

DRAFT

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Speeches

short
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Student Typologies

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The decade of the sixties might well be called the decade of the student watchers.

4 Reasons:

as Newsmen put it The message is coming through loud but not clear. too noisy to ignore

1. Characteristics of the students - the "new breed" has a flare for the dramatic with their sit-ins, draft card burnings, baiting of powerful men, confrontation tactics on campus, unconventional - almost exhibitionistic - personal styles of dress. It is difficult to live in the Bay Area with its Telegraph Avenue and its Haight Asbury District, with its colorful hippies and trippies and not know that there is a new style of dress and of thought and of values. Certainly we have come to the end of the silent generation of the fifties, during which post World War II students presumably viewed the American scene with little, if any, critical judgment.

Paper prepared for an NDEA Workshop at Michigan State University on June 21, 1967.

2. State of the Nation.

Education has become big business - everybody's business - the ivory tower can't be found and higher education touches almost every

facet of American society. Furthermore, ⁱⁿ our technological society *The most valuable are those who are most up-to-date. we* worship the young, and especially the intelligent and well-educated.

The wisdom and experience ^{+ contemplation} of age runs a poor second to the brains and energy of a youth in a society whose ~~society whose~~ God is science and whose command generation are in their ^{only} forties.

3. Technology and Methodology. Even if the youth cult did not

exist in society at large and even if the young people did not respond

so dramatically to our ^{alternate} adoration and frustration, we would still be study-

ing students because we are better equipped than ever before for such

an enterprise. We have the money, we have the technology, and we have

the sophisticated social science methodologies for the undertaking. The

computer makes it possible to collect data from literally hundreds of

thousands of students and to analyze the results before they become obsolete. We are developing social science methodologies that can approach the complicated multivariate analyses essential to the study of social phenomena.

4. Necessity of Education.

if these 3 reasons are not convincing, then we study students because
Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, there are no arguments to

refute Alfred North Whitehead's dictum that the race that does not value trained intelligence is doomed." Our very survival depends upon our

education - the best education that we can muster^{- and} for all of our citizenry.

Universal higher education has been espoused by both political parties and anything or anyone that threatens our fantastic system of higher education in this country can expect a vigorous protest - as Ronald Reagan now knows.

The student typologies that are blossoming in the literature these days are a direct result of the research impetus over the last decade. Educational research is interested primarily in groups of people. We can't generalize for improvement in education by studying the individual in all

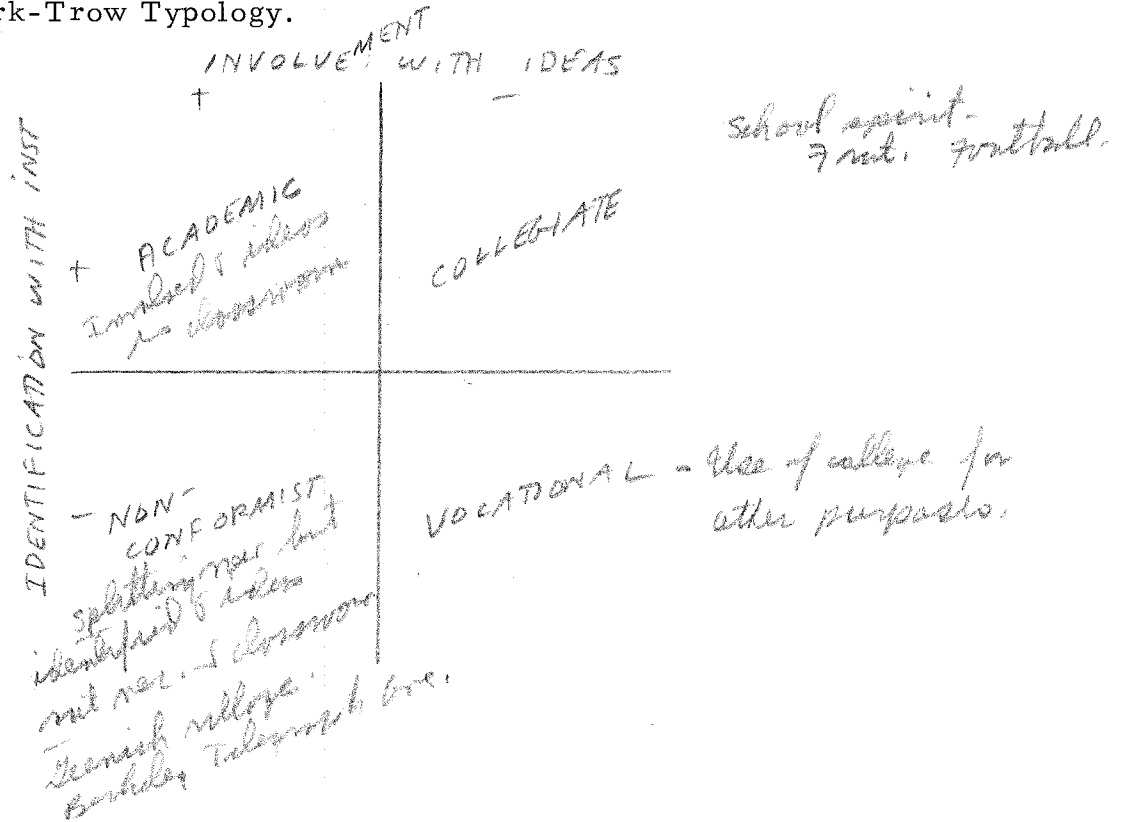
of his complexities, and we are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the very broad survey studies of a national sample of students present trends but aren't of much help in understanding student cultures nor in providing for the tremendous diversity which exists from campus to campus

