Inside: Advice for the Academic Career

THE CHRONICLE
of Higher Education®

chronicle.com

January 9, 2015 • $6.99
Volume LXI, Number 17

Obama Unveils College-Ratings Plan but Offers Few Details A4

- For many, the nearest college is the best A6
- What the likeliest metrics mean A8
- Timeline: Controversy along the way A4

Duke Takes Tortuous Path to Campus in China A10

QILAI SHEN FOR THE CHRONICLE

Students visit the newly opened Duke Kunshan U., near Shanghai.

BENJAMIN RUSNAK FOR THE CHRONICLE

For 14 years, he says, he helped players gain NCAA eligibility via shoddy courses and fraudulent tests.

Confessions of a Fixer

A former coach perpetuated an academic-cheating scheme that hundreds of athletes relied on A20

After Facebook Data Fiasco, Social Scientists Rethink Ethics A14

INSIDE

FACULTY
Unions Made Easier
The National Labor Relations Board came down on the side of adjuncts at Pacific Lutheran University. **A8**

ATHLETICS
Magna cum Eligible
Athletes in the top football colleges cluster in a very small number of majors, a *Chronicle* analysis has found, and the trend is growing. **A12**

INTERNATIONAL
Partnership Overseas
The University of Massachusetts at Lowell joins a major defense contractor to offer degree programs in Kuwait. **A13**

ENROLLMENT
The $850-Million Insight
The price paid for an enrollment-services company says a lot about the plight of colleges in an ever fiercer market for students. **A15**

SECURITY
Badges of Discretion
As national attention focuses on officers' treatment of minorities, campus police are struggling with racial issues. **A16**

PEOPLE
Words and Money
Nicholas Delbanco helped open his M.F.A. creative-writing program at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor to students who couldn't afford it. **A17**

COMMENTARY
In Court, Not on Campus
For all its flaws, the criminal-justice system is the better option for dealing with cases of sexual assault at colleges. **A28**

THE CHRONICLE REVIEW
Tyranny of the Meritocracy
In their admissions criteria, colleges are further comforting the comfortable, writes Lani Guinier. **B12**

The Week

What you need to know about the past seven days

'Drive-By Journalism'

Raise your hand if you spent at least part of your holiday talking with friends or relatives about **campus sexual assault, drinking, fraternities, and the now-infamous *Rolling Stone* article.** Not ideal topics for the family dinner table, obviously, but they're very much in the public eye. Happy new year, huh?

Right before Christmas—in case you missed it because you were still waiting in that line at Starbucks at the mall—*Rolling Stone* announced that instead of conducting an internal review of flaws in its much-scrutinized article, it would turn the re-examination over to **two high-powered deans at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism.** They are Steve Coll, the school's dean and a former writer for *The Washington Post* and *The New Yorker,* and Sheila S. Coronel, dean of academic affairs, a former *New York Times* stringer and a founder of the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism. They said they would complete their review "as soon as possible."

No doubt their haste will be appreciated at the University of Virginia, where George Keith Martin, chairman of the Board of Visitors, complained at a December meeting that UVa, like "a neighborhood thrown into chaos by drive-by violence," had experienced **"the full fury of drive-by journalism in the 21st century."**

Meanwhile, the federal Bureau of Justice Statistics released a report saying that over the past two decades, **college women have actually been less likely to suffer sexual assaults** and rape than women who aren't students. The agency found an average of 7.6 cases per 1,000 nonstudents, compared with 6.1 per 1,000 women on college campuses, but noted that in 2013, the most recent year for which statistics are available, the numbers are about even. Callie Marie Rennison, co-director of the Criminology and Criminal Justice Research Initiative at the University of Colorado at Denver's School of Public Affairs, concluded in a *Times* op-ed piece that the "focus on sexual violence against some of our most privileged young people" is distracting Americans from taking a broader look at sexual assault in all corners of society.

Really? $5-Million a Year?

As the last bowl-game players headed for the locker rooms and another college football season came to a close, the big news was not which teams won or lost but **how much the University of Michigan agreed to pay its new coach,** Jim Harbaugh—$5-million a year, plus a $2-million signing bonus. Mr. Harbaugh (*above*), until last month the head coach of the San Francisco 49ers, was a quarterback at Michigan in the 1980s, and his father was an assistant coach there, though that has nothing to do with the extravagance of his pay package.

Instead, *The Washington Post* notes that the "dizzying salaries coaches receive are only natural byproducts of the money pouring into the sport from ever-increasing TV deals." Michigan and a couple dozen other top programs can afford to compete in what the *Post* describes as **an arms race in salaries.** The newspaper warns, though, that when "Power School U. decides it will pay a coach $8-million per season, it may trickle down to how much an average student at Lower Tier Tech pays for tuition. But the appeal of a football program can be so strong that alumni donations threaten to fall if the smaller school makes noise about dropping the sport."

U. OF MICHIGAN

Which, by the way, is exactly what's been happening at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. UAB's president, Ray L. Watts, announced in December that the institution was **dropping its football program,** which he called "not sustainable" in the face of ever-increasing expenses. The faculty senate put a no-confidence vote on the agenda for its meeting later this month, and local business leaders said they would pony up $5-million for the football program. Then—and this must be on every campus PR person's top-10 list of nightmares—a 5-year-old from Ohio named Bennett caught ESPN's attention by **volunteering a dollar of his allowance to help save the program.**

It seems unlikely that Mr. Watts's decision will be reversed, but Bennett did receive a box of team swag from UAB's athletics department.

While You Were Out …

The University of Missouri at Columbia said 110 faculty members had **accepted a buyout offer** under which professors at least 62 years old could get a one-time payment of 1.5 times their annual base salary, up to $200,000. … The U.S. Department of Education said Harvard Law School had agreed to strengthen procedures for **responding to sexual-assault complaints.** The agreement resolves an investigation by the department's civil-rights office. … The Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign said the university should reconsider its controversial decision not to hire **Steven G. Salaita** for a faculty position after he posted strident tweets last summer about Israel's treatment of Palestinians. The committee said the Twitter posts, however incendiary, did not make Mr. Salaita "unfit" to teach. The university's chancellor, Phyllis M. Wise, responded that she had not meant to suggest civility should trump academic freedom. "I want to make clear that I understand that my message was incorrect, and I apologize for that," she said in a statement. "I look forward to further discussions on this topic with the faculty."

Library Sweepstakes

How big of a deal is a retired U.S. president's presidential library? Pretty big, to judge by the effort four institutions are putting into wooing **Barack and Michelle Obama** and their Barack Obama Foundation.

The four include two heavyweight universities in the Obamas' hometown of Chicago—the University of Illinois at Chicago and the University of Chicago—plus Columbia University, where Mr. Obama earned his undergraduate degree, and the University of Hawaii, representing the state in which he was born. All four proposals, submitted in mid-December, envision not just libraries and museums but also local economic-development efforts and educational partnerships. The University of Illinois at Chicago proposal, for instance, suggests building a visitor center and academic institute **over a major freeway interchange**, while the Hawaii entry (*below*) imagines **a beachfront location** and Asia-Pacific ties to continue Mr. Obama's "important work on a global stage."

You might guess that the two Chicago contenders have the advantage—particularly the University of Chicago, where Mrs. Obama served as a vice-president for the university's hospitals. But last week a "source close to the foundation" told the *Chicago Tribune* that **both bids might be in trouble.** The University of Chicago proposal involves parcels of land not now controlled by either the university or the city, while the University of Illinois campus is about to get both a new president, Michael D. Amiridis, as well as a new board chair, who will be appointed by the state's governor-elect, Bruce Rauner, a Republican.

The Obamas are expected to decide on a library site **within the next few months.** In case you're keeping score, George W. Bush's presidential library opened in 2013 at Southern Methodist University, and George H.W. Bush's is at Texas A&M University at College Station, but Presidents Clinton, Carter, and Nixon chose to build stand-alone libraries. President Johnson's library, meanwhile, is at the University of Texas at Austin, and President Kennedy's is beside the University of Massachusetts at Boston.

BARACK OBAMA HAWAII PRESIDENTIAL CENTER INITIATIVE

—LAWRENCE BIEMILLER

INSIDE

PEOPLE A17
IN BRIEF..... A19
IN FOCUS A20
VIEWS A27
GAZETTE A30
THE CHRONICLE REVIEW .... Section B

THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION (ISSN 0009-5982) IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY EXCEPT ONE WEEK IN JANUARY, MAY, JUNE, JULY AND DECEMBER AND TWO WEEKS IN AUGUST, 45 ISSUES PER YEAR AT 1255 TWENTY-THIRD STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037. SUBSCRIPTION RATE: $87.00 PER YEAR. PERIODICAL POSTAGE PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C., AND AT ADDITIONAL MAILING OFFICES. POSTMASTER: SEND ADDRESS CHANGES TO THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION, P.O. BOX 16359, NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CA 91615. THE CHRONICLE RESERVES THE RIGHT NOT TO ACCEPT AN ADVERTISER'S ORDER. ONLY PUBLICATION OF AN ADVERTISEMENT SHALL CONSTITUTE FINAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE ADVERTISER'S ORDER.

DOUG MILLS-POOL, GETTY IMAGES

President Obama's long-awaited plan to rate colleges, released in December, is more progress report than proposal.

Obama's College-Ratings Plan Arrives, but Most Details Are Still to Come

By KELLY FIELD

WASHINGTON

The college-ratings plan released by the Education Department last month can best be described as incremental.

The plan, a product of more than a year of discussion and debate, is more progress report than proposal—an update on metrics that the department is considering using in its system. It's unlikely to assuage colleges' concerns, but it's unlikely to increase their anxiety, either.

Which measures might factor into the ratings? The list includes a number of expected metrics, like a college's average net price, its students' completion rates, and the percentage of its students receiving Pell Grants. It also includes labor-market outcomes and loan-repayment rates—measures that proved controversial during the fight over the "gainful employment" rule.

COLLEGE RATINGS

But there's a lot that the "framework," as department officials are calling it, does not do. It doesn't assign weights to each metric. Nor does it offer a plan for how similar institutions will be grouped.

It doesn't say what format the ratings will take, nor clarify whether the department will publish a single, composite rating or a series of ratings.

Those gaps have left colleges "a little mystified," said Sarah Flanagan, vice president for government relations and policy at the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, which has opposed the ratings. "There isn't much that gives us a road map as to where they're going to go," she said.

Steve Gunderson, chief executive of the Association of Private Sector Colleges and Universities, a group that has sparred with the department over the gainful-employment rule, said the delays show the impossibility of the department's task.

"If after nearly a year and half of work this is all the department can muster," he said, "it seems to support the long-held belief by many in higher education that while a college-rating system is admirable in theory, it is not feasible to create metrics that definitively assess the quality of so many institutions across the country."

Supporters of the president's plan took a more optimistic view. "We're making progress," said Kim Cook, executive director of the National College Access Network. "This is a very complicated process."

On the evening before the framework's release, Ted Mitchell, under secretary of education and the department's top higher-education official, argued that the administration has "moved a very long way, both conceptually and technically."

Conceptually, "we've moved from a huge basketful of ideas down to what we think are a few understandable, clear, and really important domains in which we want to rate institutions," he said.

On the technical side, the department has "done a lot of work with our own data systems," pitting possible metrics against one another and "pressure-testing them to see if they hold water and have explanatory power," Mr. Mitchell said.

He said the department was still on track to release the first ratings by the start of the 2015-16 academic year. The department is taking public comment on the framework through mid-February.

DOUBTS AND DEBATES

Publication of the much-anticipated draft comes almost three years after President Obama used his State of the Union address to put colleges "on notice" that his administration would not continue to subsidize rising tuition. He announced his plan to rate colleges the following year, during a three-campus "college cost" bus tour through New York and Pennsylvania.

Since then the administration has proceeded cautiously, holding a series of public meetings and forums to solicit feedback from experts and advocates on how to construct the ratings. Mr. Mitchell estimated that the department has talked to 9,000 individuals about the plan.

The president's goals are threefold: to help colleges improve, to help students make better decisions about which institutions to attend, and to allow policy makers and the public to hold institutions accountable for their outcomes. Eventually, the administration wants Congress to tie some portion of federal student aid to the ratings.

But Republicans, who now control both chambers of Congress, aren't likely to go along. They argue that the government has no business rating colleges and have threatened to cut off funding for the effort.

Colleges, meanwhile, worry that the plan will punish institutions that serve low-income students and those that prepare graduates for much-needed but low-paying professions. A rating system that doesn't adjust for student demographics and institutional mission, they say, could compel colleges to turn away at-risk students, relax graduation standards, or drop degree programs in low-paying fields.

Critics also complain that some of the information the Obama ad-

Continued on Page A6

How the Plan Came About

- **August 22, 2013** President Obama publicly announces ratings plan in speech on college cost at U. at Buffalo.
- **September 20, 2013** Education Secretary Arne Duncan calls early criticism "silly"—parrying remarks by Terry W. Hartle, of the American Council on Education, who says department is obligated to use "perfect data" for its system.
- **October 30, 2013** In a notice published in the *Federal Register,* Education Department announces four public forums to gather feedback on the ratings system.
- **November 6, 2013** The first hearing, at California State U.-Dominguez Hills, gives administrators, faculty, and students chance to voice concerns about system's limitations.
- **November 13, 2013** Speakers at second hearing, at George Mason U., warn the department not to discourage colleges from enrolling low-income students.
- **December 17, 2013** Education Department publishes notice in *Federal Register* asking colleges for feedback on its proposal.
- **January 22, 2014** President M. Peter McPherson of the Association of Public and Land-Grant Universities urges adoption of system that would judge colleges based on "retention and graduation rates; employment and continuing-education rates; and loan-repayment and default rates."
- **February 6, 2014** Education Department holds daylong symposium on technical challenges. Among the takeaways: Federal data are deeply flawed, pleasing everyone is impossible, and student-tracking unit-record system would solve most problems.
- **February 11, 2014** Community-college leaders grill department at Community College National Legislative Summit. Attendees wonder how department would account for differences in institutions' missions and profiles.
- **March 19, 2014** American Council on Education reiterates its disdain for ratings system with new report arguing that applicants don't rely on rankings or ratings when choosing a college.
- **April 30, 2014** At hearing of Senate subcommittee on education appropriations, Mr. Duncan says department will produce ratings even without $10-million requested from Congress.
- **May 21, 2014** Department pushes back publication date of its draft plan for ratings from spring to fall.
- **June 10, 2014** A Republican and a Democratic Congressman introduce resolution opposing ratings system.
- **June 30, 2014** Departing chair of National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators offers another alternative to ratings system: It would rate colleges based on "social responsibility" by assigning silver, gold, and platinum ratings.
- **July 28, 2014** Fifty private- and public-college leaders in Virginia sign letter against proposed ratings system.
- **September 2, 2014** After months of concern about "unintended consequences" of plan, Jamienne S. Studley, deputy under secretary of education, acknowledges that researchers' worries about those consequences are valid.
- **September 6, 2014** Ted Mitchell, under secretary of education, says ratings system will "reflect and incorporate the different missions of institutions."
- **September 12, 2014** A public-comment hearing—held by federal Advisory Committee on Student Financial Assistance—stresses four key questions about forthcoming system.
- **November 4, 2014** Republican Party's victory in midterm elections give it control of Senate and expands its majority in House, creating unfavorable prospects for ratings plan in Congress. Sen. Lamar Alexander, likely chair of Senate committee overseeing education, makes clear that he is no fan.
- **December 19, 2014** Education Department releases draft.

—ANDY THOMASON

Continued From Page A4
ministration wants to use in its ratings is missing or incomplete. Federal graduation rates count only first-time, full-time students, for example, and information on graduates' earnings is limited. According to those critics, ratings based on flawed data would be unfair to colleges and could mislead prospective students.

The new framework acknowledges those concerns and describes ways the Education Department might deal with them. It says the ratings will, "at a minimum," be divided into groupings for two- and four-year institutions. In addition, it "is considering accounting for differences in institutional characteristics like degree and program mix and selectivity."

The department is also debating whether to adjust the metrics to account for student demographics, an approach that public colleges have endorsed. The list of factors it might take into account includes' parental income, first-generation status, and SAT scores, Mr. Mitchell said.

On labor-market outcomes, Mr. Mitchell said the department would not compare colleges on the basis of whose graduates earn more. Rather, it will set a "threshold" that graduates' earnings must meet—a multiplier of the minimum wage, perhaps, or earnings over the poverty line.

"We're asking, Does attending Institution X prepare recent graduates for employment at a level that enables them to pay their bills and get on with life?" he said. "We think that eases a lot of the concerns about creating perverse incentives for colleges to produce more Wall Street lawyers and fewer social workers."

One test the department has already ruled out: a debt-to-earnings ratio, the metric at the heart of the gainful-employment regulation.

As for critics' doubts about the data, the department says it is exploring the feasibility of constructing a graduation rate using the agency's central database for student aid. Such a rate would capture part-time and transfer students, though it would still be limited to federal student-aid recipients.

M. Peter McPherson, president of the Association of Public and Land-Grant Universities, said the department should still allow colleges to substitute their own, more comprehensive, graduation rates for the federal figure. Under the voluntary Student Achievement Measure, some public colleges are tracking outcomes for all their students, not just aid recipients.

But others were troubled by the lack of detail in the department's plan.

"This is a thoughtful paper that shows the result of extensive consultation, but it only serves to underscore concerns that the department lacks a clear framework, the data, and the time needed to do this well," said Terry W. Hartle, senior vice president of government affairs at the American Council on Education.

"This project is driven by a timetable set by the president," he said. "I would be much more comfortable if it were driven by a desire to get it ■

What Do Students Look for in a College? Often, It's Proximity

By BECKIE SUPIANO

DAN VIDETICH FOR THE CHRONICLE

Tara K. Lebar, a counselor at Blue Valley West High School, in Overland Park, Kan., says many students are looking for a college near home. "At the end of the day," she says, "the cost drives the decision."

THERE HAS been a proliferation of consumer information meant to help prospective students choose a college. A number of these tools seem to take it for granted that prospects will embark on a broad, national search. They assume that prospective students are shopping around, just as they might for a car or some other big-ticket consumer item, and that they're willing to pick up and move anywhere in the country.

That kind of college search might dominate hand-wringing news articles and cocktail-party chatter, but it's far from standard.

For many students, the set of choices is not the thousands of colleges sprinkled across the country or the name brands clustered at the

COLLEGE RATINGS

top of *U.S. News & World Report*'s rankings. It's the discrete, sometimes even sparse, group of colleges within a reasonable radius of home.

That reality raises questions about what sort of information is meaningful to the average prospective student—and about the utility of recent efforts to help them, not least the Obama administration's college ratings, a draft outline of which was released in December.

The numbers show that many students who go off to college don't go all that far. Fifty-four percent of freshmen attending four-year institutions in 2013 went to one no more than 100 miles from home, according to the most recent Freshman Survey from the Cooperative Institutional Research Program, part of the Higher Education Research Institute at the University of California at Los Angeles. Nearly 30 percent were 101 to 500 miles from home.

That survey reflects only the experience of first-time, full-time students attending four-year colleges. It doesn't count those enrolled part time or at community colleges—students who are particularly likely to choose a local option. Adults, especially, may have work and family ties that rule out a move.

