. . . . Knowing and learning are *communal* acts. They require a continual cycle of discussion, disagreement, and consensus over what has been and what it all means."[35] To foster an enlightened citizenship in the year 2000, higher education must renew itself with new initiatives to achieve the Jeffersonian mission of an educationally empowered people.

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Chapter 8: Better Measures of Equity in Minority Participation and Enrollment

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The concept of *equity* needs translation into operational terms if it is to serve as more than an unattainable ideal for America's colleges and universities.[1] The Civil Rights Act of 1964, the *Adams v. Richardson* litigation, and recent planning documents of such states as Arizona and Ohio convey the notion that race and ethnicity should not be a justification for lack of access to educational opportunities. In a society where race and ethnicity have no bearing on opportunity, minority groups should participate in the undergraduate programs of any institution in numbers corresponding to their *proportional representation* in the population from which those students are drawn. Proportional representation is an operational test for equity of access. In turn, minority groups should graduate at rates comparable to their representation among undergraduates. *Comparable graduation* thus becomes the operational test for equity in achievement. Both measures must be considered concurrently because comparable graduation rates can be attained by limiting admissions to a minority elite, and high participation rates can be generated through open admissions and subsequent attrition that turns the open door into a revolving door.

Attaining equity depends on improvement of both participation and graduation rates for underserved populations without reducing standards. Although this goal may be self-evident, progress has been complicated by differences in student preparation, in esteem for higher education, and in financial resources. Proportionately more African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans are poor, attend inadequate schools, and grow up in communities where higher education is not valued. Most historically white institutions must develop special strategies to expand the pool of African American, Hispanic, and Native American students they serve effectively, or resign themselves to chronic underrepresentation from these groups. Institutional efforts must be encouraged and supported by state and federal policy initiatives.

In 1985, researchers at Arizona State University, with support from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) of the U.S. Department of Education, undertook undisguised case studies of ten public, historically white institutions noted for graduating African Americans, Hispanics, or Native Americans.[2] Each case study involved the collection of detailed descriptive information about minority achievement from: (1) the institution, (2) the community setting, (3) the state policy environment, and (4) the student. Information was collected by a multiethnic, multiracial, and multidisciplinary research team. Cooperating researchers at the case-study institutions provided an insider's perspective and a check on the accuracy of interim and final reports.

As part of the project, researchers analyzed HEGIS/IPEDS data to create indicators of participation and graduation for African American, Hispanic, and Native American students attending the case-study institutions. Subsequently, the analysis was extended to all public and independent four-year institutions as a way of comparing the case-study institutions with other colleges and universities. This chapter provides an overview of the model developed to explain the experiences of the case-study institutions, an explanation of the approach used to create and interpret state and institutional equity indicators, and a discussion of changes in equity outcomes for the 1980-88 period using the indicators.

A Model of Institutional Adaptation to Stude[illegible] Diversity

The case studies showed a pattern in the process by which institutions change to resolve the quality/diversity tensions resulting from pressure to improve equity. Quality and diversity can produce conflict in two types of organizational cultures: a selectivity culture (low concern for diversity, high concern for achievement) and an open-access culture (high concern for diversity, low concern for achievement). Analyzing patterns results in a model that can be used to understand the relationships among equity outcomes, organizational cultures, and policy environments.

The policy decisions of the 1960s encouraged institutions to choose between access and quality, as these concepts were then defined. Community colleges, historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), and urban multicultural institutions shouldered most of the responsibility for access. The more prestigious, selective colleges and universities adopted color-free admission practices but, outside of specially funded federal or state opportunity programs, gave little priority to including applicants from underrepresented populations who could not demonstrate traditional preparation.

The [illegible]vironment an institution provides for minority participation and achievement is the product of institutional culture. Minority participation and graduation outcomes yield clues to the nature of that culture. Although the beliefs and values that define organizational culture cannot be observed directly, institutional interventions provide an indication of the progress an institution has made in changing its culture to accommodate students who will make up from a third to half of the college-going population in the next century.

Historically white institutions improve participation and graduation rates for African American, Hispanic, and Native American students with-

out relinquishing a commitment to high standards by moving through the process identified in Figure 1.

Until recently, participation rates have been the measure of an institution's contribution to educational equity. Institutions concerned with improving participation rates initially stress recruitment, financial aid, and special admission procedures. Students admitted through waiver of regular admissions criteria experience high attrition when they encounter learning environments designed for those with stronger preparations. To improve retention, institutions develop outreach, transition, and academic support programs. These interventions, especially as they become more systematic and better coordinated, characterize the second phase of adaptation. The emphasis is on changing students, and most of the interventions are carried out by student affairs personnel.

Institutions enter a third phase when they realize that comparable graduation rates cannot be attained in a system that expects students to do all of the changing. The focus in the third phase is on assessment, learning assistance, better teaching, and curricular renewal. The third phase is characterized by faculty involvement in changing teaching practices and curricula to reflect the changing student populations.

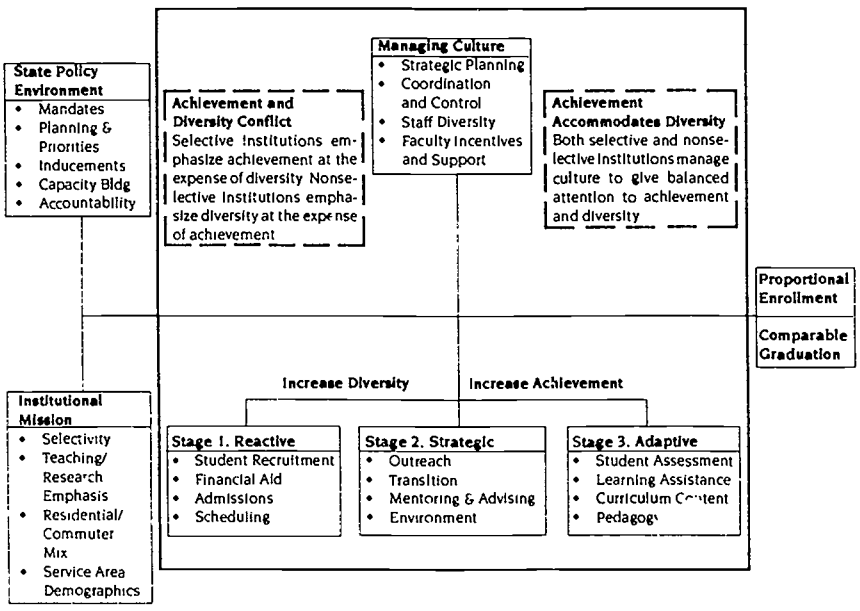
Administrators can manage organizational culture to allow their institutions to progress through the phases instead of remaining locked in a culture that stresses achievement at the expense of diversity or diversity at the expense of achievement. The tools for managing culture are identical to those for other priorities: strategic planning, coordination and control, staff hiring practices, and faculty incentives and support.

Public institutions always have competing priorities. Increasing the diversity of students typically has low priority because it concerns groups either not present or seriously underrepresented in internal decision making. Under such circumstances, institutions are most likely to make diversity a priority if they are held accountable for it by state and federal policy environments.

Outcomes drive the model. Someone must define and measure equity. Discrepancies between current and desired outcomes provide the rationale for incentives and mandates that empower institutional change. Outcomes furnish the basis for enforcing accountability and evaluating leadership. The outcome definitions used in the development of the model represent only one approach. As states develop more sophisticated student information systems, the indicators described below can be supplemented by other measures, as is already being done in New Jersey and elsewhere.

Figure 1. Responding to Student Diversity

Policy Environment & Mission — *help shape* — Organizational Culture — *which affects* — Outcomes



*Student diversity has three major dimensions (1) preparation, (2) opportunity orientation and (3) mode of college-going African Americans, Hispanics and Native Americans share these dimensions with other groups but are distributed differently as a function of historic discrimination and socioeconomic status **Note** Model modified January 9, 1990

Developing Equity Indicators

Since 1966, colleges and universities have reported to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) at regular intervals the racial and ethnic composition of their undergraduate student bodies and of their graduating classes, first through the Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS) and currently through its successor, the Integrated Postsecondary Educational Data System (IPEDS).[3] NCES routinely makes these data available on tapes. The figures, in combination with census data, are used in the following analyses.

There are limitations in the HEGIS/IPEDS data base. The tapes are not easy to use, and integrating institutional data from different years increases the risk of errors. The documentation is sometimes inaccurate and can be inconsistent from one reporting year to the next. Some data are missing for some institutions for some years, which complicates any longitudinal analysis. It is also possible for institutions to misreport data because of inadequate student information systems, and data can be recorded inaccurately during data management procedures. But even with these shortcomings, the HEGIS/IPEDS data base represents the most significant national effort to collect data useful in assessing equity trends.

The form in which the data have been most commonly reported has made interpretation difficult. Enrolling a student population that is 15 percent African American communicates one level of success in a state where African Americans represent 30 percent of the general population and a higher level in a state where the African American representation is 7 percent. Similarly, graduating 25 percent of all entering, first-time-in-college Hispanics has one meaning at a commuter institution where less than 27 percent of all students graduate in five years, and a quite different meaning at an institution where the average graduation rate for white students after five years is 55 percent.

The equity scores for enrollment (ESE) presented here were obtained by dividing the proportional representation for a racial or ethnic group among undergraduate college and university students in a state or the nation by their proportional representation in the state or national population.

$$\text{African American/ESE} = \frac{\text{Percentage Among Undergraduate Students}}{\text{Percentage in State or National Population}}$$

Demographic data to calculate ESEs *came from the* 1980 Census *and a population survey for* 1985.[4] HEGIS/IPEDS *data for fall enrollments were used to determine institutional*

representation. The same calculations can be performed for institutions if service area demographics are known.[5]

Equity scores for graduation (ESG) were obtained by dividing the proportional representation for a racial or ethnic group among baccalaureate graduates in a given year by their proportional representation among undergraduates four years earlier.

$$\text{Hispanic ESG} = \frac{\text{Percentage in Graduating Class}}{\text{Percentage Among Undergraduate Students Four Years Earlier}}$$

Results for both enrollment and graduation equity were multiplied by 100 *and rounded off to eliminate decimals. To simplify interpretation, scores over* 100 *(indicating greater than proportional representation) were reported as* 100.