and even among subgroups on the same campus. *Typologies may be theoretical or hypothetical, subject to research verification.*

The typologies, then, are an attempt to group students together on a given dimension. This doesn't necessarily mean that students are like the other students in their group; it simply means that on the chosen dimension, they are similar. We've been doing this for years in ability groupings, for instance. We know that bright students differ greatly among themselves. But bright students are like other bright students in the sense that they share high scores on an aptitude test (dimension) and this has been shown related to grades (another related dimension), and the breadth of reading and grasp of abstraction leads to certain shared intellectual interests, and so it goes. *intellectual disposition* Although we make our groupings on one dimension, if we have chosen a central reference point, other dimensions of similarity tend to appear.

Follow one typology through its theoretical formulation to its research verification.

Clark-Trow Typology.



Clark and Trow who were sociologists at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education at Berkeley at the time of this typology selected the dimensions for study. To them the cells represent subcultures on a campus and not necessarily student types. Students may move from one subculture to another during their four years on the campus.

Dr. Richard Peterson of ETS has been one of the leading psychologists to conduct research on the Clark-Trow Typology and to round out the picture of the student moving within each of the four subcultures. Dr.

Hypothetical Typology

Research Verification

Peterson is the architect of the College Student Questionnaires which were introduced about two years ago to help colleges study the background interests and attitudes of their own student body. He devised four statements depicting what is important to students about their college education. The students check a paragraph that best describes his purposes and values regarding education, and in this way he classifies himself as sharing the educational orientation of one of the four subgroups.

For statements, see page 15 CSQ 2.

In the fall of 1963 these statements were given to some 13,000 students at 23 colleges and universities across the country. Newspaper and magazine reports notwithstanding, the predominant orientation of our students is collegiate.

Collegiate	51%
Vocational	27%
Academic	19%
Non-conformist	4%

One of the most interesting things about this is not the orientation of students in general, but rather the dramatic differences that one finds from campus to campus and the way in which other dimensions of student attitudes and backgrounds hang together so that one does feel that a group with characteristics in common emerges. *More about that this afternoon*

