Understanding the purpose of higher education: An analysis of the economic and social benefits for completing a college degree

Article · January 2016

1 author:

Roy Y. Chan
Indiana University Bloomington
9 PUBLICATIONS   **53** CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:

Project   How Does the 15 to Finish Initiative Affect Academic Outcomes of Low-Income, First-Generation Students? Evidence from a College Promise Program in Indiana View project

UNDERSTANDING THE PURPOSE OF HIGHER EDUCATION: AN ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BENEFITS FOR COMPLETING A COLLEGE DEGREE

Roy Y. Chan
Indiana University, Bloomington

Abstract

Higher education worldwide is facing unprecedented challenges—the dramatic rise of for-profit institutions, rapidly increasing expectations about what services colleges and universities should provide, and a complex society that demands college graduates with even more skills and capacities. To understand how higher education can effectively address these challenges, this paper investigates the public and private purpose of higher education and what it means for higher education's future. Utilizing Critical Interpretive Synthesis (CIS) and signaling theory, this research reviews the changing meanings of 'public' and 'private' in higher education from the perspective of (1) education providers and (2) undergraduate students. A comprehensive search of the literature selected 60 peer-reviewed journal articles and twenty-five books published between 2000 and 2016. Nine synthetic constructs of the goals were found and while there was some agreement between institutions and students on the economic and social benefits of higher education, the review was characterized by a significant misalignment. The findings suggest that student expectations for a college degree tends to be very instrumental and personal, while higher education purpose of undergraduate education tend towards highly ideal life- and society-changing consequences. This paper offers eight recommendations for policymakers to consider that address the growing misalignment gap between education providers and undergraduate students. The ultimate goal is to develop renovation or repurposing strategy across competing imperatives and to outline success measures to critically define, measure, and evaluate the achievement of specific goals and outcomes in hopes of resolving potential skills mismatch in a world of massive cataclysmic change.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last half-century, new pressures have challenged the traditional purpose and civic mission of higher education (The National Task Force, 2012). On one hand, one would argue that the purpose of higher education tends is to acquire new knowledge and to prepare one for the workforce. On the other hand, one would also argue that institutions of higher education should be aiming for more ideal contributions to the commonwealth society. That conundrum has posed persistent dilemmas about the public purpose and function of higher education in the 21st century (Abowitz, 2008; Brighouse & Mcpherson, 2015; Dungy, 2012; Levine, 2014; Shapiro, 2005).

To enumerate, higher education in the United States and abroad is facing unprecedented challenges on a wide number of issues including support for financial aid, rapidly increasing tuition rates, diminishing appropriations, modified governance relationships, and a complex and global society that demands college graduates to acquire more skills and capacities (Bastedo, Altbach, & Gumport, 2016; Goodchild, Jonsen, Limerick, & Longanecker, 2014). Notably, both public and private universities are in a marketplace shift where they need to constantly prove their value and worth in contemporary society (Bok, 2003; Suspitsyna, 2012). Historically, institutions of higher education exist to educate students for lives of public service, to advance knowledge through research, and to develop leaders for various areas of the public service (American Council on Education, 1949). Today's universities, however, are required to prepare graduates with the knowledge, skills, and ethical responsibility to meet the future workforce needs of society and to participate fully in the new global economy (Spellings Commission, 2006). These profound changes, in turn, have shifted higher education worldwide from once a public good to now a private benefit (Filippakou & Williams, 2014; Pusser, 2006), whereby colleges and universities have begun to operate as a corporate industry with predominant economic goals and market-oriented values (Gumport, 2000; Kerr, 1994; Thompson, 2014), which has reduced higher education to a transactional process rather than maintaining its transformative potential (Bylsma, 2015). This dual role has resulted in the rise of the new industrial model of privatization, commercialization, and corporatization and has altered higher education's traditional mission, and has also increased the mission differentiation in higher education systems in preparing all graduates for democratic participation, active citizenship, and personal development (Kezar, 2004; Lambert, 2014). In other words, colleges and universities are not only under pressure to promote college access, affordability, and completion in today's uncertain future, but also enhance individuals' core competencies and dispositions (i.e., "non-economic" benefits), such as: the ability to think logically, the capacity to challenge the status quo, and the desire to develop sophisticated values for entry into the highly competitive global labor market (Brennan, Durazii, & Sene, 2013; Selingo, 2016; Tilak, 2008; Washburn, 2005).

Today's labor market requires highly skilled personnel at all levels to deal with rapid industrialization in rapidly changing environments (Ramley, 2014b). To meet current societal needs, higher education institutions must redefine and reinvent college curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment policies to ensure that all students have the desired attributes and competencies to contribute to the global economy and engage effectively in democracy (Fein, 2014; Kirst & Stevens, 2015). Statistically speaking, Hart Research Associates (2015) concluded that 91 percent of employers think that critical thinking, communication, and problem-solving abilities are more important than a potential employee's undergraduate major. At the same time, 87 percent of employers give hiring preference to college graduates who have completed a senior

project. While 97 percent of good jobs created since 2010 have gone to college graduates (Carnevale, Jayasundera, & Gulish, 2015), more than half of employers still report having difficulty finding qualified candidates for job openings, and over one-third say that recent graduates are very unprepared for their job searches (Carnevale, Jayasundera, & Repnikov, 2014; Carnevale, Hanson, & Gulish, 2013; Fischer, 2014; McKinsey & Company, 2015). Accordingly, new research that investigates the public and personal or private purpose of higher education is needed to understand the extent that students develop the discipline-specific competencies and higher-level learning outcomes that are needed to live responsibly in an increasingly diverse democracy and in an interconnected global community (Roksa & Arum, 2015).

Just as Saichaie and Morphew's (2014) and Watty's (2006) study helped us appreciate the tension between how academics and government policies view higher education, an analysis that compares and contrasts the personal or private purpose(s) of higher education may help educators better understand the current disconnect between higher education institutions and college graduates (McClung, 2013; World Bank, 2012). If research institutions and students do not have aligned goals and aims for completing a bachelor's degree, then there is likely to be disappointment on both sides. On one hand, academics and staff may be disappointed if students do not go beyond the minimum requirements in their engagement with learning tasks. On the other hand, students may balk at learning outcomes that have little connection with vocations. Consequently, new empirical research that makes a thorough comparison between education providers and college students on the economic and social benefits of completing higher education may "add-value" for institutions seeking to position themselves for success (Watson, 2014).

This research gap stands in stark contrast to the large number of recent studies, which have examined the significant "economic benefits" (i.e., societal/direct benefits to citizens) for completing a college degree through the perspective of human capital theory (public and private or personal benefits) and new growth theory as noted within several education policy reports by Columbia University's Center for Analysis of Postsecondary Education and Employment (CAPSEE) and Georgetown University's Center on Education and the Workforce (Avery & Turner, 2012; McArthur, 2011; Psacharapoulos & Patrinos, 2004). For instance, Carnevale and Rose (2015) found that college-educated workers with a bachelor's degree now produce more than half of the nation's annual economic value. Similarly, Benson, Esteva, and Levy (2013) found that a bachelor's degree program from California's higher education system still remains a good investment for individuals and society. Likewise, Hout (2012) argued that individuals who complete higher education are twice as likely to earn more money, live healthier lives, and contribute to the socio-economic and well-being of society. Consequently, completing a bachelor's degree is "good for the economic health of the nation and that going to college is good for the economic competitiveness of society" (Delbanco, 2012, p. 25). Given the well-established financial and career benefits of a bachelor's degree, it is plausible to suggest that a motivator for entry into and completion of undergraduate education is access to such economic and social benefits (e.g., reduced crime rates, increased charitable giving, higher salaries and work benefits, improved health, advanced knowledge) (Zaback, Carlson, & Crellin, 2012). While not an inappropriate motivation to examine the economic benefits of a college as a result of the changing global economy, research that focuses solely on the economic instrumentality of higher education may not produce the best learning outcomes and competencies across the full range of college majors and institutions (Wolf, 2003).