It's no accident that so many students go to college near where they live. After all, the majority attend public colleges. States subsidize residents' tuition and, in many cases, offer merit or need-based scholarships in an effort to educate and retain their work forces.

"Students more often than not are working in this closed system of institutions," says David Hawkins, executive director for educational content and policy at the National Association for College Admission Counseling. As a result, he says, the information that serves them best focuses on career options, and on what they'll have to pay.

STAYING LOCAL

Tara K. Lebar has seen this play out in Kansas. Most of the students at Blue Valley West High School, where she is a counselor, come from upper-middle-class families. But that doesn't mean money is no object when it comes to college selection. "At the end of the day," she says, "the cost drives the decision."

The top 15 percent or so of the class tends to do a global search, Ms. Lebar says, but most students look to stay nearby.

In-state tuition isn't the only cost savings if they do, she adds. Flying to a distant college is an additional expense. And the cost of living is lower in Kansas and its neighboring states than on the coasts.

There are additional reasons to stay near home, Ms. Lebar says. Many students want to be near family and in a place they know, "where they are comfortable."

The school, in a suburb of Kansas City, sends a lot of its graduates to the University of Kansas and to Kansas State University.

Even for students who want to go farther afield, Ms. Lebar recommends visiting nearby colleges, for a sense of whether they prefer a large or small campus. "We have every type of college within a two-hour driving distance," she notes. They can begin a national search once they have a better idea of what they're looking for.

At North Central High School, in Indianapolis, only about a quarter of the graduating class goes to college out of state, says Susie Bremen, a counseling coordinator. Indiana offers lots of good options, she says. And whether or not their parents went there, many students feel that Indiana University at Bloomington, an hour away, is "their legacy."

The school has a sizable first-generation and multicultural population, Ms. Bremen says. Some students want to live at home during college, not only to save money but also to help their families by working or helping care for younger siblings. For them, the local community college or Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis can be good options.

Of course, just because students go to college relatively close to home doesn't mean they never considered more-distant alternatives.

But there are some groups for whom that is probably true. Many community-college students, for example, probably applied to exactly one college—the one that they're attending, says David Baime, senior vice president for government relations and research at the American Association of Community Colleges. "They choose their local community college," he says, "precisely because it is their local community college."

For such students, Mr. Baime says, comparisons of programs might be more valuable than comparisons of colleges.

Community-college students are just one population whose needs are not necessarily met by tools that allow them to compare institutions across the country, says David A. Longanecker, president of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. Other such groups, he says, are nontraditional-age students studying online and high-school students taking dual-enrollment courses.

The information the government collects can help colleges improve themselves and can be used to hold them accountable, Mr. Longanecker says. But that doesn't mean it conveys what consumers need to know.

'EDUCATION DESERTS'

In some parts of the country, particularly larger cities, a prospective student might have multiple public colleges from which to choose. But there are other places where students have few, if any, choices. About 11 percent of Americans live in "education deserts," with limited public-college options—often just one community college, according to a recent paper by Nicholas Hillman, an assistant professor of educational leadership and policy analysis at the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

If a student is place-bound—unable to move because of family obligations, a job, or something else—and there's just one affordable local college, what's the value of comparing that college to others? Furthermore, the paper argues, if the ratings are eventually tied to federal funding, as intended, a community that used to have one college might be left with none.

Since the paper came out, Mr. Hillman has wondered: "How do we build the capacity of those communities?" That's a taller order than expecting potential students to make their way to someplace with a college that's well rated.

Some prospective students might not be as place-bound as they imagine, says Robert Shireman, executive director of California Competes. Not everyone realizes that financial aid can be used toward living expenses as well as tuition, he says. That knowledge could enable a student to go farther away than first seemed possible.

Part of the decision to leave home comes down to risk tolerance, he says. And the level of risk involved varies. Some students are being launched. Others are helping to prop up their families. "If you don't have a safety net," Mr. Shireman says, "it's a lot harder to make that leap." ■

Proposed College Ratings: What the Metrics Mean

By KATHERINE MANGAN and BECKIE SUPIANO

President Obama's college-ratings plan has spawned 16 months of intense debate, much of it centered on one key question: What measures would factor into the ratings?

Late last month the Education Department released a "framework" outlining what the system might eventually look like. The new information is heavy on possibilities and light on details.

But one document the department released outlines metrics that could be factors in the ratings.

COLLEGE RATINGS

Those metrics concern issues of access, affordability, and outcomes. Some are clear, others less so.

Here's a road map of the department's thinking:

11 MEASURES TO WATCH ...

Percentage of students receiving Pell Grants. As the department notes, the share of a college's students who receive federal Pell Grants is "the most common measure of access and the most readily available." That's hard to argue with. "Pell recipient" and "low income" are used interchangeably in higher-education research.

No measure is perfect, and the Pell percentage does have limitations. It masks variation in the financial strength of recipients, whose families might have incomes of $0 or $50,000. It creates a distinction between similar students just above and below eligibility. And selective colleges say it doesn't credit them for enrolling low-income international students, who aren't eligible for federal financial aid.

Expected Family Contribution gap. The percentage of students receiving Pell Grants is readily available. The "EFC Gap" is anything but. The EFC is the amount the government suggests a family can pay for college, based on information the family reports on the Free Application for Federal Student Aid, or Fafsa. But basing a metric on an EFC gap is new.

It's unclear just what the department would measure. Its own materials say: "We are exploring defining EFC gap as the average difference between some focal EFC level and each student's individual EFC (with negative values treated as zero)."

In any event, the EFC itself is widely seen as an unrealistic measure of what families can pay.

Family-income quintiles. The department could also look at income itself. That's another option the ratings might use, and it might make sense to prospective students and families.

Income data would probably come from what families report on the Fafsa. That means the incomes of students who don't apply for aid would be unknown. At some colleges, that's a small population. At others, it would be substantial.

First-generation college status. Many colleges that strive to achieve diversity among their students already keep tabs on the share of those who are the first in their families to pursue a degree. But colleges don't define "first generation" in the same way: Some count students whose parents haven't graduated; others count only students whose parents never enrolled.

It sounds as if the ratings would gather this information, too, from the Fafsa, which asks about the educational attainment of each parent. Once again, pulling information from the Fafsa means it's available only for financial-aid applicants.

Average net price. Most students don't pay sticker price, so in recent years the government has emphasized net price, or what students pay after grants and scholarships. Colleges' average net prices, which are now reported in the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, are available to consumers on the department's College Navigator.

But average net price applies only to first-time, full-time students who receive grants or scholarships from the institution or from federal, state, or local governments. For public colleges, it counts only those paying in-state tuition.

Net price by quintile. Confusingly, the net-price-by-income data, which are also already reported, consider a different universe of students than does the overall average net price. This measure counts first-time, full-time students who receive federal financial aid (including those whose only aid is a federal loan). At some colleges, that covers much of the incoming class. At others, it does not.

The measure is meant to give students an idea of what someone like them might pay, but it can be misleading. Because some colleges have small numbers of federal-aid recipients in some of the income bands, the data can be skewed by a few outliers. That has led an economist at Wellesley College to encourage the government to adjust the figure to measure median, rather than average, net price.

Educators say a focus on degree-completion rates would encourage colleges to turn away students who are likely to struggle.

Also, elite colleges measure income in two ways. Some have reported their data using one measure, while others have used another, creating an apples-to-oranges comparison with their peers.

Completion rates. Here's one of the most hotly contested ingredients: How many students earn degrees or certificates within three years, for community colleges, or six years, for baccalaureate institutions? Federal graduation rates count only first-time, full-time students, leaving out the part-time and transfer students who make up well over half of the enrollments at many colleges. A more comprehensive measure is in the works, but it won't be ready until 2017.

Many educators worry that a focus on this measure will encourage colleges to turn away students who are likely to struggle, thereby hurting low-income and minority students disproportionately.

"While it is important that colleges are affordable and provide access to disadvantaged students," the Education Department's invitation for comments says, "it is essential that they contribute positively to the outcomes of their students."

Transfer rates. Recognizing that many community-college students transfer to four-year institutions without first earning degrees or certificates, the plan's architects are "exploring the viability" of measuring transfer rates and giving colleges credit for them. That would help offset the hit those colleges would take in the completion category, in which transfers aren't counted.

As higher-education costs continue to rise, more students start out at community colleges with no intention of getting degrees there. "This type of transfer is intrinsic to the community-college mission and should be rewarded as such," the guidelines acknowledge.

Labor-market success. Measuring labor-market outcomes is a tricky business. Focus on salaries, and you'll reward colleges that graduate bankers and accountants while dinging those whose students become teachers and social workers. The draft plan acknowledges that reality and says it's considering a minimum threshold for graduates' earnings. There are a few ways to do that: looking at the percentage of former students who earn above 200 percent of the federal poverty line, for example.

The department says it will also take into account that graduates' salaries right out of college don't necessarily reflect what they'll earn later. And it's trying to figure out how to account for other factors, like regional differences or a student's major, on earnings data.

Graduate-school attendance. Students who go on to graduate school can drag down short-term earnings and job-placement numbers, but colleges shouldn't be penalized for that, the draft plan acknowledges. So the department is considering measuring the number of students who attend graduate school within, say, 10 years of entering college. But such data are hard to come by, because all there is to go on is who took out federal loans—and only about half of the students enrolled in graduate school did so last year.

Loan-performance outcomes. The government already holds colleges accountable, up to a point, for their cohort-default rates, the share of borrowers who default on their loans within a certain time period. The department says it's considering other loan-performance measures, which might provide "additional or superior information." Possibilities include deferment, forbearance, and repayment rates.

One concern about those metrics: Arguably, what they measure is already captured in terms of college costs and postcollege earnings. Another concern: Using them might reward colleges for enrolling more students from affluent families.

... AND ONE OUTLIER

Average loan debt. The government includes a measure of typical loan debt on its College Scorecard, but it's not considering that metric for the ratings.

Basically, measuring debt might not be fair, department officials explain. A college that attracts many students from higher-income families might look good by that measure because its students wouldn't need to borrow as much, says Ted Mitchell, under secretary of education. A college that tends to draw students from low-income families might also perform well because those students would be eligible for Pell Grants, which could decrease their debt levels. But colleges that enroll more students from middle-income families could be penalized, he says.

In any case, the government doesn't have a good way to include private-loan debt in this measure. Using a metric that includes only federal loans could create an incentive for colleges to steer students to private ones. That's the opposite of what the government wants. Its own loans generally have better terms and borrower protections. ■

Eric Kelderman contributed to this article.

ACTWA

Students at Pacific Lutheran U. expressed support for efforts to organize adjunct faculty members at the religiously oriented institution.

Labor Board Eases Way for Unionizing Faculty Members at Private Colleges

By PETER SCHMIDT

The National Labor Relations Board has made it easier for faculty members at religious colleges—and at private colleges as a whole—to organize into unions.

In a 3-to-2 decision last month involving contingent faculty members at Pacific Lutheran University, the board laid out new standards for deciding two of the most divisive questions in academic-labor law: whether a college's religious nature should exempt it from NLRB jurisdiction, and whether faculty members have too much involvement in the management of their colleges to be considered as employees eligible for union representation.

ACADEMIC LABOR

A regional official of the NLRB ruled last year that adjuncts at Pacific Lutheran could move to unionize. The full labor board later agreed to review the case, and in February it solicited input on both of the questions central to the dispute.

The NLRB's majority came down squarely in favor of the labor organizers seeking to unionize contingent faculty members at Pacific Lutheran on both counts.

Focusing, for the first time, on the question of whether the

college characterizes the faculty members at issue as involved in religious indoctrination, the board held that the role played by the university's contingent faculty members was too secular for federal oversight of their union election to be seen as an infringement of Pacific Lutheran's academic freedom.

The board's majority conducted a detailed analysis of what roles contingent faculty members played and how much power they actually had. It concluded that it was left with "little doubt that the contingent faculty simply do not, and in fact cannot, control or effectively control relevant decision making" there.

Such faculty members "tend to have a limited voice in university governance, if they have a role at all," in part because Pacific Lutheran provides few mechanisms for them to express their concerns, and in part because they are not given enough job security or information about their basic rights to feel comfortable speaking up, the board majority held.

Although the board sent the case back to a regional NLRB officer for further proceedings, it seems likely that the federal courts will be asked to review the decision and assess whether the board had overstepped its constitutional bounds.

It said a better test would be to consider whether colleges that hold themselves out as religious also explicitly hold their faculty members out as doing religious work.

The ruling set a new test for deciding whether faculty members are too involved in managing a college to be considered eligible for a union.

Applying such a test, it concluded that, although Pacific Lutheran characterized itself as providing a religious educational environment, "it does not hold its contingent faculty out as performing a specific role in creating or maintaining that environment" in its public statements.

Therefore, the board majority held, such faculty members should not be exempt.

The second major question dealt with by the board was how to determine whether contingent faculty members at Pacific Lutheran should be considered managerial employees, ineligible for union representation.

That question was at the heart of a landmark 1980 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, *National Labor Relations Board v. Yeshiva University,* which has essentially barred full-time faculty members at private colleges from forming unions.

Pacific Lutheran held that its contingent faculty members played managerial roles. Rather than take such an assertion at face value, the board conducted an unprecedented examination of the work such faculty members do, and concluded that the university had "failed to prove" that its full-time contingent faculty members exercised managerial authority.

"In particular, we find that there is insufficient evidence that the full-time contingent faculty are substantially involved in decision making affecting the key areas of academic programs, enrollment management, and finances," the majority's decision stated.

It said, "Contingent faculty are often employed in teaching- or research-only positions, with little to no support for faculty development or scholarship, providing them with a very different relationship to the university and its functions."

Mr. Johnson, in his dissent, said the board had set the bar too high for determining whether a faculty member plays a managerial role. Many full-time faculty members who routinely make recommendations to their institutions' administrations, he said, would fail to qualify as managerial under such a standard. ■

RELIGIOUS INDOCTRINATION

In a strongly worded dissent to the ruling, one board member, Harry I. Johnson III, argued that the majority had violated the First Amendment's religious protections by inserting itself into the college's affairs.

Rejecting the board's assertion that Pacific Lutheran was not involved enough in religious indoctrination to be seen as too religious for NLRB oversight, he said the board "cannot tell the religion what it must believe—and what it must express to the public—in order to be religious."

The university and its supporters argued that the NLRB should exempt Pacific Lutheran on the basis of the way the university characterized itself.

The Service Employees International Union, which was seeking to organize the university's contingent faculty members, and its supporters argued that the board should instead conduct an analysis of whether the work actually done by those faculty members was religious in nature.

The majority in the NLRB's decision said it was articulating a new test because it regarded an examination of the religious nature of faculty members' work as too intrusive, yet did not see the university's assertions of its institutional religious character as relevant to the question of whether its faculty members played a religious role.

In China, Duke U. Navigates a Foreign Landscape

By LARA FARRAR

KUNSHAN, CHINA

The road to China has not been smooth for Duke University.

The prestigious college's effort to open a campus here has been beset by construction problems, Chinese red tape, and faculty debates back home in Durham, N.C., about the value and cost of the venture. The opening of the 40-acre campus, which is located outside Shanghai, has been delayed several times.

But after five years, Duke finally welcomed students to the campus in October. Administrators at Duke Kunshan University, as the new institution is known, chalk up any issues to the effort's aspiration and size.

"It is a very ambitious project," says Mary Brown Bullock, Duke-Kunshan's executive vice chancellor. "To start a whole, new campus, there will be inevitable delays with the planning and with the construction."

INTERNATIONAL

She says the university "can make a difference in Chinese higher education and American education" by easing the exchange of teaching and research ideas and pioneering a new form of university governance in China.

Yet the opening comes at a difficult time politically for American educational ventures in China. China's leadership has tightened controls on academic freedom in the country, while U.S. lawmakers are scrutinizing American universities operating here. Last month, Rep. Chris Smith, a New Jersey Republican, called for an examination of agreements like the one Duke signed with the Chinese government, asking whether American colleges had made "quiet compromises" in the process.

Administrators at Duke Kunshan and other branch campuses in China say that isn't the case. However, Duke's experience does show that working here requires an almost constant negotiation with Chinese partners and offers a window into the challenges universities face as they build bridges to this Asian nation.

Many Western universities approach China "with rose-colored glasses," says Jason E. Lane, director of educational studies at the Rockefeller Institute of Government and an associate professor at the State University of New York at Albany. "American universities go overseas and often forget they are not in America anymore. In China you don't know what you don't know until you are there."

CONSTRUCTION WOES

To be sure, doing business here is hardly easy for anyone. Multinational corporations have learned hard lessons that no matter how influential a company is, in China, it's the Chinese way or the highway. One high-profile example was Google's decision in 2010 to shutter its search engine in China after refusing to adhere to the country's Internet censorship policies.

Indeed, Duke administrators say that to operate in China requires a willingness to adapt to ever-shifting circumstances, a mantra the university has repeated since its plans were announced in 2009.

The Duke campus, which was originally slated to open in the fall of 2012, ran into a variety of construction issues. The local government, which is picking up the $200-million building tab, at times chose contractors ill-equipped to build a state-of-the-art facility, says a Duke official involved with the campus, who spoke only anonymously because of the sensitivity of the project. "There was a very different level of understanding when it came to quality," the source said.

Duke Kunshan officially started courses in August, but students and professors had to live and hold classes for nearly two months in a hotel because the campus wasn't ready. Many students said the temporary housing was not a problem, but it did draw a rebuke from at least one undergraduate, who wrote in the Duke student newspaper that "aside from academics, DKU does not meet Duke University standards."

Since the opinion article was published, students have moved onto the campus, where five of the six buildings are complete. In all, the university has enrolled 103 students, meeting Duke's goals, and is offering master's-degree programs in management studies, global health, and medical physics, and a one-semester undergraduate program in interdisciplinary studies.

Aside from the construction issues, dealing with government rules and Chinese politics was perhaps more challenging. The rules governing so-called Sino-foreign joint universities are extensive. Among other requirements, Western universities must have a Chinese university partner and receive approval from various levels of government, including the education ministry, to set tuition and get permission for the educational programs that will be provided.

QILAI SHEN FOR THE CHRONICLE

Duke Kunshan U., the new 40-acre campus of the prestigious university, in a Shanghai suburb, opened in October. While on campus, the institution's 100 students can access websites like Facebook that are blocked elsewhere in China.

'WIRES GOT CROSSED'

While Duke officials say such steps went smoothly over all, there were bumps. "Just as Duke has its own constituencies, the Chinese partners also have their own constituencies," says Nora Bynum, Duke Kunshan's vice provost. "It takes a lot of discussion and a lot of hard work to keep the project moving in one direction. There were times when wires got crossed."

Ms. Bynum says one sticking point was that China's education ministry wanted Duke Kunshan to start with undergraduate degrees, which Duke did not want. Ultimately, Duke agreed to offer the interdisciplinary-studies program, which has enrolled 61 undergraduates, mostly from China.

Duke is considering offering an undergraduate degree in China within the next five years, but Ms. Bynum says the university has yet to commit to putting its name on the degree.

While Duke was willing to compromise on the undergraduate offering, Ms. Bynum said there were some nonnegotiable items, like the university's role in supervising educational quality and setting conditions to ensure academic freedom. On campus, for example, students are able to access academic journals and websites like Facebookthat are typically blocked in China.

