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JNCHC

JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL COLLEGIATE HONORS COUNCIL

Spring/Summer 2003

Vol. 4, No. 1

In This Issue

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS IN HONORS

WITH ESSAYS BY:

CELESTE CAMPBELL

ANNE N. RINN

DANIEL R. GRANGAARD

PETER J. LONGO
JOHN FALCONER

JUDITH HILTNER

MATTHEW KRUER

A PUBLICATION OF THE



NATIONAL COLLEGIATE
HONORS COUNCIL



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JOURNAL OF THE
NATIONAL COLLEGIATE HONORS COUNCIL

A PUBLICATION OF THE NATIONAL COLLEGIATE HONORS COUNCIL

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS IN HONORS

JOURNAL EDITORS

ADA LONG

DAIL MULLINS

RUSTY RUSHTON

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA AT BIRMINGHAM

The National Collegiate Honors Council is an association of faculty, students, and others interested in honors education. *Donzell Lee*, **President**, Alcorn State University; *Norm Weiner*, **President-Elect**, State University of New York at Oswego; *Virginia McCombs*, **Vice President**, Oklahoma City University; *Liz Beck*, **Executive Secretary/Treasurer**, Iowa State University; *Rosalie Otero*, **Immediate Past President**, University of New Mexico. **Executive Committee:** *Ronald Brandolini*, Valencia Community College; *Kate Bruce*, University of North Carolina, Wilmington; *Celeste Campbell*, Oklahoma State University; *Ashley Carlson*, Chapman University; *Bruce Carter*, Syracuse University; *Adam D'Antonio*, Long Island University, C. W. Post; *Lydia Daniel*, Hillsborough Community College; *Michael Gale*, University of Florida; *Maggie Hill*, Oklahoma State University; *Tolulope Olowomeye*, Ball State University; *Sophia Ortiz*, Long Island University, Brooklyn; *Nancy Poulson*, Florida Atlantic University; *Jack Rhodes*, The Citadel; *Ricki Shine*, SUNY Buffalo; *Charlie Slavin*, University of Maine; *John Zubizarreta*, Columbia College.

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Journal of the National Collegiate Honors Council is a refereed periodical publishing scholarly articles on honors education. The journal uses a double-blind peer review process. Articles may include analyses of trends in teaching methodology, articles on interdisciplinary efforts, discussions of problems common to honors programs, items on the national higher education agenda, and presentations of emergent issues relevant to honors education. Submissions may be forwarded in hard copy, on disk, or as an e-mail attachment. Submissions and inquiries should be directed to: Ada Long / JNCHC / UAB Honors Program / HOH / 1530 3rd Avenue South/Birmingham, AL 35294-4450 / Phone: (205) 934-3228 / Fax: (205) 975-5493 / E-mail: adalong@uab.edu.

DEADLINES

March 1 (for spring/summer issue); September 1 (for fall/winter issue).

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Cover photography by Dr. Michael Neilson

CALL FOR PAPERS

The *Journal of the National Collegiate Honors Council* is now accepting submissions for the Fall/Winter 2003-2004 issue, which will focus on the broad theme "Multi-perspectivism in Honors." We are interested in articles that explore the value as well as the challenges of multi-perspectivism in student and/or faculty populations, admissions, scholarships, curricula, programs administration, and extracurricular activities.

The deadline for submission is September 1, 2003.

The following issue (**deadline: March 1, 2004**) will be a general-interest issue that includes a "Forum" section on the question "What is Scholarship in Honors?"

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

1. We prefer to receive material by e-mail attachment but will also accept disk or hard copy. We will not accept material by fax.
2. The documentation style can be whatever is appropriate to the author's primary discipline or approach (MLA, APA, etc.), but please avoid footnotes. Internal citation is preferred; end notes are acceptable.
3. There are no minimum or maximum length requirements; the length should be dictated by the topic and its most effective presentation.
4. Accepted essays will be edited for grammatical and typographical errors and for obvious infelicities of style or presentation. Variations in matters such as "honors" or "Honors," "1970s" or "1970's," and the inclusion or exclusion of a comma before "and" in a list will usually be left to the author's discretion.
5. Submissions and inquiries should be directed to:

Ada Long
JNCHC
UAB Honors Program
1530 3rd Avenue South
Birmingham, AL 35294-4450
E-mail: adalong@uab.edu

DEDICATION



JOHN PORTZ

Few people have invested so much of themselves – their learning, their creativity, their energy – in any professional association as did John Portz. Together with his wife, Edythe, they virtually adopted students, helping them with encouragement, financial support, and constant attention. On his own campus, the University of Maryland-College Park, John was a legend – winner of an Outstanding Teacher Award, director of Honors superb, and legendary teacher of English.

We in the National Collegiate Honors Council came to rely on his endless ability to invent and give life to the organization as its President, as its Executive Secretary Treasurer, as a member of the Executive Committee many times over, as editor of the newsletter. His participation in the Northeast Region of NCHC was no different: he was the wordmaster who coined, after having helped create the National Honors Semesters, the spinoff developed in his own region that he called “Sleeping Bag Seminars,” student-led weekend immersion experiences akin to the Semesters’ explorations. A Harvard graduate, he may have invented the Honors Professorship, a tenure-track faculty appointment outside the traditional departmental domain.

Watching him think, say on the Honors Semesters Committee, was like witnessing a kaleidoscope in motion. All the pieces were there, colorful and combining and always changing. Open to suggestion and very playful, he created the musical interludes at national meetings (the Braid-Portz Cotillion in Atlanta, 1978, celebrated the Braid Presidency but spawned an on-going series of musical interactions that have been with NCHC ever since); he instigated the Idea Exchange (called Idea Market

originally); he and Edythe sponsored the Portz Grant and gave the first Portz Scholarships to prime the regional pumps for successful applicants to Honors Semesters; he advocated and fought for NCHC's sponsorship of the NCUR and publications that feature undergraduate student writing.

The spirit of venturesomeness and serendipity that characterized all he did remains with us in ways we cannot begin to name. His generosity of spirit can hardly be matched. This issue is not the first, and probably not the last, to remind us of how very much of himself and his entire life he gave to us all.

—Bernice Braid, *President 1978*

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

ADA LONG

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA AT BIRMINGHAM

This issue of JNCHC begins with the quandary of inconsistent rewards for honors teaching and administration within the academic hierarchy of tenure, promotion, and salary ranges. The uncertain rewards of honors for faculty and administrators make an interesting lead-in to a series of articles about the traditional and changing nature of honors students and programs, including the roots of American honors programs in the Oxford experiences of Rhodes scholars, the personality characteristics of honors students in a two-year college, the access issues raised by increasing numbers of immigrants in public university systems, and field-based courses designed to prepare students for the world of work. These essays represent the wide range of ways we conceptualize honors, from elitist to egalitarian, and perhaps this heterogeneity reflects the varying rewards for teaching and administering in honors. Whatever our concepts about honors and rewards, however, what we value in honors is the opportunity to work with smart and engaging students. Our final essay, therefore, an excellent study of Pilgrim culture in 1616 during the epidemic that wiped out most of the Native American populations in the northeast, reminds us of the joys of honors education, especially the privilege of working with students engaged in serious and exciting research. Chances are, therefore, that honors will continue to attract excellent faculty and administrators whether they are rewarded or not.

Still, the issue of rewards for work in honors is a vexing one. Celeste Campbell has provided a provocative study of the educational value of honors in relation to its career value for teachers and administrators. Honors programs are widely acknowledged by institutional leaders, as well as the faculty and students involved in them, to be significant benefits to the prestige as well as academic excellence of colleges and universities. The importance of honors programs as criteria for admission to Phi Beta Kappa, for instance, and the obvious benefits they provide in public relations and admissions have led to consistent expansion of honors programs throughout the past four decades. Furthermore, faculty typically report high satisfaction with teaching in honors. The question is whether the importance of honors education has translated into professional as well as educational rewards for those who provide it. While the answer to this question is not altogether encouraging, Campbell provides some hope for change and also some recommendations for effecting this change. A larger study based on her methodology and findings would be an especially welcome contribution to this journal and to honors. Success stories such as those at the University of New Mexico, which now has two faculty members as well as the director tenured in honors, point the way toward a stronger correlation between the value and rewards of honors.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Anne N. Rinn offers fascinating research on the origins of honors education in the Oxford experiences transported back to America by Rhodes scholars, especially Frank Aydelotte. Many of the American honors programs thus inspired by Oxford via Rhodes scholars are completing the circuit by sending honors students to Oxford also via “the Rhodes.” Current Rhodes scholars from American honors programs often find the tutorials and comprehensive examinations at Oxford reminiscent of their honors experiences. Although few American universities encourage or allow as much autonomy to undergraduates as Oxford does, many honors programs assume a similarly high level of individual initiative and independent research. Rinn has provided an important insight not only into the history of honors education but also its character.

While many readers of Rinn's essay will find the model of education she describes there consonant with their own honors programs, others might find a dramatic contrast to their own honors students and curricula, as the subsequent essays by honors teachers and administrators reveal. Daniel R. Grangaard, for instance, offers a quantitative analysis of the personalities of honors students at the Rio Grande campus of Austin Community College. Some of the characteristics that Grangaard discovered, based on tests he administered to students in his honors section of an introductory psychology course, seem consistent with an Oxford or Rhodes stereotype (e.g., “strong need to exert their autonomy”); others, however, such as a view of themselves as “average in achievement motivation,” contradict any such stereotype of honors students. Grangaard's sample size is far too small to provide a convincing picture of honors students generally; however, his methodology and unpredictable results suggest a possible direction for further research.

An attempt such as Grangaard's to define a typical honors student today is unlike any similar attempt during Frank Aydelotte's day. While the United States has always had a diverse population, the same has *not* always been true of its colleges and universities, much less its honors programs. Peter Longo and John Falconer describe a dynamic shift in demographics at the University of Nebraska at Kearney, exploring the ways an honors program should incorporate and address such a shift. They describe the inherent obstacles that first-generation and minority students encounter in private colleges and research universities, and they describe the benefits that regional institutions can provide through “accessible campuses, familiar surroundings, and challenging honors programs.” While this claim may not be persuasive to readers from non-regional institutions, Longo and Falconer's historical overview of Nebraska's response to a growing Hispanic population and their description of ways that honors programs can adapt to new citizens are useful; they reveal a range of issues and interests that are still relatively new to higher education in this country and that present an ongoing challenge to traditional honors education.

One response to the increasingly diverse demographics of honors students in almost all institutions is curricular innovation. Diverse students inspire diverse pedagogies. Judith Hiltner has provided a description of a junior-level fieldwork course at Saint Xavier in Chicago. Most honors programs today have experiential components both within and beyond the regular honors curriculum. Hiltner's essay provides a model for incorporating such experiences within a junior-year curriculum—a time

when many honors programs need some sort of bridge between introductory courses and the honors thesis. Hiltner provides a study of the successes and failures at Saint Xavier, models for assessment, and ideas for curriculum development—all designed to have practical value to the students. Many faculty members in honors decry and resist the career orientation of higher education that has evolved in the past two or three decades and that seems incongruent with the kind of education that Frank Aydelotte envisioned and encouraged for honors. At the same time, most honors faculty recognize the value of hands-on pedagogies and even, perhaps grudgingly, the value of preparing honors students for the world of work.

Honors education has come a long way, for better and for worse, since the days when it harkened back primarily to an Oxford model, but a superb essay by a current honors student demonstrates that honors programs still adhere to high standards of academic research. Matthew Kruer's essay on the consequences of the 1616 epidemic among Native American tribes in New England won a Portz Prize at the 2002 NCHC conference in Salt Lake City. He is an honors student at the University of Arizona and wrote this paper for a 300-level history course taught by Professor Helen Nader.

Kruer's essay reveals the scholarly rigor, intellectual depth, and cultural insight that all honors programs—however else they might differ from each other—hope to foster. The editors of the *Journal of the National Collegiate Honors Council* are honored to publish it, just as all of us in programs across the country are honored to work in a thousand different ways with all types of bright and motivated students. For the sake of these students as well as ourselves, we are wise to heed the issues that Celeste Campbell has raised in her opening essay; if the best students are to benefit from the best teaching, then teachers and administrators of honors must also be the best and be rewarded as such.

K. CELESTE CAMPBELL

The Perceived Value of Honors Work as It Relates to Faculty Promotion and Tenure

K. CELESTE CAMPBELL

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

Honors programs (and honors colleges as they are called in some institutions) exist to provide enhanced learning environments for outstanding undergraduate students. The benefits for students are many: small and often more challenging classes; access to professors (as opposed to graduate students or teaching assistants); early enrollment; special honors housing; research opportunities; and scholarship money. But what are the benefits for the faculty who teach in such programs or who serve as administrators (directors or deans) of these programs? Many faculty members find personal satisfaction by working with small groups of talented students, but is honors work a help or a hindrance for gaining tenure or promotion? What value do institutions place on faculty work with honors students?

A review of the literature over the last twelve years provides a varied perspective on the institutional value of honors work and the translation of that value to faculty promotion and tenure. These perspectives are included in the “existing views” sections of this article. The “perceptions from the surveys” sections are based on survey assessments of the current perception (spring 2002) of the value of honors work and how this work counts in the promotion and tenure process. For this assessment I surveyed two groups: (1) honors administrators who are members of the National Collegiate Honors Council electronic mailing list and (2) Oklahoma State University faculty who, during the spring 2002 semester, were teaching honors sections of courses or directing honors thesis projects. Eighteen honors administrators responded to the national survey, and 34 faculty members responded to the OSU honors faculty survey. Participants provided written responses to the surveys using electronic mail and postal mail. The survey instruments, composed of open-ended questions, are provided in the appendices.

THE PERCEIVED VALUE OF HONORS WORK WITHIN THE INSTITUTION

SOME EXISTING VIEWS ON THE VALUE OF HONORS WORK

One measure of value is the allocation of resources. Institutions of higher education are committing a significant amount of funds to working with honors students.

PERCEIVED VALUE OF HONORS

An example is Hofstra University in Hempstead, NY, which designated \$1 million in scholarship funds and \$325,000 for faculty salaries to their newly formed honors college. “Hofstra officials see the new [honors] college as a way to kick-start a campaign to improve academic standards by attracting better students” (Burghardt, 2001, p. 1). Honors programs help not only when competing for good students but also when recruiting professors. According to administrators at Illinois State University, the honors program “elevates the prestige of the university, making it easier to recruit quality professors” (Samuels, 2001, p. 29). Honors programs are seen as a “public relations bonanza, producing high-achieving graduates and alumni that reflect on the institution” (Samuels, 2001, p. 28).

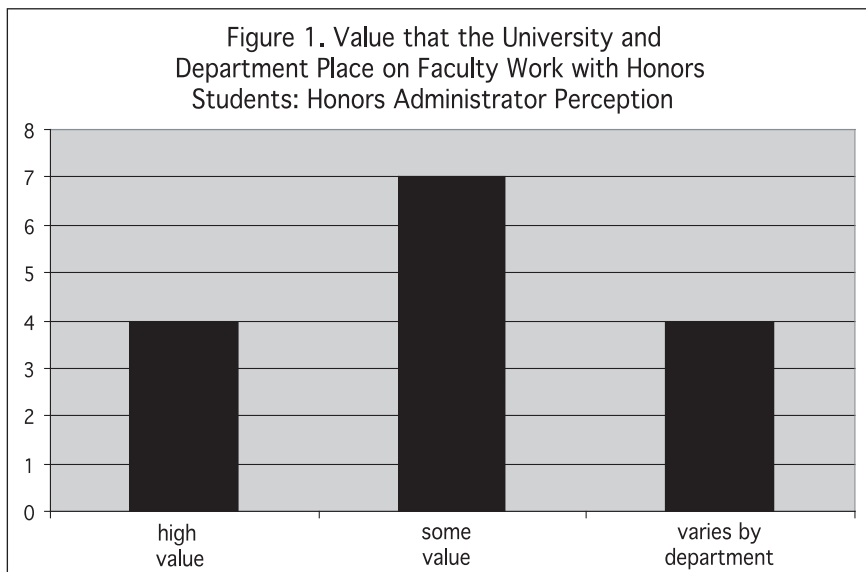
The prestige that honors programs bring to universities is seen by some to camouflage the failure of general undergraduate educational programs. In *Beer and Circus*, Murray Sperber argues that the resources that are pumped into honors programs would be better used in areas that would improve educational conditions for all students. He contends that “Schools publicly promote their excellent and well-funded honors programs and never mention their deteriorating regular undergraduate education ones—as if somehow the flashy honors colleges compensate for the poverty of ordinary classes” (Sperber, 2000, p. 148).

The value of working with honors students varies by institution and by individuals within an institution. This value will affect the tenure and promotion process for faculty who are spending their time doing honors work. The tenure system should motivate faculty members to concentrate on continuous improvement of their teaching and scholarship (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). Honors can be an avenue for such improvement. For example, honors faculty can use the honors curriculum to serve as a prototype for educational practices that would work campus-wide in the future. The honors program can serve as a kind of laboratory within which faculty can try things they have always wanted to try but for which they could find no suitable outlet (Basic characteristics, 2000).

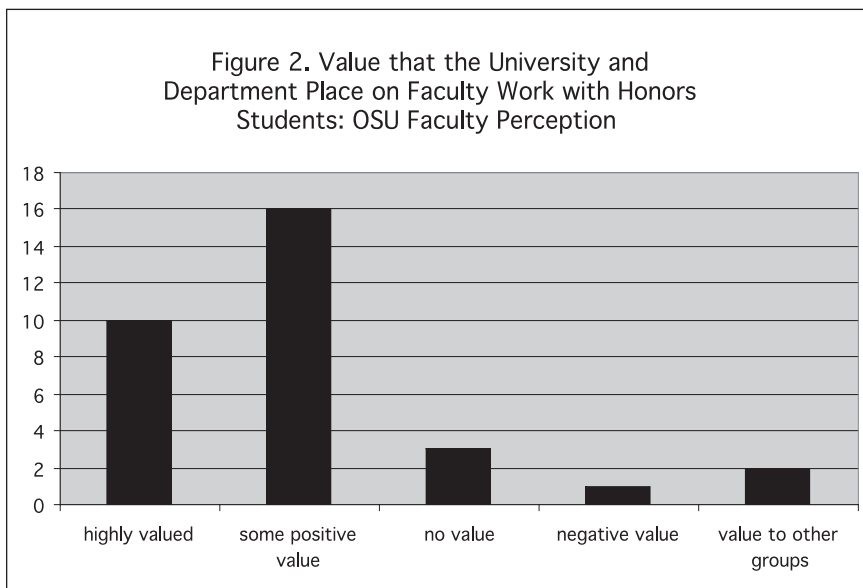
PERCEPTIONS FROM THE SURVEYS ON THE VALUE OF HONORS WORK

When asked to describe the value that their institutions or academic departments place on faculty work with honors students, 4 of the 18 honors administrators who responded to the survey (22%) indicated that their institutions or academic departments place a high value on faculty work with honors students (see Figure 1). Seven (39%) indicated some value, and four (22%) said that the value varies by department. Three people did not respond to this question. Regarding demonstration of the value of faculty work with honors students, two respondents (from Radford University and State University of West Georgia) reported that honors work is included in their institutions’ promotion and tenure criteria, and three reported evidence that honors work helped faculty achieve tenure.

Most of the 34 Oklahoma State University faculty survey respondents who are currently involved with teaching honors classes or supervising honors theses think that honors work is seen to have at least some value by the university and by their



departments. Ten respondents (29%) reported that honors work is valued highly, 16 respondents (47%) reported some positive value, 3 respondents (9%) reported no value, and 1 respondent (3%) assigned negative value to working with honors students. Two people did not respond to the value question. Two others discussed value to students and to the Honors College, but did not address the value to OSU or to the academic department (see Figure 2).



PERCEIVED VALUE OF HONORS

Thirteen of the faculty commented on the manner that this value is demonstrated. Four (31%) indicated that honors work is specifically used in the tenure/promotion/pay criteria of their departments (English, Philosophy, Psychology, and Zoology). Nine respondents (69%) said that honors was valued or appreciated, but that this value is not demonstrated in tenure/promotion/pay criteria. Although an assessment of the personal value of honors work was not specifically sought on the survey, several faculty commented on the great personal and intrinsic value of working with motivated honors students in small-group settings.

One OSU faculty member whose response was counted in the “no value” category commented that honors work was not purposefully assigned no value, but that “it has never come up.” In other words, no one has suggested or required that honors work be viewed as an important and valuable activity that is worthy of a faculty member’s limited time. It is the job of the honors administrator to call attention to honors work and to help elevate the value of honors work within the institution. Joan Digby, Honors Director at Long Island University and former President of the National Collegiate Honors Council, stated in her survey response,

I have done a great deal to give honors a good name. I think that is the most essential job of an honors director with respect to protecting honors faculty. Unless we draw attention to faculty working with honors students they will be invisible.

HONORS ADMINISTRATIVE WORK: PERCEIVED EFFECT ON PROMOTION AND TENURE

SOME EXISTING VIEWS ON THE EFFECT OF HONORS ADMINISTRATIVE WORK ON PROMOTION AND TENURE

The faculty member who acts as director (or dean or coordinator) of the honors effort usually performs administrative duties, teaches honors courses, advises honors students, and directs independent study for honors students. Within their administrative positions, honors directors continue to define themselves at least in part and most often primarily as faculty members who maintain strong connections to their disciplines and academic departments (Long, 1995). The vast amount of time devoted to honors often prevents productivity in the “home” discipline, however, and can be an obstacle for faculty who are trying to earn tenure. For junior faculty who are also honors directors, dividing time between honors administration and meeting the requirements of tenure, promotion, and salary recognition is a constant tension and a persistent negotiation (Ponder, 1991).

For the part-time honors directors, those who receive partial release time from their teaching loads to run honors programs, tension can run high when balancing honors work with other academic responsibilities.

Some disturbing research has indicated that a substantial number of honors program directors believe that their professional careers, which usually means their advancement within their disciplines in such matters as publications or even achieving tenure, have been or

might be retarded by their administrative duties; as a result, some faculty members have been reluctant to accept honors appointments or to remain in them for very long. (Ward, 1992, p. 26)

In 1992 Ada Long, Honors Director at the University of Alabama at Birmingham (and 1995 President of the National Collegiate Honors Council), conducted a nationwide survey of honors administrators to discover how their administrative/faculty duties are carried out and to gather suggestions for improvements in the way that their jobs are done. One section of the survey addressed the issues of tenure, promotion, and merit raises as they relate to honors. The trends that emerged from the responses indicate that the criteria for awarding tenure and promotion to honors administrators are the same as for any faculty member: research, teaching, and service. Tenure is awarded through the honors director's affiliation with an academic discipline and department. Many of the survey respondents thought that tenure and full professorship should be earned *before* taking on the position of honors administrator. Regarding whether honors counts in the tenure process, "The survey would seem to indicate that, when honors counts at all, it counts rather little and primarily in the realm of service" (Long, 1995, p. 38). Several respondents expressed the opinion that honors *should* count and that the categories of teaching, research, and service could flourish within the field of honors.

Long (1995) is clear in advising that faculty members who have not yet achieved tenure should agree to be named honors administrators only if there are precise, written indications of how and how much honors activities will count within each of the categories of teaching, research, and service. Without such clarity, it would be wise to attain tenure and the highest academic rank to which one aspires before taking on administration of honors.

In keeping with this viewpoint, Sam Schuman's *Beginning in Honors* handbook, a guide for colleges and universities that are in the process of starting honors programs at their institutions, contends that the honors director should be a faculty member with academic integrity who is well respected within his or her own discipline and by the university at large. The handbook also warns that honors directors should work under reasonably clear contractual conditions, including the knowledge of how honors leadership will affect such career developments as promotions, sabbaticals, and salary increases (Schuman, 1995).