Vocationalists. — *Relationships to other CSQ variables.*

The basic commitment of the vocationally oriented student is to the training he is receiving for a specific occupational career. Vocationalists are predominantly from working class backgrounds. They are consistently the lowest of the four subgroups on items in the CSQ dealing with socio-cultural background - parents' occupations, income, and educational levels, books in the home, parents' interest in cultural activities and the like. There ^{was} ~~were~~ some tendency for vocationalists to live at home and commute to local colleges and to rely on part-time or full-time employment (rather than, say, parents) for financial support. The vocationally oriented student use his college education primarily in instrumental terms - as a means of acquiring

a skill that will insure occupational security and the social prestige that his family has lacked. Disproportionately, men in the freshmen sample (by a margin of 7 to 3) their high school academic records were the poorest of the four subgroups; in college they planned to specialize in engineering, education, business, and other technical specialties. On various items in the CSQ, they evidenced a relatively firm and long-standing commitment to their vocational fields of choice, as well as a decidedly passive, dependent attitude toward the learning process. Vocationally oriented students tend to be concentrated in the public universities - especially those with large schools of engineering and agriculture. One would also find them in teachers' colleges and in some of the less selective of the technical institutes, but most spectacularly one finds the vocational student concentrated in the public junior colleges. To quote Dr. Peterson, "In ^{summary,} ~~some~~, the vocational type, from a relatively impoverished ~~social~~ economic and cultural back^kground is somewhat passively ingesting a skill that will be a ladder to the success that defines the American dream. He hopes to "make it" within the American system, which he accepts uncritically."

Collegiates.

The collegiate, on occasion, makes his own impression in the popular press, and we are most likely to find him at Fort Lauderdale during spring vacation, at the Ivy League football weekends, at a fraternity weekend in the mountains, etc. Collegiates are by and large from the middle classes. They are attracted to the relatively unselective public colleges and universities, especially those in the South and Midwest which are the strongholds of big-time football and the national Greek letter fraternities and sororities. In high school, the collegiate was popular, attractive, a student leader, a frequent dater, and athlete. He tends to major in fields not intellectually demanding - elementary education, physical education, business, social welfare, etc. The collegiate is frequently regarded by faculty as downright anti-intellectual and certainly it must be said that they do not share faculty values as they relate to the

academic program of the college. In some ways, he shares the instrumentalist approach of the rationalist. Even now, the fraternity that wants to raise its grades is not doing so because it wants to encourage students to fool around with ideas but rather because its "good for" the frat. — in much the same way that good grades are "good for" the

(in HART.)

Academics.

The fundamental commitment of the academic type is to scholarly achievement within the framework of a specific subject field or academic discipline. The true academic accepts the formalities that exist in the department and discipline in which he toils. Academics are concentrated in the selective and prestigious colleges and universities; they plan on graduate school, the PhD, and then to push on up the academic ladder. The academic type is best represented by the student majoring in one of the natural sciences, although at many universities he may be found in various social science and humanities departments that have taken to emphasizing preparation for graduate school.

As identified in the CSQ, academics are broadly middle class in background with relatively well-educated parents. The academic commitment fairly took root very early. In high school by self report, they studied extensively, received frequent recognition for academic achievement, and found particular satisfaction from course work in the natural sciences. By nature and because

of the pressure of other commitments, the academic is not an activist; he would, however, be a sympathizer, and possibly even a participant in some future, broadly based student movement.

Non-Conformist. (See chart.)

CSQ GRAPH

The non-conformist has in the past few years become increasingly differentiated, and I'll talk more about him later.

Keniston - on historical typing of students.

In some ways student typologies tend to become dated - especially in the present period of rapid and shifting values. Kenneth Keniston has made a very interesting contribution to the student typology by presenting an historical analysis of student types. These historical types depended by and large on the ~~kinds and on the~~ ⁱⁿ role of the student society and the demands made by the colleges. His historical types illustrate beautifully a profound fact about student typology - that is, that students ~~do~~ ¹ not become a "new breed" all by themselves. The typologies of today reflect the expectations of society and the demands of the colleges just as Keniston's historical analyses of student types reflected their ~~age~~ ^{era}.

Gentlemen in Waiting.

1. Two centuries ago, colleges like Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary existed primarily to educate religious leaders, future merchants and gentlemen. Education was not so much a preparation for a specific vocation as it was a refinement of gentlemanly qualities. Since gentlemen were born and not made - education was really not necessary, but it provided the polish. Striving and achievement were not part of the picture.