For example, Arum and Roksa (2011) claimed that undergraduate education make little difference in students' ability to synthesize new knowledge and put complex ideas in writing. They argued that 40 percent of the 32,000 students surveyed made no gains in their writing, complex reasoning, or critical-thinking skills, and 36 percent failed to show any improvement over the four years of college (Arum & Roksa, 2014; Council for Aid to Education, 2014). The authors Arum and Roksa (2011)) concluded that "drifting through college without a clear sense of purpose is readily apparent for undergraduates" (Liu, Bridgeman, & Adler, 2012, p. 353). Similarly, past research into the learning effects of motivation has suggested that students with strongly instrumental motives (e.g., I'm doing this so I can make a lot of money) or who use 'minimax' strategies (i.e., getting the greatest return for the least effort) tend not to achieve as well as those with 'deep' (e.g., learning for its own sake) learning intentions (Entwistle & Peterson, 2004; Zimmerman, Bonner, & Kovach, 1996). Likewise, Huber and Kuncel (2015) analyzed 71 research reports published over the past 48 years, and concluded that over the 48-year period, overall gains in critical thinking have decreased despite the fact that students have learned critical-thinking skills in college. This may be the result of teachers' inabilities or disinterest in teaching in creative and innovative ways that are effective in the classroom, or it may be due to other personal and political matters (Bok, 2008). Although many colleges and universities are beginning to re-assess a broader range of instruments and approaches to document students learning progress (AAU, 2013), information about how the data are being used significantly lags behind in the worldwide landscape of higher education today (Kuh et al., 2014). Therefore, examining and comparing the economic and social benefits for completing a college degree is highly relevant for higher education policymakers, university planners and institutional researchers seeking to improve student learning outcomes and skill development for long-term economic growth and transformation in modern economies (Kuh, et. al., 2015; Roksa & Arum, 2015).

Nonetheless, this paper reviews and synthesizes the economic and social benefits (e.g., knowledge, core competences, skills, capabilities, dispositions) for completing a college degree from the perspective of education providers and undergraduate students in the field of higher education administration. Specifically, through the use of literature, this research examines the tension between economic and social goals as a major source of concern for higher education study. In addition, this paper examines our current assumptions about what a college degree is and discusses planning areas that are necessary to develop renovation/repurposing strategy across competing imperatives: create jobs, develop skills, cultivate citizens, and disseminate knowledge. As colleges and universities are expected to train hundreds of thousands skilled graduates for roles in community and social development, new formal research that addresses the growing skills mismatch between education providers and students as well as employers and recent graduates is relevant to guide the discussions of policymakers and senior leaders on issues pertaining to student success and career readiness. The ultimate goal of this paper is to challenge universities and university stakeholders at the international, national, institutional, departmental, and local levels to think more boldly about policy design and to answer three commonly asked questions in the field of higher education: 1) what does the current literature suggest to be the goals and purposes of higher education, 2) how well-aligned are institutional and student goals for completing a college degree, and 3) in what ways do learners and colleges today fulfill higher education ambitions for advanced skills, general competencies, and high ideals by the time students graduate from a university.

It is important to note that this paper's author does not take a strong stance on whether either perspective is more socially just, economically sound, and/or beneficial to individuals or society in order to avoid any biases or misperceptions during the review process. Furthermore, this paper does not attempt to compare the literature's primary arguments in respect of individual arguments or viewpoints. In addition, this paper selects literature that is pertinent to colleges and universities in the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand due to the higher level of private investment in higher education by private donors and philanthropic organizations compared to those in developing and transitional economies. However, given the global nature of the higher education industry, it is expected that this literature analysis be applicable and pertinent beyond Western countries and to all types of universities (e.g., public, private, research, liberal, for-profit) and university stakeholders worldwide.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This section reviews and synthesizes key literature between education provider and undergraduate student perspectives on the public and private purpose of higher education and identifies the current importance, function, and nature for completing a college degree. Specifically, the first part of this literature review explore colleges' and universities' perspectives on the aims and goals of a college degree and what it means for higher education's future. The second part of this literature review examines undergraduate students' perspectives on the purpose and function of a college degree and outlines success measures of specific goals and outcomes for postsecondary education. The ultimate goal of this literature review is to develop a renovation/repurposing strategy across competing imperatives (e.g., create jobs, develop skills, cultivate citizens, disseminate knowledge) in hopes of resolving potential skills mismatch between college students and education providers, and education providers and employers.

Education Providers' Perspectives on the Economic/Social Benefits of a College Degree

It has long been advocated that higher education institutions teach undergraduate students a wide range of discipline-specific competencies and general skills to live responsible, productive, and creative lives in a dramatically changing world (Haigh & Clifford, 2011; Rossi, 2014). Today, society expects that degree-granting institutions will ensure that all college students develop discipline-specific competences (e.g., knowledge, attribute, responsibility) as well as generic skills (e.g., communication, written, oral, tolerance, compassion) and dispositions (e.g., attitudes, beliefs, curiosity) as they work toward a college degree. These skills, often known as the "non-economic" or social benefits of higher education, include communication skills, problem-solving skills, critical thinking skills, social skills, as well as intrapersonal skills (Menges & Austin, 2001). While the vast majority of interventions to promote non-cognitive skills happen in college setting, many postsecondary education institutions often do not have clear definitions of what those skills are or which non-cognitive factors (i.e., socio-emotional and affective skills) are most relevant to career and workforce readiness (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, 2014). Furthermore, current research suggests that higher education is not just about acquiring discipline-specific competencies or applied skills, creating the impression that colleges and employers want different things (Craig, 2015). Consequently, there is notable confusion between higher education providers and the employment sectors regarding skills development

that are essential to academic and career development success (U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation, 2015).

The Purpose of Higher Education Institutions: Past and Present

The public and private purpose of higher education institutions is not new. Historically, when the Puritans founded Harvard College in 1636, the purpose of higher education was to produce "a learned clergy and a lettered people" (Rudolph, 1962, p. 6) and to develop learners to work towards improving the conditions of society at large (Dewey, 1916). Specifically, John Dewey in the 19th century emphasized higher education's role in sustaining our way of life when he proclaimed, "Democracy must be born anew each generation and education is its midwife" (Dewey, 2008, p. 139). Notably, he believed that knowledge would equip ordinary citizens to share in a common life, helping themselves as well as society (Ramley, 2014a). Like Dewey, the Oxford scholar Cardinal Newman (1976) advocated for higher education as a place for cultivating universal knowledge rather than developing vocational training and research. Specifically, he argued that college graduates should complete courses in classics and philosophy because these courses had the ability to "strengthen, refine, and enrich the intellectual powers." This was highly evident throughout the Colonial period (1636-1787), where U.S. colonial and antebellum colleges were established to serve two primary purposes: 1) settler's determination to live a life different from the government and 2) Protestantism and Anglicanism desire to separate from Catholicism (Brubacher & Rudy, 2008).