In rare cases, honors functions as an independent academic discipline with the power to grant promotion and tenure. Rosalie Otero, Honors Program Director at the University of New Mexico (2002 President of the National Collegiate Honors Council), earned tenure as a faculty member in the General Honors Program, a department within the University College. Her tenure process followed much the same path as that of other faculty on her campus. The determining criteria were teaching, scholarship, service, and personal characteristics. Teaching was a very important component. Because her Ph.D. is in English, the Chair of the English Department served as chair of her tenure and promotion committee. Other committee members were faculty who had been involved with the honors program. Her colleagues from the National Collegiate Honors Council served as outside evaluators. The arduous and time-consuming process resulted in the granting of tenure and the title of Associate Professor in Honors (Otero, 1997).

PERCEPTIONS FROM THE SURVEYS ON THE EFFECT OF HONORS ADMINISTRATIVE WORK ON PROMOTION AND TENURE

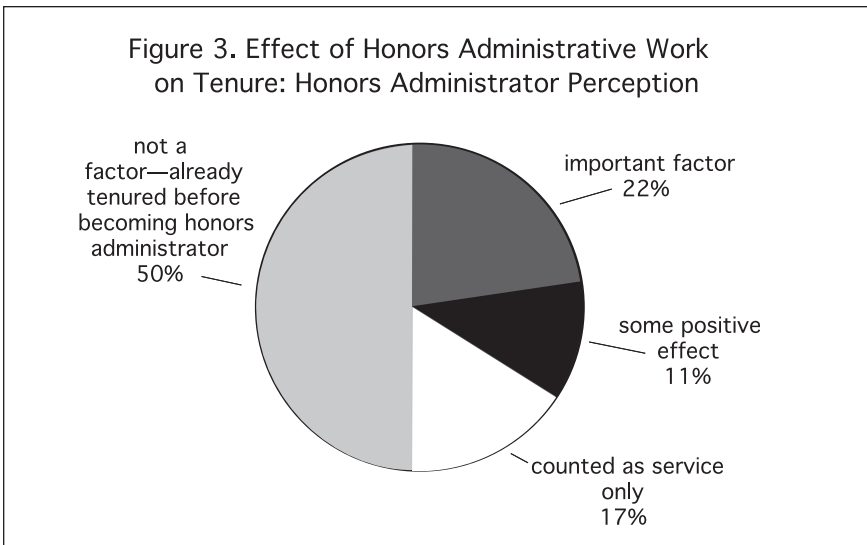
Each of the 18 respondents to the honors administrator survey serves as director or dean of the honors program or college at his or her institution. Seventeen are tenured faculty members, and one is a faculty member in a tenure-track position who has not yet earned tenure.

Four respondents (22%) said that honors administrative work was a very important factor in their earning tenure. According to John Zubizarreta of Columbia College,

Honors definitely contributed positively to my tenure and promotion. The work I have done to promote academic excellence and to recruit and retain higher quality students has been valued and recognized in personnel decisions. Serving on regional and national honors boards and committees and publishing in honors have counted as important contributions to my professional growth and to the college's efforts to win more attention as a strong liberal arts college.

Two respondents (11%) said that honors administrative work had some positive effect on the tenure process, and three (17%) reported that honors work counted as service only. Nine of the respondents (50%) said that they had already earned tenure before becoming an honors administrator, so it was not a factor for them. (see Figure 3).

A few common themes emerged from responses to the survey question, "What advice would you give a non-tenured faculty member who accepts an administrative position in honors?" Six of the respondents stressed the importance of securing support for honors work from the department chair, dean, and other administrators. Five



considered it crucial for the faculty member to clarify the expectations for earning tenure, particularly how the honors administrative work will be viewed in the tenure process. Three cautioned that prospective honors administrators should carefully consider their other responsibilities before accepting an honors position for reasons such as work in the discipline suffering due to the time commitment that honors administration requires. Three respondents advised that, if someone really wants to take on an honors administrative position, he or she should jump in and enjoy a rewarding and exciting job without worrying too much about the opinions of others. Four expressed the opinion that it would be unwise for a faculty member to take on administrative responsibilities for an honors program until after tenure has been earned.

HONORS FACULTY WORK: PERCEIVED EFFECT ON PROMOTION AND TENURE

SOME EXISTING VIEWS ON THE EFFECT OF HONORS FACULTY WORK ON PROMOTION AND TENURE

The university reward system has been a hot topic of discussion and debate for the last few years. Much of the focus is aimed at the concept of tenure—the need for reform and the question of whether it should exist at all. These tenure and reward systems are not conducive to rapid change; nevertheless, calls for change abound.

On campuses across the nation, there is a recognition that the faculty reward system does not match the full range of academic functions and that professors are often caught between competing obligations. In response, there is a lively and growing discussion about how faculty should, in fact, spend their time. (Boyer, 1990, p. 1)

In order for faculty to commit their time and energy specifically to honors work, they must view this work as worthy of their time and should have some understanding of how this work will count toward promotion and tenure.

Honors work should be recognized as a valued part of the faculty role.

Efforts to broaden what is understood as the scholarly work of faculty are built into new tenure and promotion guidelines; and innovative ways of assessing the scholarly role of faculty in teaching and learning, as well as professional service, are gaining ground. (Rice, 1996, p. 34)

In this climate, honors administrators have an opportunity to ensure that work with honors students is included in the new assessment of the role of faculty and in the related reward system.

To increase honors visibility within the institution, Schuman's *Beginning in Honors* handbook recommends that the honors director make an effort to inject honors program work into the institution's faculty reappointment, promotion, and tenure review mechanism. "The Honors Director can certainly send the faculty personnel committee or appropriate administrative office timely letters commending Honors

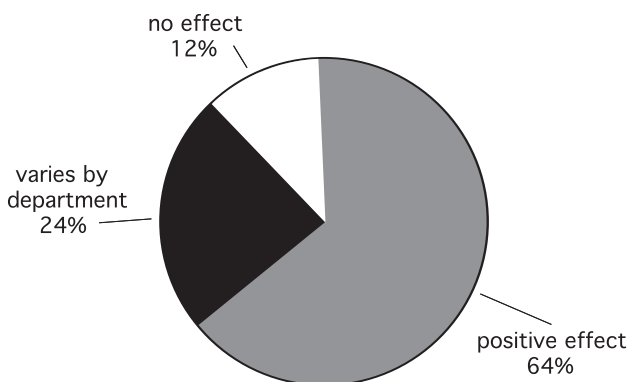
teaching. Honors work can become a factor in promotion and tenure deliberations simply through the agency of an alert Honors Director” (Schuman, 1995, p. 23).

PERCEPTIONS FROM THE SURVEYS ON THE EFFECT OF HONORS FACULTY WORK ON PROMOTION AND TENURE

Honors administrators were asked how honors teaching and the supervision of individual honors work (e.g., contracts, theses) affects the tenure process for faculty who work with honors students at their institutions. Eleven respondents (64%) indicated that honors faculty work counts positively toward tenure at their institutions (see Figure 4). Two of these institutions specifically mentioned work with honors students in their promotion and tenure criteria. Donald Wagner, Dean of the Honors College at State University of West Georgia, said, “Our institutional criteria for promotion and tenure specifically mention honors teaching. It is one among a number of criteria that a faculty member can use to show meritorious work in teaching.” Four respondents (24%) indicated that the effect of honors work varies by department. Two respondents (12%) reported no effect or the same effect as teaching regular courses. One person did not respond to this question. A few directors mentioned that they are often asked by faculty to write letters supporting tenure applications.

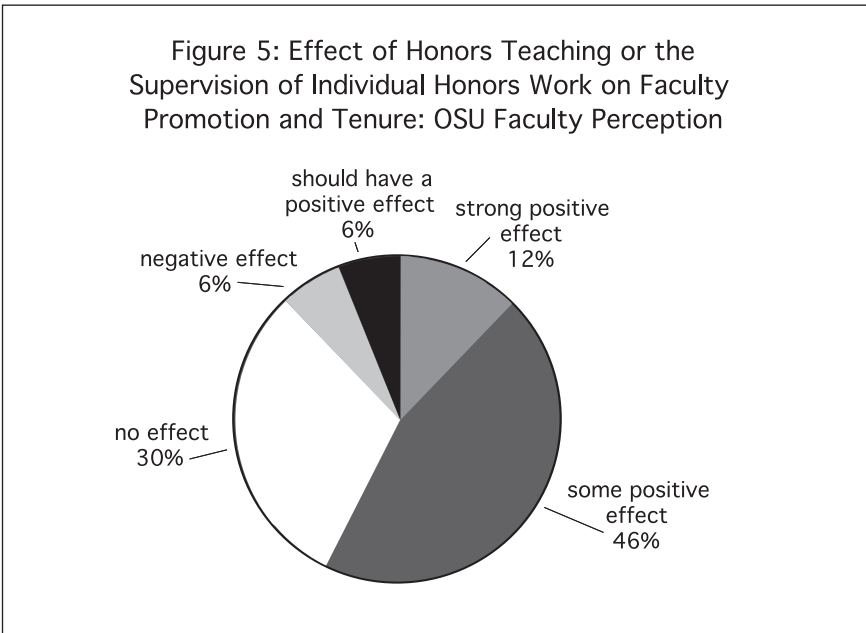
More than half of the honors faculty who responded to the OSU survey think that honors teaching and the supervision of individual honors work positively affect the promotion and tenure process for the faculty who engage in such work (see Figure 5). Specifically, 4 respondents (12%) said that honors work has a strong positive effect on promotion and tenure, 15 respondents (46%) said that honors work had

Figure 4: Effect of Honors Teaching or the Supervision of Individual Honors Work on Faculty Tenure: Honors Administrator Perception



some positive effect, 10 respondents (30%) said that honors work had no effect, and 2 respondents (6%) said that honors work had a negative effect on the promotion and tenure process. Two respondents (6%) said that honors work *should* have a positive effect on promotion and tenure, but did not specify whether this effect now exists. One person did not respond to this question.

Maureen Sullivan, OSU Psychology Department Head, said that honors work is viewed positively as a promotion and tenure criterion and that she acknowledges honors work during annual faculty reviews. Although honors work is not considered a substitute for deficiencies in other areas, she said, "It is certainly one way for faculty to demonstrate involvement of students in research and involvement with undergraduate teaching." According to Eric Anderson, Associate Professor of English, "Work with honors students could sort of nudge faculty closer toward tenure/promotion, but would not make or break a person's tenure file."



Opinions varied within the same department. For example, of the five OSU mathematics department faculty who responded to the survey, two stated that honors work had a small effect on promotion and tenure, one reported no effect, one mentioned a negative effect (because it took time away from publishing), and one said that honors work, particularly the direction of honors thesis projects, should be considered a scholarly activity and should count in promotion and tenure decisions. It seems that it is up to the individual faculty member, with the help of the honors director, to make a case for his or her choice to spend time working with honors students—and such a case can definitely be made.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although there is no single, all-encompassing perception of the value of honors work as it affects the formal reward process for honors faculty and administrators, honors work is perceived by most faculty who participate in it as a positive factor in that process. The variety of survey responses is indicative of the variety of environments that exist in higher education. This variety is evident among the various types of institutions represented by the honors administrator survey respondents and among the diverse departments within the single institution of this study, Oklahoma State University. Although the honors-administrator portion of this study is limited by small sample size and the honors-faculty sample is limited to a single institution, the study provides an enlightening snapshot of the variety of perceptions that exist regarding the value of honors work. It also displays examples of what is possible—institutions where honors work is highly valued and where this value is reflected in the reward system for the faculty who invest their time in honors students.

Further research in this area would be enhanced by surveying a larger pool of honors administrators and extending the honors faculty pool to multiple institutions of varying sizes and types, e.g., public, private, two- and four-year institutions, and those with honors colleges versus honors programs. A document analysis that examines a wide range of institutional guidelines for promotion and tenure would provide additional insight regarding the extent to which honors work is valued in the faculty evaluation process.

The honors administrator can clearly make a difference in the institutional perception of the value of honors work, in the effect of honors administrative work on his or her own promotion and tenure, and in the ability of honors work to help advance the careers of the faculty who teach honors courses and supervise honors projects. This institution-wide awareness can be accomplished by ongoing communication with department heads and other university officials in the form of letters commending faculty for honors teaching, ads in the campus newspaper thanking faculty who work with students individually on honors contracts, etc. The honors faculty members must also take the initiative to make their department chairs aware of their work with honors students, particularly individual work (such as supervising honors contracts or honors theses) that may otherwise go unnoticed.

Another important step to increase the value of honors work for faculty is to see that it is included specifically in the institutional promotion and tenure criteria, as is done at Radford University and the State University of West Georgia. Although honors work will not override deficiencies in other areas, the inclusion of it as one of several promotion and tenure criteria will increase its value and the willingness of faculty to participate.

Lastly, the institutional value of honors can be elevated by active participation in the National Collegiate Honors Council. In addition to fostering a fertile environment for professional development and networking, the Council provides ample leadership opportunities for honors administrators, honors faculty, and honors students. It also serves as an outlet for scholarly work in honors through the *Journal of the National Collegiate Honors Council* and the *National Honors Report*.

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The author can be reached at:
kayc@okstate.edu

APPENDIX A

HONORS ADMINISTRATOR SURVEY INSTRUMENT

General Information:

Institution: _____

Name and title of respondent: _____

Regarding the Honors Director:

Who is the honors director? Tenured faculty? Tenure-track faculty? What discipline?
Non-tenure-track administrator?

If not yet tenured faculty, how does the administrative work of directing the honors program “count” for tenure?

If already tenured faculty, did honors work assist with gaining tenure? How?

Is honors work considered to be teaching, research, and/or service?

Is there room for faculty “scholarship” within the honors director position? If so, is it within the director’s academic department? Within honors?

What advice would you give a non-tenured faculty member who accepts an administrative position in honors?

Regarding honors faculty:

How does honors teaching or the supervision of individual honors work (e.g., contracts, theses) affect the tenure process for faculty who work with honors students?

When related to promotion and tenure, is work with honors students considered to be teaching, research, and/or service?

What value does your institution or academic department place on faculty work with honors students? How is this value demonstrated (e.g., tenure criterion, promotion criterion, status with the university administration)?

K. CELESTE CAMPBELL

APPENDIX B

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY HONORS FACULTY SURVEY INSTRUMENT

PERCEPTION OF THE EFFECTS OF HONORS WORK ON FACULTY PROMOTION AND TENURE

Name and title of respondent: _____

Department: _____

How do you think that honors teaching or the supervision of individual honors work (e.g., contracts, theses) affects the promotion and tenure process for faculty who work with honors students?

When related to promotion and tenure, is work with honors students considered to be teaching, research, and/or service?

What value do you think that OSU and your academic department place on faculty work with honors students? How is this value demonstrated (e.g., tenure criterion, promotion criterion, status with the university administration)?

ANNE N. RINN

Rhodes Scholarships, Frank Aydelotte, and Collegiate Honors Education

ANNE N. RINN

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Rhodes Scholarships enable 32 American students per year the opportunity to study at the prestigious Oxford University in England. Many of these scholars return to the United States to lead impressive careers in the fields of politics, law, business, medicine, and so on. An often-unrecognized detail, though, is the prominence of education as a career choice of Rhodes Scholars. In fact, education is the highest-ranking career choice of Rhodes Scholars and has been since the inception of the scholarships. Education is also the field in which scholars have had the most impact. Many Rhodes Scholars have become deans of medical schools and law schools and presidents of colleges and universities, in addition to the many others who have served as professors and lecturers throughout the United States. Within the field of education in the United States, an unnoticed development exists that is almost entirely the result of the implementation of the Rhodes Scholarships, namely that of honors education at the collegiate level.

HISTORY AND RATIONALE OF THE RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS

The Rhodes Scholarship was established in the late nineteenth century, with the first selection of Rhodes Scholars from the United States entering Oxford University in 1904. The scholarship was conceived by Cecil Rhodes, who had attended Oxford University intermittently from 1873 until 1881 (Mallet, 1927). Rhodes had been working as a diamond miner, later founding a mining company, but sought to attend Oxford University in order to gain social prestige (Schaeper & Schaeper, 1998). He was vastly wealthy because of his business endeavors, enabling him to fund the Rhodes Scholarships after his death. Between the years of 1877 and 1899, Rhodes wrote a series of seven wills which reflected his ideals and general aspirations about leadership and union among nations, the last of which outlined the Rhodes Scholarship (Aydelotte, 1946).

The will concerning the Rhodes Scholarships was published and made available to the public in 1902, causing great interest among scholars throughout the world. In 1899, Rhodes had established scholarships for the United States and the colonials, including Canada, Australia, South Africa, Rhodesia, New Zealand, Bermuda, and

RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS

Jamaica, with a codicil added in 1901 providing for German students (Wylie, 1932). Rhodes' rationale for these scholarships, which allowed foreign students to study at Oxford, was simple. In 1901, he explained, "a good understanding between England, Germany, and the United States of America will secure the peace of the World, and educational relations form the strongest tie" (as cited in Wylie, 1932, p. 291). He wanted to provide "future leaders of the English-speaking world with an education which would broaden their views and develop their abilities" (Kenny, 2001, p. 1). Rhodes strongly believed English-speaking people were best suited to lead the world toward union and harmony. While the peace of the world may not have been secured through the Rhodes Scholarships, the sharing of instructional methods throughout the world later proved a very important contribution.

Rhodes provided these scholarships for able men, based upon scholastic ability and achievement, solid character, leadership abilities, and a proficiency in outdoor sports. Intellect and character were given the most importance, and, while athleticism was considered important, "no man should be given a Scholarship primarily because of athletic prowess, nor lose an appointment for the lack of it" (Aydelotte, 1946, p.22). Rhodes fundamentally wished for the Rhodes Scholars to be men of influence who would serve to better the world. Through education, he aimed for the creation of international understanding, good will, and friendship (Aydelotte, 1917/1967).

While the condition that Rhodes Scholars were for men only seems strange, this was acceptable in the early twentieth century. No women's groups in the United States or any other country objected to this exclusion of women until the 1970s. The first group of women to accept Rhodes Scholarships entered Oxford in 1977 (Schaeper & Schaeper, 1998). Also strange is the exclusion of minorities from obtaining Rhodes Scholarships. Rhodes specifically declared that neither race nor religion should be a factor in the selection of scholars, but he probably did not mean for race to describe skin color. Rather, he meant for race to identify a nation or culture. The Rhodes trustees went against Rhodes' probable intentions, though, and allowed for the acceptance of minority students. Although a black student obtained a scholarship in 1907, no other minority students received a Rhodes Scholarship until 1963. This was not due to the lack of British acceptance of minority students but to the lack of acceptance by fellow American Rhodes Scholars (Schaeper & Schaeper, 1998).

THE FIRST RHODES SCHOLARS

Rhodes Scholars could work towards a Bachelor of Arts degree (B.A.) in one of the Honor Schools or could enter for a research degree, which was an advanced degree, such as the Bachelor of Letters (B. Litt). Because applicants had to have completed at least two years of college or university in their home country, and because most applicants had already attained a B.A. in their home country, many Rhodes Scholars went on for a research degree (Aydelotte, 1946).

Many Americans thought Oxford to be an entirely social experience. An Oxford student was not required to attend classes, and much of one's day was spent in conversation or interaction with other scholars. Indeed, one's choice of college was even more of a social decision than an academic decision, as classes and lectures, if attended, were

open to anyone, regardless of his college (Aydelotte, 1917/1967). The function of the college was somewhat similar to the function of an American Greek fraternity in that it created smaller social environments in a large college or university (Aydelotte, 1946). However, if engaged in properly and not idly, the Oxford man could attain knowledge unavailable to most Americans. Through interaction with other intellectual minds, the social life:

...offers Oxford men an opportunity of acquiring, in the numberless discussions which this social life makes possible, an openness and alertness of mind, a certain independence in thinking, and a readiness, which it is almost impossible to acquire in any other way. Perhaps there is no teaching equal in value to good conversation. (Aydelotte, 1917/1967, p. 8-9)

The intellectual and academic experiences of the Rhodes Scholars, including pedagogical practices like the tutorial system and the pass/honors approach, were unlike anything they had ever experienced in the United States.

TUTORIAL SYSTEM

The tutorial system at Oxford dates far into the university's history, although many changes have occurred over time. At least as early as the sixteenth century, tutors existed more for social reasons than for intellectual purposes. The earliest tutors were not actually teachers but were intended to serve the role of personal guardians (Mallet, 1927). By the late nineteenth century, the tutorial system had taken primarily an intellectual purpose although many students turned to their tutors for social and moral advice as well.

A first-year student was paired with a tutor immediately upon arrival at Oxford, the tutor belonging to the subject area that the student intended to study. Plans were made at once to prepare a program of study, including suggested readings and lectures to attend (Bailey, 1932). The tutor did not force lectures or readings on a student. The role of the tutor was to support the student in his academic endeavors and to guide him toward the successful acquisition of the knowledge needed to pass his final exams, and was anything but "molly-coddling" (Aydelotte, 1917/1967, p.15). The tutor only gave suggestions, with the majority of a student's education remaining in his own hands.

The tutorial system at Oxford was highly individualized. Students would meet at least once a week with their tutor, either individually or in groups of two or three. Each student would have prepared an essay, based on his readings, which was read aloud to the group. The tutor would make comments and criticisms, inviting the same from other members of the group. The session was very informal, usually resulting in a discussion among the group members or between the tutor and the student (Bailey, 1932). The students could not hide as if they were in a large class. Rather, each student was expected to speak and to contribute to discussions (Learned, 1927). The tutorial method was not one of direct instruction but rather "a companionship in discussion or discovery, and the greatest aid to the pupil should be the intimacy he form[ed] with the mind of one farther on the road than he [was] himself" (Bailey, 1932, p.253).

RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS

The majority of instruction at Oxford was given by method of individual tutorials (Aydelotte, 1944; Learned, 1927). Students did not attend classes or obtain credits as they did in the American universities. No courses were ever required, attendance was never taken, and even lectures were not mandatory. "Whereas the American undergraduate takes courses, the Oxford man studies a subject" (Aydelotte, 1946, p.66). Independent work was the basis of the Oxford education, with the Oxford tutorial acting as the foundation. The tutorial did not replace other methods of instruction but served to help the student process information that was gathered elsewhere through independent reading, lectures, and so on (Moore, 1968). The main advantages of the tutorial method of instruction were personal attention and the adaptation of instruction to individual needs (Crosby, 1922), as well as the development of critical thinking skills (Learned, 1927).

PASS/HONORS APPROACH

The undergraduate degree that was given at Oxford during the early twentieth century was one based on examinations and a minimum residency requirement. As previously explained, students did not attain a degree on the basis of courses or credits. Instead, students obtained the undergraduate degree by taking two examinations. The first exam was taken during the first or second year of study for the purpose of demonstrating intellectual competency, and the second exam was taken as a final exam at the end of study (Learned, 1927). A student could take the exams in the form of pass or honors. The pass degree was considered to be an easy attainment and was usually reserved for future teachers or businessmen, or for those who were not strong students but recognized the importance of attending a university. The honors degree was of high caliber and was necessary for any professional career (Aydelotte, 1944).

The development of the pass/honors approach at Oxford began in the early part of the nineteenth century. Dr. John Eveleigh, the Provost of Oriel College of Oxford from 1781 until 1814, holds the greatest responsibility for the development of the competitive system of examinations for honors (Brooke, 1922). In 1800, a statute, originally designed by Eveleigh and several others, was passed that required all students studying for either the bachelor's or master's degree to take a comprehensive final examination as a means of obtaining one's degree. Alongside this examination, "Extraordinary Examinations" were offered as a way for superior students to separate themselves from the rest of their classmates (Mallet, 1927, p.168).

Initially, the extraordinary examinations were not popular among the students, likely due to the increase in standards for the pass degree. Between the years 1802 and 1805, only ten students applied for the extraordinary examinations. However, in 1807, the class system was introduced, whereby the scores from the extraordinary examinations were divided into two classes, resulting in an increased interest in the extraordinary examinations. The First Class consisted of those students "worthy of some eminent commendation" and the Second Class of those students who showed "laudable progress." A third category existed for those students not worthy of special mention but who had satisfied the examiners, thus passing (Mallet, 1927, p.169). In 1809, the Second Class was divided into two parts, thereby creating a Third Class.