In a state or institution where a racial or ethnic group is as well represented among undergraduate students as in the population, the ESE equals 100. An ESE of 50 for Hispanics at public, four-year institutions, however, indicates that group is half as well represented among undergraduates at these colleges and universities as in the state population. Where a racial or ethnic group was as well-represented among baccalaureate graduates as among undergraduate students (including transfers) four years earlier, the ESG equals 100. If Native Americans constituted 4 percent of the baccalaureate graduates from public, four-year colleges in a state during 1986 and 6 percent of the undergraduate enrollment in the same institutions in 1982, the ESG was 67.

HEGIS/IPEDS data for fall enrollments and for spring graduation were used to calculate indicators. ESEs are reported for 1980 and 1988, ESGs are reported for 1980 and 1986 (the latest tapes available from NCES at the time this analysis was performed). HEGIS/IPEDS race/ethnic data on *graduation* completions are collected every second year so the choices for lag time in calculating ESG are two, four, or six years. A four-year lag time accounts for community college transfers, and yields results similar to six-year cohort survival studies provided by institutions participating in the case studies.

Assessing National Equity Outcomes

Equity indicators can be applied to national, state, or institutional data. In this section, they are used to compare outcomes at the national

level for public and independent institutions, and for institutions belonging to the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) with those belonging to the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC).

The 1,297 institutions that furnished usable data to NCES for this analysis enrolled 87 percent of the total fall 1988 undergraduate enrollment in public four-year institutions and 70 percent of the total enrollment at independent institutions. Table 1a. compares enrollment equity scores for public and independent institutions for African Americans (AA), Hispanics (H) and Native Americans (NA). At the beginning of the decade, public institutions enrolled a higher proportion of African Americans. By 1988, the positions had been reversed, although differences in both years were modest. Both sectors lost ground, a finding that could be expected from other reports.

Both sectors progressed in enrollment equity for Hispanics, although this group remained the most seriously underrepresented of the three. Independent institutions had particularly low scores for both Hispanic and Native American enrollment equity, reflecting the distribution of these populations as well as the absence of many independent institutions that serve a predominantly Hispanic or Native American population. The enrollment equity score for public institutions for Native Americans in 1988 exceeded those for all other groups. However, these positive outcomes are not characteristic of states with substantial reservation populations.

Independent institutions clearly did a better job of graduating the students they enrolled from all three groups, as is apparent in Table 1b. Hispanics graduated in proportion to their representation among undergraduate students, and Native Americans did nearly as well. The differences in graduation outcomes between public and independent institutions are consistent for all three populations.

Although independent institutions outperformed their public counterparts with African Americans, both groups experienced comparable declines in graduation equity. The equity problem for Hispanics in both public and independent institutions seems to be more a function of getting them into college than helping them graduate once they are there. For African Americans, both participation and graduation rates require attention, but the latter seems more critical than the former. Aggregate data are less useful than state data in understanding the equity status of Native Americans because they combine populations with quite different characteristics.

Independent institutions enrolled about a fourth of all African American, Hispanic, and Native Americans, but graduated nearly one-third.

Although some of this difference may be a function of greater selectivity, it seems likely that the generally smaller and more teaching-oriented independent institutions have some inherent advantages in adapting their environments to serve a more diverse clientele. Many are also sensitive to even modest changes in enrollments and more likely to work to retain students they have already admitted.

Tables 2a. and 2b. repeat the analysis of equity changes during the 1980s for African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans attending AASCU and NASULGC institutions. At the beginning of the decade, AASCU institutions substantially outperformed their NASULGC counterparts in enrolling all three minority groups. During the 1980s, AASCU institutions experienced greater losses in enrollment equity for African Americans and Native Americans, and only a slight gain for Hispanics, so that the gaps between the two sectors had narrowed by 1988.

Graduation equity indicators reflect trends similar to the enrollment indicators. AASCU institutions lost ground for all three underrepresented populations. NASULGC institutions lost less ground with African Americans and Native Americans and recorded a slight gain with Hispanics. By the end of the decade, the two sectors were achieving essentially the same results in graduating those who enrolled. AASCU institutions retained a slight but diminishing edge in the proportions they enrolled. Overall, these results are consistent with those reported elsewhere for the period.[6]

A closer examination of equity indicators by institution in such states as California and South Carolina confirms a pattern of enrollment and graduation equity losses in most AASCU institutions, combined with important gains in both equity indicators among NASULGC institutions. An operational test of the model in Figure 1[7] produced evidence that higher-prestige universities had improved equity outcomes by recruiting students who would otherwise have attended another institution in the same state system. And the lower-prestige institutions had not changed their strategies sufficiently to compensate for the new circumstances they faced. The generally bleak picture painted by many reports of equity trends in the 1980s conceals significant achievements among public institutions by type in some states.

Assessing State Equity Outcomes

The characteristics of the populations served differ sufficiently to make comparisons across states risky. Florida is home to a high-performing Cuban population whose educational attainments exceed those of Anglo counterparts. California's population includes many Hispanics who lack

the preparation and orientation of Florida's Hispanic population. Given the same level of effort, the two states will achieve significantly different outcomes. Most Southern states rely heavily on HBCUs to achieve respectable participation and graduation rates for African Americans, an alternative not available in most Northern states.

In light of such diversity, the primary use of equity scores should be for diagnosing problems and keeping track of progress. However, comparisons using "peer" states may be useful in providing a rough indicator of how effectively a state system serves a particular racial or ethnic population. Southeastern states that rely on HBCUs as part of their strategy for achieving equity might constitute one appropriate peer group. Southwestern and Western states could serve a similar purpose for Mexican Americans. States with large Native American populations residing on reservations might constitute yet a third.

The following tables examine states reporting adequate data and having a population of at least 5 percent African Americans or Hispanics, or 3 percent Native Americans, based on 1985 population estimates. The use of state demographics to calculate enrollment equity scores for independent institutions (which commonly draw their students from wider areas) can be criticized, but a major recent report argues strongly for their inclusion in state planning and policy.[8] Enrollment outcomes for independent institutions, based on state population estimates, have been included here to suggest private-sector contributions to state equity outcomes. A better measure of equity for independent institutions would be derived from data on the race and ethnic composition of applicant pools from which their students are drawn. Lacking reliable data on these pools, however, the population estimates have been used to level the field.

Outcomes for African Americans

Table 3 reports enrollment equity scores for 1980 and 1988 in states where African Americans represented 5 percent or more of the population in 1985. For public institutions, equity scores in 1988 ranged from 51-100 with a median score of 70. During the eight-year period, African Americans lost ground in all but eight of the 26 states. The median score declined by 11 points. AASCU institutions outperformed NASULGC counterparts in 14 of 23 states.

In independent institutions during the same period, African Americans held their own or recorded enrollment equity gains in 13 of 25 states. The median enrollment equity score for independent institutions in 1988 was 79, significantly better than for the public sectors but still six points below the 1980 figure.

The picture for graduation equity was similar but more depressing. Public institutions recorded a median graduation equity score in 1988 of 62; for independents the figure was 67.

Losses in graduation equity were almost universal within the public sector, with 22 of the 26 states reporting this condition. AASCU institutions did better on enrollment equity; however, the results were reversed for graduation equity, with NASULGC institutions achieving the higher scores in 18 of 24 states. The downward trend among independent institutions was not so pronounced but still affected 16 of 25 states. While independents ended the six-year period with higher graduation equity scores, they also sustained slightly larger losses.

The influence of HBCUs (discussed in greater depth at the end of these state comparisons) is clearly a major variable in state performance. HBCUs are to be found in every state in which the combined public sector scored at or above the median for enrollment equity in 1988, with the exception of New Jersey. Nine of 12 states in the upper half for graduation equity also include HBCUs. Among the seven states ranking above the median for both enrollment and graduation equity, only New Jersey lacked an HBCU. Although states with previously segregated systems of higher education have received disproportionate amounts of attention from the federal government during the past 25 years, their current equity outcomes appear superior to most of their northern neighbors with much, but not all, of the credit due HBCUs.

Outcomes for Hispanics

The number of states where Hispanics equal or exceed 5 percent of the population is much smaller than for African Americans, as noted in Table 4. State enrollment equity scores in public institutions in 1988 ranged from 11 to 93, with a median of 58. AASCU institutions have better participation rates than NASULGC schools in six of the nine states, a pattern also evident for African Americans.

In contrast with their performance for African Americans, independent institutions do less well than the public institutions in achieving enrollment equity for Hispanics. The range for independent institutions in 1988 was 14 to 100. The median score was 44. Hispanics rely more heavily on public institutions than do African Americans, and they lag behind in participation rates.

Although Hispanics were somewhat less likely than African Americans to participate in higher education, they were far more likely to graduate. State graduation equity scores for the public sector ranged from 38 to 100, but the median was 86. In five of seven states where comparisons

were possible, NASULGC institutions recorded better graduation equity scores than did their AASCU counterparts. Graduation equity scores for independent institutions ranged from 38 to 100. The median of 100 suggests that for Hispanics, as well as African Americans, independent institutions experienced greater success in reducing race and ethnicity-related differences in achievement.

Perhaps more interesting than the ranges and median scores for Hispanics were the trends. In seven of the ten states, graduation equity scores for public institutions improved between 1980 and 1986. In every state except Hawaii, enrollment equity scores remained the same or improved. For the independent sector, eight of nine states had the same or improved graduation outcomes, while seven of nine also reported similar results for enrollment equity. Not only are Hispanics far more likely than African Americans to graduate, but their equity trends are moving in the right direction. Discussions that fail to consider important differences in the higher education patterns for Hispanics and African Americans may be well intentioned, but they are also misleading.