To enumerate, Harvard, Dartmouth and Yale were all founded by Congregationalists to prepare men for ministers and public servants. Like Harvard, the College of William and Mary was established to prepare clergymen for civil service in the Anglican Church (Brubacher & Rudy, 2008, p. 19). Specifically, "most colleges in this country had only one aim – to educate an elite group of young men for the learned professions and positions of leadership in society" (Bok, 2013, p. 28). These Colonial institutions, in turn, would provide upward social mobility for young men to integrate religion with society as college would serve not only as "sanctuaries" for free expression (Guttmann, 1987, p.174) but also serve a democratic purpose by providing "knowledge for the sake of serving society and knowledge for the sake of serving social demands" (Guttmann, 1987, p. 188). In other words, institutions of higher education served the public good by producing highly educated leaders and informed citizens to expend their skills, to broaden their horizons, and to prepare themselves for the rigors of 21st century citizenship (Benson & Boyd, 2015). While John Dewey and Cardinal Newman view higher education as a place that promotes nation building and socialization, the public and personal benefits of higher education often extend beyond individuals to society and from the economic to social realms.

Today, a large number of studies exist worldwide that have shown that individuals who obtain a higher education degree acquire both economic and social benefits, as evident in the Spellings Commission (2006) report by the U.S. Department of Education and *Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey,* undertaken by the OECD (2010). More specifically, the Spellings Commission (2006) prompted state and federal policymakers to seek more information about the return of public investment in higher education. Such emphasis has led to increased attention given to internal, state-level, and federal-level accountability. With federal and state funding now heavily tied to educational 'results', institutions are beginning to develop "common, voluntary standards of accountability and public disclosure" to highlight their ability to produce graduates that are able to fully participate in the new global economy (Keller, 2012, p. 372). That is,

educational attainment and completion are positively related to productivity, labor market outcomes, and economic growth. College graduates who hold a college degree obtain higher average earnings, are more likely to be employed, and are less likely to experience poverty than individuals without a higher education degree. At the same time, individuals who complete a higher education program acquire significant personal/social benefits, including: higher cognitive skills, the ability to concentrate on job-related tasks, and the desire to give back and participate in community service activities (Baum & Payea, 2013).

To help readers understand the difference between the economic and social benefits of higher education, Table I was developed to categorize themes and topics surrounding the public and private (personal) benefits of higher education. Table I is based on this paper's literature review, which includes a selection of articles and books.

Table I. Economic and Social Benefits for Completing a College Degree

Societal Benefits (public)	Individual Benefits (private)
Advanced knowledge and higher cognitive skills	Advanced knowledge
Greater productivity and higher tax payments	Improved health and life expectancy
Increased quality of civic life	Higher salaries and work benefits
Reduced crime rates	Increased personal status
Decreased reliance on governmental financial support	Greater rates of employment
Greater appreciate for diversity	Personal and professional mobility
Social cohesion	Better consumer decision-making
Increased charitable giving	Improved working conditions
Increased community service	Improved ability to adapt to new technologies
More likely to vote	Less likely to experience poverty
More likely to donate blood	More likely to attend graduate school
Less likely to smoke	More likely to raise children with higher IQ

As shown in Table I, higher education can enhance the quality of life for individuals and countries. Specifically, individuals with a college degree are more likely to have higher standards of living and better well-being, and be pro-active and civically engaged in their communities. While previously conducted research has concluded that individuals with a college degree are more equipped to think clearly and articulate their thoughts in any profession, studies have also concluded that individuals who complete higher education degrees acquire non-cognitive skills that have a positive impact on labor market outcomes (Hackman, Stixrud, & Urzua, 2006). Specifically, individuals who complete college will not only obtain the economic benefits as per outlined in Table I, but also social (the "non-economic") benefits of higher education, which is rarely, if ever, discussed in policymaking circles. Hence, colleges and universities pursue multiple goals and these institutions recruit students and academics as human capital, and offer classroom instruction and student services that alter the mission of higher education (Heaney, 2015).

Competing Aims and Goals of Higher Education: Opportunities and Challenges

Since the Colonial period, colleges and universities have pursued multiple, competing goals, such as: democratic equality, social efficiency, and social mobility, without a single unifying purpose or mission statement (Labaree, 1997). Readings (1996) argued that institutions of higher education are "no longer clear what the place of the University is within society, nor what the exact nature of society is…" (p. 2). Specifically, the long-standing disconnect between the crucial goals and aims institutions set forth in general education often stand in the way of achieving meaningful pathways to student success (AAC&U, 2015b). As a result, many universities and university stakeholders in the 21st century are under intense pressure by parents, students and alumni to explain the public and private purpose of higher education and to what extent a college degree is "worth it" in the era of globalizing knowledge for greater worldliness (Kennedy, 2014).

To enumerate, the Gallup-Purdue University (2015) study of college graduates found that half of approximately 30,000 college alumni "strongly agree" that their education was worth the price. Specifically, they found that while 50 percent of baby boomers agree that their college education was worth it, less than 38 percent of alumni who graduated between 2006 and 2015 strongly agree with the statement. That is, recent college graduates, or the millennial generation (defined as 18-35 age), are beginning to see less value in pursuing and completing a college degree than previous generations, despite the economic and social benefits of higher education as noted in Table I. While the demand for pursing a college degree will continue to increase both in the United States and across the world, access to postsecondary education – often the symbol of success and the ticket to the middle class – is now viewed as the new high school diploma that produces highly skilled workers or 'citizens of the world' in the 21st century. These modern-day misconceptions have led students, scholars, and parents to unequivocally question the relationship between higher education and work (Brennan, Kogan, & Teichler, 1995; Stokes, 2015), the rapidly rising cost of tuition (Archibald & Feldman, 2014; Doyle, 2012), the presence of undocumented immigrant students (Pérez, 2014), and the value of a college degree (Abel & Deitz, 2014; Lin, 2016; McCann & Laitinen, 2014).

Defining the "Non-Economic" Benefits of Higher Education

Higher education worldwide is facing unprecedented challenges - the dramatic rise of for-profit institutions, rapidly increasing expectations about the services provided, and a complex and global society that demands diverse skills and capacities from its college graduates (Docherty, 2011). These profound challenges have prompted government officials, policymakers, and senior officials to question not just the economic benefits of higher education, but the social / non-economic benefits as well.

Generally, it has been suggested that higher education should provide several non-economic benefits, including nation building and socialization. For instance, Lagemann and Lewis (2012) argued that the purpose for attending postsecondary education has less to do with the pursuit of economic or employment benefits and much more about preparing young adults with generic skills and civic values and virtues. More specifically, the authors believe that a college degree should provide students with new knowledge, competencies, and applied skills, such as problem solving, communication, critical thinking, and creativity, which are essential for

success in the global economy. The authors concluded that the social / private benefits of higher education are tied to the future of citizenship, social responsibility, and global engagement. Like Lagemann and Lewis, Kiziltepe (2010) argued that the "non-economic" benefits of higher education is for college graduates to acquire five dispositional outcomes: (a) interpersonal competence, (b) multi-cultural understanding, (c) skills in problem identification and problem solving, (d) a sense of purpose, and (e) the confidence to act in ways that make a difference. Similarly, The AAC&U (2015b) outlined three factors that all graduates should develop at the completion of a college degree: (a) to be informed by knowledge about the natural and social worlds, (b) to be empowered through the mastery of intellectual and practical skills, and (c) to be responsible for their personal actions and civic values. Likewise, Nussbaum (2012) suggested that the social or private benefits of postsecondary education is to provide students with the knowledge, skills and dispositions like "the ability to think critically; the ability to transcend local loyalties and to approach world problems as a 'citizen of the world'; and, finally, the ability to imagine sympathetically the predicament of another person" (p. 7). In other words, the top attributes of a successful college graduate are leadership, the ability to work on a team, communication, and problem solving skills, as outlined by the National Association of Colleges and Employers (NACE, 2014).