By 1830, largely because of the newfound popularity of the extraordinary examinations, a Fourth Class in honors was provided (Mallet, 1927). Oxford thus awarded the degrees of First Class, Second Class, Third Class, Fourth Class, and pass. The honors examination was thereby separated from the examination for the pass degree, resulting in the first notion of modern honors education (Guzy, 1999).

The honors examinations typically consisted of eight to twelve three-hour papers. The examinations usually allowed for some choice among which questions to answer, but the guidelines were never set in stone. The examinations were designed to test ability and not knowledge, so students were to answer those questions they believed would most fully demonstrate their ability. Each paper was then submitted to a group of three to five examiners, including outside examiners from other universities, and a grade was given by majority vote. A student's class thus depended on the result of the scores on all of the papers combined (Learned, 1927).

INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Honors education in the United States was not a new idea prior to the development of the Rhodes Scholarships, but its occurrence was quite rare. Private Eastern colleges were among the first institutions of higher education to provide any sort of honors approach to academically superior students in the United States (Cohen, 1966). The prevalence of honors education in private Eastern colleges likely happened for two reasons. First, throughout the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, private Eastern colleges were much smaller than public and state colleges and universities, resulting in less difficulty implementing curricular change. Second, private Eastern colleges generally were more selective in their admissions requirements than other institutions. These more select students might have been more willing to engage in greater academic responsibility than students at less selective institutions (Guzy, 1999).

Early attempts at honors are known to have occurred in eight institutions: 1) in 1873 at Wesleyan College, honors were awarded at commencement, 2) in 1882 at the University of Michigan, the University system was established, 3) in 1888 at the University of Vermont, the award of honors was given on the basis of a thesis, 4) in 1905 at Princeton University, the preceptorial system was announced, 5) in 1909 and again in 1920 at Columbia University, attempts at honors programs were made, 6) in 1912 at the University of Missouri, Reading for Honors was implemented, 7) in 1921 at Smith College, an honors program was started, and 8) Harvard University initiated several different programs throughout the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Aydelotte, 1944).

It was not until a prominent Rhodes Scholar returned from Oxford that collegiate honors education in the United States was truly established. Frank Aydelotte is often considered the founder of honors education, as he is largely responsible for the spread of this movement throughout the country.

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FRANK AYDELOTTE

After earning a bachelor's degree in English from Indiana University and a master's degree in English from Harvard University, Frank Aydelotte was awarded the Rhodes Scholarship in 1905. Aydelotte was a Rhodes Scholar from 1905-1907, giving him abundant opportunity to study the Oxford system of instruction (Brooks, 1927).

Aydelotte received the Bachelor of Letters degree (B.Litt) in 1907. Although he always hoped to return to Oxford for the doctoral degree in literature, he never did. However, in 1937, Oxford University awarded Aydelotte an honorary degree: Doctorate of Civil Laws for success in administration. In addition, between the years 1925 and 1931, Aydelotte claimed three other honorary doctoral degrees from the University of Pittsburgh, Oberlin, and Yale, and in 1953 he received the award of Knight of the British Empire from the Queen of England for his public service efforts between Britain and the United States (Blanshard, 1970).

In 1908, Aydelotte returned to his alma mater as an Acting Associate Professor in the Indiana University Department of English, and he then accepted a position teaching English at Massachusetts Institute for Technology (MIT) in 1915. In 1921, Aydelotte accepted the position of president at Swarthmore College, after receiving several offers for presidency at other institutions, including Reed College (Blanshard, 1970). Having implemented some Oxford ideas both at Indiana University and at MIT, Aydelotte was looking for a place to implement an honors program for undergraduates. He was well prepared to start such a program because of his previous experiences, and Swarthmore seemed just the place to do so (Aydelotte, 1944).

Rationale for honors. Preceding World War I, the enrollment in colleges and universities was relatively limited in the United States, usually including only those who could afford to attend college. Many of these students were bright, allowing them to work alongside other bright students and to be challenged and intellectually stimulated. Any need for variation in instruction based on ability was very low. Although attempts at honors programs had been made at several colleges and universities, most educators were not in any rush to make serious adjustments.

After the war, college experience and usually a college degree became a requirement for many white-collar jobs, causing a tremendous increase in enrollment (Aydelotte, 1944). Between 1890 and 1925, enrollment in colleges and universities grew 4.7 times faster than the general population (Rudolph, 1962/1990), and, between 1910 and 1920 alone, the enrollment in colleges and universities increased by nearly 60 percent (Bureau of the Census, as cited in Blanshard, 1970). This increase produced a great variety in types and abilities of students. The unprecedented gains in enrollment provided educators with direct evidence of individual intellectual differences. The great numbers of students served to set an average intellectual pace, forcing educators to wonder how to best meet the needs of the brightest students on campus (Coss, 1931). The previously unimportant need for honors reform was quickly hastened at this point in history (Brooks, 1927).

In a democratic nation such as the United States, one might argue for a democratic education as well. Indeed, in the early part of the twentieth century, democracy in education meant equality in education, or an equal opportunity to obtain an

education by all. Americans seemed to advocate that colleges and universities should serve everyone equally, very unlike the elitist British notion of higher education. "To the democratic philosophy that every one can and should go through college the college has responded by becoming the sort of institution through which any and every one can go" (Learned, 1927, p.45). In trying to serve everyone, colleges and universities had to focus on the average student, as serving the average student meant serving most students. The influx in enrollment only worsened this habit.

The word "democracy" is often used to denote equality (Bryce, 1959). Aydelotte did not disagree. Rather, he believed the word "democracy" was misconceived. Perhaps as a result of his experiences at Oxford, he did not believe democracy to mean giving equal schooling or equal education to all. Rather, while everyone should be given an equal opportunity for education, everyone should also be given an opportunity to fulfill his or her own capabilities (The Swarthmore College Faculty, 1941). He believed that "we must learn to see the error in that superficial interpretation of democracy which assumes that all men are equal in intellectual ability... [I]n recognizing individual differences we are paying the truest homage to the worth of all individuals" (Aydelotte, 1944, p.11). By being held to the same requirements as all students, the brightest students were being held back and limited in their intellectual potential. "The academic system as ordinarily administered is for these better and more ambitious students a kind of lock step; it holds them back, wastes their time, and blunts their interest by subjecting them to a slow-moving routine which they do not need" (Aydelotte, 1944, p.14).

Honors at Swarthmore College. Swarthmore College served as a convenient place for Aydelotte to begin his conception of honors work in the United States. This convenience arose in large part from faculty acceptance of Aydelotte's ideas, but also from the nature of the college itself. Swarthmore College was one of three Quaker colleges in Pennsylvania, and Aydelotte believed the Quaker tradition to play a large role in the eventual success of his honors program because of the liberal mindset of the faith. As Quakers were always a minority religious group in American history, they had developed a liberalism in which they did not fear ideas or change simply because they were not popular or well known. Quakers were said to look at ideas based solely on the merit of the idea (Aydelotte, 1940), thus easily allowing the faculty of Swarthmore to consider and accept Aydelotte's proposal for honors education. Even though the idea was relatively new and not thoroughly tested, honors education appeared to have a great deal of value at a time when higher education was rapidly changing.

Aydelotte's ideas for honors education were given in his inaugural address as president of Swarthmore in 1921:

Perhaps the most fundamentally wasteful feature of our educational institutions is the lack of a higher standard of intellectual attainment. We are educating more students up to a fair average than any country in the world, but we are wastefully allowing the capacity of the average to prevent us from bringing the best up to the standard they could reach. Our more important task at present is to check this waste.

RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS

The method of doing it seems clear: To separate those students who are really interested in the intellectual life from those who are not, and to demand of the former in the course of their four years' work, a standard of attainment for the A.B. degree distinctly higher than we require of them at present and comparable perhaps with that which is now reached for the A.M....

We could give these more brilliant students greater independence in their work, avoiding the spoon-feeding which makes much of our college instruction of the present day of secondary-school character. Our examinations should be less frequent and more comprehensive, and the task of the student should be to prepare himself for these tests through his own reading and through the instruction offered by the College: he should not be subjected to the petty, detailed, day-by-day restrictions and assignments necessary for his less able fellows. (Aydelotte, 1921, p.23-24)

In this inaugural address, many of Aydelotte's ideas are clearly a result of his education and experience as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, as he was able to distinguish between the American system that was suitable for the "average" and the British system that was more suitable for the "brilliant."

The first honors program at Swarthmore College was inaugurated in the fall of 1922, after one year spent in planning (1921-1922). Faculty initially agreed upon only two programs, English Literature and Social Sciences, resulting in only these two programs available for students the inaugural year. In 1923, French, German, Mathematics, and Physics were added; in 1924, Electrical Engineering; in 1925, the Classics, namely Greek and Latin; and in 1926, Education and Chemistry. By 1940, all departments at Swarthmore offered honors work (The Swarthmore College Faculty, 1941).

From its conception, Aydelotte decided the honors program at Swarthmore should only be open to juniors and seniors. The first two years of college would be spent taking regular courses and gaining a broad base of knowledge, and then at the end of their sophomore year, students would be allowed to apply for honors. With faculty agreement, the student would be allowed to begin honors work in the fall of his or her junior year. Acceptance was based on both intellectual achievement and individual personality characteristics. Intellectual achievement consisted of the student's grades only in the department in which he or she wished to study (Aydelotte, 1931), and generally had to consist of A's and/or B's (Brewster, 1930). In other words, if a student was going into Mathematics, only grades in previous mathematics courses would be reviewed. Individual personality characteristics necessary for honors study included independence and self-regulation (Aydelotte, 1936). Without these, a student was not believed to be able to succeed with honors work.

Aydelotte did not wish for honors students to major in only one subject, though, because he believed the interrelation between courses to be a valuable asset. A "major" generally consisted of three core departments, all of which were related (Brooks, 1927). For example, a student studying English Literature might focus on

English, history, and philosophy. One subject was the major subject, which in this case was English, and two other subjects were the minor subjects, or history and philosophy. This method was modeled from the Modern Greats at Oxford, a program that combined political science, philosophy, and economics (Blanshard, 1970).

Although it was decided to admit students only at the beginning of their junior year, three students who were at the end of their junior year in the spring of 1922 petitioned to participate in the honors program for their remaining collegiate experience in the fall of 1922. These students were accepted, becoming the first three graduates of the honors program at Swarthmore in June of 1923 (Brooks, 1927). Eight students comprised the first junior class of honors students in the fall of 1922 (Aydelotte, 1944). By the spring of 1939, 636 students had graduated with honors, indicating the relatively quick expansion of the honors program (The Swarthmore College Faculty, 1941).

Also from its conception, Aydelotte had carefully planned for the structure and implementation of the honors program at Swarthmore. Although he did not directly transplant Oxford methods of instruction, Aydelotte adapted the methods he was familiar with to fit American higher education (Aydelotte, 1931; Brooks, 1927). The honors program at Swarthmore was initially based on the philosophy of active learning, the tutorial system, and the pass/honors approach, all of Oxford.

Aydelotte believed that the best education should be an active process and not passive. By merely attending a class and sitting through a lecture, a bright student would not learn to his or her best ability. According to Aydelotte, "the best and only education is self-education" (The Swarthmore College Faculty, 1941, p.6). Thus he removed the lecture method for honors students, making attendance at all classes and lectures entirely voluntary, similar to Oxford. Aydelotte called his approach "reading for honors," as students would be required to learn on their own, almost entirely through reading. Even the term "reading" originated from Oxford, as in British higher education one did not "major" in a subject. Rather, one "read" in a subject (Schaeper & Schaeper, 1998). Learning was largely individual from that point on. Aydelotte's reasoning for this individualized method was also related to the degree of responsibility placed on the student. He believed honors students were capable of taking on the responsibility necessary for individualized learning, thereby allowing them to cultivate their knowledge at a much deeper level than the average student (Aydelotte, 1927).

Creating an honors program that consisted almost entirely of independent study was quite revolutionary at the time. Most colleges and universities in the United States relied upon large group lectures, especially with the increases in enrollment. The inception of an honors program required a great deal of monitoring and patience on the part of faculty, students, and administrators. Although many issues had to be resolved at first, the program stabilized relatively quickly (Cummings, 1986).

Instead of using the highly individualized tutorial method of Oxford, Aydelotte adapted this method to what he called a seminar, which also closely resembled the German seminar method. The seminar was "a system of informal instruction by the professor to a small group of students" (Bryce, 1959, p.472), although Aydelotte's seminar involved little instruction and relied mostly on discussion like a tutorial. Aydelotte chose this method for several reasons. First, American professors were more likely to lead a seminar well than a tutorial, which was usually reserved for only

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the best and most experienced professors at Oxford. Also, by allowing students to discuss their ideas in small groups of other students and one or two professors, Aydelotte believed these discussions could be quite intellectually stimulating to all involved (Aydelotte, 1931, 1944).

The seminar method worked as follows: The reading students were to do was divided into eight parts, corresponding with the four semesters of the junior and senior year. Four parts consisted of a student's major subject, and he or she spent two parts each on the two minor subjects (Aydelotte, 1936). Students generally took two seminars a semester, allowing for a total of eight seminars (The Swarthmore College Faculty, 1941). In each seminar, students studied various topics of the subject. Within these larger topics, the reading was broken down into weekly topics. Students would all read the common readings, and then, within a seminar, each student was given a topic about which to write a short paper, the format of which varied among professors. In the seminar, the students would discuss both the readings and each paper, allowing for a variety of opinions and ideas (Aydelotte, 1931, 1944). This exchange of ideas is very similar to the exchange of ideas at Oxford.

As previously mentioned, the course and credit system was completely eliminated for honors students. Instead, a method was adopted much like the pass/honors approach at Oxford. An honors degree was based solely on the passing of a final examination, given at the end of the senior year. The honors student was given a syllabus of material he or she was expected to master, and then the same syllabus was given to an examiner unaffiliated with the college at the end of the senior year from which to design a final examination (Aydelotte, 1944). After two years of regular coursework and two years of independent study, the honors student took between seven and ten three-hour written examinations and an oral examination, all conducted by external examiners (Aydelotte, 1936; Learned, 1927). In addition, honors students had to develop a reading knowledge of two foreign languages, also tested by external examiners (Brooks, 1927). These comprehensive exams eliminated the necessity for students to merely memorize facts and regurgitate the information. Rather, they had to have a firm grasp of the principles and interrelation of the content areas as well as the ability to think about and evaluate all of the material they had covered (Aydelotte, 1936).

External examiners were generally asked to serve for three years, from such colleges and universities as Columbia University, University of Pennsylvania, Harvard University, and Yale University (Brewster, 1930; Brooks, 1927). The external examiners were asked to serve for only three years at a time in order to keep a constant rotation of examiners. In this way, the exams were never routine, and the information on the exams could never be guessed ahead of time (Spiller, 1933). Each student had three examiners, based upon the one major subject and two minors subjects of his or her honors work. Upon completion of the written and oral examinations, these three examiners decided on the award of Highest Honors, High Honors, or Honors, and, in rare cases, a pass degree (Aydelotte, 1931). The degree of Highest Honors was very rarely attained, with High Honors regarded as quite a distinction as well (Brooks, 1927). The ratings of Highest Honors, High Honors, and Honors corresponded with the Oxford ratings of First, Second, Third, and Fourth, although the American system did not adopt a rating parallel to the fourth.

The honors program at Swarthmore served to provide students with “the incentive to excellence, freedom from cramping restrictions, intimate faculty-student relationships, the demand for self-activity in education, emphasis on substance rather than credits, and the correlation of knowledge” (Brewster, 1930, p.510). At the time, Aydelotte and the faculty of Swarthmore firmly believed that their honors plan would spread throughout the United States (The Swarthmore College Faculty, 1941).

In an attempt to disseminate information about honors in the United States, Aydelotte wrote *Honors Courses in American Colleges and Universities* in 1924. Due to the popularity of the report and the growth in honors across the country, he updated the report only one year later (Aydelotte, 1925). Indeed, the first publishing resulted in a doubling of the amount of honors programs in the United States, allowing the second edition to include nearly one hundred programs. Aydelotte also heavily advocated for the appointment of Rhodes Scholars as college and university presidents in order to further spread the influence of Oxford. It is generally believed that dozens of Rhodes Scholars owe their high-ranking positions to Aydelotte’s endless lobbying (Schaeper & Schaeper, 1998).

In 1944, Aydelotte published his most famous piece, *Breaking the Academic Lockstep: The Development of Honors Work in American Colleges and Universities*. This book was the first book ever written that was entirely devoted to honors programs in the United States (Guzy, 1999). Aydelotte discusses Oxford and Swarthmore, and he provides in-depth reviews of honors programs in the United States, the result of his extensive travel funded by the Carnegie Corporation to visit colleges and universities across the country.

CONCLUSION

Among other important contributions, the Rhodes Scholarship has opened the eyes of many Americans to the importance of the Oxford University method of instruction (Aydelotte, 1944). Many prominent Rhodes Scholars, such as Frank Aydelotte, have entered the field of education upon returning to the United States, bringing with them innovative methods of instruction. Indeed, Aydelotte’s presidency at Swarthmore College allowed him to implement the tutorial method, comprehensive examinations, and the distinction between the pass and honors degrees in his seminal honors program. While the ideas Aydelotte and others brought with them and incorporated into American higher education were not exact replications of the English methods, they were adaptations to growing American needs (Aydelotte, 1944; Learned, 1927).

Aydelotte and the faculty of Swarthmore College were correct in their assumption that their honors program model would spread throughout the United States. What they might not have estimated is the tremendous variety of honors programs that now exist. Today, nearly all colleges and universities in the United States have some form of honors programming (Schaeper & Schaeper, 1998), whether it be in the form of general honors programs or departmental honors programs, honors programs at two-year colleges or four-year colleges and universities, honors contract courses or honors seminars, traditional honors programs or experimental honors programs, and

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so on. Aydelotte's acceptance of a Rhodes Scholarship and his later presidency at Swarthmore College certainly set in motion an unprecedented growth in American higher education through the form of honors programming.

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The author can be reached at:
arinn@indiana.edu

DANIEL R. GRANGAARD

Personality Characteristics and Favorite Topics of Students Enrolled in Introduction to Psychology, Honors

DANIEL R. GRANGAARD
AUSTIN COMMUNITY COLLEGE

INTRODUCTION

The Honors Program at Austin Community College (ACC) is relatively new. Admission to the Honors Program is by invitation and is separate from admission to ACC, which currently enrolls 32,000 students. Students are invited to join on the basis of criteria set each year by the Honors Coordinator and the Honors Council. A major goal is to produce a program membership of the top 8-10 percent of the students entering ACC each semester. There are approximately 350 students who have been accepted into the Honors Program. The program's mission is to provide an enhanced and supportive learning climate that encourages community involvement for outstanding students who meet the criteria for admission into the Honors Program. Admission to the program requires that an applicant meet one of the following criteria: top 10% of graduating high school class, cumulative high school GPA of 3.5 or higher on a 4-point scale, ACT score of 26 or higher or SAT score of 1170 or higher, or a cumulative college GPA of 3.25 or higher.

The first honors psychology class was offered during the fall 2002 semester at the Rio Grande Campus, which enrolls approximately 7,500 students and is located in close proximity to downtown, the state capital, and The University of Texas. The class reflected the cultural diversity of the college and the campus. The initial class contained ten students, including three females and seven males. The ethnicity make-up of the class follows: 5 White, 3 Hispanic, 1 African-American, 1 Native-American. The chronological age of class members ranged from 18 to 51 (mean = 24, median = 19, mode = 18). Two students were dropped from the class by the professor for excessive absences and missing assignments.

There is an interest among faculty associated with the Honors Program to better understand the students. A study was conducted to investigate the personality characteristics of students enrolled in Introduction to Psychology, Honors at ACC as well as to survey the popularity of topics covered during the semester. Although the sample

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size is very small, the methodology and results of this study may be of general interest to honors faculty and administrators.

RELATED STUDIES

Larry Clark (2000) pointed out that the literature on personality characteristics of collegiate honors students is limited. He also noted the range of honors programs (i.e. admissions criteria and program goals) that exist on college campuses. Clark found in his review of the literature that most studies involved administration of the *Myers-Briggs Type Indicator* (MBTI) to students described as academically gifted. Studies have also employed the *Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire* (16 PF), the *Edwards Personal Preference Schedule* (EPPS), or Jackson's *Personality Research Form* (PRF). The present study utilized the EPPS.

The EPPS (1959) is presented in a forced choice format that includes 225 pairs of statements. The test developer assumed that each of the statement pairs is equal with respect to their social desirability. Test takers must choose the statement in the pair that is more characteristic of them. For example:

A. I like to talk about myself to others.

B. I like to work toward some goal that I have set for myself.

Normative data were developed for two groups of subjects: college students and adults who were household heads in the United States. There are separate norms for men and women. The college sample was composed of high school graduates with some college training, including 760 college men and 749 college women, ranging in age from 15 to 59. Students in the 20-24 and 15-19 age groups were especially well represented. Colleges denoted in the sample were diverse in terms of school size and included public and private institutions from every region of the United States. Although the EPPS has not been updated in the past four decades, it is still in popular use with college students. The test has withstood extensive testing for reliability and validity, and it is particularly useful for career counseling.

The EPPS norms supply percentiles and standard scores for college students. EPPS scales are those identified and named by Murray (1938). Scales that are particularly useful in studying the personality profiles of honors students include: achievement (ach), deference (def), order (ord), exhibition (exh), autonomy (aut), affiliation (aff), intraception (int), succorance (suc), dominance (dom), abasement (aba), nurturance (nur), change (chg), endurance (end), and aggression (agg).

In the only other available study of honors students who took the EPPS, Palmer and Wohl (1972) found that honors students scored higher on introversion and on autonomy than non-honors program students. The honors students scored lower on affiliation needs.

PROCEDURES

PERSONALITY MEASURES

During a unit of study on the topic of personality, all students enrolled in Introduction to Psychology, Honors during the fall 2002 semester took advantage of an opportunity to earn bonus points added to their score on a previous unit achievement test by taking the *EPPS*. Booklets containing *EPPS* test items and answer forms were distributed during a Wednesday class. Students were read instructions for taking the *EPPS* and informed that the completed *EPPS* forms and test booklets were to be returned on Friday. The course instructor hand-scored the answer forms and plotted the personality profiles over the weekend. The following Monday, individual personality profiles and a chart outlining behaviors associated with personality terms related with each *EPPS* scale were returned to the students. The course instructor conducted a group interpretation of test data. The class spent the entire 50-minute class session discussing the test results.

FAVORITE TOPICS MEASURES

Students were given bonus points on the last achievement test for completing a favorite topics survey, which was given on the last day of class and may be viewed in Table A of the appendix. Students were asked to rank each topic from 1 to 15, placing a 1 next to their favorite topic, a 2 next to their second favorite topic, and so forth, until all topics were ranked. All students taking the test elected to complete the survey. Results of the survey were posted on the instructor's web site (Grangaard, 2002).

RESULTS

PERSONALITY MEASURES

Student raw scores for each *EPPS* scale were converted to T scores. Descriptive statistics of students' T scores were analyzed with *SPSS 10.0 for Windows*. Results of mean, standard error of the mean, median, mode, minimum, maximum, and the range of T scores for each variable are in tabular form in Table B of the appendix. The data were qualitatively analyzed using interpretation guidelines provided in the *EPPS* manual. T scores in the 41 to 59 range are considered average. Table C illustrates the number of student T scores that fell above, below, or within the average range.

Based on the above interpretation guidelines, none of the honors students scored above average on the following traits: ach, def, and ord. According to the *EPPS* manual, ach (achievement) involves attempting to do one's best, to do a difficult job well, to do things better than others, and to accomplish something of great significance. Examples of def (deference) include getting suggestions from other people, doing what is expected, or accepting the leadership of others. Making plans in advance, arranging things so that they will run smoothly, and producing work that is neat and organized are examples of tasks associated with the ord (order) personality variable. Five out of eight students scored below average on ord, which contributed to below average mean, median, and mode T scores on the ord variable. If the mode T score is

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used to interpret the EPPS personality data, most students taking Introduction to Psychology, Honors during the fall 2002 semester were only average in their need to achieve and openness to seeking the opinions of other people. Two students were below average on these traits.