2. Apprentice.

The nineteenth century brought an extension of democratic rights. Education was no longer a confirmation of pre-existing status but an instrument for acquiring higher status. Land-grant colleges opened their doors to aspiring youth of the new democracy. Now virtue in education was evidenced through hard work. Qualities changed from grace and style and doing what one was doing, but doing it better to drive, determination, and a sharp eye for opportunity.

Free tuition - Sons of farmers, who could not afford to leave home with education - farm better than their fathers

style

upward mobility → education

3. BMOB

In the early twentieth century, upward mobility was no longer guaranteed by ambition, drive, and practical knowledge. One had to make friends to influence people. Mastering the human environment became more important than mastering the physical and economic. The BMOB was obviously the man who got ahead - not what you knew, but who -
emergence of the fraternity system. It should be noted that the model here was no longer the adult as it had been for the gentleman and the apprentice, youth but rather this is the emergence of the new culture, and the fraternity system is perhaps the most obvious vestige of that era.

4. Professionalist.

Our present society is typified by the professionalist -

Keniston claims that the professionalist is the student whom we must examine if "we are to understand that is distinctive about American students today." Unlike the BMOB or the apprentice, he is not really trying to change his station in life, but merely to upgrade his skills. The emerging value in our educational system is the "superior academic performance." It is the key that unlocks the doors to the good colleges - to graduate school

and to the opportunities of the future. The essential value of the professionalist is competence - the capacity to be really good in a professional field. In one way, the professionalist is like the gentleman in waiting - for he, too, was born into the status to which he aspires.

Although each of Keniston's historical types originated in a different historical period, all four continue to co-exist on most campuses. One can find the jaded gentleman in waiting at some of the Ivy League colleges and eastern boarding schools. As discussed earlier, the BMOC still exists in great profusion in our state universities in the South and in the Midwest.

Today's professionalist comes from upper class and professional families and he aspires to much the same life pattern as his highly successful father. Well endowed intellectually, the professionalist is strongly motivated to succeed in secondary school (often the best ones) and in college he is bent on continuing his record of outstanding academic achievement toward early enrollment in a postgraduate professional school - quite frequently law, medicine, business, architecture, etc. Professionalist would be

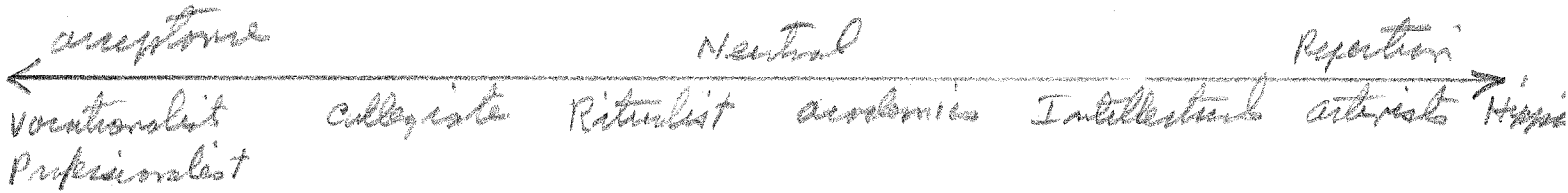
disproportionately found in the best undergraduate colleges, a necessary springboard to the right graduate school and first job. He differs from the vocationalist primarily in the advantages of his upper middle class background. The sophisticated, polished professionalist is seldom excited by ideas, social issues, and ideologies. While there clearly are attitudinal differences within this hypothetical category, the general political outlook of the professionalist is conservative to middle-of-the-road and is status quo

oriented. *The great bulk of college students today - More likely that a college grad will go to grad school than a h.s. grad will go to college.*

NORC
Much of what we hear students saying today indicates that their overriding concern about life and education is its relationship to ~~survival~~ *American institutions - schools, churches, government,* values. Although

the issues that get the greatest student protest - if not press coverage - are still dormitory food and campus social regulations, the cutting edge of the student movements are concerned with the institution's of American society and how they are coping with new problems. In a modern typology, then, one must give consideration to the rather vital dimension about how students feel about their society. Peterson has articulated this ~~typ~~ kind of typology in a single dimension varying from acceptance to rejection of American institutions.