Historically, during the U.S. Revolutionary Era of 1776-1820, the purpose and function of higher education was to not only create and disseminate new knowledge for the common good, but to also develop students' well-being and their emotional, interpersonal, ethical, and intellectual abilities (Maxwell, 2007; McHenry, 2007; Palmer, Zajonic, Scribner, & Nepo, 2010). These non-economic or social benefits largely remain the same today, where higher education seeks to prepare individuals for longer, fuller, and more productive lives (Astin, 1997; Perry, 1968). For example, Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) summarized five areas pertaining to the social effects of postsecondary education: (a) learning and cognitive changes, (b) psychosocial changes, (d) attitudes and values, (e) moral reasoning, and (f) career and economic impacts. Similarly, Palmer et al. (2012) stressed that undergraduate education "address issues that are central to the life of young adults concerning purpose, core values, and direction in life" (p. 15). Equally important, Polanyi (1974) argued that higher education's purpose is to prepare individuals to discover "who they are, to search for a larger purpose for their lives, and to leave college as better human beings" (p. 47). In a similar fashion, Chickering and Gamson's (1987) *Seven Principles for Good Practice in Undergraduate Education* outlines the trends for effective learning: (1) student-faculty contact, (2) cooperation among students, (3) active learning, (4) prompt feedback, (5) time on task, (6) communication of high expectations, and (7) respect of diverse talents and ways of learning. That is, higher education has "typically had among its primary goals not only the development of the individual intellect, but also the fostering of a sense of one's moral and civic responsibility" (Pascarella, Ethington, & Smart, 1988, p. 412). While the limited amount of college learning that was reported by Arum and Roksa (2011) may be an underestimation of students' true college learning, the results of their study warn that institutions of higher education may not be the place for developing students' generic competencies, and do not favor meaning, purpose, authenticity, and/or spirituality.

To overcome the limitation of student learning, several philanthropic organizations and advocacy groups across the world have developed innovative frameworks to ensure that its college graduates acquire the non-economic benefits of higher education. For instance, the Lumina Foundation developed the Degree Qualifications Profile (DQP) (2014) to define what exactly a college student should learn, understand, and know at the completion of a college

degree. Specifically, the DQP identified five general domains of knowledge and generic skills that higher education institutions should focus on within undergraduate education: (1) civic learning, (2) applied learning, (3) intellectual skills, (4) integrative knowledge, and (5) specialized knowledge. Like the DQP, the "Tuning" project in Europe seeks to implement institutional degree profiles across the EU that will help universities highlight the "distinctiveness" of their degree program; distinguish between foreign and local academic degrees; facilitate student mobility; and differentiate the expectations of its higher education system against the growing force of privatization (Vught & Huisman, 2013). Comparatively, the Liberal Education and America's Promise (LEAP) Essential Learning Outcomes (ELOs), displayed by the AAC&U (2015a), outlined four segments, to be obtained by students, that are focused on responsible citizenship and global economic benefits: (1) knowledge of human cultures and the physical and natural world, (2) intellectual and practical skills, (3) personal and social responsibility, and (4) integrative and applied learning. AAC&U President Carol Geary Schneider once stated in a symposium, "The purpose is broad knowledge that enables students to navigate the world they inherit, to develop powers of the mind to make reasoned judgments and cultivate a sense of ethical responsibility, and to connect those goals to the world" (AAC&U, 2015b, p. 1). One could argue that the social or private benefits of undergraduate education is to teach students skills in civic courage, moral judgment, critical thinking, and global awareness in order to prepare learners for a democratic, civilized, and global society (Hansen, 2011).

While personal and social development is often advocated in liberal education, a more balanced view of the purpose of higher education can be seen in other arguments (Brennan, Durazii, & Sene 2013; Selingo, 2013). For example, Bennet and Wilezol (2013) noted that a bachelor's degree exists "to educate and equip the mind and the soul to recognize what is right and good in life, to prepare a student for the demands of a modern labour market, and to offer specialized learning in various fields and occupations" (p. XVI). Similarly, Sullivan and Rossin (2008) believe that higher education should prepare individuals "for lives of significance and responsibility" (p. xvi) and to give students complex knowledge, capacity in skilful practices, and a commitment to the purposes espoused by their community (Sullivan, 2011). Because institutions of higher education "supply the knowledge and ideas that create new industries, protect us from disease, preserve and enrich our culture, and inform us about our history, our environment, our society, and ourselves" (Bok, 2013, p. 1), colleges and universities must help "students prepare for work in ways that contribute to both their overall wellbeing and to a better and more just society for all" (McArthur, 2011, p. 738). That is, the value for completing a college degree is to not only to acquire advanced knowledge and discipline-specific competence, but to also create wealth for a global economy (Rowland, 2002).

Accordingly, the purpose and function of higher education is to: (a) serve a democratic-centered civic engagement based on addressing pressing real-world problems, and (b) develop a fully rounded, intellectually sophisticated, and caring person (Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2012; Thompson, 2014). The most widely valued general or discipline-specific competencies are: critical thinking, problem solving, interpersonal skills, logical and independent thought, communication and information management skills, intellectual curiosity, creativity, ethical awareness, integrity, and tolerance (Bath, Smith, Stein, & Swann, 2004). While the dominant voices about the goals and aims of postsecondary education are focused on individual and social development, there is also a call for higher education to serve socio-economic needs for the betterment of all people (Featherman, 2014; Johansson & Felten, 2014; Kahlenberg, 2011). Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) concluded that two-thirds consider it "essential" or "very

important" that their college experience enhances their cognitive, social, and affective development.

Undergraduate Students' Perspectives on the Non-Economic Benefits of College Degree Completion

Today's traditional-age college students enter higher education under the weight of tremendous social and economic pressures (Mettler, 2014). Notably, the income inequality and unemployment gap between having, or not having a bachelor degree has been increasing the last several years, and has prompted students to view higher education as a site for future employment (Greenstone, Harris, Li, Looney, Patashnik, 2012; Pew Charitable Trust, 2012). For instance, the Lumina Foundation and the Gallup Poll (2014) concluded that 95 percent of American students believe that the purpose of higher education is to "get a good job." Similarly, Astin et al. (2011) claimed that first-year students expect their institutions to play an instrumental role in preparing them for employment (94%) and graduate / advanced education (81%). That is, college students in the 21st century often view postsecondary education as a place to acquire both economic and social benefits, such as enhanced careers and greater earning potential, as well as knowledge and expertise in a disciplinary or professional area similar to what is shown in Table I. Although students cited "getting a good job" as their top reason for attending college, approximately 50 percent of recent college graduates today are unemployed or underemployed (Selingo, 2016). At the same time, Georgetown University's Center for Education and the Workforce forecasts that 5 million positions go unfilled by 2020 (Carnevale, Hanson, & Gulish, 2015).