Half of the students scored above average on the *exh* (exhibition) variable, which is associated with talking about personal experiences, being noticed by others, being the center of attention, and talking about one's personal achievements. Only one student scored average on *exh*. Three out of eight students scored below average on this trait.

Five out of eight scored average, and two students scored above average on *aut* (autonomy), which is associated with being independent of others in making decisions and criticizing those in positions of authority. All of the students scored average to above average on *aff* (affiliation). *Aff* involves doing things for friends, forming new friendships, forming strong attachments, and doing things with other people rather than alone.

Half of the students displayed average *intraception* (*int*) needs. *Intraception* is associated with analyzing motives and feelings and understanding how other people feel about problems. The rest of the students were equally split above or below average on this trait.

Seven out of eight students scored average on *succorance* (*suc*), which encompasses a need for feedback and to be encouraged. All of the students displayed an average to above average need to engage in novel activity (*chg*). Meeting new people, participating in new fads and fashions, and travel are activities associated with the change personality trait on the EPPS.

Nearly two-thirds of the students described themselves as having average *endurance* (*end*). *Endurance* is associated with sticking with a task until completion. A quarter of the students viewed themselves as above average on this trait.

Aggression (*agg*) is a personality trait incorporated in the EPPS that is associated with arguing for one's point of view, attacking contrary points of view, blaming others when things go wrong, or criticizing others publicly. Five out of eight students scored average, two students scored above average, and one student scored below average on *agg*. *Abasement* (*aba*) is an EPPS trait associated with guilt and a tendency to accept blame when something goes wrong. All but one student scored average on this dimension.

Dominance (*dom*) is a trait that is associated with leadership qualities. Behaviors encompassed by *dom* include settling arguments and disputes between others, supervising and directing the actions of others, and persuading and influencing others to do what one wants. One student scored above and one student scored below average on this trait. The remainder of the class scored average.

FAVORITE TOPICS RESULTS

SPSS was used to generate distributive statistics and to conduct nonparametric Spearman rank correlations. Mean rankings are compared in Table D of the appendix. The lower the mean ranking, the greater the popularity of the item is assumed.

The lowest mean ranking (4.28) was produced by the topic of social psychology. The next most popular topics included the topics of sleep/hypnosis (5.42) and motivation (5.71). All of these topics were ranked as high as #1 by at least one student, as were the topics of developmental, neurobiology, and therapy. There was a wide distribution of responses for the rankings. For example, the overall favorite, social, was ranked as low as 13th. The topic of research projects, which involved study of research methods, APA writing style, and personal development of a research project, received an overall mean ranking (9.71) that placed it second to last on the list of favorite topics.

Mean rankings of favorite topic items as voted by students taking traditional (i.e., non-honors) sections of Introduction to Psychology are featured in Table E. Students enrolled in traditional sections favored different topics. For example, social psychology came in 8th place with traditional students as compared to 1st place with honors students. Both groups enjoyed studying sleep and hypnosis, and neither group particularly enjoyed topics associated with written student projects. The topics of intelligence and stress/health found more favor with students taking traditional course sections.

Results of 2-tailed tests revealed a number of significant correlations at the .05 level. Honors students who enjoyed studying the topic of abnormal psychology also enjoyed studying sleep and hypnosis ($r=+.771$). Significant positive correlations were also found between therapy and a study of settings where psychologists are employed ($+.817$), between work settings and personality ($+.849$) and between the study of personality and therapy ($+.757$).

Significant negative correlations were found at the .05 level between the following topics: neurobiology and personality ($-.821$), work settings and sleep/hypnosis ($-.766$), therapy and sleep/hypnosis ($-.786$), and abnormal and therapy ($-.755$). Significant rank correlations at the .01 level were found between the topics of neurobiology and therapy ($-.883$) and work settings and abnormal ($-.934$).

Results of 2-tailed tests of data associated with student rankings in traditional course sections produced only one positive correlation of statistical significance: intelligence and learning ($r=+.311$). The following negative correlations were significant at the .01 level: memory and social ($-.545$), abnormal and learning ($-.539$), abnormal and memory ($-.447$), and stress and health with study of self-help books ($-.413$). Significant negative correlations at the .05 level were obtained for sleep/hypnosis and memory ($-.330$), personality and neurobiology ($-.380$), developmental and social ($-.329$), and personality and memory ($-.318$).

DISCUSSION

Results of the study support the findings of Palmer and Wohl (1972) that students enrolled in honors sections have a strong need to exert their autonomy. Their findings that such students tend to be introverted and exhibit low affiliation needs are contradicted in the current study. A number of observations of students enrolled in Introduction to Psychology, Honors, at ACC are offered along with implications for instruction.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS AND FAVORITE TOPICS

The format of the honors class (i.e., small class size with extensive opportunity for oral and written expression) has attracted students who have average to above average affiliation needs, like to be autonomous, do not particularly seek the opinions of others but love to express their own point of view. Half of them exhibit above average needs to talk about their personal experiences and achievements. They are not prone toward attacking opinions and positions of others on a given issue or blaming others. They enjoy engaging in novel activity and have as much need for feedback and encouragement as average college students.

Three traits stand out. The students view themselves as average to below average in being organized, average in achievement motivation, and average on traits associated with effective leaders.

A number of recommendations are offered to instructors planning to teach an honors course. A significant course component should entail teaching organizational skills as they are related to preparation of assignments and for tests. In this respect, Introduction to Psychology, Honors students are similar to most undergraduates. Both groups ranked tasks associated with major written assignments among their least favorite topics. It would be an error to assume that students enrolled in an honors section already have such skills. Honors students seemed to enjoy studying and critiquing classic psychology research studies more than acquiring a taste for engaging in their own research.

Although students in honors classes may have a history of earning excellent grades, academic achievement is not likely at the etiology of their choice of an honors section of a college course over a traditional section. Traditional sections contain a significant number of scholarly students who may be equally or more motivated to achieve scholastic excellence. Students in the honors section appear socially driven; they anticipate and appreciate frequent opportunities for dialogue and involvement in discussions and debates, especially over issues that are controversial. This is exemplified in the results of the exit survey of favorite topics in which social psychology prevailed. Social psychology (i.e., the study of the effect of groups on individuals and individuals on groups) may be related to student needs for affiliation and autonomy. Students were fascinated with ethical issues associated with classic experiments that often involved deception.

Although class discussions and debates are popular, instruction should promote development of postformal thought, which recognizes that one's own perspective is only one of many potentially valid views and that life entails many inconsistencies. It also promotes dialectical thinking, which involves considering both sides of an idea simultaneously and then forging them into a synthesis of the original idea and its opposite. Assuming an active role in discussions of this type may contribute to the development of leadership skills.

FUTURE STUDIES

Additional studies that encompass a larger sample of students enrolled in the ACC Honors Program may produce data that may be generalized to the population of students eligible for the program. Research that compares the personality profiles

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of students enrolled in the Honors Program with students eligible for admission to the program but who choose to enroll in traditional sections of the same courses may lend additional insight into the personality characteristics of students in the Honors Program.

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The author can be reached at:
Austin Community College
1212 Rio Grande
Austin, TX 78701
dgran@austincc.edu

TABLE A

Dr. Dan Grangaard
Psychology 2301H
Introduction to Psychology, Honors
Test 4, Fall 2002

Student Name: _____

Bonus Question (5 points added to test score, if completed)

Please rank the following topics studied this semester in Introduction to Psychology. Place a 1 next to the topic that was your favorite, a 2 next to the one that was your second favorite, and so on until all topics have been ranked.

- _____ Work of Psychologists (i.e., settings where psychologists are employed)
- _____ Brain and Behavior (i.e., parts of the brain, study of the nervous system)
- _____ Developmental Psychology (i.e., prenatal development, moral development, Piaget)
- _____ Sensation and Perception (i.e., structure of the eye, phi phenomenon)
- _____ Sleep/Hypnosis (i.e., dream research, sleep disorders, stages of sleep, hypnosis)
- _____ Learning (classical and operant conditioning, Pavlov, Skinner)
- _____ Memory (i.e., how to study, causes of forgetting)
- _____ Intelligence and Language (i.e., IQ tests, validity, reliability, language development)
- _____ Motivation (i.e., hierarchy of needs, need to achieve)
- _____ Stress and Health (i.e., general adaptation syndrome, stress index, physiology of stress)
- _____ Personality (i.e., Freud, Rorschach, TAT, trait-and-factor theories)
- _____ Abnormal Psychology (i.e., DSM-IV, personality disorders, psychopathology)
- _____ Therapy (i.e., psychoanalysis, reality therapy, cognitive therapy, time-limited therapy)
- _____ Social Psychology (i.e., power of the situation, Milgram studies, altruism)
- _____ Research Projects (i.e., studying APA style, conducting research, term paper)

TABLE B
PSYC 2301 HONORS EPPS T SCORES*, FALL 2002

Scale	Mean	Std. Err.	Median	Mode	Std. Dev.	Range	Min.	Max.
Ach	42.75	2.75	44.50	46.00 ^a	7.77	23.00	28.00	51.00
Def	44.12	2.89	44.00	41.00	8.18	25.00	30.00	55.00
Ord	40.37	3.44	39.00	31.00 ^a	9.75	25.00	31.00	56.00
Exh	50.25	4.62	57.00	57.00	13.07	31.00	32.00	63.00
Aut	51.00	3.19	50.00	38.00 ^a	9.03	27.00	38.00	65.00
Aff	54.12	3.82	49.50	45.00	10.82	26.00	45.00	71.00
Int	47.37	3.45	47.00	50.00	9.78	28.00	34.00	62.00
Suc	52.00	2.56	54.00	59.00	7.25	19.00	40.00	59.00
Dom	48.25	2.74	48.00	39.00 ^a	7.75	24.00	39.00	63.00
Aba	50.25	2.87	49.50	42.00	8.11	20.00	42.00	62.00
Nur	55.62	3.83	53.00	40.00 ^a	10.83	35.00	40.00	75.00
Chg	56.75	1.57	56.00	51.00 ^a	4.46	13.00	51.00	64.00
End	51.87	4.41	54.50	28.00 ^a	12.48	40.00	28.00	68.00
Agg	50.00	4.33	46.00	40.00	12.27	33.00	37.00	70.00
Con	50.75	3.49	49.00	42.00 ^a	9.89	28.00	40.00	68.00

* Average Range T score = 41-59

^a Multiple modes exist. The lowest value is shown.

TABLE C

**EPPS PERSONALITY T-SCORES
NUMBER OF HONORS STUDENTS
ABOVE AVERAGE, AVERAGE, AND BELOW AVERAGE
FALL 2002 SEMESTER**

Scale	Above Average	Average	Below Average
Ach	0	6	2
Def	0	6	2
Ord	0	3	5
Exh	4	1	3
Aut	2	5	1
Aff	3	5	0
Int	2	4	2
Suc	1	7	0
Dom	1	6	1
Aba	1	7	0
Nur	3	5	0
Chg	2	6	0
End	2	5	1
Agg	1	5	2

TABLE D

**FAVORITE TOPICS END OF SEMESTER SURVEY
INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHOLOGY, HONORS (PSYC 2301H)
FALL 2002 SEMESTER**

Number of valid questionnaires = 7

Variable	Mean Ranking	Highest Ranking	Lowest Ranking
Social	4.28	1	13
Sleep/Hypnosis	5.42	1	12
Motivation	5.71	1	11
Learning	6.14	2	13
Developmental	7.28	1	13
Abnormal	7.42	2	15
Personality	7.57	3	13
Brain (Neurobiology)	8.28	1	15
Therapy	8.57	1	14
Memory	8.57	4	14
Sensation/Perception	8.85	4	13
Intelligence	8.85	6	11
Stress & Health	9.28	5	12
Research Projects	9.71	3	15
Work Settings	14.00	11	15

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS AND FAVORITE TOPICS

TABLE E

**FAVORITE TOPICS END OF SEMESTER SURVEY
INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHOLOGY (PSYC 2301)
NON-HONORS SECTIONS, FALL 2002 SEMESTER**

Number of valid questionnaires = 41

Variable	Mean Ranking	Highest Ranking	Lowest Ranking
Sleep/Hypnosis	4.01	1	13
Personality	5.75	1	14
Abnormal	6.29	1	15
Memory	6.60	1	14
Learning	6.65	1	15
Intelligence	7.26	1	15
Motivation	7.48	1	14
Stress & Health	7.85	1	15
Developmental	7.95	1	15
Social	8.34	1	15
Therapy	8.73	1	15
Brain (Neurobiology)	9.26	1	15
Sensation/Perception	9.39	3	15
Self-help book report	10.31	1	15
Work Settings	12.43	2	15

Diversity Opportunities for Higher Education and Honors Programs: A View from Nebraska

PETER J. LONGO AND JOHN FALCONER

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA AT KEARNEY

INTRODUCTION

While honors programs were developed in part to actively engage top students in undergraduate education, they also have demonstrated a capacity for leading innovation in post-secondary institutions. Innovations come in the form of curricular development, service learning programs, and independent scholarship. As institutions strive to find effective approaches to improving access to and diversity in higher education, honors programs, in a most general sense, offer a link between diversity and improved access. This paper explores the role of honors programs in expanding access and diversity—an area traditionally focused on broader student populations. Demographic changes in Nebraska, marked by increased ethnic diversity, offer an intriguing example of how honors programs might better embrace diversity.

The importance of higher education in society centers on the notion of equitable opportunity for all. Inclusionary participation provides an essential element in the mythical hope that America offers to people here and abroad. Since the presidency of Andrew Jackson, American society has embraced the belief that people with skills and ambition can rise from the most humble beginnings to the pinnacle of success. This fundamental principle underlies our public education system, which was founded to provide the basic educational foundation necessary for participation in society and the economy. Trow (1989) observed that "...the expansion and democratization of higher education may also work to legitimate the political and social order by rewarding talent and effort rather than serving merely as a cultural apparatus of the ruling classes by ensuring the passage of power and privilege across generations" (p. 19). Half a century ago, a series of presidential commissions considered this issue:

American society is a democracy: that is, its folkways and institutions, its arts and sciences and religions are based on the principle of equal freedom and equal rights for all its members, regardless of race, faith, sex, occupation, or economic status. The law of the land, providing equal justice for the poor as well as the rich, for the weak as well as the strong, is one instrument by which a democratic society establishes, maintains, and protects this equality among different persons and

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groups. The other instrument is education, which, as all the leaders in the making of democracy have pointed out again and again, is necessary to give effect to the equality prescribed by law. (Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education, 1947, p. 759)

The message of 1947 still retains its importance at the beginning of the twenty-first century even as the nation absorbs people from other lands. The legal and political systems are challenged to develop and apply just laws to a changing cultural landscape, and colleges and universities continue the decades-long struggle to expand access to post-secondary education. In the latter case, most attention has been focused on recruiting students from various social and ethnic backgrounds into college through affirmative action programs and flexible admissions criteria. While such methods have had some success at drawing students into colleges, they have not been an effective measure for so-called performance-driven honors programs. In other words, honors programs typically rely on the quantitative evaluative indicators of class rank, grade point average, and ACT or SAT scores. Moving beyond traditional indicators, however, expands the potential for diversity and better fulfills the social contract.

Further, it should not be assumed that honors programs are separate from the social contract equation. James Hearn (1991) underscored the importance of looking beyond simple access to higher education:

...because attending a more selective, resource-rich institution has been associated with measurable positive impacts on educational attainment, income attainment, status attainment, and socially valued aspects of citizenship, the issues of who attends such institutions and how attendance patterns at such institutions change over time are of both policy and theoretical importance. (Hearn, 1991, p. 159)

Public regional universities and state colleges are often the most accessible institutions for minority students. Accessibility does not always match with the construct of a selective honors program. Honors programs can provide the challenges and opportunities for high-potential students and at the same time better reflect the changing demographics. First-generation and minority students are often not well suited to thrive in the environments at large public universities or private colleges, but regional institutions can serve them with accessible campuses, familiar surroundings, and challenging honors programs (Selingo, 2002).

Honors programs could dramatically enrich their academic environments by better reflecting the diverse nature of society, which provides valuable challenges to students. "The nontraditional student's lack of access to information and exchange results in a lack of exchange for traditional students as well. It has long been argued that part of the reason students are required to learn other languages and about other cultures is that it broadens the student's understanding of society and how he or she is shaped by and in turn shapes the culture in which we live. The same reasoning applies to all aspects of diversity in an educational community" (Smith, 1989). As such, diversity fortifies the nature of honors programs. To best embrace diversity, numerous political variables must be addressed.

As will be demonstrated by the Nebraska example, the political and educational systems together deliver the opportunities for new peoples to access the promise of America. While education empowers, empowerment must navigate through political realities to reach all citizens.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM: THE CASE OF NEBRASKA

New migrants to Nebraska can find some comfort in the judicial protections afforded to all Nebraskans, but the formal workings of Nebraska democracy are not always welcoming to new people. This section will illustrate the political and legal protections and pitfalls awaiting Nebraska's newest inhabitants. Nebraskans have not always been willing to quickly embrace diversity. During the World War I era, Nebraska laws and courts supported discrimination against Germans. As Miewald and Longo (1993) noted:

...by 1918, the political stew in Nebraska had become even spicier. World War I left some ugly scars in the state, as the large German population felt they had been abused by the nativist hysteria caused by the war effort. So strong was the anti-German sentiment that the legislature passed a law prohibiting the teaching of foreign languages, an action that the U.S. Supreme Court was to find in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment in the leading case of *Meyer v. Nebraska*.

In 1923, The United States Supreme Court overturned the anti-foreign-born position of the Nebraska Supreme Court. Despite the lingering reminder of *Meyer*, the Nebraska judiciary reflected the popular sentiment of the day.

Nebraska jurisprudence did evolve to embrace added protections, such as those afforded by the equal protection clause. Since the 1998 formal adoption of the Nebraska equal protection clause, the Nebraska Supreme Court has utilized it to assure fair and just treatment of citizens. In the case *Schindler v. Department of Motor Vehicles* (1999), the Nebraska Supreme Court provided the basic equal protection framework:

In any equal protection challenge to a statute, the degree of judicial scrutiny to which the statute is to be subjected may be dispositive.... If a legislative classification involves either a suspect classification or a fundamental right, courts will analyze the statute with strict scrutiny. Under this test, strict congruence must exist between the classification and the statute's purpose. The end the legislature seeks to effectuate must be a compelling state interest, and the means employed by the statute must be such that no less restrictive alternative exists. On the other hand, if a statute involves economic or social legislation not implicating a fundamental right or suspect class, courts will ask only whether a rational relationship exists between a legitimate state interest and the statutory means selected by the legislature to accomplish that end.... Upon showing that such a rational relationship exists, courts will uphold the legislation.

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The Court's language clearly provides an equal protection framework that would resolve discriminatory actions. The framework, however, does not assure sound political results in that electoral politics often play out against the weakest political forces.

The hostilities embodied in the infamous *Meyer v. Nebraska* were recently manifested in 2000 and 2002 referenda proposing the elimination of the English language requirement for private, denominational, and parochial schools. On both occasions, the voters rejected the pleas. The Nebraska Constitution (Article I section 27), obsolete as it may seem, still reads: "The English language is hereby declared to be the official language of this state, and all official proceedings, records and publications shall be in such language, and the common school branches shall be taught in said language, in public, private, denominational and parochial schools." In the words of Yogi Berra, it is "*deja vu* all over again" for the state's newest inhabitants. That immigrants might have a language other than English was of little concern to the voters, who soundly defeated both proposals.

This is not to suggest that the Nebraska political process ignores diversity. Nebraska Revised Statute 79-719 requires multicultural education in the State of Nebraska. Multicultural education "includes, but is not limited to studies relative to the culture, history, and contributions of African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans. Special emphasis shall be placed on human relations and sensitivity to all races." Multicultural education is commonplace from kindergarten through college years.

As previous waves of immigrants entered Nebraska, they were prepared for economic participation through the public K-12 school system. But in the twenty-first century a college education is typically necessary for middle-class lifestyle. For example:

Recent shifts in America's economy have made higher education more significant than ever. The industrial jobs that once formed the backbone of the economy are dwindling and will provide employment for only 10 percent of the workforce by the year 2000. The service-related jobs that are taking their place require a level of knowledge and skill that, for the most part, can be gained only through programs offered at colleges and universities. (Dionne and Keane, 1994)

Statewide, the Hispanic population grew 155% during the 1990s (Parker, 2001). The critical question, then, is how well Nebraska is responding to the changing population. Some data indicate that Nebraska's educational system is not serving Hispanics at the same levels as it serves the broader population.

- The composite ACT scores of Hispanic/Latino students were consistently lower than those for all students taking the assessment in the state [Nebraska] from 1990 to 1995. (Bureau of Business Research)
- The ratio of Hispanic dropouts to total dropouts in elementary and secondary schools increased from 5.5% in 1991 to 9% in 1995. (Bureau of Business Research)

While Nebraska has consistently ranked in the top 5 states in percentage of 9th graders who enter college by age 19 (Coordinating Commission for Post-secondary Education), the factors that cause this strength are not reaching the Hispanic population. The University of Nebraska at Kearney (hereinafter UNK)—a regional public university and part of a four campus system—is located in south central Nebraska. Despite the rapid growth of the Hispanic population in the area, UNK's undergraduate enrollment of Hispanic students has ranged from one to two percent for the past 10 years (*UNK Factbook*). This indicates a problem on the horizon as a growing subculture is increasingly isolated from the education that is essential to economic and cultural participation. According to Jim Ketelsen, head of a Houston project to expand access to education, "If we continue to under-educate a large percentage of our students, then we are going to continue to have a large underprivileged class" (Hodge, 2001).

RESPONSES

It is evident that education of immigrant populations is necessary to offer the promise of opportunity in America. The net must be cast in a way that includes greater diversity. Inherently, offering educational opportunities to all is a civic mandate. The ultimate delivery of education requires a combination of community and political responses. Higher education, for example, must be preceded by secondary education.

Rapid infusion of students with limited English proficiency into previously homogenous school districts poses an immediate problem at the local level. Many communities have responded by increasing the number of teachers with English as a Second Language (ESL) endorsements. The University of Nebraska at Kearney, seeking to address community needs, has launched two projects totaling over \$1.6 million to support area schools in their response to changing demographics. These projects are intended to enhance personnel capacities in schools while delivering direct educational support to Hispanic and other minority students. Improving educational achievement in the K-12 system is not sufficient, because the financial barriers to higher education remain.

The Nebraska Unicameral considered the financial barriers when it enacted the Minority Scholarship Program Act (2000) (Nebraska Statute 85-9,178). The language of this act states:

The Legislature finds that the State of Nebraska has a compelling interest to provide access to the University of Nebraska, state colleges, and the community colleges for Black, American Indians, and Hispanic minority students and that the financial requirements of postsecondary education represent major obstacles to such students because of the lack of financial resources available to them.

Undoubtedly, this act will have important positive impacts for some new citizens. The act further encourages a large sector of the electoral population to embrace diversity, especially in higher education. Innovation, however, is not always supported.

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The battles for better education for new citizens are on-going and not always successful. For instance, Legislative Bill 955 (2002) was designed to provide in-state tuition for undocumented aliens who graduate from in-state high schools. *Michael O'Connor* (01/31/2002) provides the following account of the proposal:

State Sen. DiAnna Schimek of Lincoln said the legislation is needed because of the state's growing Hispanic population. 'We want an educated work force,' she said. 'In the long-run it benefits everyone in the state.' Jerry Heinauer, director of the Omaha district office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, said the bill ignores the fact that undocumented immigrants are violating federal law. 'What you are doing is legitimizing the fact that they are here illegally,' Heinauer said. 'You send a signal that we are not serious about enforcing our laws.'