Such concessions have not decreased concerns that, over all, the environment for open academic inquiry and discussion is worsening. In recent years, the Chinese government has cracked down on dissident professors, barred some American scholars from entering the country, and banned certain topics, like freedom of the press, from being taught in Chinese university classrooms.

At Duke, Thomas Pfau, a professor of German and English who has long been critical of the China campus, says he is less concerned about "heavy-handed Chinese censorship" than self-censorship. He says the administration may limit what is taught to avoid a "public relations fallout."

Ms. Bullock counters that the government has ensured the university that professors can "teach what they want to teach" and that students can "learn what they want to learn."

Jeffrey Lehman, vice chancellor of New York University's campus in Shanghai, which opened in 2013, says such pledges have held up. He writes in an email that "when NYU Shanghai was set up, NYU was promised complete campus academic freedom. That promise has been kept."

For example, Mr. Lehman says, NYU Shanghai faculty members organized a forum in September to discuss the pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong, news of which has been heavily censored in mainland China.

Ultimately, Ms. Bullock says, Duke Kunshan is a bold experiment that, despite a rocky start, will enhance higher education and academic pursuits in China.

"We are modeling new forms of governance," she says. "These are cutting-edge things that might really make a difference here. China is embarking on rather extraordinary innovation models with partners at a time when the political direction of the country is maybe less certain." ■

QILAI SHEN FOR THE CHRONICLE

Students took part in an international fair at Duke Kunshan U. in December. The university offers several master's degree programs and a one-semester undergraduate program in interdisciplinary studies.

2 Takes on Student-Loan Defaults: Is the Glass Half-Full or Half-Empty?

By KELLY FIELD

WASHINGTON

There's good news, and somewhat discouraging news, in the Education Department's latest data on student-loan repayment.

First, the good news: More borrowers with federal direct loans are opting into income-based plans,

STUDENT LOANS

lowering their monthly payments and their risk of default.

In the 18 months from April 1, 2013, to September 30, 2014, participation in income-based repayment, the largest such program, more than doubled, to 1.85 million direct-loan borrowers. The amount of debt being repaid through the program more than doubled, too.

During the same period, enrollment in the more generous but more limited Pay as You Earn program grew eightfold, to 320,000 direct-loan borrowers, with outstanding debt reaching $12.2-billion.

Both programs peg monthly payments to income, making borrowers less likely to default. While those in income-based plans often pay more in interest over the long term, they can also have debt forgiven after 10 to 25 years (depending on the program and whether they are in public-service careers).

The programs' growing popularity suggests that the Education Department's efforts to educate delinquent borrowers about income-based plans are paying off. Over the past two years, it has sent emails to millions of borrowers to notify them that they might be eligible for such plans. It has also worked with Intuit, the tax-preparation company, to educate tax filers about their repayment options.

Remz Pokorny, a 27-year-old teacher, is among the new enrollees. He switched from a standard repayment plan six months ago, after he began hearing more about income-based repayment. He said he had cut his monthly payments from nearly $400 to just under $200. During the summer, when he wasn't working, he didn't pay anything.

Mr. Pokorny said that he realized he would pay more over time, but that lowering the payments has helped, because his wife stopped working last year, when their daughter was born. "You can call it short-term thinking," he said, "but for us, it's paycheck to paycheck."

Even so, enrollment in Pay as You Earn remains far below the 1.6 million borrowers that the White House projected would qualify. That suggests that there are many struggling borrowers who either aren't aware of the opportunity or aren't enrolling.

DEEPENING DEBT

As for the discouraging news: Forbearances and defaults continue to climb.

A little over a year and a half ago, 1.8 million direct-loan borrowers were in forbearance on $48.3-billion in debt. By the end of September, 2.7 million borrowers were in forbearance, and their debt had climbed to $80.7-billion. That's a 50-percent increase in borrowers, and a 67-percent rise in loan volume, in just 18 months.

Meanwhile, the number of direct-loan borrowers in default grew by 600,000, to 2.7 million, and the dollars in default grew by nearly a third, to $40.1-billion.

Loan repayment rose, too, but at a slower rate. Over the 18 months covered by the data, the number of direct-loan borrowers paying down their debt increased by 12 percent, while the volume of loans in repayment grew by slightly more than a quarter.

That's cause for concern, for both taxpayers and borrowers. When borrowers default on their student loans, taxpayers are on the hook for 97 to 100 percent of the losses, depending on whether the loan is guaranteed or direct.

The defaulters, meanwhile, face significant personal and financial burdens. They become ineligible for additional federal aid and may have their wages and tax refunds seized by the government. Their negative credit records make it harder for them to obtain car loans, mortgages, credit cards, even apartments and jobs. When they can get loans, they pay higher interest rates.

So what can be done to reverse the trend?

One solution that has gained traction is to automatically enroll all borrowers in income-based repayment. That plan, known as "auto-IBR," carries some risks, but it would simplify the repayment process and nearly eliminate delinquencies and defaults.

In Congress, the idea has been championed by Rep. Tom Petri, Republican of Wisconsin. Last year he offered legislation, HR 1716, that would allow employers to withhold student-loan payments along with payroll taxes. Sen. Marco Rubio, a Florida Republican, and Sen. Mark Warner, a Virginia Democrat, have introduced a similar bill in the Senate.

But Mr. Petri is retiring this year from the House of Representatives, and neither Senator Rubio nor Senator Warner sits on the education committee. The question now is whether Republicans, who control both chambers, will include the idea in legislation for the coming reauthorization of the Higher Education Act. ■

At Top Athletics Programs, Many Students Major in Eligibility

By JONAH NEWMAN

DON JUAN MOORE, GETTY IMAGES

Florida State players warm up before a November game. About a third of the students on the team are majoring in "general social sciences."

When the University of Oregon Ducks and the Florida State University Seminoles met on New Year's Day in the first college-football playoff game, the two teams had more in common than dominance on the gridiron and a place in sports history.

They also had an academic similarity: On each team, about one-third of the players majored in social sciences, a multidisciplinary liberal-arts major.

At both institutions, only about 3 percent of all students graduate with bachelor's degrees in general social sciences. That means that

ATHLETICS

Ducks and Seminoles football players are roughly 10 times as likely as their peers to be pursuing this general-studies major.

Coincidence? Unlikely.

The Chronicle analyzed the majors of athletes at 17 of the 25 universities whose football teams made the first-ever playoff rankings, in October. (The eight other universities declined to provide information or failed to respond to public-records requests.) At almost every institution, we found athletes clustered in a small number of majors.

Of course, clustering is no surprise. Ask a few random students at any Division I college, and they'll be able to name the "jock major" there. But the clustering can be stark. At its most extreme, it illuminates the central tension of college sports—the push/pull between academics and athletics.

At the University of Arizona, for example, 23 percent of all athletes major in general studies, another broad liberal-arts degree, which accounts for just 3 percent of all undergraduates. (We're comparing the overall number of students who graduate in a discipline to the smaller number of athletes currently majoring in that discipline, not a perfect comparison but the most feasible with available data.) As in most of the athletics departments *The Chronicle* analyzed, football players are especially likely to cluster in certain majors: 34 percent of Arizona's football players are seeking degrees in general studies.

Clustering raises questions about the status of college athletes. As they have increasingly called for compensation, the National Collegiate Athletic Association and colleges themselves have doubled down on the image of the "scholar athlete" and the notion that a free education is more than fair recompense. But with a third of the football players at Oregon, Florida State, and Arizona in general-studies majors—and other athletes clustered in majors that may be better for their practice schedules than for their eventual careers—some experts question the worth of such degrees.

"We have to ask ourselves, What is the long-term prospect of the student-athlete?," says Peter Finley, an associate professor of sport management at Nova Southeastern University, who has studied academic clustering among athletes. What is the logical outcome of the general-studies degree?"

The answer, he says, is that some athletes are "basically majoring in eligibility and little else."

WIDESPREAD BUT VARIED

Most investigations of athletes' academic clustering—defined, in a 1987 study on the topic, as 25 percent or more of the students on a single team in the same major—focus on the revenue-generating sports of football and men's basketball. But *The Chronicle*'s analysis found clustering in nearly every sport and across genders.

At the University of Alabama, home of the country's top-ranked football team, there was actually little clustering among football players. The most popular major among them, general studies, accounted for just 13 percent of the players, well below the clustering cutoff.

But 35 percent of the players on the men's baseball team, which barely cracked the top 30 in the national rankings, are studying exercise science, a common major among athletes at several universities in our analysis. Half of all women's softball players at Alabama are also exercise-science majors.

At Mississippi State University, clustering spans the entire athletics department. Half of all athletes, male and female, are pursuing just four majors: kinesiology, business administration, human sciences, and biological sciences. Those programs graduate just 20 percent of all undergraduates.

Clemson University, on the other hand, exemplifies how clustering can be specific to both sport and gender. One-quarter of women's cross-country athletes, 29 percent of women's soccer players, and 31 percent of women's basketball players at Clemson are majoring in health sciences.

On the men's side at Clemson, health sciences isn't the most popular major in a single sport. But the department of parks, recreation, and tourism management—the website declares that its majors "study fun"—is quite popular. The department claims one-quarter of all football players, 29 percent of men's baseball players, and 36 percent of men's basketball players. But it graduates just 3 percent of all undergraduates.

Clustering doesn't always involve a general-studies major. At Duke University, the men's swimming-and-diving program exhibited the most pronounced clustering of any team in our analysis, but hardly anyone could make the case that those athletes take the easy way out. Ten out of 14 swimmers—71 percent—are majoring in some kind of engineering.

A *Chronicle* analysis found that athletes on big-time football teams cluster in majors that may suit practice schedules more than eventual careers.

Compare data collected in 2003 with the new numbers, and you'll find that clustering has deepened over the past decade.

In 2003, *The Chronicle* found, 14 percent of Oregon football players were studying pre-business. This year, 22 percent of team members are in that major, which isn't even the most popular one. Social sciences, which didn't register as a top major in 2003, now enrolls 29 percent of the football players.

The same trend can be seen at Florida State, where the proportion of football players in general social science has soared, from 13 percent in 2003 to 34 percent this year.

Mr. Finley has also found that clustering increases over an athlete's time in college.

"When these folks arrived on campus, they had dreams of majoring in things from education to finance to you name it," he says of his study of football players at Virginia Tech from 2000 to 2009. "And then over time—and far, far more for the minorities than the white players—they just migrate to the one clustered major. That left us with some real concern about how much free will was being exercised by the student-athlete."

Why has clustering grown more entrenched over time? Mr. Finley and Brian Davis, who was associate athletic director for football student services at the University of Texas at Austin for 16 years before being dismissed in June, place some blame on an unlikely target: the NCAA's stricter eligibility requirements, which went into effect in 2003.

Under the revised rules, in order to stay eligible for Division I athletics, students have to show adequate progress toward a degree at the end of each semester. Athletes must have completed 40 percent of the coursework needed for a degree by the beginning of their third year, 60 percent by the beginning of their fourth year, and 80 percent by the start of their fifth year.

"Prior to 2004, people in athletic academic-support roles could advise students to take some risk and to do more thorough exploration and to challenge themselves," says Mr. Davis, who is now a consultant. But the NCAA's updated academic-progress standards "make it nearly impossible for a student to run the risk of challenging themselves, because the consequences are too dire." The new requirements encourages coaches and, by proxy, academic advisers, to "find the path of least resistance on your campus," says Mr. Finley.

What's more, the standards can make clustering look worse than it really is, according to Oregon's head of academic services for athletes.

Some Oregon football players who appear to be majoring in social science may be planning to switch to biology or business, says Steve Stolp, executive director of the John E. Jaqua Academic Center for Student Athletes, a $42-million facility at Oregon.

Officials at Florida State and Arizona also note that athletes who declare their intention to major in social science or general studies may have other plans down the line. In the meantime, declaring those majors makes it easier to meet the degree-progress requirements.

When the academic achievements of athletes don't stack up to expectations, people like Mr. Davis and Mr. Stolp—and their legions of academic-support staff members—often take the blame.

In some cases, that blame may be justified. Academic counselors were knowing participants in the scandal at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. They helped to perpetuate a system of "paper classes," which never met and were directed entirely by an administrative assistant in the department of African and African-American studies, according to a comprehensive report released in October.

OVERBLOWN CONCERN?

Given such obvious fraud, is clustering really a problem? Some academic advisers argue that concern over athletes' majors is overblown.

"When we talk about clustering, I think public perception is that it's an easy major where you don't have to do that much work and the classes are easy," says Brian Evans, senior associate athletics director for student-athlete academic services at Utah State University. "But whatever that major may be, it's a duly accepted major by the regents of the institution. They still have to meet all of the metrics to graduate."

Academic-support professionals are quick to point out that not all clustering puts students into general-studies or other multidisciplinary majors. Indeed, many athletes cluster in majors that seem to align with their sports interests, such as kinesiology and sport management.

Still, hardly anyone will dispute that some proportion of college athletes choose majors with NCAA eligibility—and their already-busy schedules—in mind. "We're just kidding ourselves that they're only practicing 20 hours per week," Mr. Finley says.

He suggests a radical, but rational, solution: Allow athletes to take fewer credits during the five years when they are eligible to play, and to use their scholarships to complete their degrees once they're done competing.

"Maybe if we lower our expectation of courses per semester," Mr. Finley says, "we would come out better in the long term." ■

Jonah Newman, a former database reporter for The Chronicle, *is a journalist in Chicago.*

UMass-Lowell's Overseas Venture, Like Others, Banks on a Partner

By BETH MCMURTRIE

THE UNIVERSITY of Massachusetts at Lowell announced last month that it was joining a defense contractor to offer degree programs in Kuwait. Higher-education experts say the deal may not be as unusual as it appears.

The project, which could serve as many as 1,200 students in the next few years, requires the Raytheon Company to contribute $50-million to help cover the cost of the first seven years of operation.

"It's a brilliant strategy because it's so simple," said Brian K. Fitzgerald, chief executive officer of the Business-Higher Education Forum, a group of senior executives. Raytheon, he noted, has long worked with universities in the United States to design academic programs in fields like cybersecurity. The contractor also has close ties to governments in the Persian Gulf region. Meanwhile, he said, the move will give UMass-Lowell a bigger presence on the global stage.

INTERNATIONAL

The university already offers dual-degree programs in Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. But they are small, noted Ahmed Abdelal, the provost. "We think all universities have an important role in building intercultural understanding and helping connect the world," he said. "We really take that seriously. That is our motivation."

UMass-Lowell has a close relationship with Raytheon, which employs about 1,000 of its graduates and recently opened a research center on the campus. The company's commitment to the new deal came out of a requirement to put some of its profits from the sale of weaponry to Kuwait back into the country, a step known as a defense offset. Usually, though, such investments focus on business- or economic-development projects.

Kevin Kinser, a senior researcher at the Institute for Global Education Policy Studies at the State University of New York at Albany, said that while having a defense contractor as a partner may be unusual, most any American university hoping to make a big splash overseas needs external benefactors and partners.

That support may come in obvious forms, as with Education City, in which the Qatar Foundation underwrites academic programs run by American university partners in Qatar. Or it could come in behind-the-scenes ways, such as a partner that provides land, buildings, or legal and administrative help.

STRINGS ATTACHED

Highly trained engineers and other technical workers are certainly needed in the Persian Gulf region. Governments there have clamored for foreign universities to train their citizens to run the industries, like oil, energy alternatives, and defense, that they have traditionally outsourced to foreign companies.

Kuwait's relatively young private-university system was designed with the idea that foreign partners would be part of the arrangement.

A third partner in the deal between UMass-Lowell and Raytheon is a private institution in Kuwait, the Gulf University for Science and Technology. Since it opened, in 2002, it has worked with the University of Missouri at St. Louis. Another Kuwaiti institution, the American University of the Middle East, is affiliated with Purdue University.

This will be the first time, though, that students in Kuwait can earn degrees from an American institution, UMass-Lowell said.

Mr. Kinser, who has seen overseas ventures rise and fall in recent years, offered a note of caution: Grand academic ambitions can be waylaid by economic and political realities. Perhaps a government or your partner might try to dictate which programs you can offer, or student demand isn't what you thought it would be.

"It's quite a gift, but it's a gift with enormous strings attached," he said. "You have to build a campus in Kuwait."

UMass-Lowell said it had done its homework. The university hired a consultant to determine the demand for its degrees and concluded that it could draw students from the region as well as other parts of Asia to programs in business, education, engineering, and science.

And it has involved regional and specialized accreditors, as well as faculty members, in the planning process. Technically the Kuwait operation will be not a branch campus but an instructional site, which is more limited in scope.

Mr. Abdelal, the provost, said UMass-Lowell would send tenured faculty members to develop the programs and would hire new faculty members from the United States to teach there. "The curriculum will be our curriculum. The faculty will be our faculty," he said.

Michael J. Carter, chair of the economics department and president of the Faculty Senate at UMass-Lowell, said he had heard no complaints from faculty members.

"It'll be challenging, and the key to it's going to be whether or not it's possible to staff the programs with high-quality faculty," Mr. Carter said. But "there's a lot of money behind it, Raytheon's money. From our point of view, there's not a whole lot of downside or risk." ■

After Facebook Fiasco, Big-Data Researchers Rethink Ethics

By PAUL VOOSEN

HEATHER AINSWORTH, THE NEW YORK TIMES, REDUX

Jeffrey Hancock, a Cornell U. professor who worked with Facebook on a controversial study of emotion online, says the experience has led him to think about how to continue such collaborations "in ways that users feel protected, that academics feel protected, and industry feels protected."

RESEARCH

Though it may not feel like it when you see the latest identity-affirming listicle shared by a friend on Facebook, we are a society moving toward evidence. Our world is ever more quantified, and with such data, flawed or not, the tools of science are more widely applied to our decisions. We can do more than observe our lives, the idea goes. We can experiment on them.

No group lives that ethos more than the life-hacking coders of Silicon Valley. Trading on Internet-based products that allow continuous updates and monitoring, programmers test their software while we use it, comparing one algorithmic tweak against another—the A/B test, as it's known. As we browse the web, we are exposed to endless manipulations. Many are banal—what font gets you to click more?—and some are not.

Last summer the technologists discovered how unaware everyone else was of this new world. After Facebook, in collaboration with two academics, published a study showing how positive or negative language spreads among its users, a viral storm erupted. Facebook "controls emotions," headlines yelled. Jeffrey T. Hancock, a Cornell University professor of communications and information science who collaborated with Facebook, drew harsh scrutiny. The study was the most shared scientific article of the year on social media. Some critics called for a government investigation.

Much of the heat was fueled by hype, mistakes, and underreporting. But the experiment also revealed problems for computational social science that remain unresolved. Several months after the study's publication, Mr. Hancock broke a media silence and told *The New York Times* that he would like to help the scientific world address those problems.

"There are tough issues here. Even the ethicists are divided."

"How do we go about allowing these collaborations to continue," Mr. Hancock said more recently in an interview with *The Chronicle*, "in ways that users feel protected, that academics feel protected, and industry feels protected?"

Those problems will become only more acute as our quantified lives expand, Mr. Hancock said. "What's interesting with big data is that small, tiny effects that don't matter for the individual may matter at the aggregate," Mr. Hancock said.

There's wide agreement that the individual risks presented by the Facebook study were minimal. In effect, some subjects of the experiment saw a few more posts containing positive or negative language, and subsequently, for every thousand words they shared, they posted one more matching emotional word.