The Purpose of Undergraduate Education: Historical Issues and Debates

Historically, the Yale Report of 1828 emphasized that the predominant reason a student pursues undergraduate education is to develop "the discipline and furniture of the mind" and to "lay the foundation of a superior education" (p.7) that would discipline the mind. American founding father Thomas Jefferson (1779) stated in *A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge*: "Those persons whom nature has endowed with genius and virtue should be rendered by liberal education worthy to receive and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights." Today, however, there is substantial evidence that claims student expectations or goals have changed, and that students are more motivated by personal or social development concerns of higher education as well as by instrumental and materialistic ambitions (Blumenstyk, 2015; Hacker & Driefus, 2011). For example, Barber, Donnelly, and Rizvi (2013) noted that the primary reason a student pursues a college degree is to have the "college experience" (i.e., meeting students, being inspired by new ideas and/or leading academics, opportunity to socialize or to lead an organization, and make friends). Similarly, Levine and Dean (2012) claimed that students' purposes for attending an undergraduate institution are: (1) to feel secure, (2) to be autonomous grown-ups, (3) to seek intimacy, and (4) to live in an internet world. Likewise, Bui (2002) highlighted eleven reasons undergraduate students pursue a bachelor's degree: (1) their friends were going to college, (2) their parents expected them to go to college, (3) their high school teachers/counselor persuaded them to go, (4) they wanted a college degree to achieve their career goals, (5) they wanted a better income with a college degree, (6) they liked to learn, (7) they wanted to provide a better life for their own children, (8) they wanted to gain their

independence, (9) they wanted to acquire skills to function effectively in society, (10) they wanted to get out of their parents' neighborhood, and (11) they did not want to work immediately after high school. Comparatively, Astin (1993) concluded that students' ability to make more money and get a good job are two of most important factors in the decision to pursue a higher education degree. In other words, numerous past studies have suggested that students view higher education as a place to acquire a job and to be well-off financially, while others view it as an opportunity to obtain new knowledge and expertise in a disciplinary or professional area (Henderson-King & Smith, 2006; McMahaon & Oketch, 2013).

To help readers understand the purpose of undergraduate education from the perspective of freshman students, Figure I was developed. Figure 1 illustrates students' rationales for attending a higher education institution, and is based on the Cooperative Institutional Research Program's (CIRP) annual "Freshman Survey", which was published between 1967 and 2013 by the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

Figure I: Percentage of Freshman Students "Being Very Well off Financially" is essential (Public vs. Private Universities)
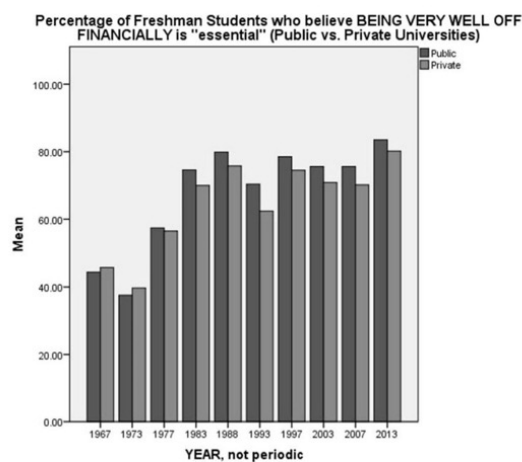
Specifically, in 1967, only 42 percent of freshman students attending U.S. public universities and 44 percent of freshman students attending U.S. private universities believed that money was essential. However, in 2013, that percentage increased dramatically to 82 percent and 80 percent, respectively, as shown in Figure I. That is, after analyzing five decades of published data on UCLA's CIRP annual Freshman Survey between 1967 and 2013, there was a 40 percent increase in undergraduates expecting institutions of higher education to help them become "very well off financially." In addition, Figure I illustrates that an increasing number of first-year undergraduate students want and expect universities to help them become "very well off financially," and that being "very well off financially" is the most important reason why they choose to attend a higher education institution. In addition, UCLA's CIRP survey indicated that nearly 83 percent went to college "to learn more about things that interest me" and that 73 percent said they pursued a college degree "to gain a general education and appreciation of ideas" (Egan, Lozano, Hurtado, & Case, 2013). While some students pursue higher education based on extrinsic factors (e.g., to attend graduate school, to secure and/or to prepare for a future career), Figure I is a clear indicator that freshman students are highly motivated by intrinsic or personal reasons (e.g., to find a job, to experience self-growth, to meet new friends, to develop a meaningful philosophy of life). This, in other words, suggests that an increasing number of

undergraduate students expect that a college degree will help them acquire a job at the completion of their higher education program. Furthermore, there is a growing expectation or normative assumption that institutions of higher education should assist them with their job prospects and their long-term career development goal of becoming "very well off financially". Thus, it is no surprise that in the 2016 CIRP survey, 60% of freshman students (an all-time high) said that landing a good job was a "very important" consideration in choosing a school.

This longitudinal result, produced by UCLA's CIRP survey, is not surprising since numerous past studies have found that undergraduate students view higher education as a means to increase their annual salary and job opportunities, to accelerate their career paths, and to enhance their marketability in the global economy (McArthur, 2011). For example, Kennett, Reed, and Lam (2011) concluded that students' goals and aims for pursuing undergraduate education included mostly external reasons, including: self-improvement, achieving life goals, and societal contributions, along with career, money, and family. That is, while numerous past research has shown that the primary purpose of higher education is to acquire economic and social benefits, current research suggests that higher education serves as a means to an end, with the end being a high paying job. Stephens (2013) argued that there are "three main reasons students go to university: (1) for the social experience, (2) to get a job, and (3) to learn for learning's sake" (p. 1-2). As a result, student goals and purposes for completing higher education program have been increasingly motivated by the economic benefits of a college degree, rather than the non-economic or social benefits of higher education, as highlighted by education providers in the literature review.

In essence, college students in the 21st century have multiple aims and purposes for higher education, including both extrinsic goals (e.g., to secure and/or to prepare for a future career) and intrinsic or personal reasons (e.g., to experience self-growth). Students are facing a future that increasingly requires deeper learning *and* labor-market-valued credentials, along with relevant work experience *and* civic engagement opportunities. While undergraduate students have often become motivated by the economic ambitions of higher education, they have also been highly driven by the intellectual, personal, and social benefits of the college experience. As a result, college leaders, faculty, and staff must embrace a new global reality in today's rowdy digital democracy. It's no longer assumed that a college degree is the best path to a great job and a great life (Coates & Morrison, 2016). As Deresiewicz (2014) noted, "college should be a time for self-discovery, when students can establish their own values and measures of success, so they can forge their own path" (p.1).

METHODOLOGY

Data Sources

A comprehensive search of the literature was conducted between June 2014 and June 2015 to identify recent relevant publications (2000 to 2016) that explored the economic and social benefits of higher education. Specifically, this study utilized Critical Interpretive Synthesis (CIS) to compare education providers' and student perspectives' on the goals and purposes for completing a college degree. CIS, a qualitative method derived by Dixon-Woods et al. (2006), aims to establish theories and concepts from diverse bodies of existing literature through systematic review and meta-ethnography methodologies. Generally speaking, CIS allows for holistic judgments of the quality and coherence of the literature, with the goal of stimulating

questioning of taken-for-granted assumptions about new concepts and methods that are derived from the text (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). Rather than deconstructing such issues into units of decontextualized study, CIS questions the ways in which the problems, assumptions, and solutions are constructed in the literature from new interpretations of existing concepts and constructs. Furthermore, CIS draws on strategies from meta-ethnography (i.e., Lines-Of-Arguments as analysis strategy), and makes value judgments of many discourses and arguments in various articles in order to develop synthetic arguments and claims for existing and emerging concepts/constructs. That is, rather than focusing on isolated articles as units of analysis, CIS treats the literature collected in qualitative study as an object of inquiry. The ultimate goal of CIS is to bring together different types of research data, quantitative or qualitative, with other data sources in order to identify and categorize an underlying mechanism of effect.