The legislature agreed with the INS and killed the bill on February 7, 2002. The politics of LB 955 indicate a willingness of some state senators to take up the cause for new citizens, but the death of LB 955 reminds innovative legislators as well as new residents that laws and the political process are not always concerned about the problems facing people new to our communities. The voice from institutions of higher education needs to be heard among the many other political pleas.

HONORS PROGRAMS: BEYOND TRADITIONAL INDICATORS

While the benefits of education flow through individuals, a powerful collective interest in accessible education abides. Broad education of a community supports the political system, fosters tolerance and inclusion, aids in the assimilation process, and enriches the culture. Economically, educated people are needed by businesses, and individuals repay public investment in their education through higher lifelong income tax payments (Fenton, Gardner, and Singh, 2001). The Commission on National Investment in Higher Education discusses at length the importance of higher education to social stability and broad economic prosperity. Education provides access to economic well being, thus sustaining the social contract. If the social contract means that everyone can prosper through hard work and enhanced skills, then an educational system that does not serve specific groups would undermine the contract and create disenfranchised peoples. Honors programs cannot be excluded from that contract.

The UNK honors program has found hope in the early results of diversification efforts. In partnership with the recruiting efforts of the Admissions Office, special attention has been focused on recruiting in nearby Lexington, Nebraska, which has a public school system that is two-thirds Hispanic (Thiessen, 2001). UNK's enrollment of Hispanic students from Lexington grew from four in 2001 to fourteen in 2002, including two new honors students. While the total numbers are small, they demonstrate the positive potential of the partnership with the Admissions Office.

Another potential diversity mechanism is a "walk-on" program analogous to the one made famous by University of Nebraska-Lincoln football coach Tom Osborne.

Students who compile strong records at the freshman level can apply for admission to the honors program. This approach opens the door to those students who did not perform well-enough on traditional indicators—ACT or class rank—to demonstrate their ability for honors program work in the college environment. It also creates an opportunity for honors programs to partner with “first-year success” programs, which are increasingly popular in higher education.

Another possible mechanism for opening the honors program door to a more diverse population has been offered by the “strivers” model developed by the Educational Testing Service, which uses 14 socioeconomic indicators to provide a “statistical basis for identifying and accepting motivated applicants whose test scores and grade point averages have been depressed because of their difficult family backgrounds and poor high schools” (Cooper, p. 34, 1999).

Honors program directors must be receptive to such indicators. Brubacher (1977) best captures the unique challenges presented to honors programs: “But there are other instances in which unequals should be treated unequally because the differences are relevant. Honors programs are a case in point.” They are a case in point, but the claim does not resolve the problem. Educational programs, including—if not especially—honors programs, benefit from diversity. It is imperative for honors programs to be part of the collective effort to recruit an ethnically diverse body of students. In Nebraska, new citizens represent a distinct possibility to diversify institutions and honors programs in particular.

After all, society’s long-term interest is best served by engagement of new citizens, providing cultural enrichment and economic development. The promise of America—the social contract—rests on the notion that everyone is treated fairly and that all individuals have a truly equal opportunity to prosper. Together, these notions hold our richly diverse society together and in turn attract new people to our shores. Additionally, honors programs can work to improve access and diversity by expanding the range of indicators used to admit students. Because honors programs are often highly visible components of a campus, they can send important signals to minority communities that the institution welcomes and supports people from all backgrounds. Indeed, campus climate is key to recruiting and retention (Morrow, Burris-Kitchen, and Der-Karabetian, 2000). Samuel Schuman, chancellor of the University of Minnesota, Morris, wrote in the Spring/Summer 2002 issue of the *Journal of the National Collegiate Honors Council* that we cannot afford to lose the undergraduate neighborhood that “provides enough shelter to be safe and enough space to be free.” In fact, honors programs cannot afford to miss the opportunity to make the neighborhoods reflect the diversity of society.

Most campuses engage a range of secondary students through academic, artistic, and athletic programs as well as visitations to secondary schools. Honors programs can capture the obvious by connecting with these efforts to identify and recruit students who can best demonstrate their potential in these arenas. These summer offerings provide a chance to establish indicators other than standardized test scores and class rank. Honors programs can assist in the delivery of camps and in turn “grade” participants. For example, if a 10th grader is participating in a theatre workshop, the honors director can reasonably request the supervising faculty to evaluate the particular participant.

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This evaluation can be added to the traditional indicators. A familiar challenge arises: underrepresented students must be actively recruited for these camps. The expansion of the process will bode well for honors recruitment.

CONCLUSION

It is likely that, for a variety of reasons, Nebraska as well as many other states will remain open for immigrants. This reality ought to propel interested onlookers to carefully scrutinize their respective welcome mats. Laws should encourage rather than discourage new citizens to engage in empowering activities. Education is one of the most important empowering activities.

The political process ought to embrace the benefits of diversity. Despite competing political forces, such competition should not deter new plans. Clearly diversity presents a marvelous opportunity for institutions of higher education and programs such as honors programs to better serve all people. Education serves not only new citizens but all citizens in the continual search for empowerment and community well-being. Nebraska is not unique, and the messages from Nebraska have relevance for numerous colleges and universities.

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The authors can be reached at:
longop@unk.edu; falconerj@unk.edu

JUDITH HILTNER

Learning Curves: Fieldwork as Context for Interrogating the Dynamics of Work in American Culture

JUDITH HILTNER

SAINT XAVIER UNIVERSITY

For the past quarter century, eloquent voices in the academy have articulated the value of hands on experiences in the workplace to reinforce and interrogate classroom learning. Internships and other types of fieldwork experiences enable students to test career options, improve their employment potential, challenge assumptions underlying theoretic approaches to the discipline, gain familiarity with the language and ethnography of the professional work places they plan to enter, and enlarge their sense of the role of research in their fields. A protracted experience that counterpoints theoretical and applied dimensions of a discipline can nurture critical habits of mind that will persist in the life of the full-time worker, making him or her a more valuable citizen of the profession.¹

At Saint Xavier University in Chicago, Honors Fieldwork 350/351 is the central component of the program's junior year. All students in the Honors Program engage in a junior year fieldwork experience that can take a wide range of forms, including a traditional internship, individual or group research under the direction of a faculty mentor, or applied projects designed to enhance learning in the student's discipline. But the program designers also believed it important that students engaged in fieldwork projects continue as a group to meet during their junior year to share, compare and explore the fruits of their experiences. Contemporary learning theory and empirical research on the pedagogic benefits of fieldwork reinforce the conviction that the value of individual on-site learning is enhanced when it is linked to a group inquiry that encourages critical examination of applied field experience and expands the theoretical and intellectual contexts for assessing such experience (Braid, Wagner, Moore, Portnoff.)

In Honors Fieldwork 350/51, individual and group fieldwork experience becomes a primary text for weekly class meetings during the fall and spring semesters focusing on workplace issues in American culture. Students are challenged to explore the sources and implications of their own "work ethic" and the sources of stimulation and frustration in their past and present work experiences, including academic work. They discuss the implications of conflicting theories about motivation, management style, and accommodating diversity in the workplace. This essay describes the components, evaluates the benefits, and explores the rationale for and

challenges of designing courses that attempt to integrate the experiences of students engaged in fieldwork across the disciplines with a sustained inquiry into the dynamics of work in our society. Although our junior year fieldwork model was designed for a relatively small Honors Program, I am convinced that it could be adapted for larger programs, simply by offering multiple sections of a course comparable to Saint Xavier's Honors 350/351: Honors Junior Year Fieldwork I & II.²

FIELDWORK PLACEMENTS

In the beginning of their sophomore year Honors students receive their copy of the *Junior Year Fieldwork Handbook*, which includes the rationale, objectives, requirements, and approval procedures for their fieldwork experience.³ They are informed that they must submit their initial proposal for their fieldwork project or placement by February 1 of their sophomore year. In order to accommodate the academic and professional objectives of students across the disciplines, fieldwork options vary widely, including traditional internships, study abroad, experiential learning opportunities such as NCHC's "Semesters" or institutes like those sponsored by the Fund for American Studies, lab research with faculty mentors, original projects that advance student learning and skills in a specific area, or preliminary research for their senior projects. Students are encouraged to consider whether volunteer work or, in some cases, even part-time jobs they currently are engaged in could be shaped into a fieldwork project by identifying a research focus and a product that would result from such a focus.⁴

Fieldwork Proposals must include an explanation of how the project reinforces the student's learning goals and must identify the on-site supervisor or the faculty mentor who will be overseeing the student's progress. Students must also describe the activities in which they will engage and the product that will result from the project. Products vary considerably according to the nature of the projects: they may include journals, documented essays, annotated bibliographies, portfolios, or posters for an undergraduate research conference presentation.

Honors program administrators and faculty support students in their proposal drafting process in a number of ways. We arrange workshops conducted by our University's internship coordinator and our Study Abroad coordinator. We provide them with extensive lists of area nonprofit organizations whose missions may correspond not only with their professional goals but with their broader personal growth agendas; we encourage them to research non profits that interest them and to design and propose internship projects to organization administrators if none currently are in place.⁵

Some students encounter difficulties pursuing internships this early in their college careers; by fall of their sophomore year most of them have completed very little course work in their majors and have not cultivated a professional perspective on their fields. But this accelerated timeline actually has proven to have unanticipated benefits. Internship supervisors in some settings welcome eager students who might be able to work with them for a longer span and undergo a more protracted apprenticeship. In areas where their inexperience precludes a traditional internship, students

are encouraged to think of creative alternatives, designing projects that will enhance their learning and first-hand experience in the field by other means.⁶ They also are encouraged to think beyond narrow professional spheres and consider more civic-oriented projects, perhaps forging commitments that will endure throughout their professional lives.

Students continue to revise their fieldwork proposals until all the requisite information has been supplied and the proposal is approved by our Honors Junior Year Fieldwork Coordinator, a pre-requisite for registration in Honors 350. In her response to fieldwork proposals, the Fieldwork Coordinator indicates what students will be doing in the Fieldwork class meetings throughout their junior year and suggests how the fruits of the fieldwork experience they have described might fit into the course. They are informed that the class will examine discoveries students have made about the professional dimensions of their academic areas of specialization and explore workplace issues in the students' fields of interest, including power relations, discrepancies between stated and actual qualifications, types and degrees of employee satisfaction, management style and its effects, among other issues that surface in the students' experiences. They are encouraged to begin exploring such issues as soon as their fieldwork experiences begin by keeping a regular journal or log of their observations and insights into the "dynamics of work" in the professional or academic setting they have chosen.⁷

FIELDWORK CLASS: INQUIRY INTO THE DYNAMICS OF WORK

RATIONALE FOR THE CLASS

Although our students will spend the major part of their lives in the workplace, college curricula do not generally provide analytic tools for addressing the issues, dilemmas, frustrations and challenges they will confront. We typically do not provide them with an intellectual framework for assessing the potentially conflicting appeals of the material, spiritual and creative rewards of work, or the role that work plays in shaping their values, providing community, and impacting family life. Unless they pursue majors in areas such as industrial psychology, management, or the sociology of work, rarely are they challenged to think about factors that motivate or discourage productivity and gratification in the workplace or issues of power, diversity, discrimination and justice in the professional setting. They are not encouraged to consider the wide-ranging effects of work, including "burn out," health-related consequences, and the connection between work and self-esteem.

The entire academic experience of most students has reinforced the myth that, if one works hard, one will be rewarded and that individual effort will ensure high marks, awards and honors. We often do not prepare them for the fact that, in a wide range of fields, they will be subjected to factors beyond their individual control that may influence their potential for success, including the objectives of management and administrators or the state of the economy. We seldom effectively prepare them for the transition from a realm where individual effort is rewarded almost

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exclusively to cultures where achieving goals may require the ability to work productively with a team.

Further, students in fields that do not incorporate comparative cultural study are not familiar with the changing ideologies regarding work throughout history, i.e. work as punishment, as spiritually redeeming, as essential to social order, or as the source of self-actualization. Many are unaware of the social and cultural factors shaping these ideologies—the fact that work ethics and the structural conditions of work are arbitrary, contingent, and subject to change. Students need to be more conscious of and critical of their own culture’s prevailing work values and the assumptions that underlie dominant workplace structures and practices in order to imagine and create alternatives to traditional patterns that are oppressive, unjust or unproductive.⁸

Finally, the dynamics of work increasingly are being tapped and exploited by the popular media as a theme for engaging mass audiences. Twenty-five years ago, Pauline Kael indicted the Hollywood film industry for ignoring the workplace almost entirely, but today it is the setting for the most popular films and television shows. Whether the workplace is the police department, hospital, law office, television/newspaper or magazine pressroom, bookstore, restaurant, or urban high school, the “dynamics” of work are being portrayed in ways that reinforce cultural needs and fantasies or that reflect cultural fears and anxieties. How much does the media’s depiction of work influence our own expectations, and what critical tools are required to assess the media’s effects on popular audiences?⁹ These issues have vital impact on our students as they make the transition from college to full-time professional life, and a course reflecting upon them can help provide at least some of requisite tools for dealing with the panoply of work-related concerns they will face for the rest of their lives.

FIELDWORK COURSE STRUCTURE

As a typical Honors 350-51 course syllabus (See Appendix) indicates, the year-long, once-a-week Fieldwork class consists of discussion of readings, guest lectures by faculty who research work-related issues, student fieldwork reports, a class research project on media depictions of the workplace, and preparation for drafting Honors senior project proposals due at the end of the spring semester.¹⁰

COURSE READINGS

Selecting readings for class discussion can be one of the most stimulating and enjoyable dimensions of preparing the class. The more frequently one teaches it, consults with colleagues from a range of disciplines, and researches the literature of “work,” the easier it is to identify key themes and issues around which to group engaging and challenging readings. Several anthologies currently in print feature readings organized according to issues impacting the dynamics of work. *The Oxford Book of Work* groups excerpts from longer pieces into three chapters: 1. The Nature of Work (different assumptions about the role or function of work), 2. Types of Work, and 3. Reform of Work. Each section includes excerpts from fiction, poetry, and philosophic works spanning the history of Western Civilization and exemplifying

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variations on these themes or issues. The text, however, includes a disproportionate number of selections written by English authors and includes no critical apparatus, such as questions to generate student writing, or questions to stimulate critique of the assumptions underlying the selections.

Another anthology, *Making a Living: A Real World Reader*, includes primarily modern and contemporary nonfiction essays by American historians, journalists, sociologists, political scientists, and reformers. Readings are grouped thematically according to issues such as “The Meaning of Work,” “The Work Ethic,” workplace discrimination, and the workplace in the twenty-first century. Each chapter includes provocative questions to trigger student reflection, research and writing.¹¹

Several texts in particular generally elicit strong responses from students and stimulate absorbing discussion. One is Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi’s *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience*, which develops the author’s theory about the conditions that foster maximum engagement in and gratification from work. Another is *Working*, Studs Terkel’s classic collection of interviews with workers from across the socio-economic spectrum in America. The two texts afford powerful contrasts between worker engagement and worker alienation, trigger lively debate about social class assumptions underlying depictions of the workplace, and provoke students to voice deeply held convictions about what makes work valuable and the connection between work and self-esteem.

In my experience with this course, discussion of readings such as those I have described has proven the most successful component. Students are vested in addressing issues they know will be of vital significance for the better part of their lives. Discussion of these texts seems to provoke and partly exorcise anxieties they have about professionalism and enables them to fathom and articulate values they want to live by. They are provided with a chance to explore and assert the role they think work should play in their lives as a whole. Many of them insist that work must be “more than a job,” that their lives must be more than their work, that money should not be the prime gratification, that their work directly or indirectly should benefit society, and that they would leave jobs that cease to provide avenues for cultivating their gifts and talents or that do not reinforce a strong sense of personal efficacy. These are convictions that inevitably will be tested in the professional worlds they enter, and it may be of consequence that they initially were voiced and reinforced in a setting characterized by lively debate, differences in opinions and values, and analysis of texts that struck them as deeply significant.¹²

GUEST SPEAKERS

When I teach this course, I invite faculty from the departments of Sociology, Psychology, and Management to share with students the products of their research on issues related to employee motivation, management theory, ethical issues in the workplace, the challenges of diversity, and changes in the workplace triggered by technological and cultural innovation. In my initial experience with the class, I was disappointed that some of the faculty presentations elicited little response from the students, failing to generate lively discussion. Students told me that in some instances

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they wanted to respond or even to challenge the speaker but felt “unqualified” to interrogate speakers who struck them as knowledgeable experts.

The speakers who have elicited the liveliest responses are those whose comments resonate with students’ own work and study experiences. For instance, an industrial psychologist engaged them in lively discussion of the effects of various management styles, and, more importantly, helped them identify and critique assumptions about human motivation that dictate management approaches. Do they believe that humans are basically lazy and require carrots and prods to produce their best work, or are people naturally creative and productive when their gifts and talents are tapped? Most students also responded strongly to the passionate comments of a sociologist decrying the effects of the quest for uniform standards in public education and its stifling of creative teaching.

I realized the first time I taught the course that I had not supplied a clear context for the series of speakers: an intellectual frame that would encourage students to critique what they were hearing or to identify and interrogate the speakers’ underlying assumptions.¹³ This was partly due to the fact that, although I knew the general issues the speakers would be addressing, I could not anticipate exactly what they would say. Labor issues, of course, are ideological, and my faculty guests reflected the typical range of academic persuasions from mildly Marxist to ardent capitalist; their commentary naturally was colored by their own professional and intellectual commitments. In subsequent semesters I have tried to supply a stronger introductory frame for the speakers I plan to invite so that students can more effectively assess their assumptions, respond more actively to their comments, and critique their presentations. In follow-up discussions, I encourage students to identify issues the speaker subordinates or ignores and to consider how their focus is influenced by their field of inquiry, whether sociological, psychological or economic. I also have substantially reduced the number of guest speakers to one or two per semester, selecting those best able to provoke and stimulate students and to generate the most penetrating discussion.

FIELDWORK REPORTS

At various points in the fall and spring semesters students share with the class the fruits of their fieldwork experiences. I group fieldwork reports according to general professional or disciplinary areas so that students working in media settings, for instance, report in one class, while those engaged in fieldwork in education report in another. Students describe their activities and discuss the gratifications and frustrations they encountered. They share the key themes recurring in their journal entries, problems they encountered and how they attempted to resolve them, and indicate how the experience has affected their commitment to the profession. Finally they indicate what they learned about themselves, their talents, strengths, and limitations in the fieldwork experience.

In the second part of their presentations they are encouraged to move beyond their own experience and focus upon issues related to the dynamics of work in the professional setting they selected, issues that we have been exploring in class discussions, including workplace culture, management style, diversity issues, *etc.* They

also are encouraged to address contextual issues relevant to that particular profession or workplace, such as the tension between quality and marketability in media settings or pressures to “teach for the test” in educational settings. One problem in integrating fieldwork presentations into this course is that not all of the students are engaged in traditional workplace settings, especially students completing preliminary research for senior projects or designing an original project with a faculty mentor. Although course objectives dictate a focus on workplace dynamics, expectations for fieldwork reports must be flexible enough to accommodate the variety of fieldwork activities the students are pursuing. Ideally, students will be able to make connections between any form of sustained work and at least some of the key issues upon which the class has focused.

In my initial experiences with the course I considered the fieldwork report component only moderately successful; the key problem was eliciting the interest of students in each other’s fieldwork experience. Why should they care what another student has experienced or learned? As might be expected, responses were most lively when we were able to draw out common threads among the reports and connect them to issues that the entire class cared about and that we had been focusing upon in our readings and discussions. For instance, students working in radio, television and newspaper settings all referred to “free speech” issues, which generated a lively discussion of the dilemmas confronting professionals in editorial positions, specifically the challenges to “free speech” for newspapers and radio stations at private, religiously affiliated universities such as Saint Xavier.

Successful fieldwork report experiences prompted me to institute a significant change in the format I initially employed. Instead of spontaneous and potentially unsuccessful attempts on the part of the class and the teacher to identify themes and issues of general interest in a group of related fieldwork reports at the time they are being presented, the group itself assumes the challenge of making their experiences real and relevant for a general audience of peers. Now I ask each group to meet before the presentation date, share their experiences and their reports with one another, and identify key differences and similarities. They identify the issues likely to prove most informative, provocative and relevant for their audience, and issues that connect most intimately to the themes and texts we all have been discussing and critiquing in class. They prepare a presentation and a discussion generated by their combined experience of the dynamics of work in their fields or disciplines. As Wagner observes, the best model for conducting discourse drawn from individual experiences without losing a communal focus is found in psychotherapy and its application of group therapy techniques (27). His discussion of ways to adapt such a model to a fieldwork class is useful in developing this component of the course.¹⁴

CLASS RESEARCH PROJECT

In order to examine the popular media’s treatments of the workplace and initiate discussion of their cultural impacts, students engage in a class research project in which each student selects several popular films or several episodes of a television series that focus on a workplace and workplace dynamics. Employing the strategies

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of content analysis and textual criticism (Vande Berg 21-27), students are asked to view the text repeatedly and to describe and interpret its treatment of the work setting, employee relations, effects of management style, workplace gratifications and frustrations, issues of diversity or discrimination, or other workplace issues represented in the text. They are encouraged to assess the “realism” of the depiction and to interpret its appeal to popular audiences—to speculate on the cultural fantasies, anxieties or fears that are being reinforced. Students are prodded to identify underlying ideologies of work reflected, critiqued or satirized in the texts they examine and to support their interpretations.

Each student produces a five- to ten-page essay analyzing selected texts, and all the students share summaries of their findings with smaller study groups and then with the entire class. Class discussions focus on the key patterns that emerge in the summaries and on the power of the entertainment media to reinforce or to challenge popular assumptions, fantasies and illusions about the world of work. Students respond well to this project, and class discussions generally provoke lively debate about the popular media’s tendency to reinforce stereotypes and widespread cultural values even in programming or films that on the surface appear to be challenging them. Although students generally are familiar with the texts their peers have selected, their choices for analysis are usually quite diverse; few students select the same films or television series, documenting how ubiquitous the workplace has become as a setting for storytelling in the popular media.¹⁵

SENIOR PROJECT PROPOSAL

The final goal of the junior year Fieldwork course is to help students develop and draft their proposals for the research or creative projects which all Honors candidates complete during their senior year under the supervision of a faculty mentor who receives an independent study stipend for this commitment. They must have an approved proposal in order to continue in the program and to be admitted to Honors 352, Honors Senior Project Seminar, in the fall of their senior year. Early in the fall semester of the junior year Honors Fieldwork course, class time is dedicated to close readings of our *Senior Project Handbook* and to discussion of expectations, deadlines, sample proposals, and projects. In order to facilitate students’ planning and spadework, faculty from different disciplines are invited to class to describe research conventions and methods in their fields. They suggest valuable, manageable and “doable” types of projects that undergraduates in those disciplines can successfully complete and offer advice about designing the project and formulating a proposal.

For these presentations I invite colleagues who love research and who enjoy mentoring students in methods and project design. They convey their excitement and gratification in their own research, help to demystify the process for students, and provide excellent advice about choosing topics that really matter to them as well as limiting the scope of the project to what can viably be accomplished in a year’s time. In their evaluations of the class, students frequently claim that these sessions help ease their anxieties and help them conceptualize concrete projects that engage their

interest. Several Fieldwork class sessions in the winter and spring are committed to students' sharing progress reports on their senior project proposals.¹⁶

In my initial experience with this course, I failed to integrate the senior project preparation effectively into the thematic focus upon work and the workplace. In subsequent experiences I have prodded the class to consider academic and applied research as a model of work that has its own "dynamic" and ideological context. In view of Csikszentmihalyi's concept of "Flow," for instance, academic research should provide optimal work gratification: it is sequenced to provide constant challenges, it is willfully chosen and self-directed, and it advances toward clearly identified, concrete goals. But academic research also might be viewed as a form of professional socialization, the "ticket" that provides entrée into advancement in the discipline, and testimony that one has absorbed its codes and conventions. My goal is to encourage students to be circumspect about the project to which they are about to commit themselves. In some cases, this sort of critique of research as work might even prevent those who have no real conviction about the value of such a project from pursuing it.