Outcomes for Native Americans

Table 5 presents state outcome data for Native Americans. The small number of states with Native American populations approaching the 3-percent level makes trend data less reliable. But the table does provide better evidence of postsecondary access and achievement for Native Americans who reside on or near reservations than do the national figures, which typically include many self-identified Native Americans whose higher education participation and achievement rates are indistinguishable from the white population because of similar residential patterns and K-12 educational experiences.

Enrollment equity scores for both public and independent institutions in these seven states ranged widely, but the median score for both sectors was in the low 50s, suggesting that Native Americans who reside on or near reservations may be the least well served of groups discussed in this report. The median for graduation equity for public institutions was 75. Among independent institutions, not a strong factor in these states, the comparable figure was 38-40. The data suggest little overall change between 1980 and 1988. AASCU institutions appear to do slightly better with both enrollment and graduation rates than NASULGC types.

Enrollment equity scores resemble those for Hispanics, while graduation equity scores are slightly better than for African Americans, suggesting that Native Americans experience the worst of both possible worlds. There do not appear to be any clear trends, perhaps because little attention

has been focused on this group. Part of the lack of definition may also stem from difficulty obtaining reliable information on outcomes, resistance of tribal governments to programs that carry even the faintest tinge of paternalism from the larger society, and the federal government's inability to address adequately the education needs of Native Americans.

Historically and Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities

Table 6 reveals the contributions of HBCUs to the college participation and graduation rates for African Americans. The 81 historically or predominantly black colleges and universities (HBCUs) in the data base (6.2 percent) enrolled 32 percent of all African American college students in 1988 and produced 32 percent of all baccalaureate graduates in 1986. The findings from this data base vary with the frequently cited statistic that HBCUs enroll a quarter of all African American students and produce a third of the graduates. Moreover, according to a recent report from the National Center for Education Statistics, the proportion of African American students enrolling at HBCUs had dropped to 17.2 percent in 1990 and about 27 percent of African American bachelor's degree recipients received their degrees from HBCUs in 1989-90.[9]

At 6.2 percent, HBCUs are better represented in the data base than they are among all colleges and universities (3.8 percent). However, the lack of race/ethnic data from key HBCU and other public institutions during the early 1980s make it unlikely that the figures reported here overstate the importance of HBCUs to the higher education experience of African Americans.

HBCUs comprise 7.4 percent of the public institutions in the data base. They enrolled 32 percent of all African American undergraduates attending public institutions in Fall 1988 and produced 30 percent of all graduates two years earlier. Between 1980 and 1986-88 HBCUs assumed a greater share of the responsibility both for enrollments and for graduation. HBCUs make essentially the same contributions to African American enrollment and graduation for both AASCU and NASULGC institutions.

Independent institutions enrolled 27 percent of all African American students in 1980 and produced 43 percent of the graduates in 1986. HBCUs account for 5.5 percent of the independent institutions in the data base. In 1988 they enrolled almost 41 percent of all African Americans attending independent institutions. In 1986 they produced slightly less than 36 percent of all private-sector African American graduates. The public-sector trend for HBCUs to enroll a larger share of all African American students is duplicated in the independent sector. But independent HBCUs do not have

the same clear-cut advantage in producing graduates that is enjoyed by their public counterparts.

A second way of looking at the HBCU data is to consider the impact on equity scores for enrollment and graduation. The national and state data previously presented included HBCUs in the calculations. Table 7 compares graduation equity scores in 1980 and 1986 and enrollment equity scores for 1980 and 1988 for public and independent institutions with and without HBCU data.

In 1988, African Americans were enrolled in other than predominantly black public institutions at half their representation in the population. Representation in historically white independent institutions was lower by 10 percent than for the public institutions. HBCUs graduated African Americans at approximately the same rates as their historically white counterparts in the public sector. Historically white independent institutions graduated African Americans at a higher rate than for their HBCU counterparts.

While HBCUs enrolled almost a third of all African American college students in 1988 and produced almost a third of all African American baccalaureate graduates in 1986, there is no evidence that they graduate higher proportions of those they enroll in either sector. In fact, the data suggest that historically white institutions graduate higher proportions of the African American students they enroll than do their historically black counterparts. At the same time, historically white independent institutions have been the least effective in achieving student bodies that reflect national and state demographics.

This analysis, while differing from some of the claims that have been made for HBCUs, is nonetheless reassuring. HBCUs are a diverse group of institutions, some with more selective admissions criteria than others and some more well-endowed than others. Thus the students in them vary in their educational and financial readiness. However, to attain positive results in enrollment and graduation equity equivalent to the better funded and more richly endowed historically white institutions is a major accomplishment. The similarity of equity scores for graduation between HBCUs and historically white institutions within sectors in 1986 may well be a function of converging standards for achievement resulting both from the influence of state quality initiatives and increased attention to passing rates on licensure exams.

Prognosis

Public policy is driven by estimates of differences between current and desired outcomes. No differences are more important to the future

social and economic health of this nation than the widening gap between population growth and educational attainment for minority groups that historically have been the targets of discrimination. This chapter addresses the need for useful equity indicators that can be calculated from available data bases and reported on a regular basis to those who form national, state, and institutional policy. Reports of underrepresentation and underachievement, however well meaning, can play into the hands of "business-as-usual" advocates if they are viewed in policy circles as alarmists, politically inspired, or simply opaque.

The concepts of proportional representation and comparable graduation provide benchmarks for assessing the degree to which the implied commitments of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are being attained. Progress toward these benchmarks can be estimated with simple ratios using data readily available from the National Center for Education Statistics. Because African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans more frequently lack traditional preparation for college and take longer to graduate, the ratios are in some ways superior to cohort survival studies, although both should be available. The ratios presented here are one approach to presenting simple and accurate information about the journey of a society to a point where race and ethnicity do not determine educational attainment.

It is clear from the equity scores for enrollment and graduation reported here that the nation still has some distance to travel. Even worse, it traveled in the wrong direction for part of the last decade. At the national level, Hispanics were the most seriously underrepresented in 1988, followed by African Americans and Native Americans. Hispanics were the most likely to graduate, followed in order by Native Americans and African Americans. Based on a 0-100 standard grading scale, and summing weighted enrollment and graduation equity scores across sectors, the nation earned a "D" (64) in 1988 for its equity efforts with African Americans, a very low "C" (70) for Hispanics, and a "C" (72) for Native Americans. Although not failing, these scores would be bad enough to cause any football coach serious concern about continuing eligibility.

African Americans represent 5 percent or more of the population of 27 states and the District of Columbia. Of the 26 states that furnished usable data, 17 declined in enrollment equity scores at public institutions between 1980 and 1988. Graduation equity scores dropped in 21 states. Sixteen states reported losses on both indicators. Southern states generally outperformed the rest of the country, largely because of their historically black institutions.

Results were somewhat better in the nine reporting states where Hispanics represented 5 percent or more of the population. Only Hawaii reported losses on both indicators. Eight states recorded improved enrollment equity scores, while six reported either parity or improved graduation equity scores.

The picture for Native Americans/Alaskan Natives was also one of modest progress. In the seven states where they represented 3 percent or more of the population, enrollment equity scores improved in six states and graduation equity scores were up in four states. The equity outcomes in states with larger Native American/Alaskan Native populations were significantly lower than those for the rest of the country.

Any useful discussion of progress toward proportional enrollments and comparable graduation rates must address the contributions of the historically and predominantly black colleges and universities. Such institutions enrolled almost a third of all African Americans in four-year institutions in 1988 and produced almost the same proportion of baccalaureate graduates in 1986. Without their contribution, the nation's low "D" for African American equity would have been a solid "F" for both the public and independent sectors.

Table 1a. Equity Scores for Enrollment (ESE)
Public and Independent Four-Year Institutions 1980 and 1988

	Percent of Population		Percent Enrolled				Equity Scores for Enrollment			
			Public		Indep.		Public		Indep.	
Group	1980	1985	1980	1988	1980	1988	1980	1988	1980	1988
African American	11.7	12.1	9.3	8.4	8.9	8.6	79	69	76	71
Hispanic	6.4	7.3	3.1	4.0	2.5	3.0	48	54	39	41
Native American	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.3	85	75	42	37

Table 1b. Equity Scores for Graduation (ESG)
Public and Independent Four-Year Institutions 1980 and 1986

	Percent of Graduates		Equity Scores for Graduation			
	Public	Indep.	Public		Indep.	
Group	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986
African American	5.3	6.2	69	56	78	69
Hispanic	2.6	2.6	87	87	100	100
Native American	0.3	0.4	76	75	69	91

Table 2a. Equity Scores for Enrollment (ESE)
AASCU and NASULGC Institutions 1980 and 1988

	Percent of Population		Percent Enrolled				Equity Scores for Enrollment			
			AASCU		NASULGC		AASCU		NASULGC	
Group	1980	1988	1980	1988	1980	1988	1980	1988	1980	1988
African American	11.7	12.1	10.7	9.1	9.6	8.7	91	75	82	72
Hispanic	6.4	7.3	3.3	3.8	2.5	3.3	51	52	39	45
Native American	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	86	75	71	63

Table 2b. Equity Scores for Graduation (ESG)
AASCU and NASULGC Institutions 1980 and 1986

	Percent of Graduates		Equity Scores for Graduation			
	AASCU	NASULGC	AASCU		NASULGC	
Group	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986
African American	6 2	5 3	73	56	68	54
Hispanic	2 6	1 9	91	82	82	83
Native American	0 3	0 4	80	73	68	67

Table 3. Enrollment (ESE) and Graduation (ESG) Outcomes for States with 5 Percent or More African Americans* in 1985 Population Estimates