But nearly 700,000 people had taken unwitting part in a psychology experiment. That scale presented a risk—perhaps not to each user, but to science as a whole. "The harm here is to the reputation of science," said Christian Sandvig, an associate professor of information at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.

Mr. Hancock does not pretend to know the best way forward for big-data research. He knows the ethical qualms the study stirred up; he's faced them every day. "It led to a very difficult time for me personally," he said. "But it also was a difficult time for people who had concerns about this." At conferences since then, he has sought to be "somebody that people can bounce their ideas off of," he said, "because I went through it." And while some peers have criticized his continued presence, more seem curious about what he has to say.

"There are tough issues here," said Leslie Meltzer Henry, an associate professor of law at the University of Maryland's Carey School of Law and expert on research ethics. "Even the ethicists are divided."

Indeed, the emotion study has spawned a cottage industry of legal and ethical debate. Probably no institutional review board isn't pondering it. Few things are certain, but in talks with a variety of experts, one point is clear: When the whole population is up for experimentation, the experimental guidelines must change.

TREAT USERS WITH DIGNITY

For nearly a decade, Mr. Hancock, trained as a psychologist, has studied how increasing dependence on text in communication could alter how emotion is conveyed. Using Cornell students, he found that positive and negative emotion seemed to spread from one subject to another when they were interacting online. But those small experiments required a large intervention—having students watch a funny movie as they chatted, for example—for a very subtle effect.

At a conference several years ago, Mr. Hancock said, he met Adam D.I. Kramer, a data scientist at Facebook familiar with his work. For years, public concern had been rising that Facebook's users, by presenting rosy takes on their lives, could be making their friends sad in comparison.

Fearing that the social-comparison effect was true, Facebook was going to test the reaction to a tweak in its ever-changing news-feed algorithm, showing slightly fewer posts classified as containing positive or negative language. The same data, it turned out, could be used to hunt for evidence of emotional contagion. Without ethical review, during one week in early 2012, Facebook invisibly ran the trial. The rest is history.

So what should it have done differently?

Some critics of the experiment have argued for informed consent, a bedrock of federally supported research on human subjects; Facebook's users should have been able to accept the test, or at least to opt in to such trials.

However, not all experiments with human subjects require informed consent. There are longstanding exceptions if the experiment poses minimal risk and disclosure could bias results. Such exceptions are regularly used in social science, and it's likely that the emotion study would have qualified for such a waiver had researchers asked for one, Ms. Henry said.

"What bothered them was that it was creepy. That's not something you can argue them out of."

It's also quaint to think that users would click through the multiple dialogue boxes necessary to mimic informed consent, said Jonathan L. Zittrain, director of the Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University. Would you? Instead, he said, there ought to be independent proxies who represent the users and can perform that checking function.

"I worry about leaning too hard on choice," he said, "when the real thing is just treat your users with dignity."

Even if studies do not require consent, it could be standard to debrief subjects after the work is completed, Mr. Hancock said. (Facebook did not do that with the emotion study.) Send them to a page describing the study, and let them see as much information as they want. Few academics would seem to have a problem with that idea, although companies might be wary of scaring off users.

There's also the question of what experiments would require such disclosure. The line between design test and science experiment is fuzzy. The emotion study, if it hadn't been published, could be seen as Facebook running due diligence on a potentially negative user experience. Would that have made it less objectionable? Should only experiments done with academic collaborators face such scrutiny?

Whatever the costs, university scientists need to be held to a higher standard, said Mr. Sandvig. Despite scientists' own perceptions, society holds them in high regard—much higher than Facebook, in fact. And if companies want to work in that world, "then it's a different set of standards," Mr. Sandvig said.

Facebook hasn't ignored the issue. In October it laid out a new research-review board and training for its engineers; it has also revised its terms of service to better reflect that it conducts research on users. While those guidelines are not perfect, if similar companies followed Facebook's approach, we'd be in a better place, Ms. Henry said.

Microsoft is developing similar guidelines, said Duncan J. Watts, a social scientist and principal researcher at Microsoft Research. If there's one frustration for Mr. Watts in this emotion-study debate, it's been how few computational social scientists are speaking up.

The dominant participants in this conversation have been people who don't run online experiments, he said. They say that ethics is ethics, but Mr. Watts is not so certain. "If there's one thing I've learned," he said, "it's that ethical discussions in a vacuum are pretty meaningless."

'MANIPULATION IS BAD'

Until Facebook's emotion study, social-media research had been so focused on privacy protection that researchers missed other concerns. But it wasn't a violation of privacy that irked people.

"What bothered them was that it was creepy," Mr. Sandvig said. "That's not something you can argue them out of."

The creepiness factor isn't just about the idea of science run amok. When data scientists explain their practices, they don't often sound unreasonable, but negative connotations seem embedded in the language they use. "Experiments are bad," Mr. Watts said. "Manipulation is bad. Algorithms are cold and calculated and not human."

It could just be that society does not yet have a mental model for how this machine-mediated online world works. Several researchers compared the dawning awareness that came with the emotion study to debates about advertising in the mid-20th century, when people discovered subliminal messaging.

"Now we have a good idea how ads work," Mr. Hancock said. "We're not going to get upset seeing ads manipulating emotions."

Mr. Hancock has begun new work spurred by that idea, looking at the models people use to think about algorithms. He's keeping the tests in the lab for now. "Once I have a better understanding," he said, "I'd like to expand the scope of it." ■

What's a Trove of Insights Into College Applicants Worth? $850-Million

By ERIC HOOVER

Wherever problems lurk, there's a slew of possible solutions for sale. So the ever-daunting challenge of enrolling the right mix of students was bound to spawn a big business, one that helps colleges fill their beds and polish their reputations. Over the last few decades, dozens of companies peddling enrollment-management advice and services have built a multibillion-dollar industry, which is now attracting players from other sectors.

Last month the Advisory Board Company, a research, technology, and consulting firm, made a cannonball splash: The global corporation announced its plan to buy Royall & Company, a Virginia-based business specializing in recruiting students, for $850-million. (That's more than the estimated value of the Texas Rangers, which, at $825-million, *Forbes* magazine ranks seventh among Major League Baseball teams.) The whopping purchase price suggests the scale of the enrollment-services market, which the Advisory Board Company estimates at about $9-billion—and growing rapidly.

That says a lot about the plight of today's colleges. Mounting financial pressures, demographic shifts, and—let's not forget—the relentless pursuit of prestige have fueled the demand for enrollment know-how. In this age of big data, there's plenty of sophisticated stuff (software, analytics, and strategies) for colleges to buy.

Chasing tomorrow's applicants, many institutions have decided, is too important a task to go alone. Like it or not, the 21st-century admissions office is powered by third-party engines.

"We are seeing greater use of outside consultants," says Susan Fitzgerald, senior vice president at Moody's Investors Service. "This is a very volatile market, and colleges are looking for any help and guidance in terms of navigating, for any competitive advantage they can get."

'A GREAT DATA ASSET'

That's good for businesses like Royall & Company. Although your provost might not know its name, any admissions official surely does. A quarter-century ago, the company brought creative direct-mail strategies to its first college clients. Since then, hundreds of colleges have hired Royall & Company to expand their pool of prospective students, attract more applications, improve their yield (the percentage of accepted applicants who enroll), and increase net-tuition revenue. The firm is perhaps best known for popularizing so-called fast-track applications; the prepopulated forms, which students can complete quickly, are lauded by some enrollment leaders and cursed by others.

Along the way, Royall & Company has culled lessons from continuing analyses of applicants' behavior. Which email subject lines resonate with prospective applicants? When is the best time to reach out to high-school sophomores? "Our

ADMISSIONS

insights are always informed by the changing needs and demonstrated preferences of students and families," John Nester, Royall's chief executive, writes in an email. In short, his company mines data constantly for valuable clues.

That vast trove of information appealed to the Advisory Board Company, which has long worked in the health-care industry, consulting with nearly 4,000 hospitals and health systems. Seven years ago, the firm added colleges to its portfolio, starting the Education Advisory Board, a division that provides specialized research and best-practices findings to more than 600 member colleges. Although the company declines to reveal its rates, two senior admissions officials say their colleges pay $24,500 for a three-year membership in the enrollment program, which focuses on student success and retention.

With the acquisition of Royall & Company, the Education Advisory Board will gain access to a vast college-applicant database. It would have taken a decade or more to build a comparable one, says Scott M. Fassbach, chief research officer at the Education Advisory Board: "If you want to understand how students choose colleges, it's a huge data set, a great data asset."

Combining the two companies, Mr. Fassbach says, will merge two streams of information—Royall's student-recruitment data and the Advisory Board's student-success research—covering the enrollment life cycle, from application to graduation. What might all that mean for Royall & Company's 350 clients?

"We think there's a huge opportunity to help them think of this more seamlessly," Mr. Fassbach says. "It's more than just hitting a number this year. We see a ton of opportunity to make their jobs and lives easier."

A BOOMING MARKET

That's what outsourcing is supposed to do, after all. As the scope and complexity of enrollment work have grown, hiring outside experts is often a necessity, says David A. Hawkins, executive director of educational content and policy at the National Association for College Admission Counseling.

Few, if any, colleges have staffs that can keep up with each innovation in an increasingly specialized field, not to mention the budget to do it all in-house. "Thirty years ago, these were very homey, mom-and-pop operations," Mr. Hawkins says of admissions offices. "Now, as the audience has expanded, as the recruitment cycle has grown to fill out the calendar year, and as colleges have scaled up recruitment regionally or nationally, the market for student information has exploded."

That booming market has sparked concerns among some enrollment officials. When a college turns over some or all of its recruitment and marketing strategies to a private company, the question becomes, as Mr. Hawkins says, "What are we left with here?" Who's ultimately in control of the messages a college sends, the tactics it embraces, can become hazy.

Ms. Fitzgerald, at Moody's, has seen colleges embrace off-the-shelf strategies that do not fit them. It is not uncommon for colleges to end up with a mismatch, hiring one firm to drum up more applications and another company to advise them on financial aid. "Those strategies have to be very closely aligned," she says, "and sometimes they're not."

In the end, the best data and the sharpest marketing strategies might not work unless a college's leaders also use their own good judgment—and no vendor can sell you that. ■

Campus Police Departments Struggle With Issues of Race

By PETER SCHMIDT

THE HEAD of the University of Pennsylvania's police union was not pleased to hear how Amy Gutmann had ended up lying on the floor last month at her own holiday party.

Ms. Gutmann, the university's president, had lowered herself onto her back to show solidarity with student demonstrators who staged a "die-in" at her party as part of national wave of protests over the killing of unarmed black men by police officers. The high-minded rationale for her action was exactly what inspired Eric J. Rohrback, president of the Penn Police Association, to regard it as a faux pas.

In a letter published by *The Daily Pennsylvanian,* the student newspaper, Mr. Rohrback said Ms. Gutmann had delivered "a slap in the face to every person that wears this uniform and serves this university." His letter accused the protesters of ignoring how the grand jury examining the shooting of Michael Brown of Ferguson, Mo., had "fully exonerated the officer."

The tensions that have surfaced at Penn are similar to those found at many of the nation's colleges at a time of heightened attention to how the police treat members of minority groups. Several colleges' police forces have also been the subject of recent controversies stemming from allegations they had engaged in racial profiling.

Vassar College, in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., was accused last year of racial profiling after campus security officers confronted two black students for using their dormitory laundromat, and called the town police on a group of local black children and teenagers who had been noisy in the library. Catharine Hill, Vassar's president, announced in August that the college had taken several steps to deal with the problem, such as amending its anti-discrimination policies to explicitly prohibit racial profiling and hiring a consulting firm to assist in a review of campus security practices.

As reported in *The Chronicle* of

SECURITY

Winston-Salem, N.C., students at Wake Forest University held a town hall in November to discuss black students' perceptions that the campus police ask them for their identification far more than they ask other students, and give disproportionate scrutiny to parties held by black fraternities and sororities. Regina Lawson, the university's police chief, told the audience that her department had established a new bias reporting system and plans to train its officers to avoid unconscious discrimination.

POLICE BACKUP

As proved by President Gutmann's participation in the Penn protest, however, college administrators who take a stand against alleged police misbehavior run the risk of alienating those they depend upon to maintain order on campus.

In his letter criticizing Ms. Gutmann's action, Mr. Rohrback said, "As a supervisor of law enforcement employees, she should at the very least remain neutral and not give in to mob mentality." Administrators scrambled to mend relations. Maureen Rush, vice president for public safety, said in a letter to the campus police department that Ms. Gutmann had responded "instinctively" to the protesters and "is 110 percent supportive of each and every member of our police department, and law enforcement in general."

At the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, administrators have stood behind the university police department in a much more concrete and controversial sense, refusing demands from black faculty, staff, and student organizations that the campus police stop routinely publishing the race of suspects in campus crime alerts.

In a letter sent a year ago to Eric W. Kaler, the university's president, the campus's Black Faculty and Staff Association joined the department of African-American and African studies and other groups in protesting what they described as an upsurge in campus crime alerts that described suspects as black males. Arguing that the alerts had led to a rise in racial profiling, they called for the university to remove the suspects' race from crime alerts or provide a written justification for providing such information.

In an interview last month, Steve Henneberry, a spokesman for the University of Minnesota, said that there were discussions about such concerns but that the university's policy is to use racial descriptors in crime alerts. "A well-informed community is an asset to public safety," Mr. Henneberry said, "and that involves providing as much information as we can to our community."

FIGHTING BIAS

The International Association of Campus Law Enforcement Administrators, which counts among its members the public-safety departments of about 1,200 American colleges, has sought to push colleges to end racial profiling through voluntary accreditation standards.

Under a standard it adopted in 2012, the association requires that colleges have a written directive that prohibits officers from engaging "in bias-based enforcement activity" and profiling based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, or socioeconomic status. It says such a directive should require that all officers receive entry-level and biennial training to prevent profiling, that all complaints of biased enforcement be investigated, and that complaints be reviewed annually.

It's unclear, however, how much weight those standards have. Just 18 college agencies have earned the group's accreditation, while 23 have earned accreditation jointly through the association and the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies. Christopher G. Blake, chief staff officer of the law-enforcement administrators' association, said agencies without accreditation may well have developed their own policies against profiling.

The effectiveness of anti-bias training programs for police also remains in question.

Maria (Maki) Haberfeld, who studies racial profiling as a professor of police science at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, says when police officers are caught engaging in biased enforcement, "the first and easiest thing to say is, 'We are going to retrain them.'" She says she is skeptical, however, that officers can be taught to operate without bias in a few training sessions, because bias against certain groups can be so entrenched in their thinking. Moreover, she says, "you can come up with the most wonderful training program, but if you are not offering it to the right people it is not going to improve anything."

David L. Perry, president of the law-enforcement administrators' association and chief of police at Florida State University, says one of the main factors keeping more campus agencies from being accused of racial bias or excessive use of force is "our foundation in community-oriented policing."

Gary J. Margolis, a former chief of police at the University of Vermont who now consults for campus police departments, says he believes such agencies "tend to be a little bit more sensitive to the dynamics of race just because of the nature of an academic learning environment," where race is often discussed.

If there is a major change that the recent police-shooting controversies is likely to bring about among campus police agencies, it may be in the popularization of the body-worn police cameras.

About 350 campus agencies have watched a webinar on such cameras that the law-enforcement administrators association offered in September, according to Tom Saccenti, who helped organize the presentation as chief of police at Furman University. He says the cameras, which his own agency began using in 2013, have helped in enforcing both laws and campus codes of conduct—not just by documenting what an officer is seeing, but by changing the behavior of those being filmed.

"It is accountability for both sides," Mr. Saccenti says. "The officer knows he is being recorded, but you can clearly see that there is a camera on the police officer. We have seen a change in behavior in a lot of people who we talk to because they know they are on a recording." ■

People

A Writing Professor's Contribution: So Many Words, So Little Debt

By PETER MONAGHAN

U. OF MICHIGAN

Nicholas Delbanco

As he retired as a professor of English at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor last month, **Nicholas Delbanco** was recognized not just as a novelist, nonfiction writer, and teacher, but also as the author of an innovative idea that set a high bar for creative-writing graduate programs everywhere: Ensure that all students can attend free.

After he arrived in Ann Arbor, in 1985, to head the graduate writing program there, Mr. Delbanco remembers, "I said to the people who hired me that there was nothing wrong with the program that $5-million wouldn't fix."

Michigan had long had a tradition of strong undergraduate creative-writing programming. In the 1920s, Robert Frost was a poet in residence there; from 1985 through 2014, Mr. Delbanco held a professorship in his name.

But the graduate program, which had just gotten started in 1983, had to establish its own reputation. For 17 years Mr. Delbanco built it, then stepped down from its directorship in 2002 only to teach there for another 12 years. He also directed, from 1987 until last month, the Hopwood Program, a University of Michigan-based awards and support program for career and student writers.

Michigan's creative-writing program has by now far surpassed the $5-million goal Mr. Delbanco set. "So our students are able to come for nothing, which was the dream with which I began," he says.

Between 2001 and 2013, the M.F.A. program received more than $60-million from the Zell Family Foundation, in Chicago, whose executive director, **Helen Zell,** is a 1964 Michigan graduate in English. Those funds allow the program, now known as the Helen Zell Writers' Program, to provide more than $1-million a year in tuition waivers, stipends, health insurance, and postgraduate fellowships. Twenty-two students are admitted to the program annually.

Among the many salutes to Mr. Delbanco in the past decade or so is Ms. Zell's request that a visiting professorship she endowed be named for him. *Fiction Writers Review,* a literary review led by a Michigan faculty member, devoted a week in December to hailing the longtime English professor's "influential career as both a writer and a teacher."

Mr. Delbanco was born in 1942 to German-Jewish immigrants in London and came as a child with his family to the United States. He attended Harvard and Columbia Universities, completing a master's degree at the latter just after publishing in 1966, his first novel, *The Martlet's Tale.*

He accepted an offer to teach at Bennington College—"insanely enough, to replace Bernard Malamud, who was taking leave"—and found during his 18 years there an artistic community that helped shape a credo of literary apprenticeship that he still holds: "It's inappropriate at best and criminal at worst to expect people to go deeply in debt to follow this particular passion." In contrast to the experience of, say, law, business, and medical graduates, "if you go to an M.F.A. program, certainly a writing program, the odds on your being able to repay $100,000 in debt are very slim."

The prospect of large debts keeps away a diverse range of young writers, among them some of the most talented, he says. His full-ride remedy has raised the stakes for the best writing programs. Many do not have the funds to pay students' full costs, so they offer work-study packages of varying worth or pitch "low-residency programs" to aspiring writers with paying jobs.

Mr. Delbanco believes that more programs could find benefactors by professing that universities have developed the programs not as money makers but to fulfill the "high charge" of cultural advancement.

He recommends countering any skepticism about the value of writing programs by noting that professional musicians or dancers would hardly take the stage without intense training. Similarly, aspiring writers may benefit from following a medieval-guild-like model: Apprentice to the trade, "and after six or seven years of sweeping the floor or mixing the paint," receive journeyman papers and "ideally become a master craftsman."

Mr. Delbanco's own variant of that path was a self-imposed regimen of persistent early-morning writing that in January will result in his 29th volume, *The Years,* a novel. His writing has encompassed essays, short stories, and a 2008 fictionalized account of a most unlikely genius, inventor, and spy, *The Count of Concord,* born Benjamin Thompson in Massachusetts in 1753.