It was also clear in their evaluations of the class the first time I taught it that students wanted more first-hand testimony from peers engaged in the research process rather than relying solely on the direction of faculty "experts." Now when I teach the course, I invite seniors who have nearly completed at least the first drafts of their projects to talk with the junior Fieldwork class about their process and progress, the frustrations, challenges and rewards of their work, and their honest assessment of the value of such work. They also describe their strategies for remaining "on task" and their working relationships with their faculty mentors, invariably triggering discussion of the variety of "management" styles and their effects on students engaged in extended projects. Junior Fieldwork students might also be asked to interview faculty who have been senior project mentors, inquiring about the qualities of effective proposals, work habits that promote successful completion of the project, and the interventions that stimulate motivation and focus should they begin to wane. In short, my goal is more effectively to treat the senior project as another form of work, in the dynamics of which the students are critically engaged.

ASSESSMENT OF THE COURSE

Student evaluations of the Junior Year Fieldwork course and assessment of fieldwork products and of student performance in the class indicate that, despite the conceptual and practical problems cited throughout this discussion, a course integrating hands-on fieldwork with an analysis of the dynamics of work in our culture can be a valuable pedagogic experience for undergraduates. Students are almost uniformly positive in their assessment of the value of the fieldwork project in which they engage, not just because it has supplied them with first hand career building experience but because it has enriched their sense of confidence and personal efficacy. In some cases their internships have led to part- or full-time employment, and in a few instances negative internship experiences have triggered reflection that ultimately convinced students to change their professional focus. Students are appreciative of

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the fact that fieldwork proposal criteria are broad enough to enable them to design projects that tap into their own interests and, in some cases, projects that enable them to integrate their various fields of interests. Students engaged in preliminary research for their senior projects express wonder and delight that they can receive course credit just for researching and reading about topics that stimulate them. Other students note that the fieldwork project encourages them to continue satisfying volunteer work and to enrich the experience by reading theoretical and professional literature in the field. Students in education whose projects involve classroom observations and participation in teaching activities claim they feel more confident than peers who lack this experience as they approach their formal student teaching assignments.

In some cases the junior year fieldwork experience provides material for a far more ambitious and substantial senior project than students likely would produce without it; this is particularly true for junior science majors who can begin senior project laboratory research in the fall of their junior year and for students in other majors who elect to do preliminary research projects that will continue into their senior year. Recent institutional research on retention rates documents that the Honors program at Saint Xavier is having a significant impact on the retention of students who enter the university with high ACT scores and GPA's. The finding has been widely attributed to the personalized attention that Honors junior year fieldwork and senior project mentoring provide—a process that actually begins as early as fall of the student's sophomore year.

Clearly, the benefits of the Honors Fieldwork course affect more than the students in the Honors Program. Each year a small but significant proportion of students design projects that contribute to the mission and goals of programs, departments or offices on our campus, including our newspaper, radio station, public relations division, film series, and clinical programs. The Honors program receives accolades university-wide for these contributions. Faculty from across the four schools of the university seem to enjoy sharing with Honors students the gratifications of research in their disciplines and the fruits of their own research into the dynamics of work in our culture. In some cases students discover in the guest faculty their future senior-project mentors, or at least advisors who can help them formulate their proposals and find an appropriate mentor in the field. The process provides a means of getting a much wider range of faculty throughout the university vested in the Honors Program.

In their evaluations of the Fieldwork course students also have responded powerfully, although not with complete unanimity, to the class inquiry into the dynamics of work. Some students want to focus only upon what they view as “the tasks at hand”—their personal fieldwork and impending senior projects. But many students comment that it is compelling and revealing to hear how others in the group think about work and also claim to have been stimulated by the connections they could make between the themes and issues explored in the course and their own previous and current employment and fieldwork experience. They comment that the discussions, readings and speakers challenge them to think beyond the current tasks in which they are engaged and to consider the lifelong value of work, even though they sometimes acknowledge resistance to this topic of inquiry. And many students express a genuine interest in reading about the workplace experiences, gratifications,

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and frustrations of people quite different from themselves. Many of them who find these discussions valuable claim that the course will have lasting impacts, e.g., “an expanded view of work” and “the realization that if you pursue work that is wrong for you, it will kill some piece of you.”

The most consistent criticism comes from students who consider the interrogation of the dynamics of work too general and abstract. This is understandable given that the students in the class represent the entire range of our university’s curriculum, including the professional programs. Some students would prefer that the entire course focus on a specific, concrete issue such as discrimination in the workplace or sexual harassment, and some students would prefer that the course supply more practical advice to facilitate their transition to graduate school or into the career of their choosing. Although I have resisted revising the course to so narrow a focus, I have responded to student suggestions that it incorporate more “first-hand testimony” from the “front lines” by inviting job or graduate school recruiters to share with students the qualifications and qualities they prioritize in applicants and potential colleagues. But I believe the testimony of these representatives from the “real world” also must be critiqued to interrogate the values and assumptions underlying their comments. Most importantly, I have responded to students’ suggestions that the course tap more fully their own past work experiences; the first time I taught the course some students noted in their evaluations that it seemed to be designed around the assumption that they were completely ignorant of the world of work.

The more frequently I teach the course, read student evaluations of it, and solicit student suggestions about what it should include and aim to accomplish, the more I realize that some student resistance to an exploration of “the dynamics of work” in our culture is inevitable, especially at a university primarily comprised of first-generation college students. Many of them are struggling with conflicting needs for security and stimulation; they often are attempting to negotiate between parental expectations and their own desires, and they are not always willing to pursue an interrogation of issues that trigger anxiety about their personal and professional destinies. Students will even occasionally comment that they really aren’t interested in hearing, thinking and talking about what makes work valuable or meaningful for other people; their focus must be exclusively on their own professional satisfaction.

But the responses of students who claim that their field work experiences and classroom discussions of workplace issues force them to think “beyond the protective barrier of academia” and “engage them in a larger world of human experience” compel me to keep working with the course to enhance its value for all students who take it. Watching students grapple passionately with the implications of life-altering decisions before they begin making them persuades me that I should respect the “malaise,” or even the apathy, that some students express regarding the topic as a contextually valid and challenging “subject position” for negotiation, rather than as an obstacle to engagement.

NOTES

I want to thank my colleagues Larry Frank, Laurence Musgrove and Jim Walker for reading and offering helpful suggestions for revising this article. I also want to thank the many Honors 350/351 students who have provided me with valuable insights into the strengths and weaknesses of the course.

1. Educators endorsing experiential learning base their arguments on cognitive and learning theory as well as on empirical research that has documented its benefits. Braid surveys the work of cognitive theorists, the arguments of epistemologists and the research methods of anthropologists that reinforce the efficacy of integrative learning which bridges the “schism between academy and world.” She examines the application of these theoretical perspectives in the design of NCHC’s “Honors Semesters.” Wagner surveys three main traditions of experiential learning (group process, games/simulation, internships/field studies) and the learning theories that underlie and validate each. Representative of empirical research documenting specific benefits of experiential learning activities are studies that show positive correlations between internships and increased interest in the profession, enhanced personal efficacy, and sense of self as active participant/colleague in the profession (Moore, Prouty, Portnoff); studies that document correlations between experiential learning activities and greater job satisfaction in the profession, increased employment opportunities, development of stronger interpersonal skills, and higher starting salaries (Taylor, Ciofalo, Gabris and Mitchell, Fuller); and studies that document perceived improved quality of entry level employees after implementation of internship or fieldwork programs (Dale, Saul).

2. Saint Xavier is a coeducational Catholic university with 3500 ethnically diverse and primarily first-generation college students, located on Chicago’s far Southwest side. About 100 students currently are enrolled in the Undergraduate Honors Program. Honors students can pursue majors in any of the university’s four schools: Arts and Sciences, Nursing, Education and Business.

3. The *Handbook for Honors Junior Year Fieldwork* is available on our website: www.sxu.edu/honors.

4. For instance, a student double majoring in Psychology and Religious Studies turned her volunteer work with the elderly in a neighborhood nursing home into a fieldwork project by conducting interviews with residents, staff and administrators focusing upon factors influencing morale of the residents. A representative sample of fieldwork projects in which junior Honors students currently are engaged includes interning at area radio stations, newspapers and law offices; conducting laboratory research with faculty mentors; designing a promotional campaign for our university’s film series; working with autistic children on basic speech skills; semesters in Spain and London; a Philosophy/Biology double major’s project to design a syllabus for an introductory course in Bioethics; projects by education majors working with teacher/mentors at local schools; a preliminary research project on Korean unification; and building a website covering South Side Chicago’s rock music scene.

5. Lists of nonprofits in the greater Chicago area are available on the Website of the Association Forum: www.associationforum.org/resources/memberOrganizations.asp. Websites exist

nationwide for comparable subsidiaries of the National Society of Association Executives (NSAE). In her workshops, our university's internship coordinator focuses on researching internships and resumé writing. Working with students individually, her staff posts their resumes on line, directs them to the office's extensive and current internship files, and connects students with Alumni Mentors who often provide excellent conduits to valuable internship options.

6. For instance, speech pathology or education students who have not yet accumulated the credentials to engage directly in clinical work or in student teaching have designed fieldwork projects incorporating observation of the professional setting, shadowing and dialoguing with professional mentors as they engage in their work, journaling, and researching specific issues they identify in the workplace.

7. Students have the option to begin their fieldwork projects the summer before their junior year. Generally, they register for one semester hour of Honor 350/351 for attending the weekly fieldwork class in the fall and spring of their junior year, and up to 2 additional credit hours each semester based on the number of hours per week they commit to their fieldwork projects or internships. Where appropriate, their fieldwork may be integrated with internship requirements in their majors. Students who spend a semester or year in study abroad automatically satisfy the Honors Junior Year Fieldwork requirement, under the condition that they also submit a Fieldwork Product based on the fruits of their experience.

8. The Introduction to the *Oxford Book of Work* supplies an effective summary of changing ideologies regarding the purpose and value of work, and chapters I and II provide a wide range of readings that exemplify these changing assumptions. Pages 206-07 of this anthology supply a useful condensed historical survey of the evolution of the workday, work week and work year, with its corollary "times off" for weekends and vacations. Readings in Chapter III reflect the gradual separation of home and workplace and the related binary opposition between public (professional) vs. private (domestic) identities. The introduction to Chapters I and II of *Making a Living: A Real World Reader* and the essays included in these chapters provide an excellent survey of historically conditioned work ethics and ideologies. A related objective for the course is to reinforce the notion of the college experience as a form of work, which students negotiate with their own "ethics." What constitutes "success" for them in their academic work—good grades or personal growth? What motivates and discourages them in their academic work? Do they regard course requirements as a "curse" or as an opportunity to cultivate their gifts and talents?

9. Kael, 216. Academics engaged in cultural criticism of popular television programming have made valuable contributions to scholarship since the 1960's (Gitlin, Newcomb), but not until the 1980's do we begin to see critics focus upon the implications of popular media depictions of the workplace. A pioneering example is Zynda's essay attributing the popularity of the *Mary Tyler Moore Show* to its idealization of the workplace as family. He argues that the motif eased cultural anxiety over feminist threats to domestic order and other social trends widely viewed as undermining traditional family values. Darker treatments of the workplace in Moore's subsequent spin-off shows were never as popular with viewing audiences. In their comprehensive analysis of prime time television's depiction of the workplace, Vande Berg

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and Trujillo document the recurring metaphors for workplace dynamics reinforced by television programming (workplace as “family,” as “machine,” as “organism,” and as “political arena”), as well as the dominant “lessons” about organizational life that are reinforced or suppressed by the medium.

10. Faculty and administrators who designed the Honors Program at Saint Xavier assumed that students’ senior creative/research project might evolve directly from their fieldwork experiences, which would provide fertile soil for cultivating research proposals. This has proven the case for some students, but others have gravitated towards completely different topics or issues for their senior projects.

11. My academic background is literary, and the first time I taught this class I had not yet discovered the wide range of materials available in anthologies such as the two I have described. Readings on my initial syllabus were disproportionately “literary.” They included disturbing and exhilarating fictional treatments of workplace issues. I still consider carefully selected excerpts from these sources excellent material for exploring and debating workplace issues: Melville’s “Bartleby” and “Tartarus of Maids”; critiques of the capitalist work ethic in *Walden*; disturbing selections from Rebecca Harding Davis, Theodore Drieser, and Upton Sinclair juxtaposed to inspiring depictions of work in Thoreau, Frost, Marge Piercy, Seamus Heaney; or satirical treatment of workers and the workplace such as John Updike’s “A & P.” Discussion can focus on the cultural conditions that influenced these texts and can critique their ideological assumptions: e.g. is Thoreau’s critique of his Concord neighbors’ work ethic “elitist” and “irrelevant”? Selections from one’s academic area may be limitless; teachers designing the course must think through the issues they consider valuable for students to interrogate, and determine which texts to connect and juxtapose. Student reactions and suggestions can help teachers discover the texts with the most resonance for their undergraduates. Discussions of texts such as these are extremely successful in a class comprised of majors from across the disciplines. Students “tap” into learning they have acquired from courses in their majors, personal experiences, and cultural texts that have made an impression on them since childhood; no one “voice” or ideological persuasion tends to dominate.

12. In their response writing, students frequently thank me for assigning chapters from Csikszentmihalyi’s *Flow*. They find particular resonance in his discussion of “psychic entropy,” his term for mental attitudes—anger, fear, self doubt, jealousy, pain, anxiety—that undermine our attention and progress towards goals that matter to us most. They relate to the author’s anecdotes illustrating how even routine or repetitive jobs can be made stimulating by imposing personal challenges, and they describe ways in which they, too, have made boring but necessary work more interesting by employing such strategies. The text seems to inspire many students’ insistence that no kind of work is inherently more valuable or more interesting than others; their primarily working class backgrounds may account for Saint Xavier Honors students’ insistence on the value of all types of work performed with passion, love or intensity, perhaps easing psychic ambivalence about pursuing professional goals that differ from those of their parents.

Their responses to Terkel’s interviews in *Working* reinforce this hypothesis. Students seem most to admire the dedication to perfectionism and the pride in a job

well done voiced by many of Terkel's blue collar workers, whom they frequently compare to their own parents. At the same time they assert most adamantly the impossibility of their ever working for long in a setting where repetition, tedium or depersonalization stifles creativity, or where they are not respected as individuals and as professionals. They are eager to identify patterns that emerge in the narratives, especially in the conditions that trigger alienation and engagement, and the psychic effects of frustration or excitement with work. Both *Flow* and *Working* stimulate connections for students between abstract issues we are exploring and their actual personal past and present employment experiences. Both texts also provoke stimulating discussion of ethical issues in the workplace: Csikszentmihalyi acknowledges that "optimal" creative engagement can occur in work that is subversive to the welfare of the community as a whole, and some of Terkel's most frustrated workers are highly paid professionals engaged in work with potentially negative effects on society.

13. One student, for instance, told me after the class where the sociologist castigated the "stifling" standards movement in public education that she was weary of hearing professors in the College of Arts and Sciences tell her how miserable her life will be as a high school teacher charged with improving standardized test scores. So many of her friends currently teaching high school tell her how exciting, gratifying and creative they find their jobs. She was convinced that an effective teacher could be creative and also meet standards, but she was not sure how to challenge this professor's arguments or contest his "evidence," which was primarily anecdotal.

14. Following the suggestion of a student on the Fieldwork course evaluation, I now supplement student fieldwork reports by inviting graduate students, as well as former students who are now working professionally in the disciplines of their undergraduate majors, to share with fieldwork students the challenges and difficulties encountered in the transition from undergraduate to graduate work, and from academic life to professional life. The student had commented that he wanted to hear, "not about how fieldwork will help me but how it HAS helped others, and what is in store for me."

15. Although students particularly enjoy this project, and it triggers lively and provocative discussion, I have considered integrating alternative research and writing projects into this course. In their research writing textbook, *Fieldworking*, Sunstein and Chiseri-Strater provide suggestions and models for excellent essays resulting from close observation and analysis of work sites and workplace cultures. This text outlines carefully sequenced field research activities designed to produce ethnographic analysis of workplaces. Students are cued to observe and record field notes on physical details of the work setting and symbolic artifacts, insider language, behavior patterns and habits, dress, levels of authority, and quality of workplace communication and relationships. They also incorporate insights gained from interviews of work site employees, clients and administrators. Such a workplace ethnography could be a valuable and stimulating fieldwork product option for students in this course.

Other writing projects might include essays in which students attempt to trace how their own work ethic evolved, perhaps incorporating insights gleaned from interviewing parents and other relatives or acquaintances who have strongly influenced

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them. Students might also consider the influences of cultural institutions to which they have been closely bound, such as church and school. Finally, they might be asked to write an essay reflecting upon college as work. They could be asked to speculate on the kind of work ethic they have evolved in their academic life, and the factors that motivate and frustrate them in their efforts. What produces "Flow" in academic work? How does their academic work connect to their extra-curricular employment, and are the two at odds or are they in any ways mutually reinforcing?

16. In some instances senior project proposals evolve directly from junior year fieldwork projects, especially for students engaged in lab research and preliminary research projects. The topics or issues that they gravitate towards in their junior fieldwork research become the foci of their senior projects.

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The author can be reached at:
hiltner@sxu.edu

**APPENDIX:
SAMPLE HONORS FIELDWORK SYLLABUS**

HONOR 350/351 : HONORS FIELDWORK I&II:

FALL, 2001: TUESDAY, 12:30-1:50

SPRING, 2002: THURSDAY 12:30-1:50

Course Objectives: To share insights students are gaining from their fieldwork experiences, especially as they shed light on the “dynamics of work” in a wide range of fields. We all spend a good part of our lives in the workplace, but college doesn’t necessarily equip us with tools for assessing, evaluating and reflecting upon this important component of our lives. This course is designed to make us more self conscious about work place issues, including the effects of management styles and structures; the nature of power in the work place; issues regarding diversity in the work place; employee frustrations and satisfactions; disparities between employee expectations and actual work conditions; stated versus “de-facto” job qualifications; “trade-offs” between the material vs. the spiritual or creative rewards of work, and other issues that students wish to explore. Guest lectures and short readings will provide a springboard and a theoretical context for discussing students’ firsthand experiences in the work place.

A second objective of the courses will be to prepare students to produce a proposal for their senior year research/creative project. The proposal will be due during the spring, 2002 semester. Sample proposals will be examined and faculty from various disciplines will be invited to class to discuss the rewards and challenges of research in those fields, the conventions and expectations of research projects and what a senior project proposal should include.

Texts (Hand out and reserve readings):

“Defending the Senior Honors Thesis” Albert J. Spiegel, former Honors Student
Selections from Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, *Flow*

Selections from Studs Terkel, *Working*

Selected essays, chapters, short stories and poems depicting and interpreting work and the workplace

Pauline Kael and Thomas Zynda chapters on media depiction of the workplace

Course Requirements for Honor 350/351

Fieldwork supervisor’s evaluation (submitted by due date)

Fieldwork product

In class report on your fieldwork experience

Completion of assigned readings, responses to discussion questions and active class participation

Work place in the media assignment

Senior project proposal approved by faculty mentor and submitted by due date

Attendance (Mandatory except on those dates you are excused; absences will result

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in lower grade for Course.) Participation in class discussions, informal sharing of your fieldwork experiences where applicable to class discussions of workplace issues

- Class 1: Tuesday August 27
Introduction to the course, its objectives and course format
Survey of fieldwork proposals, placements and intended fieldwork products
Clarify information that still needs to be submitted to Dr. Hiltner
- Class 2: Tuesday September 3
Discuss Spiegel essay “Defending the Senior Honors Thesis”
Discuss expectations senior project
Examine Senior Project Handbook, Discuss finding a mentor
- Class 3: Tuesday September 10
Stimulation in Work
Discuss Selections from *Flow*
***Supervisor evaluations for fieldwork completed in the summer due
- Class 4: Tuesday September 17
Finish Discussing *Flow*
Summer Fieldwork Experience: Education: Jenny Yarmoska, Andy Rybarczyk
- Class 5: Tuesday September 24
Summer Fieldwork Experience: Accounting/Management: Stan Komorowski, Bill Mason; Study Abroad: Jennifer Huestis, Physical Therapy: Maureen Nelson
- Class 6: Tuesday October 1
Guest faculty discuss research design in the professional disciplines, “Testimony” from current Honors students engaged in senior projects in marketing and education
- Class 7: Tuesday October 8
Workplace Alienation: Discuss Melville’s “Bartleby, the Scrivener”
***Summer Fieldwork Products Due
- Class 8: Tuesday, October 15
No class, start exploring ideas for your senior project, read a little, make initial contact with possible mentors
- Class 9: Tuesday, October 22
Guest faculty member discusses factors contributing to employee alienation
- Class 10: Tuesday, October 29
Guest Faculty discuss research design in History/Social Sciences/ Psychology
“Testimony” from current Honors students engaged in senior projects in political science and psychology
- Class 11: Tuesday, November 5
Workplace gratification and frustration
Discuss Selections from *Working*

LEARNING CURVES

Class 12: Tuesday, November 12

Discuss Selections from *Working*

Class 13: Tuesday, November 19

NO WHOLE CLASS MEETING. Students planning senior projects in science, math, communication or English meet with faculty in those disciplines and with Honors seniors doing projects in those areas

Class 14: Tuesday, November 26

No Class, prepare to present preliminary senior project proposal ideas, and to discuss readings on film/television depiction of the workplace

Class 15: Tuesday, December 3

Discuss Kael and Zynda readings on media depiction of the workplace
Review expectations for discussion and paper on media depiction of the workplace

***Share and turn in preliminary senior project proposal ideas

***Supervisor evaluations for fieldwork completed in the fall due

HONOR 351: SPRING 2003: THURSDAY: 12:30-1:50

Class 1: Thursday, January 16

Course objectives for spring (due dates for drafts of Senior Project Proposal)

Groups share their analyses and critiques of a popular media's view of work and the workplace

Class 2: Thursday, January 23

Group reports on the workplace as depicted in the popular media

***Fall Fieldwork Products due

Class 3: Thursday, January 30

Complete group reports on the workplace as depicted in the popular media

Class 4: Thursday, February 6

Faculty member from Industrial Psychology discusses Factors Contributing to Employee Motivation

***Papers on media treatment of the workplace due

Class 5: Thursday, February 13

Explore status of proposals for senior projects, Identify Mentors

***"State of my Proposal" report due

Class 6: Thursday, February 20

Guest Faculty discuss Gender and Race issues in the Workplace, Career "Life Cycles"

Class 7: Thursday, February 27

Employee Frustration and Gratification: discuss "A&P," Selection from *Walden*, "To Be of Use" (poem)

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- Class 8: Thursday, March 6
Fieldwork experience in medical settings and lab research: Rochelle Sweis, Christine Ejka, Christina Niemiec
Clarify number of hours students should register for HONOR 352/53:
Senior Project Seminar
- Class 9: Thursday, March 20
Graduate school experience: question and answer session with students in law school, medical school, graduate programs in Arts, Sciences, Education and Business
- Class 10: Thursday, March 27
Fieldwork experience in preliminary research projects: Obstacles, discoveries, frustration and rewards: Mike Piccarillo, Mark Kral, Dan Zec, Eric O'Brien
- Class 11: Thursday, April 3
Fieldwork experience in Actuarial Study, Survey Research, Database Management, Journalism:
Janet McHugh, Bill Dimitropoulos, Bill Mason, Kate Mata
Fieldwork experience as study abroad: Electronic communication from Spain and England? Lisa Johnson, Mike Landis
- Class 12: Thursday, April 10
No Class: Prepare Senior Project Proposal
- Class 13: Thursday, April 17
***Selected students present Senior Project Proposals (mentors and Honors Senior Project Coordinator attend)
Clarify when any necessary revisions are due
***All Fieldwork Products Due
- Class 14: Thursday, April 24
***Selected students present Senior Project Proposals (mentors and Honors Senior Project Coordinator attend)
Clarify when any necessary revisions are due
- Class 15: Thursday, May 1
***Selected students present Senior Project Proposals (mentors and Honors Senior Project Coordinator attend)
Clarify when any necessary revisions are due
***Supervisor evaluations for fieldwork completed in Spring due

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**“A Country Wonderfully
Prepared for their
Entertainment”**
*The Aftermath of the New
England Indian Epidemic of 1616*

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UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

A formidable mythology has grown up around the Pilgrims and their voyage to the New World. In the popular myth a group of idealistic religious reformers fled persecution into the wilds of the New World, braving seas, storms, winter, hunger, and death at the hands of teeming hordes of Indians, carving a new life out of an unspoiled wilderness, building a civilization with naked force of will and an unshakable religious vision. As with most historical myths, this account has been idealized to the point that it obscures the facts of the Pilgrims' voyage. When the handful of separatists stepped onto the shores of New England in 1620, they did not step into an untamed wilderness. They did not run into wild bands of ravenous savages bent on their destruction, nor did they ever have to contend with the full force of nature's fury. In fact, they walked into an abandoned village, whose inhabitants had been gone barely long enough for weeds to grow over the tilled fields of corn. They discovered caches of crops, tools, and other supplies, as if they were waiting to be found and put into use by industrious hands. They moved quietly into a graveyard and built their shining example of a city on the hill directly on the still-exposed carcasses of dead Indians.