Data Materials

Seven databases were utilized to search for relevant peer-reviewed literature on the goals and purposes of higher education through the use of CIS methodology: 1) Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), 2) Education Research Complete (EBSCO), 3) Academic Search Premier, 4) ProQuest, 5) Scopus, 6) Google Scholar, and 7) Amazon.com. Specifically, articles from 56 different journals were accessed and reviewed as part of the comprehensive search of the literature, ranging from sources closely associated with higher education research (e.g*., Review of Higher Education, The Journal of Higher Education, Studies in Higher Education*), discipline-specific educational outlets (e.g., *History of Education*, *Sociology of Education, Journal of Philosophy of Education*), and journals representing various fields, including business, philosophy, psychology, sociology, and information science. In addition to peer-reviewed articles, a hand search of newspaper and magazine articles from *The Chronicle of Higher Education* and *Inside Higher Ed* was performed.

The main foci during the search process were 'purpose of higher education', 'role and function of postsecondary education', 'bachelor's degree,' and 'college degree.' Synonyms and alternative terms like 'expectations', 'aims', 'goals', 'aspirations', and 'motivations' were also selected to help narrow the scope of the research. The ERIC, EBSCO, Academic Search Premier, ProQuest, and Scopus database search utilized the following key terms and combinations:

- all("purpose") AND all(higher education);
- all("expectations") AND all(students) AND all(degree);
- all("purpose") AND all(students) AND all(higher education);
- all("goals") AND all(students) AND all(degree);
- all("aims") AND all(students) AND all(higher education);
- all("aspirations") AND all(students) AND all(degree);
- all("value") AND all(university) AND all(degree);
- all("value") AND all(students) AND all(degree).

Each of the above bulleted searches provided over 1,000 results. To narrow the search, 'Education Level' (e.g., 'Higher Education') and 'Publication Date' (e.g., '2000-2016') filters were selected. This restriction produced approximately 100 relevant articles of which were reduced to a selection of 52 peer-reviewed articles concerning the aspirations and outcomes of a college degree relative to generic skills and dispositional outcomes.

To further the selection of the literature, the Amazon.com search engine was used to select published books on the public and private or personal purpose of higher education in the 21st century. The search terms consisted of:

- 'purpose higher education';
- 'value higher education';
- 'function higher education;
- 'goals university education';
- 'aims university education';
- 'student motivation college';
- 'student expectation education'.

To help narrow the search process, the 'Customers who bought this item also bought' option was selected to explore books of similar topics and themes. In total, approximately 40 books were found that appeared relevant to this study; however, only twenty-five books were deemed appropriate for this study, based on the chapter themes and topics discussed by the author.

To ensure that all articles were selected, a final search was performed on Google Scholar to identify other published peer-reviewed articles or scholarly books that may not have been found via ERIC or Amazon.com. Those search terms included:

- 'purpose of higher education';
- 'value of higher education';
- 'aims of higher education'
- 'goals of higher education';
- 'university expectations of university degree';
- 'student expectations of higher education'.

This search resulted in 24 peer-reviewed articles and 15 magazine or newspaper articles, of which only eight peer-reviewed articles and magazine or newspaper articles were selected based on their relevance to the goals and purposes for completing a college degree.

In total, 60 peer-reviewed articles, twenty-five books, eight magazines or newspaper articles, and five policy briefs were considered relevant to the study. It is important to note that peer-reviewed journal articles that examined the economic benefits for completing a college degree were not selected for this study because they typically do not address the discipline-specific competence and dispositional outcomes gained by undergraduate students. Additionally, working papers and policy-brief reports published outside the peer-reviewed context were also omitted in the selection process. Such restriction reduced the number of selected peer-reviewed articles and books to 98.

Analysis of Data

This article utilized NVivo 10.0 software to organize the peer-reviewed articles, books, newspapers, and magazines to identify and determine the synthetic constructs of both the internal and external purposes of higher education, and the complex interplay that explained the social or

private benefits of completing a college degree. The author has had previous research experience with the NVivo software from Macfarlane and Chan's (2014) project on academic obituaries in higher education.

Generally, the NVivo software has the capacity to store and code the data together to create categories that are related to the theme or topic of the study. More specifically, NVivo 10.0, the leading commercial package for qualitative data analysis in the social sciences, was used to code the data into themes or categories and to create a database for the 60 peer-reviewed articles, twenty-five books, eight newspaper articles, and five policy briefs that were selected. At the completion of the coding process, the findings of each article were used as a framework to identify themes or topics that emerged from the literature review on the "non-economic" benefits of higher education through a framework synthesis (or integrative grid) as shown in Table II on the following page.

Table II. "Non-Economic" Benefits for Completing a College Degree based on Literature Review Articles

Table II Synthetic Constructs Identified Among the Literature ** denotes: economic benefits*	Interpretation of the Public and Civic Purpose of Higher Education
Theme	*Description*
1) Social democratic values and action; civic engagement.	This theme relates to the intention that upon graduation students will take an active role in society, service, and co-curricular activities, with active concern for involvement in civic concerns.
2) Advanced intellectual skills	This theme relates to high-level cognitive and intellectual skills such as problem solving, analytic and critical thinking, and creativity.
3) Advanced communication skills	This theme relates to sophisticated abilities to communicate orally, in writing, and through ICT-supported media so as to effectively transmit information, persuade, argue, and so on.
4) Interpersonal skills	This theme focuses on students gaining competence around relationships with others. This includes leading in conditions of complex social diversity, exercising tolerance, curiosity, ingenuity, and imagination.
5) Vocational & employment preparedness*	This theme has to do with using a bachelor's degree education as a means of gaining a highly remunerative job and/or career or having the skills that permit entry into a desirable future career.
6) Personal life quality enhancement	This theme has to do with developing a personal sense of purpose and identity such that the quality of one's own life is improved.
7) Personal integrity	This theme relates to becoming aware of dissonance and having the competence to make decisions in accordance with personal morality and values.
8) Graduate school education preparedness*	This theme focuses on the skills and knowledge required when entering graduate programs in a specific discipline.
9) Family expectations/reasons	This theme relates to fulfilling expectations and aspirations of one's family as the prime motivation for completing a university degree.

As shown in Table II, nine synthetic constructs were identified from the NVivo software that draw on numerous interpretations of the meaning and context of the non-economic or social benefits of completing a college degree in the 21st century.

To further compare the public and private (personal) benefits for completing a college degree, based on the literature review, Table III was developed through NVivo software to categorize key authors/scholars' work that analyzed the social or private benefits of higher education according to higher education providers and undergraduate students.

Table III. Literatures on the "Non-Economic" Benefits for Completing Higher Education (*by publication year*)

Themes	Main literature exploring the "non-economic" benefits of higher education	
	Institutions	*Undergraduate Student*
Social Democratic Values & Action; Civic Engagement	• Jovanovic, Poulos, Hamilton, & Moretto, 2015; • Bryer, 2014; • Levine, 2014; • Thompson, 2014; • Degree Qualifications Profile, 2014; • Barber, Donnelly, & Rizvi, 2013; • Bennett & Wilezol, 2013; • Bok, 2013; • Melville, Dedrick, & Gish, 2013; • Selingo, 2013; • The National Task Force, 2012; • Delbanco, 2012; • Dungy, 2012; • Lagemann & Lewis, 2012; • Nussbaum, 2012; • Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2012; • Dorn, 2011; • Haigh & Clifford, 2011; • Hansen, 2011; • McArthur, 2011; • Sullivan, 2011; • Kiziltepe, 2010; • Stoecker & Tryon, 2009; • Abowitz, 2008; • Fallis, 2007; • Perry, 2005	• Giroux, 2014; • Henderson-King & Smith, 2006; • Ramaley & Leskes, 2002
Advanced intellectual skills (incl. creativity & problem solving)	• Thompson, 2014; • Degree Qualifications Profile, 2014; • Barber, Donnelly, & Rizvi, 2013; • Keeling & Hersh, 2012; • Lagemann & Lewis, 2012; • Nussbaum, 2012; • Time/Carnegie Corporation, 2012 • Hansen, 2011; • Sullivan, 2011; • Kiziltepe, 2010	• Barber, Donnelly, & Rizvi, 2013; • Stephens, 2013; • Pryor et al., 2013; • Kennett, Reed, & Lam, 2011; • Henderson-King & Smith, 2006; • Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; • Ramaley & Leskes, 2002
Advanced communication skills	• Keeling & Hersh, 2012; • Lagemann & Lewis, 2012; • Nussbaum, 2012; • Hansen, 2011	