He has written about artists who died young—*The Art of Youth: Crane, Carrington, Gershwin, and the Nature of First Acts* (2013)—as well as *Lastingness: The Art of Old Age* (2011) about the relatively few who maintained their craft past the age of 70 even though, as he says, "there's no intrinsic reason why an artist couldn't grow with age."

And that is what he intends to demonstrate in his own retirement. ■

QUOTED

"Obviously, we feel like this is a big solution to a big problem—maybe the biggest problem right now in higher education. We felt like we needed to make a grand statement."

—Jeffrey R. Docking,

president of Adrian College, in Michigan, on the institution's new program to cover all or part of loan payments for graduates who earn less than $37,000 a year, speaking to the Associated Press

President to Leave U. of the Arts to Work for Foundation

By JARED MISNER

U. OF THE ARTS

Sean T. Buffington

SEAN T. BUFFINGTON didn't know what to fear when he became top executive of the University of the Arts in 2007, a post he will leave soon to join the Henry Luce Foundation.

He was young when he became a college president—38. But he counts that youth as one of his strengths.

"When you're younger, I suppose, there's a sort of naïveté, and that naïveté can be an asset. You don't know what you don't know," Mr. Buffington says. "As a result, you don't know to be afraid of certain things or to avoid certain things."

That feeling of not knowing what to fear allowed Mr. Buffington to, as he says, "throw open the doorway of possibilities" to begin a new academic plan at the University of the Arts. The plan redesigned the university's curriculum, and reorganized several schools into a new College of Art, Media & Design.

That, he says, is his career's hallmark. He adds, laughing: "I feel embarrassed to say my career already has a hallmark. I'm only 45."

Mr. Buffington will leave the university, in Philadelphia, this month to become vice president for planning and strategic initiatives at the Henry Luce Foundation. Based in New York City, the foundation supports programs in theology, higher education, and art, among other things.

"In a college or university, you have the ability to go really deep into a community," Mr. Buffington says. "At a foundation, you have the ability to leave a mark and have an impact that's much bigger and broader because of your ability to affect multiple institutions."

The president of the Luce foundation, **Michael Gilligan**, says two-thirds of the foundation's grants are to colleges and universities, so he expects Mr. Buffington to fit right in.

"I was looking to hire someone with a working knowledge of higher ed in more than one setting," Mr. Gilligan says. When Mr. Buffington's name turned up in the search, he seemed to be the "dream candidate." Mr. Buffington's husband already lives in New York.

But the move also means leaving behind things he enjoys about the University of the Arts.

"Literally, every day I can walk out of my office into the large courtyard and there'll be students sketching, artists working," Mr. Buffington says. "And that really is personally, immediately, and visually inspiring. That daily interaction with artists in training is certainly something I'm going to miss. It's a pretty powerful, pretty amazing privilege."

TRANSITIONS

PEOPLE IN ACADEME

Submit ideas to people@chronicle.com or at chronicle.com/people

JOB MOVES

■ **Robert L. Caret,** president of the University of Massachusetts system since 2011, will become chancellor of the University System of Maryland in July. Mr. Caret, a past president of Towson and San Jose State Universities, will succeed **William E. Kirwan,** who has led the system since 2002.

COLLEGIS EDUCATION

■ **Trenda Boyum-Breen,** chief academic officer at Rasmussen College, in Minneapolis, since 2012, will become president on March 30. She is credited with leading the creation of a competency-based education model at the college. She will succeed **Kristi Waite,** who will retire after 17 years at the helm.

■ **Catherine Cortez Masto,** who had been attorney general of the State of Nevada since 2007, became executive vice chancellor for the Nevada System of Higher Education this month.

■ **Mark A. Mone,** a professor of management at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee who had served as interim chancellor since May, was appointed to the post permanently last month. The previous chancellor, **Michael R. Lovell,** left to become president of Marquette University in July.

■ **Michael D. Amiridis,** executive vice president for academic affairs and provost at the University of South Carolina at Columbia, will become chancellor of the University of Illinois at Chicago, pending formal approval, on March 16. He would succeed **Paula Allen-Meares,** who will return to the faculty after her six-year term ends, on January 15.

DEPARTURES

■ **Daniel J. Curran,** president of the University of Dayton since 2002 and its first lay leader, said he would step down in June 2016 and rejoin the faculty after a year's sabbatical. He will also serve as executive in residence for Asian affairs at the university's China Institute, in Suzhou, China.

■ **Maravene Loeschke** resigned as president of Towson University last month because of health concerns. She had been on leave since August, after receiving a diagnosis of adrenal cancer.

DEATHS

OUR LADY OF THE LAKE U.

■ **Antonio Rigual,** a professor emeritus of Spanish at Our Lady of the Lake University and founding president of the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, died on December 9. He was 68. The organization, which began with a meeting of 18 members in 1986, now has more than 400 member institutions. Mr. Rigual began teaching at Our Lady of the Lake, in Texas, in 1971. He retired in 2011, after having also served as provost, vice president for institutional advancement, and vice president for university relations.

■ **Rose Richardson Olver,** the first female tenure-track professor at Amherst College, died of ovarian cancer on November 19. She was 77. She joined the faculty in 1962 as an instructor, became an assistant professor of psychology in 1963, and retired in 2012.

In Brief

Data Point
Behind the Numbers in the News

6.9%

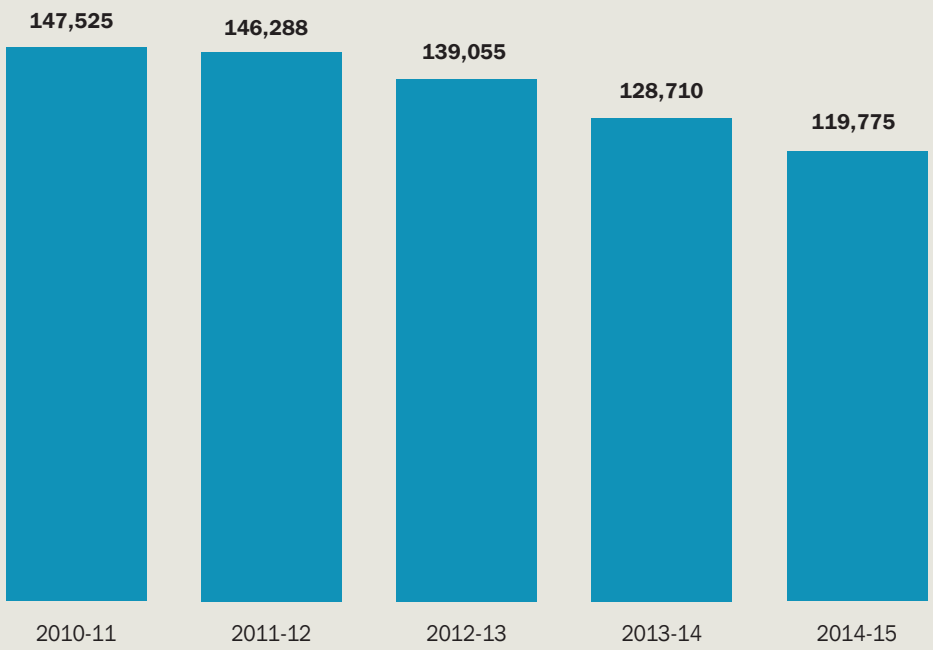
decline in enrollment at American law schools from 2013 to 2014

BACK STORY

Law-school enrollment has been dropping for several years and is 6.9 percent lower this year than last, with nearly two-thirds of schools reporting fewer first-year students. Enrollment peaked in 2010 but has since dropped nearly 19 percent, and is now at the lowest point since 1987.

CONTEXT

Total J.D. enrollment by academic year



SOURCE: AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

For more Data Points, visit chronicle.com/blogs/data

STUDENTS

Sex-Assault Risk Is Not Greater at College, Study Suggests

A study of sexual assault released last month by the federal government challenges conventional wisdom about heightened danger on college campuses. It found that women there are less likely to be victims than are nonstudents of college age. College women are also less likely to report the incidents to the police.

The rate of rape and other sexual assault over the past two decades was 1.2 times higher for nonstudents of college age than for students, according to the study, by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. It showed an average of 7.6 cases per 1,000 nonstudents, compared with 6.1 per 1,000 college women. For the most recent year, 2013, the rates for those two groups were almost identical, according to the study, which focuses on women ages 18 to 24.

The incidence of rape and other sexual assault has declined for college students, to 4.4 per 1,000 in 2013 from 9.2 per 1,000 in 1997. The researchers who conducted the study, however, said the decline was not statistically significant.

Data on sexual assault are crucial as colleges face sharp scrutiny over how they handle the problem, which experts have called an epidemic. Federal officials and lawmakers trying to hold colleges accountable have cited research showing that one in five female students will be sexually assaulted, suggesting that campuses are very dangerous places for young women. Victims' advocates make similar arguments.

But some researchers say the new numbers show that the peril has been exaggerated.

"When a student has been a victim of rape or sexual assault, there are historically problems with the way they've been treated, but that doesn't mean that colleges are these pits of violence," said Callie Marie Rennison, an associate professor of criminology and criminal justice at the University of Colorado at Denver.

TITLE IX

Harvard Law School to Amend Response in Sexual-Assault Cases

Harvard Law School has agreed to revise its policies for responding to complaints of sexual violence after the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights found that the school's handling of such cases violated the federal gender-equity law known as Title IX.

The department announced last week that it had reached an agreement with the law school to resolve an investigation by the civil-rights office. The pact does not resolve a separate investigation into Harvard College's response to sexual-assault cases, which is still pending.

The university's new policy on sexual misconduct has caused controversy at the law school, where a group of current and retired professors has objected to procedures that they say trample the due-process rights of the accused. Some Harvard students, however, say the new policy does not go far enough.

As part of its agreement, the law school said it would take steps to strengthen its response to complaints of sexual violence. Those steps include reviewing complaints filed during the 2012-13 and 2013-14 academic years, conducting annual climate assessments, and expanding training for staff members.

TECHNOLOGY

2 Colleges Will Revise Websites to Comply With Disability Laws

Twice in one week last month, the U.S. Education Department found that university websites in Ohio didn't comply with two federal disability laws. The department announced that the University of Cincinnati and Youngstown State University had agreed to make policy changes after it was found that their websites were not fully accessible to people with disabilities.

Among the changes, the universities will review the websites to fix accessibility problems, write and publish nondiscrimination notices, provide training for staff members responsible for maintaining the websites, and report to the department's Office for Civil Rights about efforts to make the sites more accessible.

ACCOUNTABILITY

U.S. Agency Finds Plenty of Fault With Higher-Education Oversight

Three days before Christmas, the Government Accountability Office put big lumps of coal in the stockings of accreditors and the U.S. Department of Education.

The accountability office, which is the investigative arm of Congress, released a report criticizing accrediting agencies' efforts to oversee academic quality at colleges, and faulting the Education Department for not increasing its own scrutiny of colleges that are under accreditors' sanctions. Colleges must be accredited in order to receive federal student aid.

The GAO focused on the finding that student outcomes have little to do with whether or not a college has been penalized. "From October 2009 through March 2014, schools with weaker student outcomes were, on average, no more likely to have been sanctioned by accreditors than schools with stronger student outcomes," said the report.

While academic quality is meant to be a key measure of accreditation, the GAO found that financial problems were more likely to trigger accreditors' scrutiny.

Keep up with the latest news at **chronicle.com**

Corrections

■ A profile of Gov. William E. Haslam of Tennessee, one member of the 2014 Influence List (*The Chronicle,* December 19), said incorrectly that his "Drive to 55" program was based on a program begun in Nashville while he was its mayor. He was actually mayor of Knoxville, and that's where the program began. The article also misrepresented the timing of the governor's re-election campaign. It is not happening in the future, but rather took place this past fall.

Confessions of a Fixer

How one former coach perpetuated a cheating scheme that hundreds of college athletes relied on

Fifteen miles from his home, tucked in a corner of a 10-by-10 storage unit, under an antique table, is a gray filing cabinet. Locked inside he keeps the test answers for more than a dozen online courses.

By BRAD WOLVERTON

Among his files is a pink steno pad of names, covering the front and back of 80 pages, that includes some of the biggest stars in college sports. Next to the names are credit-card numbers and PINs, logins, passwords, Social Security numbers, and addresses.

The handwritten notes, by a onetime academic adviser and college-basketball coach, are part of an elaborate scheme. Over the past 14 years, he says, he has used test keys to cheat for hundreds of athletes, helping them meet the eligibility requirements of the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

For some players, he says, he did their work outright. For others, he provided homework answers and papers that the students would submit themselves. At exam time, he lined up proctors and conspired with them to lie on behalf of students.

A onetime academic adviser, tutor, and college-basketball coach says that for 14 years he has helped athletes obtain their NCAA eligibility through shoddy classes and fraudulent tests.

BENJAMIN RUSNAK FOR THE CHRONICLE

Many times, he says, the players' coaches directed athletes his way. Sometimes, players' parents or handlers arranged the details.

He did most of his work in college basketball, but he has also helped football players, baseball players, and golfers, among others. The vast majority of his clients never made it big. But, according to records he shared with *The Chronicle*, his fraud reached the highest levels. A handful of the players listed in his notes were drafted to play in the NBA. At least two are the children of former professional athletes. One is a back-up catcher in Major League Baseball.

The fixer's name is Mr. White. He spoke to *The Chronicle* on the condition that his first name not be used, for fear of retribution. He is a married, 42-year-old father of two. Over a nearly 20-year career, he worked for four colleges, from the mid-Atlantic region to the South.

His side business was lucrative. One year, he says, he made more than $40,000 arranging classes. But he says money wasn't his motive.

Part of it was about the players. He believes that many would not have earned a major-college scholarship without his help.

The other part was about his career. He wanted a big-time coaching job, and he figured this could give him exposure to many programs.

He has met plenty of Division I coaches; he has three phones filled with their numbers. He thought he was their friend, that they would return the favors. They gave him VIP tickets, he says, and paid him back through camp appearances. But when it came time to hire, they didn't want him in their club.

Two years ago, the NCAA investigated Mr. White and five colleges that had recruited his students. Former NCAA investigators say they knew his players' classes were a sham. But because the NCAA could find no wrongdoing by the colleges themselves, the investigation fizzled.

For Mr. White, the ordeal drove home the reality that he could be exposed. It also helped him realize the error of his way, he says, and made him want to atone for his mistakes. Among his regrets is that many students he set out to help were the ones most hurt. He agreed to tell his story in part to expose flaws in the system.

The Chronicle contacted more than two dozen people with alleged connections to the fraud, including coaches, players, parents, and proctors. Many would not talk on the record, for fear of losing their jobs or harming their reputations. But many corroborated key details on which this article is based.

Mr. White may be an extreme example, but his breaches illustrate the ease with which intercollegiate athletics can be exploited, its rules manipulated, and the inability of colleges and regulators to control it.

In the wake of revelations about widespread academic impropriety at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, colleges are

Continued on Following Page

In Focus

ATHLETICS

Continued From Preceding Page
facing increased scrutiny over academic violations. Cheating and deception, including cases previously unreported, lurk throughout college sports. Last spring a former assistant basketball coach in the Southeastern Conference attempted to pass online test answers to a former colleague, according to a director of academic support with knowledge of the situation. A coach in the Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference told *The Chronicle* how he had helped players trick webcams set up to monitor their online exams. And a former Division I assistant described how he had spent years handing players the answers to online tests.

As for Mr. White, he says he is largely out of the business. But several months ago, he got a call from a high-profile basketball coach. A player needed nine credits in one week. Could he help?

"You fail the course by telling anyone I helped you. You fail by not doing exactly what I say."

THAT'S HOW IT STARTED: Someone needed a favor. In the early 2000s, Mr. White was working in student services at a community college and serving as an assistant coach and tutor for the basketball team.

During the 2001-2 season, he says, he mentioned his tutoring job to an opposing team's coach, who asked him for an assist. Among the more than 100,000 athletes who land NCAA scholarships every year, many need help meeting the association's academic requirements.

The NCAA requires athletes to have certain test scores and high-school grades, in part to ensure that players can do college-level work. But when people cheat to meet the standards, they undermine the notion of eligibility.

Mr. White's first client, who was being recruited by top Division I programs, was having trouble with an online mathematics class. Mr. White says he spent several days with the player, completing homework assignments and quizzes for an independent-study class at Brigham Young University.

They finished about half the course that week, Mr. White says. He wrote down the player's online log-in and password, and completed the rest by himself.

The setup was so simple, Mr. White decided to use it again. Later that season he helped many of his own players pick up easy BYU credits. He began to wonder: If he could do this for one team, why not more?

By the summer of 2002, he was showing up at tournaments with a roster full of players for whom he had completed work. He was making a name for himself, says one longtime Division I assistant. If your kids' classes needed fixing, Mr. White was your man.

Before long, he got his first big-time referral: A coach in the Atlantic Coast Conference was recruiting one of the top junior-college players in the country, but the player was short on credits. The coach called Mr. White to "get him done."

WHEN SOMEONE finds an academic shortcut in college sports, word spreads fast. By his second year, Mr. White's records show, he was helping more than two dozen players. His main pipeline for referrals was the Amateur Athletic Union, a popular grass-roots league.

From the start, he says, he tried to keep in mind how easily his con could unravel. To protect himself, he established clear ground rules with players.

"You fail the course by telling anyone I helped you," he says he warned the students. "You fail the course by ever mentioning my name. You fail by not doing exactly what I say."

His fear of being discovered, he says, led him to do much of the coursework himself, sometimes not even telling the players. He made some students believe they were completing the classes, handing them packets of practice problems he had picked up from the math lab at his community college and making sure they logged time in study halls, as if they had done the work. After they finished the packets, he would toss them in the trash. Then he would log in to BYU's website to complete the real assignments.

That's how some coaches preferred it, he says, as it assured them there wouldn't be any slip-ups. That also meant that the coaches didn't have to worry about retaliation. If the players had no knowledge of the fraud, Mr. White says, they couldn't hold it against anyone.

To pay for the classes, Mr. White often used prepaid credit cards. He purchased them with cash he had received from players' coaches. His fee depended on how quickly the players needed the credits. A simple setup—three credit hours, six to eight weeks—ran a couple of hundred dollars. A more elaborate job could cost five times as much.

Those first few years, he did almost everything online, unaware of how easily his movements could be monitored. He arranged students' work on his employer-issued computer and proctored many of the classes himself. But after reading about other coaches who were caught helping players take online classes, he began enrolling students in correspondence courses, figuring he could hide his fraud more easily through the mail.

ONE DAY THIS PAST FALL, Mr. White showed *The Chronicle* how he had assumed a player's online identity, using as an example a student he helped two years ago in a distance-education program at Adams State University, a public institution in Colorado.

When he tried to log in to the player's account, using a student-identification number he had established in 2012, he was denied. He called the university to request a new password, identifying himself as the player. He made up an excuse: He said he needed access to the site to get his transcript for graduate school.

The Adams State representative asked for his student-identification number, which Mr. White had in his steno pad, then gave him a temporary password. He was in.