State	% Pop. 1985	Type	ESE 1980	ESE 1988	ESG 1980	ESG 1986
AL	26.23	Indep.	100	100	84	72
		Public	69	65	81	69
		NASULGC	76	70	76	74
		AASCU	85	81	93	72
AR	16.61	Indep.	71	66	60	36
		Public	97	87	80	52
		NASULGC	100	100	80	56
		AASCU	83	65	75	49
CA	7.87	Indep	73	65	73	100
		Public	86	69	65	45
		NASULGC	57	62	55	71
		AASCU	97	73	69	42
CT	7.69	Indep.	65	70	69	78
		Public	51	53	73	100
		AASCU	51	55	78	100
DE	17.05	Indep.	100	100	70	64
		Public	60	63	73	77
		NASULGC	60	63	73	77
FL	13.77	Indep.	87	87	100	75
		Public	76	70	70	58
		NASULGC	91	89	70	60
		AASCU	100	100	61	53
GA	26.78	Indep.	100	100	75	63
		Public	64	62	58	64
		NASULGC	44	44	56	68
		AASCU	74	70	62	65
IL	15.38	Indep.	77	69	78	61
		Public	81	68	59	51
		NASULGC	64	53	45	49
		AASCU	95	80	67	54
IN	7.93	Indep.	45	50	50	79
		Public	86	66	59	52
		NASULGC	79	62	56	55
		AASCU	100	78	61	52
KS	5.60	Indep.	100	100	63	60
		Public	79	62	61	60
		NASULGC	65	55	56	74
		AASCU	93	71	68	53

State	% Pop. 1985	Type	ESE 1980	ESE 1988	ESG 1980	ESG 1986
KY	7.08	Indep.	55	50	68	54
		Public	100	91	63	61
		NASULGC	100	100	62	58
		AASCU	100	92	67	59
LA	30.06	Indep.	85	92	89	89
		Public	77	82	78	72
		NASULGC	100	100	77	73
		AASCU	64	68	82	72
MD	24.50	Indep.	28	29	76	71
		Public	88	79	67	61
		NASULGC	43	53	66	69
		AASCU	100	99	68	60
MI	13.68	Indep.	94	79	72	88
		Public	61	56	60	55
		NASULGC	86	81	56	51
		AASCU	36	33	63	62
MO	10.83	Indep.	87	60	87	58
		Public	55	51	68	64
		NASULGC	81	65	64	59
		AASCU	57	54	72	64
MS	36.29	Indep.	95	86	70	72
		Pubiic	91	86	72	67
		NASULGC	54	54	85	84
		AASCU	100	100	76	67
NC	22.23	Indep.	92	81	79	67
		Public	82	82	83	73
		NASULGC	61	67	79	78
		AASCU	100	100	88	73
NJ	13.55	Indep.	61	68	7[illegible]	89
		Public	83	73	80	66
		NASULGC	100	81	79	68
		AASCU	69	69	77	61
NV	6.54	Public	54	67	95	69
		NASULGC	28	32	100	94
		AASCU	76	89	82	63
OH	10.57	Indep.	80	62	80	55
		Public	92	59	56	50
		NASULGC	70	53	53	47
		AASCU	100	62	62	55
OK	6.88	Indep.	54	100	86	74
		Public	98	100	63	74
		NASULGC	84	100	57	81
		AASCU	100	100	72	70

State	% Pop. 1985	Type	ESE 1980	ESE 1988	ESG 1980	ESG 1986
PA	9.29	Indep.	46	36	74	61
		Public	100	92	63	57
		NASULGC	100	100	62	58
		AASCU	93	67	66	56
SC	30.34	Indep.	100	85	100	67
		Public	51	52	94	91
		NASULGC	58	59	96	89
		AASCU	32	36	77	86
TN	16.06	Indep.	85	95	60	60
		Public	94	86	84	62
		NASULGC	100	100	77	64
		AASCU	75	68	86	60
TX	11.65	Indep.	82	69	68	54
		Public	71	74	59	58
		NASULGC	84	78	69	66
		AASCU	87	87	54	53
VA	19.13	Indep.	100	100	78	92
		Public	84	79	61	57
		NASULGC	87	75	69	69
		AASCU	91	85	59	52

Note: States or institutional groupings (public, independent, AASCU, NASULGC) were excluded from the table when data was missing or incomplete, preventing the calculation of ESE or ESG scores. New York and Washington, D.C. are omitted from Table 3.

Table 4. Enrollment (ESE) and Graduation (ESG) Outcomes for States with Five Percent or more Hispanics* in 1985 Population Estimates

State	% Pop. 1985	Type	ESE 1980	ESE 1988	ESG 1980	ESG 1986
AZ	16.70	Indep.	14	38	14	100
		Public	29	41	100	100
		NASULGC	28	41	100	100
		AASCU	32	38	99	100
CA	22.28	Indep.	34	35	94	100
		Public	43	49	87	83
		NASULGC	31	46	78	100
		AASCU	48	51	93	81
CO	11.86	Indep.	30	38	100	100
		Public	45	51	54	66
		NASULGC	26	30	52	86
		AASCU	57	65	62	68
FL	9.70	Indep.	100	100	100	100
		Public	67	93	100	100
		NASULGC	40	48	100	100
		AASCU	25	37	100	100
HI	6.88	Indep.	23	44	15	31
		Public	31	11	84	38
		NASULGC	18	11	100	58
IL	6.54	Indep.	52	56	100	100
		Public	47	52	74	85
		NASULGC	60	68	61	81
		AASCU	36	40	91	88
NJ	7 58	Indep.	69	68	85	100
		Public	70	82	85	95
		NASULGC	64	81	100	100
		AASCU	72	82	78	89
NM	37.95	Indep.	83	68	83	73
		Public	71	71	84	88
		NASULGC	75	70	85	84
		AASCU	100	100	92	100
NV	7 44	Public	35	58	100	78
		NASULGC	25	38	100	100
		AASCU	44	72	100	65
TX	22 51	Indep.	38	42	94	89
		Public	53	61	92	86
		NASULGC	29	36	100	100
		AASCU	67	73	89	80

Note: States or institutional groupings (public, independent, AASCU, NASULGC) were excluded from the table when data was missing or incomplete, preventing the calculation of ESE or ESG scores. New York and Wyoming are omitted from Table 4.

Table 5. Enrollment (ESE) and Graduation (ESG) Outcomes for States with Three Percent or more Native Americans in 1985 Population Estimates

State	% Pop. 1985	Type	ESE 1980	ESE 1988	ESG 1980	ESG 1986
AK	12.34	Public	42	51	71	77
		NASULGC	49	73	75	77
		AASCU	37	42	64	78
AZ	4.82	Indep.	55	57	100	100
		Public	29	40	81	74
		NASULGC	17	25	89	68
		AASCU	86	100	78	98
MT	4.57	Indep.	98	51	74	27
		Public	51	70	48	75
		NASULGC	41	49	60	65
		AASCU	91	100	43	100
ND	3.00	Indep.	100	100	33	38
		Public	45	51	89	60
		NASULGC	40	53	29	86
		AASCU	61	47	100	26
NM	7.36	Indep.	94	100	100	40
		Public	31	41	99	89
		NASULGC	26	32	62	89
		AASCU	23	32	62	84
OK	5.18	Indep.	49	35	80	85
		Public	54	79	65	87
		NASULGC	41	52	72	71
		AASCU	70	100	63	100
SD	6.44	Indep.	24	51	26	38
		Public	22	22	43	69
		NASULGC	9	11	100	37
		AASCU	35	27	37	54

Table 6. African American Enrollment and Graduation by Type of Institution

Institutions	1980 Enrollment Num.	%	1988 Enrollment Num.	%	1980 Graduation Num.	%	1986 Graduation Num.	%
All								
Non-HBCU	348,070	68	341,345	68	38,525	67	35,160	68
HBCU	162,956	32	157,262	32	19,075	33	16,325	32
Total	511,026		494,608		57,600		51,485	
Public								
Non-HBCU	258,595	70	254,711	72	26,066	68	23,695	70
HBCU	112,589	30	100,659	28	12,184	32	10,028	30
Total	371,184		355,370		38,250		33,723	
Indep.								
Non-HBCU	89,475	64	82,634	59	12,459	64	11,465	64
HBCU	50,367	36	56,604	41	6,891	36	6,297	36
Total	139,842		139,238		19,350		17,762	
AASCU								
Non-HBCU	146,405	66	141,899	70	14,684	64	12,913	66
HBCU	74,737	34	63,882	30	8,101	34	6,521	34
Total	221,142		205,781		22,785		19,434	
NASULGC								
Non-HBCU	121,399	66	117,195	69	12,392	63	10,655	65
HBCU	62,396	34	52,986	31	7,170	36	5,705	35
Total	183,795		170,181		19,562		16,360	

Table 7. Influence of HBCUs on African American Equity Scores for Enrollment and Graduation

	ESE				ESG			
	Public		Indep.		Public		Indep.	
Sample	1980	1988	1980	1988	1980	1986	1980	1986
With HBCUs	79	69	76	71	69	56	78	69
Without HBCUs	57	50	50	45	67	56	82	72

Notes

[1]This report draws upon a five-year study conducted by the National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance with funding from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) of the U.S. Department of Education (ED). The opinions expressed in the report do not necessarily reflect the position of OERI/ED, and no official endorsement should be inferred.

[2]The case studies and their application in developing the model are detailed in R.C. Richardson, Jr. and E.F. Skinner, *Achieving Quality and Diversity: Universities in a Multicultural Society* (New York: ACE/Macmillan, 1991).

[3]Reporting the racial/ethnic data on the HEGIS & IPEDS survey is mandatory for only those institutions subject to the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. For the other institutions it is voluntary and authorized by 20 U.S.C. 1221 e-1, General Education Provisions Act, Sec. 406(b), as amended.

[4]Population figures for 1985 were obtained from federal and state census estimates and represent the most recent demographic information available. In view of the upward trend in minority racial/ethnic populations, equity scores for enrollment calculated for 1988 probably contain overestimates of the proportional representation of African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans at independent and public, four-year institutions.

[5]The use of institutional indicators for enrollment equity is reported in R.C. Richardson, Jr. *Institutional Climate and Minority Achievement* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, October 1989).

[6]D.J. Carter and R. Wilson, *Minorities in Higher Education: Eighth Annual Status Report* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1989).

[7]For a description of the test of the model see R.C. Richardson, Jr. *Promoting Fair College Outcomes: Learning From the Experiences of the Past Decade* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1991).

[8]Task Force on State Policy and Independent Higher Education. *The Preservation of Excellence in American Higher Education: The Essential Role of Private Colleges and Universities* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1990).