	Main literature exploring the "non-economic" benefits of higher education	
Themes	*Institutions*	*Undergraduate Student*
Inter-personal skills (incl. leadership, tolerance)	• Lagemann & Lewis, 2012; • Nussbaum, 2012; • Kiziltepe, 2010	• Pyor et al., 2013
Vocational & employment preparedness	• Clydesdale, 2015; • Bennett & Wilezol, 2013; • Selingo, 2013; • Keeling & Hersh, 2012; • McArthur, 2011; • Kiziltepe, 2010	• Selingo, 2016; • Selingo, 2015; • Bryer, 2014; • Lumina Foundation and Gallup, 2014; • Deresiewicz, 2014; • Barber, Donnelly, & Rizvi, 2013; • Baum, Ma, & Payea, 2013; • Pyor et al., 2013; • Selingo, 2013; • Stephens, 2013; • Jackson, 2012; • Time/Carnegie Corporation, 2012; • Astin et al., 2011; • Jackson & Chapman, 2011; • Kennett, Reed, & Lam, 2011; • Ramaley & Leskes, 2010; • Stewart, 2010; • Henderson-King & Smith, 2006; • Astin, Oseguera, Sax, & Korn, 2002; • Bui, 2002
Personal Life Quality Enhancement	• Clydesdale, 2015; • Palmer, Zajonic, Scribner, & Nepo, 2010	• Stephens, 2013; • Levine & Dean, 2012; • Kennett, Reed, & Lam, 2011; • Henderson-King & Smith, 2006; • Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005
Personal Integrity	• Haigh & Clifford, 2011; • Kiziltepe, 2010	• Pyor et al., 2013; • Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005
Graduate school education preparedness		• Pyor et al., 2013
Family expectations/reasons		• Kennett, Reed, & Lam, 2011 • Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; • Bui, 2002

Theoretical Framework

Publications in the area of non-economic or social benefits of higher education are widely dispersed across academic journals and policy briefs, rather than clustered in a specialist outlet. This is partly because social or private benefits do not represent a mature sub-field of enquiry in the same way that economic benefits do. Subsequently, a wide range of literature sources exist that compare the public or economic benefits of higher education with the non-economic perspective. However, there is also a misalignment gap within the literature between what colleges and universities believe are the central reasons for higher education and what undergraduate students feel are the reasons for attaining a college degree. As a result, this paper utilizes signaling theory to understand the gap and disconnection that exists between undergraduate students and higher education providers.

To enumerate, an individual decision to pursue a college degree is often measured by the costs of education against the expected returns to that education. Signaling theory of education

reflects this concept, in which students' inherent human capital prompts their desire to increase their productivity in the workplace. Michael Spence (1973) first coined the model to explain how individuals are rational and that they invest in education as long as the benefit of additional years of schooling exceeds the cost. That is, college students pursue a specific degree program to jump through the hoops of finding a job in order to make themselves viable in the labor market. Signaling theory also implies that the social returns of education could be lower than the private returns.

On one hand, higher education providers may serve the purpose of signaling student abilities for higher-order skills as opposed to other purposes like increasing human capital or employability. On the other hand, undergraduate students may signal their college degree to increase their status in the job market. Consequently, the relative mismatch between education providers and undergraduate students may signal out their purpose of completing a college degree. More educated workers may receive higher pay wages because higher education provides them with a credential, rather than acquired skills. However, as stressed by Weiss (1995), higher education providers may also enhance student productivity and act as a signal about their innate abilities. As a result, signaling theory was utilized as the theoretical framework for data analysis to understand student decisions and choices in pursuing higher education and understanding to what extent an educational credential is contributing to an individual's productivity-enhancing capital.

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

After analyzing the key literature sources and themes obtained through NVivo software, the findings present both changes and continuities between education providers and student goals on the social or private benefits for completing a higher education degree in the 21st century. Specifically, the first finding suggests that the internal and external challenges of the public and personal purposes of higher education have interacted to produce a misaligned gap between university providers and undergraduate students, as shown in Table II and Table III.

To enumerate, current and past literature, analyzed through CIS and signaling theory, has suggested that student expectations and purposes for completing undergraduate education tend to be instrumental and personal, while institutional aims and purposes of undergraduate education tend to be highly ideal (i.e. life- and society-changing consequences). Although Table II and Table III solely reflect the number of sources found in the review and give no weighting to the size or generalizability of the study, the findings suggest that much of the literature review regarding the non-economic or social benefits of higher education published between 2000 and 2016 have either focused on the 'Social Democratic Values & Action; Civic Engagement (societal benefits)' or 'Vocation & Employment Preparedness (private benefits)'. That is, higher education providers appear to focus on universal objectives aimed at reforming society and the individual cognitive skills and communicative agendas. On the other hand, undergraduate students appear to focus much more on personal, economic, family, and development goals at the completion of their higher education program.

This result is not surprising, since we know that the ambition of higher education institutions often tend to be global, long-term, and high-minded, while student ambitions tend to be much more personal, short-termed, and economically rational, as highlighted in the literature review. Specifically, student aims and motivations tend to be quite mixed, in which some of the life goals and societal contributions do not seem incompatible with the more central objectivities

identified by scholars and institutions. While civic training and democratic engagement is clearly emphasized in Table III as the most vital component for higher education providers to achieve a greater end state, the contrasting perspective from undergraduate students on the non-economic or social benefits of higher education is not highly apparent. Therefore, the misalignment gap between education providers and undergraduate students is a source of concern in the field of higher education, whereby research has yet to address the policy implications of the literary gap.

Perhaps the most notable study that attempted to address the misalignment gap was provided by Baker, Baldwin, and Makker (2012); their study proposed that the gap between higher education providers and undergraduate students is likely the result of the on-going curricular changes occurring in liberal arts colleges across the United States, where colleges and universities are diversifying their curriculum and investing in new vocational and professional degree programs (Wolf, 2003). Such drastic neoliberal reforms may be the result of the skyrocketing tuition cost of American colleges and universities, which are altering student learning and engagement in the labor market. Furthermore, the rise of liberal arts may have kept vocational programs from becoming excessively practical, of which many employers consider important for success in their personal, career, and community lives (Docking & Curton, 2015; Humphreys & Kelly, 2014). Thus, education providers' desire to pursue multiple goals and purposes have led to new conflicts between university stakeholders, in which colleges and universities become less intellectually driven and culturally oriented and instead model themselves on businesses and commercial ventures, which perhaps, may be detrimental to the original public and private purposes of higher education (Barber, Donnelly, & Rizvi, 2013; Edmundson, 2013).