The site they had chosen was of late the Indian village of Patuxet, which had been wiped off the face of the earth a few years earlier by a plague the likes of which the natives had never seen before. It was a virgin soil epidemic of biblical proportions, which left no aspect of Indian society untouched. Economic networks crumbled and trade routes faltered; political boundaries and military fortunes changed overnight as the relative strength of tribes fluctuated; even the religious beliefs of many Indians were undermined, such was the power of this sweeping sickness. The Pilgrims arrived into this maelstrom of terror, a world reeling from the body blow it had just received and struggling desperately to reconstitute itself. And while the epidemic had a direct and appalling effect on the destiny of the Indians, through the fate of the Indians it affected the Pilgrims as well. The Pilgrims invoked the epidemic and its cataclysmic depopulation of the countryside time and again as proof that they were destined to rule New England, and they followed suit by following an

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aggressive policy of political subjugation. At the same time, the devastation of the population and resulting demoralization caused by the ravages of an unstoppable disease first allowed the Pilgrims to gain a toehold at Plymouth, then eventually resulted in the long-term success of their designs for regional dominion.

The epidemic began no later than 1616. During that year the English explorer Richard Vines wintered at the mouth of the Saco River and there witnessed the natives suffering from a disease that his employer, Ferdinando Gorges, termed “the Plague.”¹ Though the epidemic affected the New England coast between the Kennebec River and possibly Penobscot Bay to the north and Narragansett Bay in the south, its effects seem to have been limited to those tribes that were involved in a loose confederation with French traders, including the Massachusetts, Wampanoags,² Pawtuckets, Pemaquids, Pennacooks, and Abenaki.³ The northern Abenaki mostly hunted furs to trade for corn from the southern tribes, forming a network of trade routes that helped the disease spread from one area to another. Notably, the Narragansetts, who lived south of Narragansett Bay and traded with the Dutch, were not appreciably affected by the epidemic.⁴

Diagnosis of the particular malady that afflicted the Indians of the Massachusetts coast is problematic for several reasons. First, the dearth of eyewitnesses forces historians to rely mostly on second-hand reports from surviving Indians, most of whom conveyed their information through a formidable language barrier. The only two Europeans who witnessed the epidemic firsthand were Richard Vines and Thomas Dermer, of whom the latter visited the Massachusetts coast in 1619.⁵ Vines’ original observations have not survived, and though they are reported through accounts left by Ferdinando Gorges, this diffusion of information somewhat weakens their reliability. Furthermore, the variety of sources that refer to diseases in the early days of European colonization used exceedingly vague terminology and apparently applied it more in a descriptive sense than a diagnostic one. Of the twenty-three contemporary sources cited by Herbert Williams in his analysis of the 1616 epidemic, twelve referred to the disease simply as “the plague.”⁶ Even a glance at some of these sources

¹ Ferdinando Gorges, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, 3 vols., ed. James Pinney Baxter (Boston: Prince Society Publications, 1890), 2:19.

² referred to as Pokanoket in some sources, after the location of the largest village. In the rest of this paper they will be referred to as Wampanoags, but the name used in quoted sources will be left intact.

³ Sherburne F. Cook, “The Significance of Disease in the Extinction of the New England Indian,” *Human Biology* 45 (1973): 485-508, quoted in Timothy Bratton, “Identity of the New England Indian Epidemic of 1616-1619,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 62, no. 3 (1988): 352.

⁴ William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. William T. Davis (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1908), 118; Nathaniel Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, ed. Howard J. Hall (New York: Scholars’ Facsimiles & Reprints, 1937), 31.

⁵ Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols., (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1905-7), 19:128-134.

⁶ Herbert Williams, “The Epidemic of the Indians of New England, 1616-1620,” *The John Hopkins Hospital Bulletin* 20, no. 224 (1909): 340-349.

reveals the loose sense in which the word is employed. For example, in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, he refers to the same disease variously as "a sweeping mortality," "a prodigious pestilence," and "an horrible and unusual plague"—all on the same page.⁷ In *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, Charles Adams commented, "In the seventeenth century the name 'plague' was a convenient one, popularly used in connection with any fatal epidemic the nature and symptoms of which physicians did not understand."⁸ Since most of the commentators were not trained physicians but explorers, farmers, and businessmen, their descriptions cannot be considered anything other than the observations of amateurs.

These considerations make a definitive identification of the 1616 epidemic impossible. In his exhaustive analysis of the possible candidates for the disease, however, the medical historian Timothy Bratton sets down these definitive facts: in order to cause the horrific depopulation figures reported by various authorities, the case mortality rate must have been between 50-75%; "the disease originated in Europe and represented a classic 'virgin soil' encounter between Amerindians and alien contagion"; the three definitive symptoms described by Vines, Dermer, and later Gookin were a severe headache, lingering pockmarks, and a pronounced yellowing of the skin.⁹ With these facts, and the above considerations, in mind, Bratton produces three candidates which fit many, though not all, of the criteria for the epidemic. A diagnosis of bubonic plague is supported by the appalling mortality rate and the disease's ability to sustain its virulence through the winter, but the lack of the necessary population density or any mention of the characteristic buboes weaken this case significantly. Additionally, in the early seventeenth century Massachusetts possessed no significant rodent population and its climate was decidedly unsuitable for the *Xenopsylla cheopsis* flea, thus depriving the plague of its crucial vectors.¹⁰ Bratton makes a novel case for a diagnosis of cerebrospinal meningitis, citing its extraordinary case-mortality rate (as high as 77%), the immunity of the carriers, and the incidence of both pockmarks and headaches as symptoms.¹¹ However, this leaves aside the important criterion of jaundice. More importantly: though meningitis has a high mortality rate, its attack rate—on the order of 3.5 cases per thousand even among virgin populations—is far too low to cause the depopulation described by later writers.¹² Smallpox, on the other hand, possesses both the necessary attack and mortality rate; its symptoms include the preceding headache and resulting pockmarks; Europeans such as Vines and his party would have been immune to its effects; and there is some paleopathological evidence of skeletal deformities consistent with smallpox attacks on children.¹³ The most serious flaw in

⁷ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, (Hartford: Silus Andrus, 1820), 49. Emphasis in original.

⁸ Charles Francis Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, 2 vols., (New York: Russel & Russel, 1965), 1:1

⁹ Bratton, "Identity," 353-354.

¹⁰ Bratton, "Identity," 369-372.

¹¹ Bratton, "Identity," 372-373.

¹² Bratton, "Identity," 374.

¹³ Bratton, "Identity," 375-382.

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the smallpox case is the fact that a similar epidemic in 1633, described by Governor William Bradford as “the small poxe,” struck the same populations affected by the earlier epidemic.¹⁴ Billee Hoornbeek points out that the survivors of an earlier epidemic would have developed an immunity to the disease, whereas the 1633 outbreak affected all ages indiscriminately.¹⁵ Despite the objections to its diagnosis, however, smallpox remains the most likely candidate for the 1616 epidemic—if for no other reason than because it raises fewer objections than any other theory of contagion.

Regardless of the nature of the disease, the devastation that it caused among the affected tribes is incalculable. According to Sherburne F. Cook, “Opinion is unanimous on the part of those present at or close to the visitation of the plague that . . . the mortality was extraordinarily high. Estimates range from roughly 75 percent upward, with several flat assertions that in several places all the inhabitants died.”¹⁶ Cook also notes that evidence from the writings of John Smith—though they must be accepted with a note of caution because of their imprecision—consistently describes the decrease in population by a factor of ten, a mortality figure of 90-95%. Smith’s contemporaries, including John White, Thomas Morton, and John Josselyn, provided similar estimates.¹⁷

Of course, the figures most often given by contemporary sources are in terms of depopulation since most of them witnessed only the aftermath of the disease and not its actual course through the Indian population. Thus, the figures quoted above reflect the rate of overall depopulation rather than the actual case-mortality rate of the infection. Three other factors, therefore, must be taken into account in addition to the immediate deaths due to the pathogen which caused the infection. Even assuming, conservatively, a case-mortality rate of 50%, such a massive number of casualties in the span of a few years would have caused a systemic breakdown in the functioning of society. Tribes were suddenly deprived of leadership, both politically in the form of their *sachems*, or chiefs, and spiritually in the form of their *powwows*, or medicine men. The catastrophic loss of population resulted in a disruption of food production due to a simultaneous loss of hunters and planters; moreover, the sick and dying were a drain on the productive capacity of those still well enough to work. This inevitably led to shortages, famine, and starvation.

Second, once the virulence of the contagion was fully realized, still-healthy Indians abandoned their villages, as evidenced by the vast numbers of corpses and skeletons left unburied. Thomas Morton described the scene of one long-abandoned village in these grim terms:

They died on heapes, as they lay in their houses; and the living, that were able to shift for themselves, would runne away and let them dy,

¹⁴ Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, 312.

¹⁵ Billee Hoornbeek, “An investigation into the cause or causes of the epidemic which decimated the Indian population of New England, 1616-1619,” *New Hampshire Archaeologist*, 1976-1977, 19: 39, quoted in Bratton, “Investigation,” 376.

¹⁶ Sherburne F. Cook, *The Indian Population of New England in the Seventeenth Century*, (London: University of California Press, 1976), 31.

¹⁷ Cook, *Indian Population*, 31.

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and let there Carkases ly above the ground without buriall. For in a place where many inhabited, there hath been but one left a live to tell what became of the rest; the livinge being (as it seemes) not able to bury the dead, they were left for the Crowes, Kites, and vermin to pray upon. And the bones and skulls upon the severall places of their habitations made such a spectacle after my comming into those partes, that, as I travailed in that Forrest nere the Massachusetts, it seemed to mee a new found Golgotha.¹⁸

The flight of those unaffected, or those whose infection was still in the incubation stage, not only resulted in the immediate deaths of those who were too sick to care for themselves but also served to further spread the infection to new areas.

Lastly, the Indians lacked any appropriate model of contagion and thereby persisted in practices which encouraged the spread of disease. For example, Edward Winslow describes the custom of Indians “when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them, to visit them in their extremity.”¹⁹ Thus, the response of Indian communities to the epidemic was to summon powwows along with the friends and relatives of the ill. All these people would be packed into a single wigwam for an extensive vigil, providing the disease ample opportunity to find new hosts. The combination, then, of a virulent disease impacting an unprotected population, social breakdown and starvation, neglect of the sick, and simple ignorance was responsible for the decimation of the Massachusetts coast Indian tribes. All this had a pronounced psychological effect on the Indians, one that is all the more important because the plague was connected from the start with Europeans. Cotton Mather reports that

A Frenchman who had not long before these transactions, had by a shipwreck been made a captive among the Indians of this country, did, as the survivors reported, just before he dyed in their hands, tell those tawny pagans, that God being angry with them for their wickedness, would not only destroy them all, but also people the place with another nation . . . those infidels then blasphemously replied, God would not kill them; which blasphemous mistake was confuted by an horrible and unusual plague, whereby they were consumed in such vast multitudes that our first planters found the land almost covered with their unburied carcasses; and they that were left alive, were smitten into awful and humble regards of the English, by the terrors which the remembrance of the Frenchman’s prophesie had imprinted on them.²⁰

¹⁸ Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (New York: Prince Society Publications, 1883), 132-133.

¹⁹ Edward Winslow, “Good News from New England,” in *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers as told by Themselves, their Friends, and their Enemies*, ed. Edward Arber (London: Ward & Downey, 1897), 547.

²⁰ Mather, *Magnalia Christi*, 49.

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Though the French sailor's curse was disdained by a proud and mighty race of Indians, the epidemic that ravaged the countryside soon after was attributed to the vengeful wrath of the European God.²¹ As a natural corollary to this supposition, the Indians believed their own gods were displeased with their sacrifices. The Wampanoags interpreted the fact that the Narragansett tribe was almost entirely unaffected by the epidemic as a sign that their enemies remained in the protective grace of their god Cautantowwit, while their own god, Kietitan, had forsaken them. In addition, Neal Salisbury contends that this formidable collusion of divine malevolence was compounded by retribution from beyond the grave. They believed that their relatives, resentful of having been abandoned and denied a dignified burial, were responsible for turning the spiritual forces in nature against them.²² Thus, it was evident to the decimated tribes that an alignment of supernatural powers was responsible for their doom.

Therefore, there are two aspects to the Indians' psychological reaction which must be taken into account. First is the debilitating effects of a traumatic event, a phenomenon well-documented by modern clinical and experimental psychologists. The initial shock of a disaster on the scale of the 1616 epidemic causes a long-term psychological shift. This results in depression and anxiety; the traumatized individual becomes paralyzed with feelings of powerlessness.²³ The aftereffects of the epidemic were exacerbated by the view among the Indians that they had somehow brought the sickness upon themselves, and thus were ultimately responsible for their own misfortune. The interaction of these two psychological effects resulted in a profound shift in the worldview of the Indians. The proud defiance that John Smith had noted in his earlier expeditions gave way to an attitude of submission.

The Indians were defeated not only psychologically, but militarily as well—before the Pilgrims ever arrived on the shores of New England. The once mighty Wampanoags, according to Cook's analysis able to field more than 1,000 warriors, were reduced to a meager handful. Though the Wampanoags were not as heavily affected as the Massachusetts—who were reduced from a strength rivaling that of the

²¹ Alfred W. Crosby, "GodÉ Would Destroy Them, and Give Their Country to Another PeopleÉ" *American Heritage* 29 (1978): 6, 39; Nathaniel Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, ed. Howard J. Hall (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1937), 27.

²² Neal Salisbury, "Squanto: Last of the Patuxet," in *The Human Tradition in Colonial America*, ed. Ian K. Steele and Nancy L. Rhoden (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1999), 28. Also, Thomas Morton mentions that the Indians usually bury their dead ceremoniously, but that the social breakdown caused by the epidemic resulted in the abandonment of those rituals. See Morton, *New England Canaan*, 132.

²³ Marianne Amir, Zeev Kaplan, and Moshe Kotler, "Type of Trauma, Severity of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Core Symptoms, and Associated Features," *Journal of General Psychology* 123: 4, 348. Most of the psychological literature regarding traumatic experiences has necessarily focused on the individual and attempts at rehabilitation. For the purposes of this paper, the results of studies done on individuals and isolated groups have been generalized to the level of a society, since the psychological reactions of individuals to a common traumatic event will naturally have an aggregate effect on the entire society.

Wampanoag to a pitiful 60 warriors—the decimation of their fighting population led to what Salisbury considers a militarily untenable situation.²⁴ Against the nearly unaffected Narragansetts they could not hope to maintain their previous territorial boundaries. Between 1616 and 1620 the Narragansetts became increasingly aggressive, by Russell Thornton's account advancing past the Seekonk River towards Massachusetts and Wampanoag lands. They drove the Wampanoags from several islands in the Narragansett Bay and pushed them in between the Weekapaugs and Pequots near the current border between Rhode Island and Connecticut.²⁵ The Wampanoags tried to consolidate the shattered remnants of previous bands under the leadership of strong sachems, such as Massasoit and his brother Quadaquina, but eventually they were forced to seek terms from their traditional enemies. Massasoit humbled himself before the Narragansetts, gave up his claim to the Narragansett Bay, and entered into an expensive and humiliating tributary relationship.²⁶

The epidemic had economic implications for the Indians as well. Having barely one tenth of the number of hunters it once had, tribes found that they could not field nearly enough beaver pelts and otter skins to satisfy fur-hungry French and English traders. Salisbury maintains that, as the number of pelts available for trade dwindled, so too did the number of European traders willing to make a stop for so unprofitable a harvest, especially when there were so many rich hunting grounds as yet untapped in the vast reaches of the New World.²⁷ Though trade between northern and southern tribes still existed—they had become far too interdependent to stop the exchange of fur and corn altogether—it was an economic system that had been shattered by demographic realities, and all the tribes in the French trade coalition suffered for it. Furthermore, the Wampanoag's economic universe was not only crippled by a loss of income through trade, it was also drained of vital resources by their subordination to the Narragansetts.

This, then, was the Indian population that a threadbare group of English separatists encountered in the winter of 1620: devastated by disease, politically divided, and economically crippled. The Pilgrims, however, were by no means caught unawares by the disarray of the coastal Indians. On the contrary, certain European entrepreneurs had been eyeing New England for years and saw that the effects of the epidemic had cracked the country wide open to the opportunity for colonization. Principal among these was Ferdinando Gorges, who had sponsored several of the earlier English voyages to the area around present-day Massachusetts. Captain Thomas Dermer wrote to him that he had found “some antient Plantations, not long since populous now utterly void; in other places a remnant remains, but not free of sicknesse.”²⁸ Sensing an opportunity for profit, and encouraged by reports that all along the coast the Indians were weakened by the passage of disease, Gorges sought a charter for the territory under the

²⁴ Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England 1500-1643* (New York: Oxford, 1982), 103.

²⁵ Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 171.

²⁶ Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 105.

²⁷ Salisbury, “Squanto,” 29.

²⁸ Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 129.

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auspices of a newly formed joint stock company. Salisbury explains that, after receiving Dermer's letter, "Gorges was more optimistic than ever about realizing his colonial ambitions. For what Vines and Dermer had conveyed above all was the utter weakness of the surviving coastal Indians, especially their vulnerability to European microbes and power."²⁹

Gorges' initial attempts to found a viable New England colony consisted of entirely male crews. His attempt to maximize the military strength and potential labor power of any undertaking also undermined the cohesion of the settlement. Supporting a radical departure from this precedent, a group of adventurous financiers agreed to provide the capital for the voyage of a group of Leyden separatists to New England. They hoped that families, each an economically self-sufficient unit, would give the colony a more firm foundation. The Pilgrims were allowed to settle under an agreement that the assets and profits of their settlement would belong to the joint-stock company for seven years, at which time they would be divided among the shareholding partners.³⁰

One hundred and two Pilgrims arrived at Cape Cod in November, 1620, but it was not until March of the following year that they were able to successfully contact the native inhabitants. The military commander of the small group of colonists, Captain Miles Standish, and several of his men encountered a few Indians and a dog in the woods while attempting to find an auspicious location for permanent settlement, but the natives fled on sight of the Englishmen. Though they attempted to follow, Standish and his men were no match for Indians traversing in their own terrain, and they gave up the chase upon finding a deserted village, complete with "new stubble" of corn, "many walnut trees full of nuts, and a great store of strawberries, and some vines."³¹ In all of the exploratory journeys mounted by Standish and his men in the weeks that followed, they found little but small frightened bands, abandoned villages, and graves.³² Though they were disappointed at their inability to make contact with the natives, the Pilgrim explorers took advantage of the provisions that had been left behind:

We marched up to the place where we had the corn formerly, which place we called Cornhill, and digged and found the rest, of which we were very glad. We also digged in a place a little farther off, and found a bottle of oil. We went to another place which we had seen before, and digged, and found more corn, viz. two or three baskets full of Indian wheat, and a bag of beans, with a good many fair wheat

²⁹ Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 108.

³⁰ William Bradford, "Negotiations with Master Thomas Weston, Merchant; and the Adventurers in and About London," in Arber, *Pilgrim Fathers*, 305-6.

³¹ Dwight Heath, ed., *A Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, or, Mourt's Relation* (New York: Corinth Books, 1963), 21.

³² Heath, *Mourt's Relation*, 20-21, 26-29, 32, 34; Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, 98-100; Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, 16-23. The sole exception is a brief attack by a small band of Nauset Indians who retreated after the first few volleys of arrows; see the account in Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, 19.

ears. Whilst some of us were digging up this, some others found another heap of corn, which they digged up also, so as we had in all about ten bushels, which will serve us sufficiently for seed. And sure it was God's good providence that we found this corn, for else we know not how we should have done, for we knew not how we should find or meet with any Indians, except it be to do us a mischief.³³

Though the Pilgrims were by nature a devoutly religious group and therefore inclined to attribute fortuitous events to the will of God, the frequent references made to divine providence in their chronicles should not be discounted as insignificant zealotry. Indeed, the Pilgrims suffered from a host of difficulties upon their arrival in New England. They had arrived several months later than intended due to some inauspicious weather, rendering impossible the prospect of planting a crop to get them through the first winter. They had brought enough supplies only for the sea voyage, and began to run low on food even as Standish's party tried to find a site well suited for settlement. According to Cotton Mather, it was only that cache of corn discovered among ruins of deserted villages that allowed them to escape "the terrible famine."³⁴ Moreover, the Pilgrims were acutely aware that they were alone in a vast and harsh wilderness, surrounded and outnumbered by barbarous peoples. The corn they found in abandoned villages, then, gave them the means to survive the first winter and to begin planting in spring, while the tangible lack of a native presence had two implications. First, even having been aware of the epidemic and the resultant mortality, the Pilgrims had expected to run into resistance of some sort, as the passage from Mourt's Relation implies. The lack of any concerted or consistent hostility allowed the tiny band of settlers to gain an early foothold in New England. Second, Indians fleeing the epidemic had left behind prime areas of real estate which the Pilgrims simply expropriated. Sites such as the one chosen for Plymouth, actually built on top of the former village of Patuxet, had exceptionally fertile land that had already been laboriously cleared by its previous inhabitants, access to fresh water, a natural harbor teeming with fish, and even a naturally defensible hill which was eventually made into a fort.³⁵

All of these factors reinforced the Pilgrims' notion of themselves as the chosen people of God. The invocation of "Divine Providence" occurs for almost every auspicious occurrence in the early history of the Pilgrims, from the finding of corn and beans to the propitious emptiness of villages. But this is much more than simply attributing good luck to a celestial benefactor. The Pilgrims realized that their good fortune was largely due to the effects of a devastating contagion; providence had simply taken the form of an epidemic which had swept the land clean of savages in order to make room for them and their vision of a society dedicated to God. Indeed, later writers were explicit about their enthusiasm for the epidemics which so weakened the Indians. Increase Mather wrote in 1631, "About this time the Indians began to be quarrelsome touching the Bounds of the Land which they had sold to the English, but

³³ Heath, Mourt's Relation, 26.

³⁴ Mather, Magnalia Christi, 50.

³⁵ Heath, Mourt's Relation, 41; Morton, New Englands Memoriall, 17-18.

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God ended the Controversy by sending the Smallpox amongst the Indians of Saugust, who were before that time exceeding numerous.”³⁶ Displaying similarly unabashed sentiments, Cotton Mather wrote, “The Indians in these parts had newly, even but a year or two before, been visited with such a prodigious pestilence; as carried away not a tenth, but nine parts of ten (yea, ‘tis said nineteen of twenty among them): so that the woods were almost cleared of those pernicious creatures, to make room for a better growth.”³⁷ The obvious fact that God had shown His favor for the Pilgrims at the expense of the Indians formed a critical early concept of what was and was not acceptable in the course of colonization. That God had accomplished His designs with such brutal force led the Pilgrims to believe that a similar ruthlessness on their part was merely a fulfillment of God’s intentions.