[9]Charlene M. Hoffman, et al; *Historically Black Colleges and Universities, 1976-90* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, July 1992), p. vii.

Chapter 9: Minority Participation in Higher Education: Trends, Implications, and Imperatives

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Although educational opportunities for minority groups most directly affect the minorities themselves, the implications are equally significant for higher education and the nation. Because the economic future of the United States requires an increasingly well-educated work force, and because minority populations will eventually become the majority, the fate of minorities reflects, and may largely determine, the fate of the nation. This point has been made repeatedly in recent years in government and private studies. The congressionally created Task Force on Women, Minorities, and the Handicapped in Science and Technology concluded in a September 1988 report, for example, that "unless parents, schools, colleges, professional societies, industry, State legislatures, Federal agencies, the President, and Congress act in concert, our national science and engineering work force will continue to erode and the prospects for maintaining an advanced industrial society will diminish."[1] The Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life, co-chaired by former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, concluded in a May 1988 report that if disparities in education, employment, income, health, longevity, and other measures of well-being continue between minority and majority group populations, "the United States inevitably will suffer a compromised quality of life and a lower standard of living."[2]

Population and Enrollment Trends

Over the past decade, the composition of the United States population has changed notably. Overall, it increased 9.8 percent, while increases for every minority group figured in the double-digits. The Hispanic population grew by over 50 percent while the Asian population more than doubled. This growth can be explained partially by immigration patterns in the 1980s. Immigration reached its highest level since the turn of the century, and over 80 percent of 1980s immigrants were from Asia or the Americas, predominantly Mexico.[3] These trends dramatically changed the racial composition of the United States. Minority groups constituted increasingly large portions of the population. Whites, on the other hand, decreased proportionately from about 83 percent of the population to just over 80 percent. (*See Table* 1.)

For the traditional college-going age group, however, such population trends did not apply. From 1980-88 the overall population of 18-to-24-year olds decreased by 11.2 percent, representing a drop in both the white and African American populations. The 18-to-24-year old white population experienced such a drastic drop from 1980-88 that it shifted from representing 84.5 percent of the age group to just over 82 percent. The population of

young adults of other races and ethnicity, however, grew in the 1980s, increasing by over 36 percent. (*See Table* 2.)

This growing portion of minorities in the U.S. population is reflected in the enrollment picture of the 1980s. At the public, four-year colleges, enrollment increased 8.2 percent from 1980-88. Minority students as a group experienced the greatest increase in enrollment, at 22.6 percent, while enrollment of white students increased only 5 percent, resulting in a lower proportion of whites in the overall enrollment for 1988. African American student enrollment increased a modest 2.4 percent during the same years. However, the increase in the African American population was not reflected in the public, four-year institutions; in fact, the proportion of enrollment represented by African Americans fell from 8.5 percent in 1980 to 8 percent in 1988. (*See Table* 3.) This trend of relatively low African American enrollment at the public, four-year institutions held true at all higher education institutions, as African American enrollment across the country increased 2.1 percent, marking a drop in the proportion of African Americans in higher education from 9.2 percent to 8.7 percent.[4] It is important to note a dramatic increase in African American enrollment from 1988-90 was reported by Schantz in 1992 and reported in this volume (Ludwig and Stapleton, Chapter 1, p. 45).

College enrollment rates are one explanation for the relatively low increase in African American participation. In 1980, the gaps between the college-going rates of whites, African American, and Hispanics were not large: while about 26 percent of the white population of ages 18-24 had enrolled in higher education institutions, the percentages were 19.2 and 16.1 percent for African American and Hispanic young adults, respectively. By 1988, however, the gap had widened. The college-going rate of 18-24-year-old whites had increased dramatically to over 31 percent, while the rate for African Americans and Hispanics rose only 1-2 percentage points, to 21.1 and 17.0, respectively. (*See Table* 4.)

Effects on Higher Education Institutions

Enrollment. Because minorities are a growing proportion of the college-age population, their academic and financial ability to enter college must grow dramatically if colleges and universities are to continue to fill classrooms. However, too many generalizations about the implications of future enrollment trends are unwise because higher education institutions vary so widely. Urban institutions may be affected differently from colleges in small towns. Selective institutions may experience effects unlike those

of less-selective schools. Undoubtedly, however, college-going opportunities for minority groups will be critical to every sector.

Economist Carol Frances, while cautioning against simplistic demographic predictions of future college enrollments, asserts that enrollment levels will be considerably determined by whether, how, and when the nation manages to close the gap in college-going rates between whites and disadvantaged minorities.[5]

Whether the gap closes depends on many factors, each eluding easy prediction. They include the effects of federal and nonfederal financial aid policies and funding levels, the actual and perceived changes in the value of a college education for lifetime career options and earnings potential, the quality of preparation in the elementary and secondary grades, programs and policies to reduce bias and unequal treatment, and the overall economic health of each region and the nation.

Some observers assert that colleges and universities are already in competition with industry and the military for students who may be lured away from higher education by the prospect of immediate earnings and career opportunities.[6] At the same time, 46 million adults are being educated by other education service providers—industry, the military, government and voluntary agencies.[7]

Finance. Because many institutions depend heavily on tuition for their operating income, minority enrollment and persistence trends affect the budget of many colleges and universities. Moreover, since these groups are also disproportionately dependent on financial aid, their participation levels will also affect federal and state financial aid policies.[8] In 1986 less than half (43.3 percent) of all white, non-Hispanic students enrolled in higher education institutions received any kind of financial aid. The proportion of Hispanic, Asian, and Native American students receiving aid was less than half also, ranging from 40-49 percent. Nearly 64 percent of African Americans, however, received some kind of financial aid in 1986.[9]

Faculty. Minority underrepresentation in baccalaureate degree programs will decrease the pool of doctoral degree candidates, and without increases in the number of Hispanics and African and Native Americans obtaining doctorate and other graduate-level degrees, colleges and universities will also have increasing difficulty filling faculty positions. An aging faculty and the end of mandatory faculty retirement, effective January 1, 1994, may also increase the need for schools to find faculty members among the ranks of underrepresented minority group members.[10]

Implications for the Nation

If today's minority youth do not become well-employed adults, succeeding generations will be unable to rely on them to strengthen the nation's economy.[11] The availability of workers to fill both entry-level and high-skill positions in the job markets of the future depends on the education minorities receive. Yet the rate at which new people are entering the nation's work force is decreasing while nearly half of the new work force entrants are minorities.[12] The work force thus increasingly depends on minority employment, yet 85 percent of African American and 80 percent of Hispanic 17-year-old high school students lack the language skills to do college-level work.[13] Because the basic skills needed for college and many entry-level jobs are similar, failure to improve substantially the academic preparation and opportunities of underrepresented minority-group members will lead to serious inadequacies in the nation's labor force over the next two or three decades.[14]

Although the nation's labor force is also affected by the educational attainment and employment experiences and options of non-college youth, expanding our supply of well-educated college graduates is particularly critical at a time when "our present scientific and engineering work force—the foundation for U.S. technological, economic, and military leadership—is eroding due to retirements and declining student interest."[15] This problem may become acute if the drain of minorities away from careers in teaching continues.

Minority communities rely heavily on minority physicians, who are far more likely to practice their professions in minority communities than are their nonminority counterparts.[16] If the numbers of minorities going to medical school do not keep pace with community needs, then the quality of health care in those communities will suffer, with attendant social and economic costs to the larger community.

Questions for Policy Makers

Posing and seeking answers to fundamental questions is a necessary, though not sufficient, element of sound policy making. Following are some *policy and research* considerations meriting increased attention:

- *Are policy and program judgments too shortsighted?* Minority higher education enrollment and completion rates reflect generations of social, economic, and political forces. Accordingly, policies and programs to improve participation and completion rates must be long term in design. Of

course, long-term policies may sometimes hamper the ability to respond to current problems, and programs that fail to meet short-term goals may lack political and financial support.

- *Do we have, and are we relying on, the best available information?* For example, do we have needed enrollment and degree attainment data that separate trends by race, ethnic subgroup, gender, age, income level, geographical region, institutional type, and full-time/part-time status?

- *What are the salient political factors and policy debates?* For example, what are the implications of the ongoing debate about the legality and wisdom of race-specific admissions and financial aid policies? What are the effects of immigration trends?

- *What are the salient economic trends?* To what extent do minority participation rates affect and to what extent are they affected by unemployment levels and other indicators of national or regional economic well-being?

- *Is it higher education's responsibility to address pressing economic and social concerns?* If the higher education experiences of minorities are central to the social and economic well-being of the nation, does this obligate higher education to be an active participant in programs addressing such problems as unemployment, crime, and inadequate health care?

- *How are budget policies and priorities, such as the portion of the federal budget allotted to defense, affecting education?*

Principles for Developing and Assessing Future Policies and Programs

The following principles provide a framework for policy making over the next decade:

- *Enhanced educational opportunity for all must be made a priority for the sake of the nation's future economic and social well-being.* Higher education attainment for minorities merits increased attention and financial resource commitment.

- *Minority participation in higher education must be analyzed and addressed in a cohesive fashion.* Cooperation among the various levels of the educational pipeline is essential to increased participation.

- *Educational policy and program decisions should take into account prevailing economic and social factors.* These include, for example, levels of unemployment and the state of health care in minority communities.

- *The immense diversity among and between minority groups must be considered in all policy making.* Policy decisions based on broad generalizations about minorities will lack sensitivity to important distinctions in the history, experience, and demographic factors of the various groups.

- *Success in minority higher education attainment cannot be measured by enrollment levels alone. Analyses of minority participation in higher education, to be meaningful, must measure the extent to which minorities reach their own identified educational goals.* For some, the goal will be the completion of two-year programs that enhance work skills and opportunities; for others it will be a baccalaureate degree; for others, success will mean a graduate or professional degree.

Central Coordination a Key to Success

The underrepresentation of minorities in higher education has origins in social, political, educational, and economic forces spanning decades. The problem therefore requires sustained attention. No program designed to last only a few years can reasonably be expected to tackle effectively the problem's many complex and intransigent aspects.