Inside the Adams State portal, Mr. White could see the classes he had helped the player complete: "Communication Arts I," "Communication Arts II," "Integrated Mathematics I," "Major Themes in Lit," and "Finite Mathematics." The site also listed the player's grades: B, A, B, C, C.

Mr. White says he varied the quality of work he did for the courses. "You never give them all A's and B's," he says. "That would raise flags."

Ease of entry into the system, not to mention ease of classes, made Adams State an easy mark. Mr. White showed *The Chronicle* test answers he had obtained for five Adams State classes, and his notepad includes the names of dozens of players who appeared to have been enrolled there.

Emails he shared with *The Chronicle*

showed how he had instructed students to complete assignments.

"Copy the attachment handwritten," he wrote to one player in January 2012, sharing eight pages of homework answers to "Finite Mathematics." Another student, to whom he had provided the same answers, emailed Mr. White a PDF labeled "fintie math assignments," with a note saying, "Coach this is all the work. Thanks."

Part of Mr. White's success hinged on a series of Adams State lapses: For many years, its instructors had reused the same tests, Mr. White found, with lax oversight of exams. Even when instructors changed the tests, he says, they sometimes labeled the different versions.

The final exam for "Communication Arts II," for example, included versions "A," "B," and "C," written in small print near the bottom, according to examinations Mr. White showed *The Chronicle*. Once he obtained all three versions, cheating was a cinch.

Several Adams State classes were so easy, Mr. White says, he hardly needed the test keys.

One question on the final examination for Math 155, "Integrated Mathematics I," a copy of which Mr. White shared with *The Chronicle*, asked students to find a pattern and then complete the blanks in this series:

5, 8, 11, 14, __, __, __, __

Another question said: "A farmer was asked by a passing stranger how many chickens and how many goats he had. He answered that his animals had 62 eyes and 90 legs. How many of each did he have?"

Mr. White says some players finished their classes soon after registering for them. He showed *The Chronicle* one player's record, which indicated that every assignment and exam had been completed on the same day.

"I give you the homework, you copy it over, the school emails you the tests," he says. "I could do the grade in 24 hours."

As he directed more of his business to Adams State, Mr. White says, he sought to build connections on the inside. In 2003, while working as a tutoring coordinator at a community college, he attended a conference on distance learning and introduced himself to an Adams State employee.

The two kept in touch, Mr. White says, allowing him to stay on top of any changes the university made in its online policies. When one instructor updated her homework assignments to protect against potential fraud, Mr. White says, he knew ahead of time. He says he also tapped his contact to get his players' grades posted faster. (His Adams State connection, he says, was not in on the fix.)

When told of the apparent violations, Frank J. Novotny, vice president for academic affairs at Adams State, acknowledged that the university has had difficulty monitoring its exams and ensuring the integrity of its online curriculum.

Two years ago, following an investigation by its accreditor, Adams State began to phase out its use of personal proctors and testing centers, Mr. Novotny said, moving toward an electronic-monitoring system for many of its exams. The university recently established new controls for detecting plagiarism in two introductory English classes. And the university has set up new protocols to help enforce a requirement that students take at least six weeks to complete a three-credit online course.

Adams State takes online security seriously, Mr. Novotny said. Mr. White's conduct, though, illustrates the continuing challenges that institutions with online programs face.

"I view this as a battle like you do with computer hackers," he said. "Unfortunately, there are always people who can find ways to break the security systems."

When he started out, Mr. White says, he saw his fraud as a way to gain a competitive advantage in the job market. But it became his calling card.

He eventually realized his dream of coaching in Division I. But he had far more success doing the dirty work for big-time programs from the outside.

As his reputation grew, he had a hard time saying no. In one 18-month stretch from 2003 to 2005, he says, he helped more than 75 players. For Mr. White, a self-described "fat, bald white guy" who didn't play much competitive basketball beyond high school, the attention was alluring.

"Basically, I'm like a drug addict," he says. "I get off on the excitement, about being able to get it done."

Mr. White worked almost exclusively with junior-college transfers, but he also helped other academically deficient recruits. He says he rarely did work for colleges once players were on the campus.

"You never give them all A's and B's. That would raise flags."

Among the dozens of colleges where he worked to place players was the University of South Florida, where he tried to send four students (three got in).

The father of one South Florida recruit, who spoke on the condition that his name not be used, told *The Chronicle* that the Bulls' coaches had instructed his son to take two online courses during his senior year of high school.

Mr. White says the university's coaches referred the player to him through the player's AAU coach, and he helped enroll the student in BYU's independent-study classes. Mr. White's records include a current email address for the player's mother, log-ins and passwords for the BYU site, and the player's Social Security number.

Mr. White says he did all of the work for the courses, including coordinating with a proctor to complete the player's tests. According to information that BYU provided to Mr. White, the player received an A-minus and a B-plus.

The player's father denied that his son had cheated. When *The Chronicle* shared details of the records that Mr. White had kept, the father said he had no comment.

Doug Woolard, who served as athletic director at South Florida from 2004 until his departure, in January 2014, did not return several messages left on his cellphone. Stan Heath, the university's head basketball coach at the time, did not return messages left for his agent or through ESPN, where he works as a color analyst. In a statement, the athletic department said that the university takes its commitment to academic integrity and NCAA compliance "very seriously" and that any allegation of misconduct in those areas is promptly investigated.

Mr. White's chicanery also appeared to help players at the elite level. His notebook contains the names and personal information of two

Continued on Following Page

He eventually realized his dream of coaching in Division I, but he had far more success doing the dirty work for big-time programs from the outside.

BENJAMIN RUSNAK FOR THE CHRONICLE

BENJAMIN RUSNAK FOR THE CHRONICLE

The situation gave him a chance to play a different role. The last time he met with NCAA investigators, he was the target. This time, he says, they were looking to him as an informant.

Continued From Preceding Page

basketball players at the University of Texas at Austin, including J'Covan Brown. Mr. Brown left the university in 2012, after three seasons, and now plays professionally in Russia.

Mr. White says he enrolled Mr. Brown in three BYU courses and did all of the work for the player. He says he had Mr. Brown's exams proctored by a friend who works for a prominent youth-basketball program. During an interview at his home in November, Mr. White called the proctor, and the two men discussed many players for whom they had cheated, including Mr. Brown.

"Unless you can prove a coach or someone in the athletic department has done something wrong to affect a player's eligibility, there is no rules violation."

In a text exchange with *The Chronicle,* Mr. Brown confirmed that he had been enrolled at BYU. He said he had several tutors but did not accept answers for tests or have anyone do work for him.

Mr. Brown discussed the challenges he had faced in qualifying academically, including spending a year at a Christian preparatory school in Houston.

"Really to tell you I was disappointed in myself for letting myself not stay focus in high school like I should have been but u live and you learn," he wrote in October. "That was a dark time in my life."

Christine A. Plonsky, a senior Texas athletics official who oversees academic affairs, said she was disappointed with the allegations that someone had cheated for Mr. Brown, and added that the university planned to investigate. "Whether our coaches were involved or not," she said, "it's pretty sobering."

The highest-profile players sometimes required the most help, and Mr. White says he took extra care to make sure they got what they needed.

Dominique Ferguson, a top-ranked forward from Indianapolis who had offers from UCLA, Kentucky, and Duke, instead picked Florida International University, to play for Isiah Thomas, an NBA Hall of Famer.

When Mr. Ferguson arrived on the Miami campus, in June 2010, he was several classes short of meeting the NCAA's eligibility requirements, according to two former Florida International officials who worked with him.

On June 2 of that year, Mr. Ferguson was enrolled in three online classes at Brigham Young University, Mr. White's records show: "Earth Science, Part 1," "Plane Geometry, Part 1," and "Plane Geometry, Part 2." (The first geometry course was a prerequisite for the second, but that did not stop BYU from awarding the credits.) Records show that Mr. Ferguson finished the classes on July 20.

The classes raised concerns for some people at Florida International, says a former compliance official, speaking on the condition of anonymity because of concerns about student-privacy law.

"I don't know how they would've put him in three summer classes at that point," says the former employee, who now directs the athletics-compliance department at a different Division I university. "That is not an accurate time frame to complete that work."

Hashim Ali Alauddeen, a former director of basketball operations who handled academic matters for the team, says he does not recall Mr. Ferguson's taking BYU classes that summer. He remembers seeing BYU credits on his transcript but thought the classes were completed before Mr. Ferguson arrived on the campus.

Mr. Alauddeen says the university was concerned about the BYU classes' counting toward NCAA eligibility, so he suggested that Mr. Ferguson enroll in three Florida International courses. He says Mr. Ferguson completed them in the summer, receiving two A's and a B.

In September, Mr. White showed *The Chronicle* the BYU portal he had set up in Mr. Ferguson's name, indicating that he scored a B-plus in the science class and B-minuses in the math classes.

Records provided to Mr. White by BYU also suggest that Mr. Ferguson received improper assistance. According to the records, Mr. Ferguson took his tests at a learning center in Canada, nearly 1,500 miles from Miami.

Mr. Ferguson did not respond to several emails seeking comment. Mr. Alauddeen, who is in contact with him, said Mr. Ferguson declined to speak for this article. A spokeswoman for Mr. Thomas, who was dismissed in 2012, after compiling a 26-65 record in three seasons, said that the former coach denied knowing that anyone had cheated. She added that he had graduated 19 of 21 players during his tenure, and kicked two players off the team for not meeting academic standards.

In 2010 the NCAA enacted a rule limiting the core courses that players could use from

What One College Did to Crack Down on Shoddy Transfer Credits

By BRAD WOLVERTON

Academic advisers at Mt. San Antonio College, a prominent feeder institution for major-college athletics departments, had noticed a disturbing pattern among football players.

Many who had tested into remedial-level mathematics classes were skipping right to college algebra by going elsewhere for their credits. Their coaches were encouraging them to enroll in an online program at Adams State University, a four-year public institution in Colorado.

The Adams State classes cost about three times as much as those at Mt. San Antonio, a 60,000-student community college in California. But to some players, the expense appeared to be worth it, as they could satisfy their community-college math requirements with one online course, often earning an A or a B.

Last summer Mt. San Antonio stopped counting the online classes. It found that several failed to meet the college's minimum math requirements. College officials also found that Adams State was lax in its oversight of examinations, according to emails obtained by *The Chronicle* in a public-records request.

"Their curriculum seems very weak, and they have testing standards that are not up to our level of rigor," Art Nitta, chair of Mt. San Antonio's department of math and computer science, wrote to Matthew Judd, interim dean of natural sciences, in late June.

Rejecting classes from an accredited institution is an unusual step (Adams State is accredited by the Higher Learning Commission, a regional accreditor). Even when colleges spot problems with courses on other campuses, they have incentives to let the credits count. Big-time athletic departments rely on places like Adams State to help them get players academically eligible to compete.

Plenty of overseers could insist on more rigor in the system. Accreditors have stepped up their oversight of colleges, but few have dedicated the resources to monitor the fast growth of online classes. (The Higher Learning Commission would not comment for this article, saying that it could not discuss specific institutions.)

Of all the people equipped to catch shoddy online classes, admissions directors would appear to have the most tools. They can tell when students take courses out of sequence and detect other suspicious patterns in transcripts. But they don't always have the time or inclination to challenge the abuses. Athletics-compliance directors, whose jobs include certifying players' eligibility, say they sometimes spot questionable credits but often can't do anything about them.

Ryan Squire, a top athletics-compliance officer at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, says he raised concerns last year about the grades that certain community-college transfers had received in online Adams State classes. He says he approached his admissions staff and was told that the university didn't have the ability to reject the credits.

"They sort of shrug and say, 'Well, Adams State is an accredited school, and it's not for us to say we can't accept those courses because you guys think there's some issue,'" Mr. Squire said. "They obviously don't understand our world quite the way we do."

'I REALLY NEED THE CLASS'

Mt. San Antonio's crackdown led to complaints from football players, some of whom were relying on Adams State's classes to transfer to major universities. Over the past two years, Mt. San Antonio players have transferred to play at more than a dozen big-time football programs, including Boise State, Texas Tech, and Utah.

In early July, one player emailed Mr. Judd, seeking a variance from the new policy.

"I am worried about running out of time or missing the opportunity at Nevada," the player wrote. "I've also moved out here and am missing practices so I really need the class approved."

Another player said he had paid $700 for an Adams State algebra class, which he said he had completed in early June. He, too, needed the class to earn a scholarship to a four-year institution.

"I will no longer be able to transfer and play football if this math class is not accepted," the student emailed Dean Judd. Adding to his confusion, the player continued, the university he planned to attend said it would accept the Adams State course as part of a general-studies degree program.

In an interview, Mr. Judd said he was not sure if his students were earning high marks in Adams State courses because of inappropriate help or because the classes were just easy.

"My sense is that the classes are just too easy, and they're not watching the kids very closely," he said. "When you're not watching them closely, you don't really know what's going on."

Adams State officials say they have increased their scrutiny of exams, moving toward an electronic-monitoring system. They have also established new protocols to prevent players from completing courses too quickly.

As online classes have grown in popularity, Mr. Judd said, it has become increasingly difficult to know which colleges offer rigorous courses and which don't. But, he said, that should not deter academic leaders from investigating.

"How do you sift through the ones that are completely legitimate and the ones that are kind of a cash cow for the college, or a Mickey Mouse class for athletes?" Mr. Judd said. "It would be a lot easier if there were more legitimate programs out there."

After Mt. San Antonio stopped accepting the Adams State courses, a member of the California college's governing board expressed concerns, according to emails *The Chronicle* reviewed.

In late July, David K. Hall, who is now president of the college's Board of Trustees, emailed Mr. Judd about a player whose National Collegiate Athletic Association eligibility appeared to hinge on Adams State credits.

"So what do we do?" Mr. Hall wrote. "Is there anything that can be done to help the kid save his scholarship at his new college?"

Mr. Judd explained that a Mt. San Antonio policy allows faculty members to determine if outside classes meet the college's graduation requirements.

The Adams State math classes, he said, had "significant topics missing from the syllabus" that were important parts of Mt. San Antonio's math curriculum. In addition, he wrote, Adams State's "lax proctoring policy" does not meet Mt. San Antonio's standards.

Days later, Mt. San Antonio denied variances to the two athletes, according to Mr. Judd's emails. But since Adams State is an accredited institution, Mr. Judd wrote to one student, Mt. San Antonio would count the units; they just couldn't be used to satisfy the college's math requirement for graduation.

Mr. Judd says the college plans to be clearer to students in the future about which online classes will count and which ones won't. He says he has also encouraged athletes to listen to their academic advisers—not their coaches—on academic matters.

"Your coach tells you how to block; your academic counselor tells you what classes to take," he said he tells players. "Stop listening to your football coach about your academics." ■

certain institutions to meet the association's initial-eligibility requirements. University-level classes in BYU's independent-study program no longer meet the NCAA's criteria. But BYU's high-school-level classes—in which many of Mr. White's students, including Mr. Brown and Mr. Ferguson, were enrolled—may still be used to help prospective NCAA athletes graduate from high school.

Brigham Young has introduced several changes in recent years to protect the integrity of its online courses, including rotating its tests and requiring that exams be taken at certified testing centers, said Carri Jenkins, a university spokeswoman.

But it is impossible to stop every dishonest person, she said: "We're continually looking at how we can improve our program. But in any classroom, you have to rely on the integrity of the students and the professor."

Jonathan Duncan, the NCAA's head of enforcement, says that his department has seen an uptick in allegations of academic fraud and that violations like those described by Mr. White are "very typical." He says the association is investigating 12 to 15 cases of alleged academic impropriety, ranging from athletes who actively participated in fraud to those who appear to have been innocent bystanders.

"We've seen some students who say, 'I don't know how I got that grade. I didn't even know I was enrolled in that course,'" Mr. Duncan says. The problems are "very concerning to us because they affect the eligibility of student-athletes and their preparation for life outside of athletics—the validity and integrity of their education."

About five years ago, Mr. White says, he started to wind down his business. His twin sons, who were in kindergarten at the time, were asking questions about his work, and he didn't want them to know about his shady dealings. He had also run into legal troubles that forced him to rethink the risks he was taking.

In 2004, while working as the head basketball coach at a community college, he was caught misappropriating money intended for players' meals. Then, in 2012, while serving as an academic adviser at a different community college, he got a call from an NCAA investigator. A player he had helped was having trouble transferring to a Division I program, and the

Continued on Following Page

Continued From Preceding Page
player's mother claimed that Mr. White had misrepresented work that she believed her son had done.

Figuring that the NCAA wouldn't be calling about a single incident, Mr. White says, he went online and dropped several players out of their Adams State classes. Days later, Mr. White says, an NCAA investigator showed up in his office and interviewed him for more than an hour.

According to a former NCAA investigator who was familiar with the case, five universities—Liberty, Morgan State, Oregon, South Florida, and Xavier of Ohio—faced questions about players with whom Mr. White had worked. (The inquiry at South Florida did not involve the player whose father spoke to *The Chronicle*.)

Several of the univcrsities stopped recruiting or denied enrollment to certain players with connections to Mr. White. But the NCAA cleared some students to play.

Investigators questioned Mr. White about his use of a credit-card number that had been provided by a player's mother to cover her son's online classes. The mother alleged that Mr. White had also used the card to pay for another player's tuition.

Mr. White eventually paid the money back, the player's parent told *The Chronicle,* but she did not authorize the card's use for any other purpose. Mr. White says he told the player about the extra charge and gave him $500 in cash to cover his teammate's tuition.

The mother, who does not want her name used because of the negative publicity it might bring her son, says Mr. White sent her regular updates on her son's online grades, suggesting that he was on track to graduate.

"I had the document that said this was my son's grades," she says. "But when we got the transcript from the school, it said he got all zeroes."

Mr. White says the player failed the classes because he admitted to cheating.

The NCAA knew the classes were bogus, say two former NCAA investigators.

"I don't think there was any question about whether the classes were legitimate," one investigator told *The Chronicle*. "I remember thinking, 'This guy's got quite a scam going.'"

The NCAA found no links between the five athletics departments and Mr. White, a former enforcement official said. As a result, the universities faced no penalties.

"Unless you can prove a coach or someone in the athletic department has done something wrong to affect a player's eligibility," the former investigator said, "there is no rules violation."

Following the investigation, the former NCAA officials said, they turned over Mr. White's name to the National Junior College Athletic Association, alerting the group to his fraud.

Several months later, in early 2013, Mr. White was forced out of his community-college job.

SINCE THEN, he has patched together a series of odd jobs and volunteer positions, including scouting players, helping a friend in the construction industry, and coaching Little League baseball. He has three numbers for his state's unemployment services saved on his phone.

He has tried to reinvent himself as a consultant who can help players understand NCAA eligibility requirements at a younger age so they won't have to cheat. But other than work for a few friends, whose sons and daughters he has counseled, his business hasn't exactly taken off.

During dozens of interviews over the past few months, he insisted that he had stopped fixing classes. But according to text messages he has received over the past year or so, which he allowed *The Chronicle* to look at, he is not entirely out of the game.

"I want to thank you again for all of your help," one high-profile basketball player texted him in October 2013, after Mr. White sent him through his Canadian proctor.

"You r my man no prob," Mr. White wrote back.

"Hey Coach White this is a.d.," wrote another player in September that same year. "Me and my homeboy Earl was looking into taking online classes and working out with you what all do we need?"