STANCE R'E' AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS (ways of getting things done)



turning up in several recent newspapers.

5. Ritualist - Schumer and Stanfield. — *Jonathan Warner*

- 1) Essential lack of commitment to anything. Swept into college by parents and relatives, the fact that friends are going, or really because there is nothing better to do.
- 2) Concentrated in open-door colleges or centers of urban populations - open-door is ~~a~~ revolving door.
- 3) Passing through the educational experience without goals or purpose.
- 4) A factor analysis by Warren identified one student type as "pervasive sense of aimlessness." ~~Almost always~~ ^{all reasons} for attending college are rejected including vocational.

6. Intellectuals.

- 1) Different from academic, in that his orientation is to a network of ideas irrespective of curriculum. The intellectual is more likely to be a philosopher or perhaps historian than the academic who is likely to be in the natural sciences.
- 2) Very high intelligence. - *capable of dealing with ideas & abstractions*
- 3) Often comes from outstanding prep schools. Riesman commented that a group of these from Andover looked forward to the intellectual atmosphere of Harvard and instead found themselves in an intensely academic atmosphere.
- 4) Satisfaction with ideas, as opposed to course requirements.
- 5) From upper and middle class families.
- 6) Despite a very high I.Q., the intellectual is average in the motivation for grades.
- 7) On the rejection side of the continuum of alienation but more prone to verbal analysis than to demonstration.

Activists

The student activists make up a very small but very noisy subgroup.

Even at Berkeley their numbers are completely out of proportion to

their publicity and visibility. Dr. Paul Hiest estimates that there are

no more than 3-5% of the Berkeley student body who could be classed

all-out
as activists. in the sense that they will sit-in, make speeches, suffer
arrest etc. Another 20% are willing to involve themselves in
marches or in less risk-taking forms of protest.

College administrators are, for obvious reasons, more conscious

of the student activists than of any other group of students. The national

movement of this group called the "new left" has emerged in the past

7 or 8 years on the basis of a shared rejection of prevailing norms and

institutional ways of doing things. They possess a vaguely defined

democratic - socialist ideology but are better described as an action

movement, not an intellectual one. If there is any organization of the

new left, at present, it is crystallized around two national organizations --

SNCC and SDS.

Many feel that there is no real goal for these groups except change.

Their purpose, briefly, is to change society or "the system." Listen to Carl Davidson, who was National Vice-President of SDS writing in New Left Notes.

"Obviously, we need to organize, to build a movement on the campuses with the primary purpose of radically transforming the university community ... the issue for us is student control ...

What we want is a union of students where the students themselves decide what kind of rules they want or don't want."

In Davidson's words, they are after a participatory democracy.

The national new left are sometimes joined by activist students concerned primarily with campus issues. The campus-issue protestors are frequently led by elected student leaders who have borrowed some of the tactics of the student leftists-marches, sit-ins, confrontation, etc. The local issue protestors come together and then fade away as fast as

campus sore points are discovered and then patched up. There is no unifying set of beliefs -- political or educational. It is difficult to sustain a program when the only unifying concept is rejection of the establishment.

STUDENT LEFTISTS: WHO ARE THEY?

"The net effect of the massive publicity and the inevitable generalizations in the popular media has been an exaggeration of the actual grass-roots strength of the student left."

This statement was made by Richard Peterson, Developmental Research, in an address to the Puerto Rico Conference on Students and Politics this spring. Mr. Peterson explained that "...the organized student left in actuality represents a small fraction of the total student population, something less than five per cent." Among the reasons cited by Mr. Peterson for the wide interest in the activities of college students were "the fact that higher education, no longer in ivory-tower isolation, now touches on almost every facet of American society" so that "what the college graduate is like now and in the near future is of profound concern to a host of business, political, scientific, educational, and other communities, for which survival is dependent on 'human resources.'"