Although the need for strategies that span the institutional sectors has been widely recognized, program and policy development continue to emphasize either K-12 or postsecondary education, but seldom both. This fragmentation of effort hampers minority movement through the educational pipeline and into the work place.

A new organization is needed, one with minority participation in higher education its central focus. It should be charged with forging connections between various sectors of the educational system and funded through a combination of public and private resources. This new entity should address impediments to minority educational attainment through a sustained effort that combines research, data collection and analysis, program development, technical assistance, and advocacy.

The new unit—perhaps an Institute on Access to Higher Education—should:

- increase over time the proportion of minority group and low-income people going on to college. A possible point of measurement could be the members of those groups attending the eighth grade.

- bridge communication between higher education institutions and elementary and secondary schools.

- be able to generate some of its own income from nongovernmental sources. Perhaps such an entity could be self-supporting if it developed products and services that school systems could purchase as a means of identifying seventh and eighth graders with college potential or advising services for college-bound students to supplement the limited guidance resources of public schools.

The current budget constraints do not necessarily preclude new initiatives. Given the significance of minority higher education to the nation's well-being, creative strategies that preserve rather than drain financial and human resources must be identified and implemented. The questions and principles posed here could be the starting point for a collaboration among public and private policy makers and practitioners to bring such an entity to life.

Table 1. U.S. Population by Race and Hispanic Origin

	1980		1990		Number	Percent
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Change	Change
Total U.S Population	226,545,805	100.0	248,709,873	100.0	22,164,068	9.8
White	188,371,622	83.1	199,686,070	80 3	11,314,448	6.0
Black	26,495,025	11.7	29,986,060	12 1	3,491,035	13 2
American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut	1,420,400	0.6	1,959,234	0.8	538,834	37 9
Asian, Pacific Islander	3,500,439	1 5	7,273,662	2.9	3,773,223	107.8
Other Race	6,758,319	3.0	9,804,847	3.9	3,046,528	45 1
Hispanic Origin	14,608,673	6 4	22,354,059	9.0	7,745,386	53.0

Source: *Washington Post* analysis of 1990 Census data, March 11, 1991

Table 2. U.S. Resident Population of 18-to-24-Year Olds by Race/Ethnicity
(numbers in thousands)

	1980		1988		Number	Percent
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Change	Change
Total	30,022	100 0	26,664	100 0	(3,358)	(11.2)
White	25,381	84 5	21,918	82 2	(3,463)	(13 6)
Black	3,948	13 2	3,798	14 2	(150)	(3 8)
Other	693	2 3	948	3 6	255	36.8

Source: Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1990

Table 3. Enrollment of Public, Four-Year Institutions, by Race/Ethnicity

	1980		1988		Number	Percent
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Change	Change
Total Enrollment	5,175,479	100.0	5,600,296	100.0	424,817	8.2
Non-resident Alien	144,492	2.8	181,838	3.2	37,346	25.8
Black, non-Hispanic	439,764	8.5	450,311	8.0	10,547	2.4
American Indian/ Alaskan Native	29,062	0.6	33,285	0 6	4,223	14.5
Asian/Pacific Islander	119,221	2.3	211,868	3.8	92,647	77.7
Hispanic	197,998	3.8	268,042	4 8	70,044	35.4
White, non-Hispanic	4,243,971	82.0	4,454,952	79.5	210,981	5.0

Source: U S Education Department, HEGIS and IPEDS Enrollment Surveys for All Four-Year, Public Colleges and Univerisites

Table 4. College Enrollment Rates of 18-to-24-Year Olds by Race/Ethnicity

Year	All Students	White	Africian American	Hispanic
1980	25 6	26 2	19.2	16.1
1982	26 6	27.2	19.8	16 8
1984	27.1	28 0	20.4	17 9
1986	27 9	28 3	21.9	17.6
1988	30 3	31.3	21 1	17.0

Source: U S Education Department, *Digest of Education Statistics*, 1991

Notes

[1]Task Force on Women, Minorities, and the Handicapped in Science and Technology, *Changing America: The New Face of Science and Engineering* (Washington, D.C.: 1988), p.3.

[2]Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life, *One-Third of a Nation* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education and Education Commission of the States, 1988), p. 1.

[3]U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1990, p. 10.

[4]Patricia Q. Brown and Nancy B. Schantz, *Trends in Racial/Ethnic Enrollment in Higher Education: Fall 1978 to Fall 1988* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 1990), p. 5.

[5]Carol Frances, cited in Arthur Levine and Associates, *Shaping Higher Education's Future: Demographic Realities and Opportunities*, 1990-2000 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989), pp. 150-151.

[6]Solomon Arbeiter, "Guns, Butter or Sheepskins?" *The College Board Review*, Fall 1985.

[7]Harold L. Hodgkinson, "Guess Who's Coming to College: A Demographic Portrait of Students in the 1990's," *Academe*, March-April 1983.

[8]Hodgkinson.

[9]U.S. Department of Education, *Digest of Education Statistics*, 1991, p. 287.

[10]Elaine El-Khawas, "Campus Trends."

[11]Hodgkinson.

[12]Harold L. Hodgkinson, "The New Demographic Realities for Education and Work," paper prepared for the Alden Seminar, 14 February 1985.

[13]National Assessment of Education Progress 1985, cited in "Melting Pot: Fact or Fiction," Hearing before the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, 26 September 1985, p. 47.

[14]National Academy of Sciences Committee on Science, Engineering and Public Policy, *Technology and Employment: Innovation and Growth in the U.S. Economy* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1987), p. 116.

[15]Task Force p. 3.

[16]Steven Shea and Mindy Thompson Fullilove, "Entry of Black and Other Minority Students into U.S. Medical Schools," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 10 October 1985.

Chapter 10: Building an Ethnically Diverse Institution

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Higher education institutions, both public and private, are moving into an age totally different from any before it. The traditional approach of examining the past to predict the future must be set aside because no prior models exist for charting precise courses for the decades ahead.

Earlier chapters have suggested some likely future scenarios, and all mention one key factor—the demographically changing student populations colleges and universities will serve.

Minorities Are Educationally Underserved

What we do know: Just five years ago, only two of every ten students attending an American college or university were ethnic minorities. That translates to proportionately fewer minority students than were enrolling in the same institutions ten years earlier. What's more, by the year 2000, one of every three persons in the United States will be nonwhite; and in just a matter of a few years after the turn of the century, the majority population will be nonwhite. In the Southwest—Arizona, California, Colorado, and New Mexico—just after the year 2000, minorities will become the majority under age forty. In the rest of the nation, by the year 2025, 40 percent of all 18-25-year olds, the traditional college-age population, will be ethnic minorities. The impact of such changes in population on the nation's educational institutions cannot be overstated. It must be noted that the changes are not singularly restricted to public colleges and universities. In fact, from 1986-88 (see Table I) private, nonprofit colleges and universities were feeling the impact of increasing minority enrollments more than the public institutions. Between 1988-90, the public, four-year institutions reported, larger increases in the enrollments of minority students.

We who are involved in higher education cannot wait 10 or 20 or 35 years before we begin addressing these trends. Many institutions have already begun anticipating what must be done in order to accommodate ethnically diverse student populations. But we must stop just *anticipating* and instead begin *acting* to create an educational and cultural climate that will ensure higher education opportunities for those now demonstrably underserved by colleges and universities.

Planning for coming decades obligates us to review past accomplishments. As Wess Roberts, author of *Leadership of Attila the Hun*, expressed it, "Our vision of the future must build upon the strength of the past."[1]

Unfortunately, not all that we in higher education have done so far to meet minority educational needs can be considered a strength. An examination of educational enrollment and achievement rates during the past several years reflects a large and important difference in success between

ethnic majority and ethnic minority students in colleges and universities, both public and private.

Much of the past participation of minorities in higher education was a direct result of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which made it clear to the American public that discrimination would not be tolerated and that equality of opportunity for persons of all races would be encouraged. As a result, for about a 15-year period, enrollment in higher education increased almost three times as fast among minorities as among whites. Enrollments overall continued to increase during the next ten years, too. During the 1978-88 period, enrollments increased significantly—more than 1.6 million students. But an examination of data on who enrolled during that decade shows that minority enrollments did not increase proportionate to their high school graduation rates, and further, enrollments in colleges and universities by African and Native Americans actually declined during the first half of the decade. Only among Pacific Islanders and Asian students has enrollment increased steadily. (*See Table* 2)

Compounding the concern about the declining number of minorities who enroll in colleges and universities is the matter of the number of minorities who graduate. Minority graduation rates have never paralleled in proportionate numbers the graduation rates of whites. In fact, some data indicate that only about half as many Hispanics, African, and Native Americans will graduate from higher education institutions as will their white counterparts. Even more discouraging is that the diminishing participation of minorities in higher education is occurring at a time when more and better participation is not only desirable but also vital to the social, economic, intellectual, and governmental futures of this nation. Marvin J. Cetron, in "Class of 2000: The Good News and the Bad News," warns of what will happen if all students, not just minorities, do not receive high-quality education beyond what is available today. He notes that today, only 77 percent of the jobs available to students require advanced knowledge of generating, processing, analyzing, and distributing of information. However, by the turn of the century, 95 percent of the valued jobs in the nation will require these skills and abilities; and by the year 2010, virtually every job will require training in information processing.[2] The only way such needs can be fulfilled is through a comprehensive restructuring of the educational system, particularly at the secondary and postsecondary levels.

Essentially the same kind of warning about the need for retooling the educational system, especially in the sciences, was issued by the *Workforce* 2000 study. It said that by the year 2000, the average number of years of formal education required for gainful employment will increase to 13.5; and only 27 percent of all jobs available will be considered "low skill" positions.[3]

A similar report issued by the Committee for Economic Development in 1987 suggested that jobs requiring postsecondary technical training or a college education will lead the list of the most rapidly expanding occupations for the coming decade.[4]

As indicated earlier and certainly as revealed in the scores of studies and reports issued by federal and state agencies and by the national education organizations involved with education at all levels (the American Association of State Colleges and Universities not the least of them), our knowledge of the past is not necessarily a good mirror into which to look for a vision of the future. Even the best of mirrors can have flaws, and no mirror can accurately reflect a totally holistic view. Mirrors are, after all, only one-dimensional reflections of reality.