To the Pilgrims, then, the epidemic had a psychological effect every bit as powerful as it did on the Indians, only in the opposite direction. Where the established economic system of the Indians was shattered, for the pilgrims the boon of crops gave them an unexpected head start on the road towards self-sufficiency; while the Wampanoags were forced into humiliating submission to their enemies, for the Pilgrims the epidemic wiped away the native population and with them the very political force which they had feared most; and whereas the Wampanoags saw an alliance of spiritual forces against them, the Pilgrims saw themselves as the vanguard of divine will. The auspicious events of the founding of Plymouth provided a crucial psychological stimulus, steeling their collective will to endure the harsh winter ahead.

That first winter was a brutal one, costing the colony half its population through hunger, exhaustion, and various diseases of which scurvy was the most deadly.³⁸ At times during the winter there were as few as six or seven men among the Pilgrims well enough to care for the sick—which, of course, means that only that many would have been available to defend the colony in case of an attack.³⁹ Such a tiny contingent, even with their terrifying firearms, could not hope to defeat the nearby Wampanoags under Massasoit. The heart of the historical problem lies here, in the grip of that terrible winter, during the Pilgrims’ moment of greatest weakness. Why didn’t the Wampanoags attack their enemies when they were most vulnerable? There was certainly ample reason for the Wampanoags to make themselves enemies of the Pilgrims; their hatred of the English stemmed from repeated violations at the hands of earlier explorers. For example, in 1615 Captain Thomas Hunt was left behind in New England to finish gathering a catch of fish and haul it back to Spain. In addition to the fish, Hunt kidnapped twenty Wampanoags from Patuxet and seven Nausets, later selling them into slavery.⁴⁰ So it was not indifference, and certainly not kindness, which spared the Pilgrims. If even a decimated Indian population could have turned

³⁶ Percy Ashburn, *The Ranks of Death* (New York: Coward McCann, 1947), 22.

³⁷ Mather, *Magnalia Christi*, 49.

³⁸ Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, 22.

³⁹ Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, 108; Mather, *Magnalia Christi*, 51; Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, 22.

⁴⁰ Heath, *Mourt’s Relation*, 52.

Plymouth into another lost colony like Roanoke, what kept them from wiping Plymouth off the face of New England?

Instead of fighting them, Massasoit chose to forge an alliance. His tribe watched the Pilgrims struggle through the winter, keeping a cautious distance. They decided to break the impasse in March of 1621. One day the Pilgrims marveled at the sight of a tawny Indian strolling into Plymouth, asking in plain English for beer, biscuits, butter, cheese, pudding, and duck.⁴¹ This was Samoset, a Wampanoag who had learned English among the fishermen along the coast of Maine. He, along with a captive from Patuxet named Tisquantum (or, more commonly, Squanto), served the critical role as translators and diplomatic liaisons between the Pilgrims and various native groups. Beginning with the exchange of small gifts such as hunting knives and beads, the Pilgrims attempted to open a dialogue with the local sachem through their new found English-speaking assets. Squanto eventually arranged a meeting between some of the Pilgrim leaders and Massasoit for the purpose of drawing up a treaty of nonaggression:

1. That neither he [Massasoit] nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of our people.
2. That if any of his did any hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him.
3. That if any of our tools were taken away while our people were at work, he should cause them to be restored; and if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do the like to them.
4. If any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him; if any did war against us, he should aid us.
5. He should send to his neighbor confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.
6. That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces when we came to them.

Lastly, that doing thus, King James would esteem of him as his friend and ally.⁴² There is no evidence to suggest that Massasoit was ever under the illusion that the treaty with the Pilgrims made his people an equal partner in a military alliance. On the contrary, the Wampanoags sought out the Pilgrims in order to transfer their tributary allegiance from the Narragansetts to the Pilgrims. Salisbury's analysis asserts that, in the final calculus of power politics, the Pilgrims demanded less tribute, subjected them to less humiliation, offered more gifts and prestige, allowed a superior level of military protection, and strengthened the Wampanoag's tribute-collecting powers among neighboring tribes.⁴³ With their strength so drastically diminished by

⁴¹ Heath, Mourt's Relation, 51.

⁴² Heath, Mourt's Relation, 57.

⁴³ Salisbury, Manitou and Providence, 116.

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the demographic implosion in the wake of the 1616 epidemic, the Wampanoags knew they could not rule their neighbors as they once had. Left with the choice of submission to a traditional rival, the Narragansetts, or to the Pilgrims, the Wampanoags chose the Pilgrims. Massasoit's actions were a direct and calculated response to a political crisis caused by the disastrous epidemic. He chose to ally with the Pilgrims, rather than destroy them, because they seemed to be an insignificant threat compared to the Narragansetts. Governor Bradford himself implied in his *History of Plymouth Plantation* that Massasoit had acted strategically in response to the Narragansett threat by taking shelter with the English.⁴⁴

From the point of view of the Indians, to whom treaties were dynamic agreements based on shared hospitality and mutual obligation, the agreement with the Pilgrims was nothing out of the ordinary. It pledged that both sides would remain at peace with each other, honor each other's laws, and defend each other against mutual enemies. But the Pilgrims had a very different interpretation of the treaty. After listing the provisions of the agreement in *New Englands Memoriall*, Nathaniel Morton continues matter-of-factly, "All of which he [Massasoit] liked well, and withall at the same time acknowledged himself content to become the Subject of our Sovereign Lord the King aforesaid, His Heirs and Successors; and gave unto them all the Lands adjacent, to them and their Heirs forever."⁴⁵ Having no experience with written documents or English law, Massasoit could not have realized that in agreeing to the last clause of the treaty he was, in the eyes of the Pilgrims, ceding his territory and his authority to King James. While he may have understood the treaty to be placing his people in a subordinate position, he could not have known that the Pilgrims meant that he was ceding his sovereignty to King James forever. As the Pilgrims understood it, Massasoit acknowledged himself to be a loyal subject of the King in perpetuity; there would be no renegotiation of terms, no alteration in status as the Wampanoags regained their former strength. Though in this case these mutually incompatible definitions were merely a case of cultural misunderstanding, the Pilgrims' concepts of sovereignty, and their strategy in drawing the Indians into a treaty, reflected their overarching designs for political supremacy of the region surrounding Plymouth.

The roots of the Pilgrims' political strategy lay in their desire for territorial security. Whereas the French and Dutch traders that had been in contact with the New England Indian tribes for decades had established an extensive trade network, from the start the English were more interested in direct exploitation of resources. According to Salisbury, the English focused primarily on commodities such as sassafras and fish, with the eventual goal of bringing Indian land under their cultivation; they therefore had little use for extensive cooperative trade with the natives and looked at goods like beaver pelts as little more than supplementary income.⁴⁶ As a result, the Pilgrims' colonial strategy was largely an insular one, aiming at long-term self-sufficiency with trade flowing towards Europe, not the Indians. The Pilgrims and the Indians were thus at odds, each group static and impermeable, by necessity competing for survival in a

⁴⁴ Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, 126.

⁴⁵ Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, 24.

⁴⁶ Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 85.

zero-sum game. In an environment where cooperation was impossible, or at the very least unthinkable, a successful economic operation required control of local tribes.

The alternative to cooperation and coexistence was outright oppression in the style of the Spanish conquistadores. Standish based his military strategy on the assumption of a population besieged by numerically superior natives, much like John Smith, who Salisbury maintains emulated the infamous conquistador Hernan Cortes.⁴⁷ Smith based his argument on the assumption that the English would be transposing their society more or less intact, without extensive commingling of populations. Salisbury elucidates the tacit assumption behind these beliefs: if the first settlers were vastly outnumbered by the Indians, they would have to rely on brute force and even terror to maintain control.⁴⁸ Like Smith, Standish was a military man, a soldier with extensive experience in the Dutch wars, to whom the conquistador model—in which coercion and even outright slavery are the only methods which yield results—seemed natural. Of course, Smith concocted this strategy based on observations made in 1614, before the epidemic hit New England and the coastal tribes were at the height of their military strength. So when Standish drafted this policy into action, it succeeded beyond his wildest dreams, largely because the population was too sparse to put up even a fraction of the resistance that Smith had anticipated.

In 1621 the Wampanoags were shattered and feeble, completely unable to defend themselves against their traditional enemies. The Pilgrims exploited the military vulnerability of the Wampanoags, as well as their desire for allies against the Narragansetts, first to ensure their survival and then to gain the upper hand. This was a subtle transformation of policy, and the shift from avoiding hostilities to coercing supplies and eventually enforcing obedience occurred in increments. The first step was simply placing the Indians in a binding treaty in which several clauses make it clear that the Indians are inferior to the Pilgrims. For example, the second clause, reading, “if any of his did any hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him,” essentially insists that the Wampanoag sachem enforce English law among the natives of his own tribe as well as those of his neighbors. This includes a provision by which rule-breakers would be handed over to the Pilgrims to be dealt with by their own justice.⁴⁹ The Pilgrims thus simultaneously empower Massasoit by giving him authority, in their name, over various neighboring tribes, and then limit that authority by disallowing him to administer punishments. In essence, argues Salisbury, this turns Massasoit into an agent of political control.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ John Smith, *Travels and Works of John Smith*, ed. Edward Arber, 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1910), 2: 600-601. Smith reveals his admiration for Cortes in his reference to the latter's conquest of Tenochtitlan. He goes on to describe a similar, though hypothetical, conquest of New England with 300 men, which relies heavily on military force and the effects of terror on the native population.

⁴⁸ Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 99-100.

⁴⁹ Heath, *Mourt's Relation*, 57.

⁵⁰ Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 115.

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But the machinations of the Pilgrims were not all Machiavellian intrigue; part of their strategy included outright bids for dominance. In the tender days of the colony this dominance manifested itself as little more than a cavalier disregard for native customs. For example, one of the first acts of the Pilgrims upon striking land was to rifle mass graves in search of food and seed, an act that no one could seriously have believed would go unnoticed.⁵¹ Other actions were not quite so flagrantly offensive to religious sensibilities, but just as effectively breached the code of conduct among allies that the Indians inextricably associated with friendly conduct. The Pilgrim insistence on near total segregation, for example, by refusing to lodge traveling Indians in Plymouth, offended the notion of reciprocal hospitality by which dynamic treaties were upheld among Indians.⁵² This essentially gentle claim to dominance through independence soon transformed into a policy of coordinated oppression.

This shift towards an increasingly overt domination of the Indians was occasioned by a perceived shift on the part of the Indians towards greater hostility. The aggressiveness and intransigence of the English position could not help but arouse native anger. Moreover, the Wampanoags were not united in espousing a policy of coexistence. Far from enthusiastically welcoming them, many of the Wampanoags held to their earlier enmity towards the English, resenting the Pilgrims' presence so much that they were willing to join with their previous enemies, the Narragansetts. Under Massasoit's leadership they accepted the terms of political subordination offered by the Pilgrims, but it took only a charismatic personality to convince them that the Pilgrims needed to be destroyed. Driving Massasoit out of his village, an Indian named Corbitant challenged the Pilgrim position in New England by capturing their two most essential allies, their translators Squanto and Hobbamock, and holding the former prisoner at Nemasket. The latter escaped and informed the Pilgrims of Corbitant's intentions to form a Wampanoag-Narragansett alliance to destroy the Pilgrims, whereupon Standish mounted an emergency rescue on Squanto's behalf and extracted an apology (in absentia) from Corbitant.⁵³ The Pilgrims' reaction to this brief insurrection was to tighten their control over friendly tribes. Shortly after the Nemasket incident, the Pilgrims pressed their neighboring tribes into a far more explicit acknowledgement of English authority. "Several of the Indian Sachems"—some of the most prominent of the surrounding area, in fact, including the recalcitrant Corbitant, Massasoit's brother Quadaquina, Canacum of Monomet, and Epenow, who had been responsible for Captain Dermer's death the previous year—"came unto the Government of New-Plimouth, and acknowledged themselves to be the Loyal Subjects of our Sovereign Lord King James, and subscribed unto a Writing to that purpose with their own hands."⁵⁴

Whereas the Pilgrims were able to take advantage of the Wampanoag's weakness to craft an alliance in which they were the dominant partner, to deal with the Narragansetts they were forced to rely on intimidation and fear. For, as previously

⁵¹ Heath, Mourt's Relation, 21, 26-29, 34; Bradford, Plymouth Plantation, 99-100.

⁵² Heath, Mourt's Relation, 58.

⁵³ Bradford, Plymouth Plantation, 119-120; Morton, New Englands Memoriall, 31-32.

⁵⁴ Morton, New Englands Memoriall, 29.

noted, the Narragansetts were largely untouched by the epidemic and retained their military strength. Indeed, into the vacuum left behind by the dying and scattered tribes the Narragansetts expanded their influence until they were the dominant power in the region. They naturally viewed the Pilgrims as political rivals and wanted the English presence broken so that they would be able to continue dominating the coastal tribes. Bradford wrote that the Narragansetts "(since the death of so many of the Indians,) thought to dominire and lord it over the rest, and conceived the English would be a bar in their way."⁵⁵ The failure of Corbitant's coup made it clear that the Pilgrims were neither an insignificant nor transitory regional power, and soon after the Narragansetts made overtures towards more explicit hostilities. The Narragansett sachem Canonicus sent to Governor Bradford a bundle of arrows wrapped in snakeskin, a symbol that Squanto informed them was a traditional challenge. In reply, Bradford stuffed the snakeskin with gunpowder and shot and returned it to Canonicus.⁵⁶

Nothing ever came of the Narragansett challenge. Whether they were afraid of the Pilgrims or calculated that the cost of fighting them was not worth the potential benefits, it is impossible to know; there is no direct evidence left by the Narragansetts as to what informed their decision, and the Pilgrim chroniclers did not bother to speculate. What is known is that Canonicus refused to accept Bradford's counter-challenge and in so doing gave up the Narragansett claim to tributary rule over the Wampanoags, formally abandoning them, Salisbury explains, to the Pilgrims' sphere of influence.⁵⁷ In response to the threat of Indian attack, Standish militarized the fledgling colony, organizing every able-bodied man into a militia and erecting a defensive perimeter around Plymouth.⁵⁸ He also redoubled his efforts to cow the Indians into submission, relentlessly bullying them to capitulate to English demands. For example, while Standish tried to procure corn from the Indians at Mattachiest, one of them stole some beads from him. Standish responded by threatening to massacre the whole tribe unless his property was immediately restored.⁵⁹ Though it should be said in his defense that the Pilgrims never shed civilian blood in order to accomplish political goals, the consistent threat of violence cannot be considered anything other than terrorism.⁶⁰

Whether he carried out his threats or not, Standish's repressive regime had the intended effect. His bullying tactics and the perpetual threat of violence placed further strain on a psychologically exhausted Indian population. After withstanding the full force of an epidemic and the resulting social collapse, political upheavals and demographic shifts, they now had to deal with a ubiquitous sense of fear that Standish and his men worked hard to instill. As modern social psychologists have noted, the propagation of a regime based on fear crystallizes the population in a state

⁵⁵ Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, 126.

⁵⁶ Winslow, "Good News," 517-20; Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, 33.

⁵⁷ Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 122.

⁵⁸ Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, 126; Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, 37.

⁵⁹ Winslow, "Good News," 543.

⁶⁰ Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 123.

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of permanent anxiety, helplessness, and vulnerability.⁶¹ The sociologist Theodore Kemper has proposed a model of structural emotions to explain the effective subjugation of one group by another. According to this theory, an attitude of subjection ensues in a group which views the insufficiency of its power vis-à-vis the dominant group to be their own fault. A similar view of the inferior group's status results in depression. Both emotions contribute to social paralysis and effective dominance by the more powerful group.⁶²

The Pilgrims' native allies, as well as the Narragansetts, were responsible for the Pilgrims' reactionary tightening of control. Squanto made the best of his privileged position with the Pilgrims to warn them of conspiracies among the Wampanoags, Narragansetts, and Massachusetts, apparently attempting to reconstitute the survivors of Patuxet into a single band under his leadership.⁶³ Simultaneously, among the Wampanoags Squanto claimed that the English controlled the disease and that he could persuade them to direct it at his enemies.⁶⁴ Similarly, other Wampanoags, including Hobbamock, manipulated the Pilgrims into believing that Squanto was betraying them to enemy tribes. Thus, the Pilgrims were caught in the middle of competing Indian intrigues, various factions playing on their fears of conspiracy and attack in order to advance their own interests. In the end this was a disastrous policy for all the Indians involved, for the Pilgrims reacted not by decisively siding with any of the factions but by adopting a bunker mentality towards all natives, reinforcing their perceived imperative for absolute control of the territory surrounding Plymouth in order to ensure their survival.

The high point of crisis occurred soon after the founding of the neighboring English colony of Wessagusset (also known as Weymouth). In 1622 Thomas Weston, who had helped the Pilgrims find financial backers for their voyage to New England two years earlier, called in Plymouth's debt by requesting their aid in the establishment of a colony of adventurers. A poorly organized scheme composed mostly of profit-seeking bachelors, the Wessagusset colony began inauspiciously and quickly deteriorated to the point of crisis. Sixty men arrived just north of Plymouth destitute of food or any other vital supplies, calling upon the Pilgrims to lend them the necessary provisions. At this time the Pilgrims were still dependent on Indian corn procured through trade or coercion, as they would continue to be for a further year, and were hardly in a position to take on the burden of so many unproductive adventurers. Though Plymouth complied with the demands, the men of Wessagusset soon ran out

⁶¹ Sofia Salimovich, et. al., "Victims of Fear: The Social Psychology of Repression," in *Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America*, ed. Juan E. Corradi, Patricia Weiss Fagen and Manuel Antonio Garret—n (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 74-54, 89; Harry C. Halloway and Carol S. Fullerton, "The Psychology of Terror and its Aftermath," in *Individual and Community Responses to Trauma and Disaster: The Structure of Human Chaos*, ed. Robert J. Usano, Brian G. McCaughey, and Carol S. Fullerton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 40.

⁶² Theodore Kemper, *A Social Interactional Theory of Emotions* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1978), 56-58, 63-65.

⁶³ Salisbury, "Squanto," 31-33; Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, 35; evidence, 123.

⁶⁴ Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, 128; Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, 35.

of corn and resorted to stealing from nearby Indians in order to survive. Any semblance of law and order disintegrated, Governor John Sanders lost control of his colony, and some of the men began plotting to attack the nearby natives and take their corn by force. A message asking for Governor Bradford's advice aroused the suspicions of the Massachusetts that the Pilgrims would cooperate in such an attack. Consequently, the Indians of Monomet refused to trade their customary supply of corn, leading to Pilgrim suspicions of a conspiracy among the Indian tribes. Indeed, Massasoit confirmed Winslow's fears by telling him of a vast Massachusetts coalition that involved all of the Indian tribes of Cape Cod, Capawak (Martha's Vineyard), and even tribes as far north as Agawam (Ipwich). Standish's response was swift, brutal, and precise. Acting on Massasoit's advice, he assassinated seven leaders of the Massachusetts, including Wituwamet and Pecksuot.⁶⁵ In fine English style, Wituwamet's head became an ornament for the spikes of the Pilgrims' new fortress.

The effect of the Wessagusset incident was decisive on Pilgrim-Indian relations. The Wessagusset colony disbanded, and Standish used the ostensible uprising as a pretext to impose even more rigid terms of Pilgrim authority. Already militarily crippled by disease and now deprived of their leadership, the Indians of the Cape Cod area were in no position to resist the expansion of the Pilgrim's political sphere. As for the Wampanoags, though Massasoit won them the Pilgrims' esteem for their loyalty, in the end they were no better off than any of the other Indian tribes. As the Pilgrims slowly grew stronger, continually reinforced by supplies and colonists from Europe, the Wampanoags were left with no choice but to accept the terms of an increasingly lopsided alliance. Once they tied their political fortunes to the Pilgrims in hopes of winning reprieve from the domination of the Narragansetts, the Wampanoags could not then abandon their alliance without reverting back to Narragansett control. Slowly, but inexorably, they slid into oblivion as their fierce independence faded into a feeble subservience to a power they dared not desert.

The 1616 epidemic had two profound effects on the Indian population of Massachusetts, both of which in turn profoundly affected the fledgling colony of English separatists. First, the contagion scoured the land practically clear of its previous inhabitants, allowing the settlers to establish themselves at Plymouth. The Pilgrims, in essence, arrived into a vacuum. Though small in number and weakened by hunger and disease, they survived largely because they faced no resistance from any hostile natives and were able to occupy superior land. Second, the plight of the Wampanoags in the aftermath of the epidemic left them in a profoundly demoralized state, seemingly locked in political subjection to an enemy tribe. Demographic and military realities led them to seek an alliance with the Pilgrims that would allow them to escape the political orbit of the Narragansetts. Once allied to the Pilgrims, however, they were riding on the proverbial tiger's back. They could not turn against the Pilgrims, even as the settlers grew stronger and more demanding, for that would make them vulnerable to the Narragansetts once again. As a result, they tolerated the Pilgrims' belligerent conduct because they had no better alternative.

⁶⁵ Bradford, Plymouth Plantation, 128-144; Winslow, "Good News," 529-534, 544-546, 558-569; Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, 40-43.

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For the Pilgrims, the epidemic was nothing less than the handiwork of God. Cotton Mather summed up their attitude elegantly in *Magnalia Christi Americana*: "The good hand of God now brought them into a country wonderfully prepared for their entertainment, by a sweeping mortality that had lately been among the natives."⁶⁶ Had it not been for the corn they discovered, there would have probably been famine; had it not been for the cleared fields they found, their crops would likely have failed; had it not been for Massasoit's sheer political desperation, they would have been annihilated during the first winter. As they began asserting themselves as a regional power, they were successful primarily because of a combination of fear and calculation on the part of the Indians. Enemies like the Narragansetts hesitated before attacking what appeared at times to be an imposing foe, and neighboring tribes such as the Wampanoags willingly entered into an alliance which would slowly turn them from ostensible partners into tributary subordinates. The Wampanoags' actual inferiority to rival tribes, combined with their perceived inferiority to the Pilgrims, locked them into their alliance with the Pilgrims. Thus, the success of Plymouth, and especially the effectiveness of their strategy for regional domination, was largely due to the complex cascade of effects that rippled through Indian society in the wake of the epidemic of 1616.

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The author can be reached at:
kruer@u.arizona.edu

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

K. Celeste Campbell is the Assistant Director of The Honors College at Oklahoma State University. She currently serves on the NCHC Executive Committee and the Conference Planning Committee. Her interests include mathematics education, higher education administration, and college retention and completion, particularly honors degree completion.

John Falconer is Director of Sponsored Programs at the University of Nebraska at Kearney. He received his B.A. in Political Science from the University of Nebraska at Kearney, his M.A. in Foreign Affairs from the University of Virginia, and is working on his PhD in Administration, Curriculum, & Instruction at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Dan Grangaard is on the honors faculty and teaches in the Department of Psychology at Austin Community College, where he serves as Webmaster for the Division of Behavioral Science. He earned his doctorate in educational psychology at Baylor University. His research interests include studying personality variables that affect academic success.

Judith Hiltner is director of the Honors Program and Professor of English at Saint Xavier University in Chicago. She teaches American Literature to 1865. Her recent scholarship has focused upon the cultural appropriations of narrative in the early American republic.

Matthew Krueer is a senior at the University of Arizona in Tucson. He is a history major and has been a member of the Honors College since 1999. His research interest is the inclusion of non-traditional data in historical methodology, especially insights from evolutionary game theory, complex systems, and social psychology.

Peter Longo is a Professor of Political Science and serves as Director of the Honors Program at the University Nebraska at Kearney. He received his B.A. in history from Creighton University and his J.D. and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Anne N. Rinn is a doctoral student at Indiana University majoring in Educational Psychology. Her research interests include the intellectual and social development of gifted college students, the impact of honors programming on the development of gifted college students, and the historical development of honors colleges. A graduate of the University of Houston Honors College, Anne aspires to one day direct an honors college.

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