Part of Mr. Peterson's address, The Student Left in American Higher Education, was devoted to a summary of what social scientists know about student leftists in America. To describe the personal characteristics of this group, he presented the following ten generalizations which are based on a series of studies published since the original Berkeley crisis.

1. Student activists are upper middle-class in their social origins. In terms of occupational prestige level, income, and education, parents of activists stand above those of most other college students.
2. Their parents are politically liberal to strongly liberal and may themselves have been involved in radical politics and causes.
3. Both the students and their parents

consider themselves to be either non-religious, or liberal and non-formalistic in their religious orientation.

4. Parents of activists are permissive and democratic in their child-rearing practices.
5. Student leftists are both highly intelligent and intellectually oriented. Their academic records are above average for their colleges.
6. Activist students are not career-oriented. In the curriculum, they are concentrated in the social sciences and humanities, rather than in pre-professional programs.
7. They perceive themselves as individualistic and independent from various sources of social influence and authority--family, age peers, religious traditions, and other social conventions.
8. They are interested in and sensitive to various forms of artistic and esthetic expression.
9. They perceive in themselves an altruistic, helping, sense of responsibility in relation to mankind.
10. They possess an idealized view of interpersonal relationships that stresses empathy, openness, and honesty.

Mr. Peterson said such information would suggest that the potential for involvement in radical politics exists before the student reaches college age. These students tend to apply to institutions which are known for their liberal policies in regard to student behavior. This preselection is seen to be an important factor in the understanding of the variation in student activism from one college to another.

Mr. Peterson's most recent research study in this area, with Masu Sasajima and Jay Davis, is Organized Student Protest and Institutional Climate, RB-67-15.

Watts on FSM - 26% of fathers & 16% of mothers of the 177 arrested
 4 1964 Sprawl sit in Acad MAO PhD.

50% at
FSM

11- FSM - women over-represented 57% of FSM crowd to 39% of student body.

7. Activist. - *Even at Berkeley, Hirst never estimate 3-5%*

About ten good studies recently - all remarkably consistent.

1) A distinctive characteristic - personal involvement in political action directed at social reform.

2) High SES. Liberal parents - permissive and democratic.

3) Found in selective institutions.

4) Highly intelligent - above average grades. *also intellectually oriented
Not career oriented*

5) Non-religious - or liberal and non-formalistic.

6) Not career oriented.

7) Tend to be found in social sciences, humanities - sensitive to artistic forms, etc.

8) Independent .

9) Altruistic. Possess an idealized view of interpersonal relationships, stress empathy, openness, honesty.

Not in pre-professional

8. Hippies

- 1) Unlike the activist who holds out hope for radical reform through political action, the hippie is pessimistically apolitical.
- 2) Contemptuous of American mores - withdrawn into a more personally satisfying world with the assistance of drugs.
- 3) Concentrated in urban areas - New York and San Francisco.
- 4) Students can shift in and out of this culture - not really a college subgroup. The dedicated hippie would be a college drop-out rather than a college student - tune-in, turn-on, dropout.
- 5) Total rejection of responsibility.

Keniston feels that those who anticipate a coming generation of adults committed to social reform are mistaken. The "expressive" and anti ideological outlook of students today is against this. Without a clear specification of what is good and what is bad about American society coupled with a coherent ideology of social reform, few individuals can sustain for long the mishaps and disappointments that inevitably plague anyone who seeks to improve society.

Data would support this - certainly for the majority who still rank their individual careers and family at the top of their concerns. Involvement in international, national, or civic affairs and helping other people are ranked astonishingly low.

Keniston's prediction about the future generation of adults, however, is not to say that activism as a student phenomenon will necessarily disappear. On the contrary, Nevitt Sanford is convinced that we can expect more rather than less student activism in the future. He bases his conclusion on

the fact that present activists are espousing the values of their liberal parents. I, for one, am not about to predict what the children of the present activists will think or do. I am sure that a new typology will be needed or perhaps we will have a completely different and hopefully better ways of understanding future generations of students.