The Challenge is To Change

One series of studies does attempt to create a comprehensive picture of how and where systems of higher education must change to achieve true diversity in coming years.

Supported by the Education Commission of the States (ECS) National Commission on Minority Achievement in Higher Education, Richard C. Richardson Jr. and his colleagues at the National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance, Arizona State University, published a four-part study in 1989. Called *Minority Achievement: Counting on You*, the study examines such issues as:

- serving more diverse students—a contextual view
- institutional climate and minority achievement
- responding to student diversity—a community college perspective
- the state role in promoting equity.

The comprehensive data, discussions, and recommendations included in these ECS reports all point to one inescapable conclusion: institutions of higher education—community colleges, colleges and universities—must establish as a major and immediate priority in their overall missions the planning for ethnic demographic changes. Highly qualified personnel and adequate resources must be dedicated to examining strategies that will ensure equal access and opportunity for minorities to enter the mainstream of higher education systems at all levels.

None of these steps will be easy. The complex societal changes happening now and apt to continue are far too complicated for any single solution to the problem of how to build genuinely diverse colleges and universities. Further, what is appropriate and functional for one institution

in one region of the country may not work elsewhere. Caution must be exerted in identifying one or two specific strategies that seem appropriate for one region before generalizing those strategies to the whole nation. However, top leadership in the nation's colleges and universities must all agree to accept and encourage the creation of ethnically diverse campus climates across the United States.

In order to be viable, long-term strategies for achieving multicultural diversity on campuses must, at minimum, focus on the following:

- Integration into the institutional mission statement and into all policies and procedures of a clear, firm commitment to providing a quality pluralistic educational environment.

- Development and implementation of curricular offerings and integrity of programs that reflect the pluralism of the region and the nation. Unequivocable recognition of the perspectives of minority contributions and cultures must be an intrinsic part of such curricula.

- Development of awareness among faculty, staff, and administrators that encouragement of sensitivity toward acknowledging and recognizing a culturally diverse population is not only expected but rewarded. All persons associated with higher education institutions must be sensitized to such matters as cross and intercultural communication and integration of pluralistic concepts into all aspects of the campus community.

- Development of cultural support systems and positive cultural environments for all the ethnically diverse groups on campus. Retention of individual and group identities within the greater campus community must be a visible means by which ethnically diverse populations can be encouraged to take pride in their heritage.

- Review of and, if necessary, improvement of the policies and procedures controlling recruitment, admission, retention, advisement, and graduation of ethnically diverse student populations. Such steps must be taken to ensure that institutional flexibility and responsiveness are overtly apparent to all students.

- Development of flexible and functional policies and procedures governing the identification, recruitment, retention, recognition, and promotion of minority staff, faculty, and administrative personnel. Particular care must be given to the cultural differences that distinguish one ethnic

population from another, and utmost attention must be given to equity and parity in the administering of such policies and procedures.

- Implementation of relationships and partnerships with external businesses, corporations, and agencies whose own cultural or ethnic identities may not previously have been acknowledged visibly or positively in the higher education community. Such partnerships enhance and reinforce both within and without the campus community the fact that an institution's commitment to an ethnically diverse population and educational mission is sincere and genuine.

- Ongoing and systematic assessment of institutional goals and objectives related to the creation and implementation of strategies and policies leading to a true ethnically diverse, culturally pluralistic institution. Such an evaluation system must also include a means by which accountability can be determined.

The areas noted above are certainly not the only ones that should be addressed. They do seem, however, to be critical matters at the administrative and operational core of any institution. To neglect establishing university-wide policy on any of them would be comparable to denying that diversity enriches the campus socially, culturally, and intellectually.

Achieving the ethnic diversity that is necessary and desirable within higher education will not be simple, convenient, or inexpensive. Such changes, especially among colleges and universities, which for generations have been bastions of a dominantly European tradition that has resisted radical reformation, will require innovative approaches and attitudes. Such changes will also require rethinking and redefining the philosophies and principles that have guided the governance of the academy, particularly with respect to establishing a clear-cut commitment to achieving diversity.

Diversity Is By Design

What we have done at Northern Arizona University (NAU) is by design and intent, not by accident or happenstance. The principles and programs we have initiated have not been "add-on" activities designed to accommodate the minority populations while at the same time drawing them into the institutional mainstream. In our vision, they individually and collectively help us define and, ultimately, direct the mainstream. Granted, NAU's setting lends itself to cultural interaction and pluralistic activity. Proximity to the Navajo, Hopi, Havasupai, Apache, and eighteen other tribal reserva-

tions in Arizona is a distinct plus for the institution. Location in the heart of the American Southwest, where active Mexican-American and Spanish-American cultures thrived for generations prior to the arrival of European explorers, is a distinct cultural advantage. Moreover, Eskimo, Aleut, and other Alaskan natives have selected NAU as "their university," and the African American and Asian populations have long been a cultural influence in the community. The commitment Northern Arizona University has made to genuine ethnic diversity is totally supported by the Arizona State Department of Education, the Arizona Board of Regents, the Arizona Legislature, and the Office of the Governor of the State of Arizona. Several years ago, the decision was made by the leadership of the state that if Arizona were to prosper economically, socially, and culturally, the educational system throughout the state—K through postgraduate—had to be evaluated and restructured to meet the needs of diverse populations, especially those who previously had been educationally underserved. The three state-supported institutions of higher education—Arizona State University, the University of Arizona, and Northern Arizona University—were looked to for leadership in that evaluation and restructuring process. The result was the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee on University Access, Retention and Graduation, formed by the Arizona Board of Regents. That committee, comprising persons from virtually every geographic, social, cultural, educational, and governmental level in the state, was charged by the regents to examine creative approaches to renewing the commitment of all entities within the state to enhance ethnic minority participation and achievement in Arizona universities.

The resulting committee report contained forty-one concrete recommendations, all with one objective: a future system for Arizona in which the strengths inherent in the state's cultural and ethnic diversity were fully integrated into the educational system, especially into the university campuses, where minority students would attend and graduate at rates that would eliminate the term "underrepresented" from the lexicon of higher education.

The commitment of Northern Arizona University and the State of Arizona will continue and intensify. Future efforts will include studies and suggested solutions for such concerns as:

- Determining the impact of upper-division college admissions requirements on minority student enrollment.

- Examining existing and proposed approaches to increasing the pool of minority staff, faculty, and administrative personnel.

- Evaluating existing and proposing new programs designed to reduce racial tension on the university campuses.

- Studying what resources are needed to provide financial assistance for minorities who do not qualify for need-based financial aid or for academic scholarships.

Ethnic Diversity At Northern Arizona University

The above two sets of recommendations—those addressing specific areas of the academy in which we can visibly demonstrate a commitment, and those concerning the formulation of philosophical principles by which we can chart our course—are neither unrealistic nor impossible to achieve. In fact, my experience in both the adoption and implementation of those principles has been positive.

More than twelve years ago, when I became president of Northern Arizona University, I established an institutional objective that NAU would define, develop, and implement programs putting the institution into a leadership role in minority education in both the state and nation. We have not wavered from that objective. Virtually every major academic decision reached on our campus or through our governing board—the Arizona Board of Regents—is undergirded by the principles noted above. We reaffirmed that objective during my tenth year as president, when I emphasized a university-wide objective of creating an educational climate in which students and faculty from diverse backgrounds would find intellectual and academic excellence in undergraduate and graduate programs. Achieving that objective required a bold departure from the traditional path some institutions have taken, but interestingly, Northern Arizona University is now being looked to and consulted by other institutions that recognize cultural diversity as a strength.

The kinds of activities and innovations introduced at NAU were not earthshaking. But collectively, they are now indelibly inscribed into the philosophic and academic rhetoric of the campus community, and short of a massive revolution, the university cannot possibly regress to its former traditional posture.

Inculcating recognition of and appreciation for cultural diversity are such activities as the formal partnerships the university has with Native American tribes in the area. These partnerships, administered under the rubric of "The New Momentum," commit the university to providing educational and economic counseling opportunities not only to the Native

American students enrolled but also to the tribal leaders and officials seeking assistance.

Our annual spring Honors Week activities have brought to campus distinguished speakers from minority communities throughout the nation. Eminent speakers have been invited to campus for programs celebrating Martin Luther King Day, Cinco de Mayo, and American Indian Cultural Heritage Week.

Through the offices of student services, qualified personnel and facilities have been dedicated to minority recruitment, a multicultural student center, advisement centers, mentoring and counseling, and other activities targeted directly to minority students.

NAU's curricula have undergone intense evaluation, assessment, and revision to incorporate multicultural perspectives. The revisions have not diminished the integrity of courses and programs but rather have enriched them and shown students and faculty alike that more than one way exists to pursue intellectual affairs.

Continuing dialogues and training sessions on intercultural awareness and sensitivity have been conducted within the various colleges and schools. Internal study groups such as the Native American Task Force and the Hispanic Task Force have examined the curriculum and university services and made recommendations for strategic changes. A presidentially appointed group called the Presidential Ambassadors, comprising minority students, staff, faculty, and administrators, has explored means by which the entire campus community can share mutual interests and concerns related to ethnic diversity.

Many special academic programs have evolved that have as their primary audience youngsters from the various minority communities. These programs provide unusual opportunities for students to learn about such diverse subjects as journalism and mass communication, the physical sciences, teacher education, the arts and humanities, and other disciplines.

One program meriting attention herein is the STAR program, which brings high school minority students to campus for an intensive summer "bridge" program that prepares them for freshmen-level study in the fall. After diagnostic testing, the students receive specialized instruction that prepares them for college classwork.

Another successful NAU program is the Native American Summer Arts Workshop. University faculty, in cooperation with public school art educators, select students who have expressed interest in art as a potential career but have never had the opportunity to study art formally. These students receive intensive training in both the theory and execution of art.