In recent months, one player texted that he was missing his Adams State transcript and needed it to start class. (It was in the mail, Mr. White wrote back.) The parent of another player wondered if the online courses Mr. White had helped his son retake were transferrable. (Of course, said the coach.)

A few months ago, while *The Chronicle* was interviewing Mr. White at his home, he got a call from a former player whose old teammate was in a jam. The teammate, who had helped lead his university to the NCAA tournament in 2013, wanted to transfer to another college.

He had one year of NCAA eligibility remaining and thought he had completed the credits he needed to graduate. He planned to enroll in graduate school at a higher-profile college, where he thought he would receive more television exposure.

The only problem, Mr. White's contact told him, was that the player didn't have the necessary credits and needed to complete several online classes before he could graduate. And he had only a week before fall classes started.

What played out over several days in September illustrated the lengths to which coaches were willing to go to gain the services of a proven star.

Coaches in two of the biggest conferences made calls to Mr. White, according to phone logs he shared with *The Chronicle*. He says they discussed potentially impermissible visits, improper payments, and a plan to get the player's classes done that Mr. White did not think was possible.

When it was over, Mr. White says, multiple Adams State credits had made it onto the player's transcript and the transfer went through, thanks in part to a graduate assistant at a major university who had helped complete the classes. Mr. White provided guidance but says he didn't do the work himself.

In mid-October, Mr. White received a call from an NCAA investigator who was looking into the transfer. A few days later, two NCAA enforcement officials paid him a visit. They arranged to meet one night at a restaurant near his home, and Mr. White says they spoke for several hours the next day.

They talked about the fast credits and the big-name coaches, Mr. White says, and what he knew about the universities' complicity.

The situation gave Mr. White a chance to play a different role. The last time he met with NCAA investigators, he was the target. This time, he says, they were looking to him as an informant.

"They basically want me to come in with a big mouth and expose all kinds of shit," he said in late October. "I'm Henry Hill. I'm the snitch."

After spending years eluding NCAA investigators, he's not sure he wants to help them. His experience tells him that there's no way to clean up the mess. If you shut down one online mill, another one just pops up somewhere else.

Even if he is out of the game, he knows that there will be other bad actors. Maybe, he says, the only redeeming act is to just come clean. ■

Views

College Sex-Assault Trials Belong in Court, Not on Campus A28

You Don't Need a Hurricane to Know Which Way the Wind Blows A32

Academics First, Then Athletics

AMY CAMPBELL

The Division I-A football bowl season has begun and will culminate with the first national-championship game. Conferences have been realigned to accommodate media markets, Division I governance rests in the hands of a few conferences, and soon legal decisions will determine whether these athletes are employees and eligible for a range of institutional benefits. Intercollegiate athletics has entered a new era.

Notably absent from these decisions, though, is how the changes, over time, will affect the primary academic mission of higher education and the role of college athletics. Absent a real connection with the academic mission, institutions risk underwriting an athletics establishment that at its highest competitive level is a fully commercialized enterprise. Economic power will become the dominant force in predicting athletics success.

The recent changes in Division I-A challenge, perhaps irrevocably, the educational values and amateur ideal in which college athletics is presumably rooted. And, like most changes that have taken place over the past 25 years in the big-time programs, it takes only a few years for the same pressures and aspirations to make their way through the rest of Division I and Divisions II and III.

The athletics programs at a majority of colleges have been well rooted in the institutional mission, and student-athletes' academic outcomes mirror reasonably well those of their nonathlete peers. But on some campuses, the challenge to maintain a balance between sports and academia, to sustain a student culture that is reflective of institutional academic and social priorities, and to ensure a well-integrated and -resourced athletics program, is driving decisions that may have a negative impact on the institution. Perhaps recent national events have unintentionally opened the door for like-minded colleges to reimagine long-entrenched expectations and practices.

It isn't a matter of putting the genie back into the bottle or otherwise going back to some halcyon days that may never have existed. Rather, the question for some colleges is how the organization of intercollegiate athletics can be reframed to better manage resources and to reaffirm that athletics supports the educational mission.

By focusing on the following key areas and being open to thinking differently about the organization of athletics competition, institutions can recast their athletics programs and control the escalating costs required to achieve competitive equity.

Admissions. To achieve a sustainable balance between academic and athletic commitments, there must be a shift in the all-too-prevalent perception that a sports credential wholly justifies admission. Admission to a college is fundamentally about the pursuit of learning.

The sports credential is an expression of athletic talent and potential contribution to an athletics program. And success in high-school athletics may tell admissions officers something about a student's character, determination, and commitment.

But when it comes to sports, admissions offices should be judged by how admitted student-athletes do academically in college—not just how they look academically when applying. Do they underperform, relative to their credentials and relative to peers who are not athletes? Have they taken full advantage of the educational opportunities offered them? And how (and what) do they do after graduating? The admissions process should also be an opportunity to evaluate coaches and their ability to identify both academic and athletic talent, foretelling success in the classroom and on the field.

The student-athlete experience. If, at the end of four years, a student's primary self-worth and identification is as a pitcher, a rebounder, or a swimmer, then both the institution and the athletics department have failed. Such an outcome calls into question the responsibility of each of them to provide transformative experiences that foster learning and personal maturation. Anything less questions the commitment that a coach and an athletics department have to the institution's academic priorities.

Academic outcomes. Measuring academic outcomes is about more than a grade. Does the athlete have an advanced body of knowledge in a discipline? Is there intellectual confidence, a sharpened sense of inquiry,

Continued on Following Page

JON KRAUSE FOR THE CHRONICLE

Admissions offices should be judged by how student-athletes go on to do academically in college, not just how they look academically when applying.

Continued From Preceding Page
an improved ability to write and present sound oral arguments? Has the student acquired an expanded sense of self in a global world with the confidence to knit together the sum of his/her academic, intellectual, social, and athletic experiences? Should success be based solely on quantifiable measures such as the first job, the first paycheck, immediate postgraduation plans? Or are there additional measures of success that should be evaluated in later years?

Institutional oversight. Institutional reporting structures vary widely, and the reporting office matters less than the relationship itself. How an athletic director is supported and then held accountable for a well-integrated athletics culture that prizes academic achievement, campus citizenship, fiscal responsibility, and the student-athlete experience should be the highest priority for successful institutional oversight.

Win-loss records are often the tipping point for coaches when it comes to contract renewal. But a comprehensive evaluation of coaches should include admissions officers, deans, athletic directors, and student-athletes' feedback, to determine both the totality of the student-athlete experience and the program's success.

Competition and national-tournament aspirations. One way to mitigate the escalation of resources devoted to high-stakes athletics is for conferences to select a sport(s) and choose the conference championship as the goal instead of the entry qualification for NCAA-championship participation. The lack of national-championship participation has never affected the value and quality of a college degree or an individual institution's academic and research reputation. Colleges would have greater freedom to moderate resource commitments without the pressures of the national-championship "arms race" while still endorsing highly competitive conference play.

From singular institutional programs to an athletics consortium. For colleges that already sponsor academic partnerships with nearby campuses, creating an athletics consortium is an extension of cooperative academic resourcing. An athletics consortium shares student-athletes, teams, governance, facilities, and coaching staffs. By combining programs, colleges share the competitive and program requirements for conference and NCAA-championship access. This is not without challenges; athletics builds pride in the institutional brand, and changing that brand isn't easy. But a consortium reduces the individual institutional commitment of resources while maintaining and perhaps enhancing competitive equity within a conference.

All of those efforts will take time, patience, and collaboration, along with courage and a cache of political capital. But even given all that, the question, for some colleges, remains: Can intercollegiate athletics be reframed to better manage resources and to reaffirm that athletics supports the institutional mission? The answer is yes. ■

Amy Campbell is assistant vice president for university services at Princeton University.

College Sex-Assault Trials Belong in Court, Not on Campus

PHILIP N. COHEN

As we endure scandal after scandal concerning sexual assaults on college campuses—scandals that repeatedly show administrators failing to properly investigate, punish, or educate their way out of the problem—I fear that we are drawing the wrong conclusions. Colleges don't have the ability to investigate sex crimes or the right to properly punish them any more than they can enforce the law regarding robbery or homicide. Those failures compromise colleges' most important obligation and best hope for solving the problem: educating students to change the culture around sexual violence.

As a feminist who shares the longstanding skepticism about the criminal-justice system's response to sexual assault, I am reluctant to turn down any chance to intervene against sexual violence. Rape law notoriously pits the status of the victim against that of the defendant in determining the behavior of the police, the credibility of the charge, and the eventual verdict. Many cases dissolve during the uphill slog that such a contest demands.

We live under laws on sexual assault that, in large part, were not written with women's interests in mind. Consider women's prior sexual conduct. Until the mid-1970s, there were no legal restrictions on introducing women's sexual history into a trial for rape. Until the 1980s, the majority of states' rape statutes excluded rape within marriage, and marital rape remains extremely difficult to prosecute. The legal verdict on whether sex is nonconsensual still often rests on the perspective of the alleged perpetrator rather than the experience of the victim.

The resulting lack of trust undermines efforts to deal with sexual violence through the police and the courts. The federal Bureau of Justice Statistics estimates that 65 percent of rapes and sexual assaults are not reported to the police. The most common reason cited by victims is their belief that the police will not or cannot help, or will not protect them from reprisal by the perpetrator. On campus, those problems may be exacerbated by young women's desire to protect their social reputations, by the high status of male perpetrators, and by uncertainty about what authority has jurisdiction.

So why not turn to noncriminal procedures administered by the college? Seizing this logic, advocates for gender equality have persuaded the federal government, under civil-rights authority, to force higher-education institutions to investigate and punish crimes of sexual violence. Dozens

of colleges are under investigation for failing to comply.

Although not explicit in the rationale for this approach, the lower standard of proof required to bring campus disciplinary action—including expulsion—is surely attractive to antirape activists, as it is for other civil-rights advocates who pursue civil remedies. If getting beyond reasonable doubt is more difficult for sex crimes than for other offenses, relying on campus proceedings may be justified. Doing so is also quicker and less public, and the traditional view of colleges as providing parent-like supervision over their students adds legitimacy to campus authorities.

But this downgrades sexual violence from a real crime to a women's issue. And there is no evidence that it is working to reduce sexual violence on and around campuses. There are, however, lots of stories of failure, on campuses ranging from small, elite colleges to big public institutions. Conservatives object to the feminist agenda of ratcheting up consent rules. Civil libertarians mourn the presumption of innocence and due process. And feminists are stuck between demanding more action and protesting the harmful consequences of the actions colleges do take. In too many cases, rather than helping to punish sexual assault and prevent its occurrence, these failures contribute to reluctance in reporting, and—as in the recent case at the University of Virginia—undermine trust in both the authorities and the victims who turn to them for help.

There are two compelling reasons to turn our efforts away from campus authorities and back to the criminal-justice system. First, the state enforcers of criminal law are more susceptible to public pressure and advocacy than are the thousands of disparate colleges and administrators who operate between public and private scrutiny, and whose interests are always divided between doing the right thing and protecting their reputations. For example, laws restricting the introduction of women's prior sexual conduct at trial, and criminalizing marital rape—once they achieved a foothold—spread through most of the country in a generation (way too slow, and way too late, but sadly still a relative success story).

Second, experience so far painfully demonstrates that colleges are not competent to adjudicate and prevent sexual violence. As institutions, they bring to the task a toxic mix of unqualified investigators, underdeveloped judiciary processes, and conflicts of interest that undermine both their effectiveness and their legitimacy.

This is not to minimize the systemic problems in the criminal-justice system. Its flaws are inequitable, doing a worse job the higher the status of the defendant and the lower the status of the victim. But there is no reason to believe that colleges are better at solving that problem. It's not poor or marginalized men who are getting away with sexual assault in our faulty campus judicial proceedings.

Of course, institutions of higher education must respond to reported crimes on their campuses and among their students. No one should suggest returning to the days of simply ignoring sex crimes, even if that were permitted under federal law. But rather than try to run the process, why not impose a simple set of rules to work with the criminal-justice system? Provide support and advice to victims about reporting crimes to the police and medical personnel. Support requests for orders of protection and civil lawsuits for damages. Offer and encourage counseling. And suspend students who are charged with violent crimes, and expel them upon conviction. That will allow action to protect victims sooner than securing a criminal conviction, and on a lower standard than reasonable doubt. And it won't leave the determination of guilt up to the colleges.

Colleges bring to the task a toxic mix of unqualified investigators, underdeveloped judiciary processes, and conflicts of interest that undermine effectiveness and legitimacy.

Then focus on education. Colleges will be more effective at combating the cultural supports of systemic sexual violence if they remove themselves from the roles of law-enforcement officer and prosecutor, and instead turn to the work of developing knowledge, fostering new kinds of thinking, and challenging young people to change their society—including the criminal-justice system—for the better. ■

Philip N. Cohen is a professor of sociology at the University of Maryland at College Park.

Gazette

APPOINTMENTS, RESIGNATIONS, RETIREMENTS A30 | DEATHS A30
PRIVATE GIVING A31 | DEADLINES A31

APPOINTMENTS

Orrin Ames, interim vice chancellor and assistant dean of the College of Business, to vice chancellor for the Dothan campus at Troy University.

Danny Anderson, dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at University of Kansas, to president of Trinity University.

Mario Azevedo, professor and interim chair of the department of history and philosophy, to dean of the College of Liberal Arts at Jackson State University.

Shannon Beets, executive vice president and provost, to interim president of Sierra Nevada College.

Elliot Berger, managing director at Arabella Advisors, to vice president for institutional advancement and chief development officer at New York Law School.

Joi Lin Blake, vice president for student services at Skyline College, to president of the College of Alameda.

Trenda Boyum-Breen, chief academic officer, to president of Rasmussen College.

Curt Breneman, professor and head of the department of chemistry and chemical biology, to dean of the School of Science at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

Susan Brown, associate director of the New York State Agricultural Experiment Station in Geneva and professor of agriculture and life sciences, to associate dean of the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences at Cornell University.

Rev. Forrest Buckner, director of student and family ministries at First Presbyterian Church of Boulder, to dean of spiritual life and campus pastor at Whitworth University.

Gary Carlston, interim president, to president of Snow College.

Laurie Chesley, dean of the School of Arts and Sciences, to provost at Grand Rapids Community College.

Neale Chumbler, professor and head of the department of health policy and management at University of Georgia, to dean of the College of Health and Human Services at Western Kentucky University.

Thomas Coffman, executive vice dean, to dean at Duke-NUS Graduate Medical School Singapore.

Catherine Cortez Masto, attorney general for the State of Nevada, to executive vice chancellor for the Nevada System of Higher Education.

Yvonne Moore Coston, vice president for research and innovation, to provost and vice president for academic affairs at Saint Augustine's University.

Zelon Crawford, director of graduate business programs and recruitment for the School of Business at Villanova University, to assistant dean and dean of students for the School of Business at Columbia University.

George Edwards, president of Big Sandy Community and Technical College, to interim chancellor of the Kentucky Community and Technical College system.

Ian Farrell, assistant vice president for development at Virginia Tech, to vice president for institutional advancement at the College of Saint Rose.

Daniel Flynn, associate dean of research for the College of Health Sciences at University of Delaware, to vice president for research at Florida Atlantic University.

John Fons, interim assistant dean, to assistant dean for administration and finance at University of Wisconsin-Rock County.

James A. Gardner, professor of law, to interim dean of the School of Law at University at Buffalo.

Lorraine Goffe-Rush, vice chancellor for human resources at Washington University in St. Louis, to vice president for human resources at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Joyce Hedlund, former president of Washington County Community College, to interim president of University of Maine at Machias.

Jody Horner, president of Cargill Meat Solutions and Cargill Case Ready, to president of Midland University.

Charles Hotchkiss, associate provost, to dean of the College of Architecture, Design, and Construction Management at the Wentworth Institute of Technology.

Kathie Hunt, acting dean, to dean of humanities at Shoreline Community College.

Brad Johnson, professor and chair of the department of physics and astronomy, to associate dean of the College of Science and Engineering at Western Washington University.

Richard Keller, professor of medical history and bioethics, to associate dean of international studies at University of Wisconsin at Madison.

James Klauber, president of Owensboro Community and Technical College, to president of Calhoun Community College.

Richard Lapidus, dean of the College of Business Administration at California Polytechnic State University, to president of Fitchburg State University.

Robert Leifeld, former dean of business, information, trade and technologies at Minnesota State College-Southeast Technical, to executive dean of the Estherville campus at Iowa Lakes Community College.

Ken Lindblom, director of the MAT in English program, to associate dean of academic affairs for the School of Professional Development at Stony Brook University.

Yinfa Ma, professor of chemistry, to associate dean of research and external relations for the College of Arts, Sciences, and Business at Missouri University of Science and Technology.

Mark Mone, interim chancellor, to chancellor of University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee.

Stephen Morin, senior vice president for advancement at Suffolk University, to vice president for university advancement at University of New Haven.

Patrick Mulick, associate professor of psychology, to vice president for student life and dean of students at Lyon College.

Matthew Probst, professor and chair of the business department, to vice chancellor for academic affairs and retention at Ivy Tech Community College of Indiana-Columbus and Southeast.

Sydney Richardson, director of the Writing Center and assistant professor of education, to an additional post, dean of the Center for Adult Education at Salem College.

Karen Schneider, university librarian at Holy Names University, to dean of the library at Sonoma State University.

Scott Ward, vice president for administrative services, to interim president of West Shore Community College.

Mark Watman, vice president for academic affairs, to provost at New England College.

Huntington Willard, professor of biology and genome sciences at Duke University, to president and director of the Marine Biological Laboratory.

NEW CHIEF EXECUTIVES

- **James Klauber,** Calhoun Community College
- **Joi Lin Blake,** College of Alameda
- **Richard Lapidus,** Fitchburg State University
- **Jody Horner,** Midland University
- **Trenda Boyum-Breen,** Rasmussen College
- **Gary Carlston,** Snow College
- **Danny Anderson,** Trinity University
- **Mark Mone,** University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

RESIGNATIONS

Lynn Gillette, president of Sierra Nevada College.

RETIREMENTS

John Fernandes, chief executive officer of AACSB International, effective April 30.

Curt Frye, president of Wayne State College, effective June 30.

Patrick Gamble, president of the University of Alaska system, effective June 1.

Thomas P. Sullivan, president of Cleary University, effective September 30.

Kristi Waite, president of Rasmussen College, effective March 30.

Richard F. Wilson, president of Illinois Wesleyan University, effective July 31.

DEATHS

Paulette Burns, 65, dean of the College of Nursing and Health Sciences at Texas Christian University, December 12.

David Bushnell, 85, former professor of physics at Northern Illinois University, December 8, in Mineral Point, Wis.

Tatyana Buynitsky, 28, professor of behavior analysis at Simmons College, December 5, in New York.

John Curtis Sr., 91, professor emeritus and former head of the department of agricultural and resource economic at University of Maryland, December 7, in Hampstead, N.C.

José Feghali, 53, professor of piano and coordinator of internet technologies for the School of Music at Texas Christian University, December 9, in Fort Worth, Tex.

George Gafford, 98, professor emeritus of law at California Western School of Law, December 6, in La Jolla, Calif.

Willard Manning Jr., 68, former professor in the department of public health sciences at University of Chicago, November 25, in Brookfield, Ill.

Kent Maynard, professor emeritus of sociology and anthropology at Denison University, December 10.