At the same time, they receive counseling as preparation for pursuing higher education programs.

In addition to on-campus programs, the university offers off-campus programs and projects intended to give administrators, faculty, and students a different vantage point to view the world. Some have participated in multicultural training projects at nearby Indian reservations. Some have visited inner-city public and private schools whose primary service is to minorities. Almost without exception, those who have participated in such activities have described them as eye opening and enriching.

Cultural Diversity Must Be Integrated Into Operational Philosophy

I am not suggesting that we change the fundamental academic missions of the nation's diverse higher education institutions. The time-honored and accepted missions of teaching, research, and service must remain central. But if cultural and ethnic diversity is to become an integral part of the academic community, the following principles should be considered:

1. The paramount responsibility of a higher education institution is to the diverse public it serves. In all matters, the institution must do everything within its power to preserve and protect the physical, social, cultural, and psychological integrity of the multiple publics it educates. Assurance must be given all persons from all backgrounds that their heritage and diversity will not be subjugated or diminished, and that their cultural dignity and tradition will be accepted and acknowledged throughout the academy.

Additionally, any institution, public or private, must make every possible effort to ensure that the ethnic rights, interests, and sensitivities of those whom it serves are protected and safeguarded. Intense effort must be exerted to recognize and sustain the social and cultural pluralism of everyone associated with the institution, and to foster mutual and reciprocal understanding of the plurality of values interests, and needs of those diverse constituencies.

All efforts should be made to share the richness of the diverse institutional interest with external publics because the changing yet continual obligation of higher education is to communicate its pluralistic objectives to the greater society.

2. Higher education institutions must accept responsibility for sharing their commitment to ethnic diversity with the entire academic community—staff and faculty members, administrators, and most of all, students.

The institution must clearly and candidly provide all persons involved with the institution with statements of policy and procedure demonstrating that everyone associated with the institution is expected to share the commitment to appreciation of pluralistic ideals.

The institution must consciously and routinely communicate its willing acceptance of the desirability of ethnic diversity to all its publics. There must be no equivocation about the commitment of the institution to its purpose of encouraging and recognizing cultural diversity as a central issue in the educational process.

3. The institution must bear responsibility for making its commitment to ethnic diversity apparent in all its disciplines, curricular offerings, and programs. Recognizing that the perception of true commitment will be largely determined by the expression of that commitment in the classroom, the institution must overtly modify and revise educational programs to ensure that the different intellectual traditions and conceptual styles of its constituents are assimilated into the educational system.

The institution must clearly encourage honest, open inquiry that permits its constituents to select from the pluralistic alternatives available. The intent of such inquiry is to permit the sharing of different perspectives and the developing of eclectic and holistic attitudes about society.

4. The institution must be committed to a nonexploitive, honest, and ethical system of instruction, teaching, and research. It must accord particular attention to the providing of academic and career counseling, academic supervision, evaluation, placement, and other assistance so that no person is denied opportunity.

The institution must make clear that it will not condone under any circumstance discrimination directed toward anyone on the basis of gender, race, social class, or cultural preference.

Further, the institution should encourage ethical and moral behavior by discouraging its constituents from participating in any activity that is in any way discriminatory or irresponsible.

The institution must conscientiously encourage, supervise, and support its constituents in their efforts to explore and learn more about ethnic and cultural diversity.

5. The institution must pursue vigorously and earnestly any and all opportunities to develop partnerships and exchange programs with individuals, organizations, corporations, and agencies that can complement the avowed institutional mission of encouragement of ethnic diversity.

Special attention should be directed to avoiding relationships with those who have not expressed a genuine commitment to ethnic diversity. To compel such persons or organizations to endorse or to practice plural-

istic pol. ies or practices they in truth do not support is to invite sabotage. Autocratic mandates, while expedient, do not ensure acceptance or adoption. In fact, visible resistance may result. It seems more prudent to identify and isolate those who are unaccepting rather than chance their dissuading those who are committed. Caution should be exercised before any relationships are established that the principles of appreciation of pluralism are, in fact, shared equally by the institution and those with whom it is associated. To do less is to contradict the commitment the institution has made to its constituents.

6. The institution, in its relations with its own governing board, with state and federal agencies, and with the business and corporate community, must make clear its priorities for achieving true cultural and ethnic diversity in every phase of its operations.

The institution must also make clear that it cannot compromise its priorities. If such principles are clearly stated and understood in advance, complications arising from misunderstandings of those principles can be avoided or eliminated.

The above six principles cannot be overlooked in plans for the future. They will not jeopardize the ultimate educational mission of any institution; in fact, they should enhance it.

Ethnic Diversity Is A Moral Commitment

As noted earlier, the commitment to maximizing the strengths inherent in diversity must extend beyond the boundaries of individual college and university campuses. Such an intense commitment will require cooperation among all segments of American society—public and private schools, community colleges, colleges and universities, business, government, and most important, the general populace. Ultimately, the commitment transcends state and regional boundaries and has the potential for touching millions of lives throughout the nation.

Regional and national groups and organizations intimately involved with educational policies and practices have already endorsed actions similar to those taken in Arizona and several other states. A recent American Council on Education report stated that "an educational experience that does not reflect the pluralism of our country and the importance of minority individuals and cultures is simply deficient."[5] Another influential organization in higher education, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), was a champion for ethnic diversity in higher education long before the cause became popular. AASCU has issued several public statements affirming its commitment to achieving ethnic

diversity among its member institutions, and is intensifying its efforts to focus even more of its resources on the issue.

As humans, as citizens, and certainly as educators entrusted with guiding the education of our youth, we cannot afford to ignore the radical demographic changes occurring in our nation. What's more, our motivation for identifying and addressing such changes should not be economic or political. The commitment is a moral one, and we must accept our obligation to fulfill it—willingly, enthusiastically, and completely.

Table 1. Changes in Minority Enrollment in Higher Education Fall 1986 through Fall 1990

Sector	All Minorities	Black	Hispanic	Asian American	Native American	White	Total
Public Four-Year							
1986-88	5.7	3.4	4.7	12.1	4.0	4.2	4.4
1988-90	10.3	7.6	14.0	11.1	13.3	1.0	5.0
Private Four-Year							
1986-88	5.9	8.0	-4.6	23.0	14.2	2.5	3.1
1988-90	9.9	6.0	13.0	15.4	7.0	-2.0	4.0

Source: 1986-88 changes from National Institute of Independent Colleges and Universities (NIICU) analysis; 1988-90 changes calculated from two trend reports—NCES *Trends in Racial/Ethnic Enrollment in Higher Education, Fall 1980 Through Fall 1990*, January 1992 and *Trends in Racial/Ethnic Enrollment in Higher Education: Fall 1978 to Fall 1988*, March 1990

Table 2. Total Enrollment in Institutions of Higher Education by Sex and Race/Ethnicity: Biennially, Fall 1980 through Fall 1990

Race/Ethnicity and Sex	Number in Thousands						Percent Distribution					
	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990
All Students Total	12,087	12,388	12,235	12,504	13,043	13,710	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White, non-Hispanic	9,833	9,997	9,815	9,921	10,283	10,675	81.4	80.7	80.2	79.3	78.8	77.9
Black, non-Hispanic	1,107	1,101	1,076	1,082	1,130	1,223	9.2	8.9	8.8	8.7	8.7	8.9
Hispanic	472	519	535	618	680	758	3.9	4.2	4.4	4.9	5.2	5.5
Asian or Pacific Islander	286	351	390	448	497	555	2.4	2.8	3.2	3.6	3.8	4.0
Amer. Indian or Alaskan Nat.	84	88	84	90	93	103	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
Nonresident Alien	305	331	335	345	361	397	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.9
Men Total	5,868	5,999	5,859	5,885	5,998	6,239	48.5	48.4	47.9	47.1	46.0	45.5
White, non-Hispanic	4,773	4,830	4,690	4,647	4,712	4,841	39.5	39.0	38.3	37.2	36.1	35.3
Black, non-Hispanic	464	458	437	436	443	476	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.5
Hispanic	232	252	254	290	310	344	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.5
Asian or Pacific Islander	151	189	210	239	259	287	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.9	2.0	2.1
Amer Indian or Alaskan Nat.	38	40	38	39	39	43	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Nonresident Alien	211	230	231	233	235	248	1.7	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8
Women Total	6,219	6,389	6,376	6,619	7,045	7,472	51.5	51.6	52.1	52.9	54.0	54.5
White, non-Hispanic	5,060	5,167	5,125	5,273	5,572	5,834	41.9	41.7	41.9	42.2	42.7	42.6
Black, non-Hispanic	643	644	639	646	687	747	5.3	5.2	5.2	5.2	5.3	5.4
Hispanic	240	267	281	328	370	414	2.0	2.2	2.3	2.6	2.8	3.0
Asian or Pacific Islander	135	162	180	209	237	268	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.8	2.0
Amer. Indian or Alaskan Nat.	46	48	46	51	53	60	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Nonresident Alien	94	101	104	112	126	149	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.1

Note. Because of underreporting/nonreporting of racial/ethnic data, data prior to 1986 were estimated when possible. See the Technical Appendix for a discussion of imputation procedures used for underreported and nonreported racial/ethnic data since 1984. Also, due to rounding, detail may not add to totals. **Source**: *Trends in Racial/Ethnic Enrollment in Higher Education: Fall 1980 through Fall 1990*, Table 2, January 1992; Data from U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education General Information Survey "Fall Enrollment in Colleges and Universities" (1978-1984) and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System "Fall Enrollment" surveys (1986, 1988, and 1990)

Notes

[1]Wess Roberts, *Leadership of Attila the Hun* (New York: Warner, 1985), p.94.

[2]Marvin J. Cetron, "Class of 2000: The Good News and the Bad News," *The Futurist*, 1988.

[3]William B. Johnston and Arnold H. Packer, *Workforce 2000: Work and Workers for the 21st Century* (Indianapolis: Hudson Institute, 1987).

[4]Committee for Economic Development.

[5]American Council of Education, *One-Third of a Nation*. The Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life (Washington, D.C.: May 1988).

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