Alison Morris, 56, associate professor of psychology at Iowa State University, November 21, in Ames, Iowa.

Antonio Rigual, former vice president for university relations at Our Lady of the Lake University and founder of the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, December 9.

Betty Zisk, 83, former professor of political science at Boston University, October 19, in Burlington, Mass.

To submit information for a listing in the Gazette, please go to http://chronicle.com/listings

THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

CHAIRMAN (EDITOR 1966-97) Corbin Gwaltney

CEO & EDITOR IN CHIEF Michael G. Riley

EDITOR Liz McMillen

MANAGING EDITOR Scott Smallwood

EDITOR, SPECIAL PROJECTS Jennifer Ruark

MANAGING EDITOR, THE CHRONICLE REVIEW Evan R. Goldstein

EDITOR, VISUALS Ron Coddington

DEPUTY MANAGING EDITORS Alexander C. Kafka (The Chronicle Review), Heidi Landecker (Copy and Production)

ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITOR Sara Hebel

ARTICLES EDITORS Andrew C. Mytelka, Don Troop

SENIOR EDITORS Ruth Hammond, Charles Huckabee, Sara Lipka, Denise K. Magner, Carolyn Mooney, Brock Read, Ian Wilhelm, Jeffrey R. Young

SENIOR EDITOR, COMMENTARY Dianne Donovan

SENIOR EDITORS, THE CHRONICLE REVIEW Jean Tamarin, Karen J. Winkler

SENIOR EDITORS, COPY Mitchell Gerber, Sarah H. Henderson

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR Jeffrey J. Selingo

SENIOR WRITERS Tom Bartlett, Lawrence Biemiller, Goldie Blumenstyk, Scott Carlson, Karin Fischer, Eric Hoover, Beth McMurtrie, Peter Schmidt, Robin Wilson, Brad Wolverton

SENIOR REPORTERS Dan Berrett, Paul Basken, Kelly Field, Lee Gardner, Jennifer Howard, Audrey Williams June, Katherine Mangan, Marc Parry, Jack Stripling, Beckie Supiano, Paul Voosen

BOOKS EDITOR Nina C. Ayoub

ASSISTANT EDITOR Eugene McCormack (Commentary)

STAFF REPORTERS Eric Kelderman, Steve Kolowich, Vimal Patel

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS Kevin Carey, Christopher Shea

STAFF EDITOR David Wescott (The Chronicle Review)

NEWS ASSISTANT Anais Strickland

INTERNS Mary Bowerman, Rebecca Koenig, Max Lewontin, Jared Misner

CORRESPONDENTS
U.S. Peter Monaghan (Washington)
OVERSEAS Karen Birchard and Jennifer Lewington (Canada), Paul Hockenos, Aisha Labi (Europe), Ursula Lindsey (Middle East), David McNeill (Japan, North Korea, South Korea), Anna Nemtsova (Former Soviet Union)

SENIOR ART DIRECTOR Scott Seymour
PHOTOGRAPHY & VIDEO EDITOR Rose Engelland
SENIOR EDITOR, DATA & INTERACTIVES Joshua Hatch
ASSISTANT PHOTOGRAPHY & VIDEO EDITOR Erica E. Lusk
PRODUCTION MANAGER Jasmine Stewart
MULTIMEDIA PRODUCER Julia Schmalz
SENIOR INTERACTIVE NEWS PRODUCER Brian O'Leary
INTERACTIVE NEWS PRODUCERS Justin Myers, Soo Oh
NEWS DESIGNER Janeen Jones
WEB EDITOR Nicholas DeSantis
WEB PRODUCERS Vincent DeFrancesco, Carmen Mendoza
WEB NEWS WRITER Andy Thomason
DATABASE REPORTERS Sandhya Kambhampati, Lance Lambert, Anu Narayanswamy

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICES
1255 Twenty-Third Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037; (202) 466-1000
CUSTOMER SERVICE
P. O. Box 16359, North Hollywood, CA 91615; (800) 728-2803; circulation@chronicle.com
HOW TO SUBSCRIBE
http://chronicle.com/subscribe; (800) 728-2803
RECRUITMENT ADVERTISING (202) 466-1050
CORPORATE CLIENT SALES OFFICES
New York (212) 758-5293
London 011 44 1582 620 656
San Francisco (925) 855-1910
Washington (202) 466-1080

PUBLISHER Mireille Grangenois

CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER William J. Peyser

CHIEF, HUMAN RESOURCES & ADMINISTRATION Lisa A. Birchard

CHIEF TECHNOLOGY OFFICER Don Sargent

GENERAL MANAGER, ONLINE Ken Sands

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER Harvey W. Hill Jr.
MANAGING DIRECTOR, RECRUITMENT Stacy Ward
MANAGING DIRECTOR, GLOBAL RELATIONS Joe Avison (London)
ACCOUNT MANAGERS, CORPORATE CLIENT Erica Bergin (New York), Gerry Kiernan (Sales), Christopher Leighton (San Francisco), Omar Olson (Far East)
DIRECTORS Gwen Gaiser (Production), Michael MaLoon (Sales & Operations)
ASSISTANT PRODUCTION MANAGER Christian Vazquez
COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY RELATIONS MANAGERS Richard Lewis, Hubert Telesford
UNIVERSITY RELATIONS ACCOUNT EXECUTIVES Christophe Boussard, Keith Gaither
SENIOR TEAM LEAD, INSIDE ADVERTISING Jennifer Williams
INSIDE ADVERTISING SALES ASSOCIATES Sam Speicher, Gary Stallings, Jason Wells
AGENCY AND PRODUCTION ASSOCIATES Bryant Taylor, Angela Washington
PRODUCTION ASSOCIATE Charda Stallings

DIRECTOR, BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY Craig Dixon

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER Michelle Thompson
MANAGING DIRECTOR, AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT & CIRCULATION Gwen Tomasulo
SUBSCRIPTION MANAGER Ericka J. Fredericks
SENIOR MARKETING MANAGER, AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT & CIRCULATION Erin Ortolan
MARKET RESEARCH MANAGER Shawn Fegley
AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT MARKETING SPECIALIST Allyson Olewine
SUBSCRIPTION SALES ASSOCIATE Katherine Tubridy

DIRECTORS Nick Findlay (Marketing Communications), Lisa Sherr (Market Strategy for Hiring Solutions)
SENIOR ACCOUNT EXECUTIVE, CORPORATE CLIENT SERVICES Holly Horner
SENIOR MANAGERS Caroline Borjesson (Marketing Campaigns), Rachel Sylvester (Conference & Events), Ginnie Titterton (Public Relations)
MANAGERS Lindsay Burns (Digital), Lauren Casula (Marketing Programs), Carl Cox (Creative Services), Krystle Fleetwood (Product Marketing)
GRAPHIC DESIGNERS Amaya Beltran, Peter Gibb
COPYWRITER Angie Walls
MARKETING SPECIALISTS Nadia Dawood
COPYWRITER CONFERENCE & EVENTS COORDINATOR Andrew Bowen

DIRECTOR OF ACCOUNTING Samuel Eziemefe
ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE MANAGER Mitchell Londres
PAYROLL MANAGER Anne St. Vil
ACCOUNTING ASSOCIATES Alice Chang, Nickole Cotton, Bonnie Gaskins, Harry Kang
ACCOUNTING ASSISTANT Phillip Iwugo

FACILITIES & OFFICE MANAGER Stephanie Spire
ASSISTANT OFFICE MANAGER Richard Felder
FACILITIES SPECIALIST Rene Baldonado
OFFICE ASSISTANTS Julie Mankowski, Joyce Phinisee
SENIOR HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGER Leighann Ransom
HUMAN RESOURCES GENERALIST Wendy Min

DIRECTORS Matthew Bassow (Digital Platform), Greg Channel (Product Engineering), Tim Froemling (Digital Products), Cynthia J. Kennedy (Information Systems), Steve Smith (Publishing Platform), Robert Watson (User Experience)
SENIOR CRM ADMINISTRATOR Betsy Barefoot
SYSTEM ARCHITECT Kristopher Doyen
DEVELOPMENT OPERATIONS ENGINEER Jeff Bruns
MANAGERS Robert Boggs (Computer Support), Ralph Gioseffi (Print Production), Mathew Good (Product Engineering), Karla Haworth (Project), Kerry Mitchell (Application Development), Kenneth Moir (Network)
SENIOR QUALITY ASSURANCE ANALYST Murali Thota
SENIOR USABILITY ANALYST Erica Gordon Sorohan
SENIOR USER EXPERIENCE DESIGNER Marcy Walker
SOFTWARE ENGINEER Adrian Padilla
WEB DEVELOPERS Joseph Clark, Don Liggett
FRONT-END WEB DEVELOPER Jon Davenport
NETWORK & SYSTEMS ADMINISTRATOR Mike Fernandez
BUSINESS SOLUTIONS ANALYST Linda Ihenetu
SENIOR SPECIALIST John Ready (Technology)
SPECIALISTS Jacques A. Benovil (Computer Support), Robert McGrath (Production and Color), Jojo Mendoza (Publishing Platform), Brenda Stewart (Computer Support)

The Chronicle of Higher Education (ISSN 0009-5982) is published weekly except one week in January, May, June, July, and December and two weeks in August, 45 times a year at 1255 Twenty-Third Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Subscription rate: $87.00 per year. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

PRIVATE GIVING

Arthur Vining Davis Foundations
225 Water Street, Suite 1510
Jacksonville, Fla. 32202
http://www.avdf.org
History. For BackStory, a one-hour radio program and podcast that makes history education more accessible: $200,000 to U. of Virginia, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities (Charlottesville, Va.).

Vera Z. Dwyer Charitable Trust
3930 Edison Lakes Parkway
Mishawaka, Ind. 46545
Health. To provide scholarships for students studying health care, a nursing professorship, and a low-cost health clinic for Indiana residents: $5.85-million to Indiana U. at South Bend.

Elsevier
11830 Westline Industrial Drive
St. Louis, Mo. 63146
http://www.elsevier.com
Libraries. To improve access to and use of scientific, technical, and medical information at libraries in 20 developing countries, and to help early- to mid-career women scientists balance family responsibilities with demanding academic careers: $600,000 to be divided among the American Association of Physical Anthropologists (Urbana, Ill.), the American Society for Microbiology (Washington, D.C.), CSIR Forestry Research Institute of Ghana (Fumesua, Ghana), the Engineering School of Communications of Tunis (Ariana, Tunisia), Librarians Without Borders (San Francisco, Calif.), Makerere U. (Kampala, Uganda), the Network of African Medical Libraries (Nairobi, Kenya), SEVA Foundation (Berkeley, Calif.), Universite Chretienne Bilingue du Congo (North-Kivu, Congo), and West Virginia U. Foundation (Morgantown, W.Va.).

Farrell Family Charitable Foundation
620 Liberty Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222
Athletics. For the the Penn State Football Excellence Fund: $1-million to Pennsylvania State U.

GIFTS & BEQUESTS

Duke University. $3-million gift from Gary L. Wilson and his son, Derek. Of the gift, $2-million will be used to improve the athletics facilities, and $1-million will endow the Nasher Museum of Art and its collection. Gary Wilson is former chairman of Northwest Airlines Corporation. He is a former trustee of the university. Derek Wilson earned his bachelor's and master's degrees from the university in 1986 and 1990, respectively.

—$1-million from Sean Fahey, co-founder and co-chief investment officer of Claren Road Asset Management, a global credit hedge-fund manager, to endow scholarships for graduates of the North Carolina School of Science and Mathematics. Mr. Fahey graduated from NCSSM in 1989 and earned a bachelor's degree in economics from Duke in 1993.

Rockford College. $5-million gift from Sunil Puri for the business school. Mr. Puri is founder and president of First Rockford Group, a real-estate development firm in Rockford. He graduated from the college in 1982 with a bachelor's degree in accounting.

St. Mary's University. $1-million gift from Don and Betty Melaas to establish a scholarship fund for second-year female law students. The couple's late daughter, Deborah, attended the university's School of Law.

DEADLINES

AWARDS AND PRIZES

January 15: Academic affairs. AAUA-American Association of University Administrators solicits nominations for its annual recognition awards for exemplary college/university programs and for outstanding leadership service in higher education. Of particular note is a new award initiated this year to recognize outstanding service as a college or university trustee. Nominations may be made on behalf of another person, program, or institution; or they may be submitted as self-nominations. Complete information is available on the association's website. Contact: American Association of University Administrators; http://www.aaua.org

February 10: Science, technology, and math. The Camille and Henry Dreyfus Foundation's Camille Dreyfus Teacher-Scholar Awards program supports the research and teaching careers of talented young faculty in the chemical sciences. The criteria for selection include an independent body of scholarship attained within the first five years of the nominee's appointment as an independent researcher, and a demonstrated commitment to education, signaling the promise of continuing contributions to both research and teaching. Awardees receive an unrestricted research grant of $75,000. The program is open to academic institutions in the states, districts, and territories of the U.S. that grant a bachelor's or higher degree in the chemical sciences, including biochemistry, materials chemistry, and chemical engineering. Nominees must hold a full-time tenure-track academic appointment, and are normally expected to have been appointed no earlier than mid-year 2009. Awardees are from Ph.D.-granting departments in which scholarly research is a principal activity. Undergraduate education is an important component of the nominee's activities. Institutions may submit only one nomination annually. Visit the foundation's website for more details. Contact: Camille and Henry Dreyfus Foundation; (212) 753-1760; programs@dreyfus.org; http://dreyfus.org/awards/camille_dreyfus_teacher_award.shtml

February 27: Business/administrative affairs. The Society for College and University Planning is accepting entries for its Excellence Awards Program. The organization recognizes excellence in planning, design, and implementation. Share with other higher education planners why and how your plan, facility, addition, renovation, or landscape is worthy of recognition and how your experience can help them. Visit the SCUP's website for more details. Contact: Society for College and University Planning; http://www.scup.org/2015Awards

MORE VIEWS INSIDE

Academics First, Then Athletics
Colleges must reaffirm the subordinate role of intercollegiate sports to the educational mission: **A27**

College Sex-Assault Trials Belong in Court, Not on Campus
For all its flaws, the criminal-justice system is the better option for dealing with sexual violence: **A28**

You Don't Need a Hurricane to Know Which Way the Wind Blows

POINT OF VIEW

SCOTT S. COWEN

THE CALL for change in academe has grown ever louder in recent years, with critics faulting colleges for a failure to address crucial issues of accessibility, affordability, accountability, and value, and for a lack of innovation, especially technologically. For those of us who have spent our lives in higher education, it's a time for soul-searching and reflection, as our institutions face increasing skepticism.

For me personally, 2015, the 10th anniversary of Hurricane Katrina, revives memories of a disaster that became, ironically, a catalyst for institutional change. As president of Tulane in 2005, I had to confront a radically changed environment and consequently reimagine the university so that it could survive, and thrive, in a new world.

That defining moment led me to some insights into the question facing us now: How will we reshape our institutions to adapt to a world in flux? One crucial factor is our ability to formulate new, sustainable, and evidence-based models that respond to the demands of a changing environment. Based on my experiences during and after Hurricane Katrina, I propose four basic principles for creating new models at moments of transition or transformation: Understand reality and the external world; contextualize the reality to a particular institution; focus on the possibilities; and cultivate the right leadership.

MICHAEL MORGENSTERN FOR THE CHRONICLE

These were the underlying principles that shaped our actions at Tulane. We quickly recognized that Tulane's pre-Katrina model could not be reinstated, because of drastically different circumstances confronting the university and the city. We had to ensure that we remained financially viable, maintained the quality and impact of our academic programs, and reconnected in powerful ways with our community.

The questions we asked ourselves in the fall of 2005 were: What deeply matters to us and must be preserved at any cost? What can we sacrifice to meet a new reality? How can we redefine and strengthen Tulane for the 21st century while supporting the city's recovery?

Our search for a new model culminated in the Renewal Plan, which preserved core programs but eliminated those that were less crucial fiscally and academically. At the same time, we strengthened our mission as an anchor institution in the community by developing a curricular public-service requirement in partnership with a diverse set of nonprofits, locally and around the world. With the Renewal Plan in place, Tulane reopened in January 2006, less than five months after the storm, with 87 percent of our undergraduate student body returning from temporary placements generously provided by colleges all over the country.

Of course renewal comes at a price. Stakeholders in negatively affected academic programs—among them, the undergraduate women's college and several engineering departments—raised a loud protest, some of it ugly. Needless to say, the more consensus, the smoother the process; however, consensus doesn't arrive automatically, and change doesn't result from trying to appease everyone. What I learned in the defining months after Hurricane Katrina was that it is impossible to develop a significant change agenda without a common understanding of reality among stakeholders and without contextualizing needed changes in your own institution.

Though it took Katrina for us to truly transform Tulane, the process of reimagining an institution doesn't need to be reserved for times of calamity. It's true that, absent a bona fide crisis, academic institutions have a tendency toward insularity (we aren't called the "ivory tower" for nothing), and interested parties can be strongly resistant to change. How do you nudge the conversation forward when many people are passionately invested in a model that needs to be altered or discarded in the interests of future growth and innovation?

One way is to scare them to death with the consequences of not changing; another is to ignore or run over them, almost guaranteeing a "no confidence" vote. Another way, by far the best, is to focus on possibilities—developing a vision of, and excitement about, the future. In the aftermath of Katrina, this meant promoting a vision of Tulane as a top research university that was also a strong and committed community partner, highly regarded for developing the next generation of engaged citizens and leaders. All changes were introduced in the context of this positive and vivid image of the future.

One of the great challenges of leadership is balancing hope with reality while moving an organization forward boldly, confidently, and creatively. The best way to build a culture of innovation and continuous improvement is not by fiat, but by continually questioning the status quo and changing as reality warrants, while holding true to a vision of the future.

Examples of this include Tulane City Center—which has built model homes and green spaces all over the city, working also on "water parks," on the Dutch model—and the Cowen Institute for Public Education Initiatives, which works with the city's K-12 public-education system while also tackling the issue of disconnected youth.

An equally important leadership capability for us in New Orleans, and for anyone attempting to negotiate significant change, is finding the right people to help craft and run a new model—people who are resilient and realistic, who address difficult issues, and who have the courage to make principled, difficult, decisions.

Institutions of higher education obviously do many things right: Witness hundreds of years of success and their impact on the advancement of society. But new realities—economic, technological, and global—demand new answers.

Given these contemporary challenges, how should our organizations be governed, and by whom? What is the relevance of credit-hour courses? Where and how should we address the different learning needs of students? Is the tenure system an obstacle to, or facilitator of, organizational change? What are we doing right? What can we stop doing?

There is no one right answer. As I've suggested, developing a successful model doesn't require a set of prescribed actions; rather, it requires certain kinds of action: facing the tough questions that new realities pose, developing models that reflect institutional values, encouraging stakeholders to focus on a vision of the future, and finding people with the resilience, emotional intelligence, and courage to help execute the plan.

If we are too slow to change, foreseeable and preventable crises will become genuine, full-blown ones. It is our responsibility, indeed our obligation, to meet the future with the same pragmatic and pioneering spirit that has shaped our education system from its beginnings. ■

Scott S. Cowen was president of Tulane from 1998 to June 2014. His most recent book is The Inevitable City: The Resurgence of New Orleans and the Future of Urban America *(Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).*