For instance, Colby et. al. (2011) stated, "the idea that we have to choose between vocational training and the rich, deep learning we associate with liberal arts is a false dichotomy (p. 2)." Specifically, these researchers studied undergraduate business programs around the country and found that the best programs combined major elements of a liberal arts education and professional training. That is, pursing multiple goals and objectives within an academic major is necessary for institutions and students to succeed in the global economy. However, as noted in Table III, the relative misalignment gap between education providers and students may ultimately suggest that higher education institutions have significant challenges in front of them, whereby the emergence of massive open online courses (MOOCs) - Coursera, Udacity, edX – and tuition-free online universities (e.g., University of the People, Saylor Academy, CreateU, StraighterLine, Samaschool) have become powerful resources for knowledge acquisition and skills development (Bowen, 2015; Matkin, 2013; Porter, 2015; Zemsky, 2014).

The second finding indicates that governments and labor markets expect higher education institutions to develop skilled professionals that align with individualistic and careerist motivations (Secretary's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills, 1991; OECD, 2005). For example, the Degree Qualifications Profile (DQP) and Tuning USA established a conceptual model for higher education providers to ensure that the knowledge and coursework created by the faculty aligns with civic, societal and workforce needs. More specifically, the Tuning project effort, conducted by the National Institute for Learning Outcomes Assessment (NILOA) and the Institute for Evidence-Based Change (IEBC) attempts to re-install civic aims in American higher education, including: 1) to contribute to the development of easily readable and comparable degrees, and 2) to develop a bottom-up approach for modernizing existing and new degree programs (Wagenaar, 2014). Like the DQP-Tuning initiative, the AAC&U's highly respected VALUE project (Valid Assessment of Learning in Undergraduate Education) assists faculty

members in identifying the most commonly agreed upon criteria and standards for assessing student learning gains and accomplishments in higher education (Maki, 2015). As many nations stress the role of higher education in fostering research and innovation for economic growth and development, "Tuning" university degree programs and qualifications have become essential in helping both undergraduate and graduate students become more competent (e.g., career, citizenship, global engagement) so that all students acquire the knowledge, dispositions and competencies to be personally and economically self-sufficient and civically responsible (Vargos Tamez, 2014).

The third finding revealed that undergraduate students do acquire knowledge, dispositions and generic skills at the completion of their higher education degree programs, but not often in traditional higher education institutions. Specifically, most of the literature suggests that students often acquire skills at polytechnic or for-profit institutions (e.g., University of Phoenix, Kaplan University), gap-year programs (e.g., Thiel Fellowship), as well as on-the-job apprenticeship industry training (e.g., Venture for America, Philanthropy for America) or non-traditional higher education programs (e.g., UnCollege, Deep Springs College, Minerva Schools at KGI,), and sandwich programs (e.g., Eleven Fifty) (O'Shea, 2013). While for-profit providers can help cultivate strong and ethical citizens that are needed for success in the labor market, for-profit institutions and non-traditional higher education programs may also prevent students from adopting a common language that synthesizes the higher education landscape (e.g., skills development venues, research institutes, community and regional centers of democracy) (Bryer, 2014; Carey, 2015). However, as long as students and families perceive undergraduate education as being primarily about access to economic and social rewards, then the grand ambitions of higher education will likely continue to be undermined by instrumental motivations. Consequently, some colleges and universities may continue to experience challenges in making non-instrumental aspects of undergraduate education as powerfully evident to today's students. Notwithstanding the apparent consensus across institutions concerning the purposes and goals of higher education, it may be that colleges and universities do little, if anything, to foreground their objectives and, thus, view college students as customers or products for their degree programs. However, if undergraduates were to actively encounter these ambitions in every course and see the connection between their current study and the institution's lofty ideals, then perhaps misalignment between institutions and students would diminish overtime.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICYMAKERS

There are several recommendations for policymakers and government officials who seek to address the misalignment gap between education providers and undergraduate students in the 21st century. The following section outlines eight recommendations that policymakers may consider for addressing the potential misalignment gap between education providers and undergraduate students.

Create Institutional Degree Profiles

The first recommendation is to require all colleges and universities to develop institutional degree profiles within their country and define exactly what a college student *should know* and *be able to do* in a chosen discipline at the completion of the postsecondary education program. Specifically, policymakers and government officials might ask colleges and

universities to collaborate with their institutional research office, while outlining the purpose, characteristics, career pathways, education style, and program outcomes of a particular major as highlighted by Tuning USA's (2014) Degree Specification Template. Such a paradigm would help higher education institutions increase the relevance, recognition, and quality of their degree programs; emphasize lifelong learning and undervalued skills (soft skills); and develop transparency among different countries and within countries (Ssentamu, et al., 2014). At the same time, college graduates would be able to act for the common good and be capable of doing so effectively (Colby, Ehrlich, Beaumont & Stephens, 2003). In other words, institutions of higher education should make extra efforts to align university degree programs with college student's work in understanding what learners should know and be able to do at the completion of a college degree (Gonzalez & Yarosh, 2013).

Integration and Assessment of Graduate Attributes

A second recommendation is for policymakers to require colleges and universities to assess the student body for their learning outcomes as part of institutional self-review - similar to the processes of institutional review carried out at James Madison University (Wise & Cotten, 2009; Zilberberg, Brown, Harmes, & Anderson, 2009). Specifically, policymakers could create a policy in which institutions of higher education must prioritize core non-cognitive skills that promote student success in both college and career. For example, institutions of higher education could obtain university evaluations of graduate attributes noted by employers or graduate schools when students are selected for employment or entry to a position, similar to the "University of Tasmania Policy on Generic Attributes of Graduates." Similarly, career services office could incorporate real-time labor market information into their decisions about program and curriculum development (Dorrer, 2014). In addition, policymakers could adopt the European Qualifications Framework for Lifelong Learning (EQF) as a paradigm for colleges and universities to help make qualifications more reasonable and understandable across different countries (Aardema & Muguruza, 2014). In other words, assessment efforts that examine whether students are prepared for the workforce and whether institutions are pursuing education for education's sake can serve as a tool for campus leaders to understand where an institution falls when educating the whole student. By implementing effective assessments in higher education, campus leaders can provide "more evidence of the values and outcomes associated with the individual and public investments" (Keller, 2012, p. 383).

Develop Repurposing Strategies on Student Engagement

A third recommendation is for policymakers to ask university leaders to develop repurposing strategies centered around student engagement, since past higher education literature claims that what matters most in student learning and personal development is what the students do in college (Astin, 1993; National Survey of Student Engagement, 2005; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Generally, student engagement (e.g., academic, civic, social) plays an important role in achieving desirable college outcomes, such as: student learning, academic performance, and persistence (Hu & Kuh, 2003; Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, Kinzie, & Gonyea, 2008). These practices may consist of: (1) first-year seminars, (2) common intellectual experiences, (3) learning communities, (4) writing-intensive courses, (5) collaborative assignments and projects, (6) undergraduate research, (7) diversity/global learning, (8) service learning, (9) internships, and

(10) capstone projects (Brownell & Swaner, 2010). However, little is known about the relationship between student engagement and career or occupational outcomes following college (Hu & Wolniak, 2013). Because numerous studies have suggested a positive relationship between student engagement and student learning (Carini, Kuh, & Klein, 2006; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005), policymakers should encourage leaders of higher education to utilize analytic data and to develop repurposing strategies that improve career or occupational opportunities prior to students' transition from and to the labor market. For example, policymakers could require undergraduate freshman and senior students to undergo comprehensive self-assessment reports such as the VIA Survey (www.viacharacter.org) and Strengths Quest (www.strengthquest.com) that will help them identify areas of personal strengths and weaknesses. In addition, policymakers could require institutional leaders to utilize analytics to help more students learn in the classroom, with such tools as Civitas Learning (Milliron, 2016). Moreover, policy leaders could ask faculty members to require students to complete international assessment reports on cultural and global competences acquired in college such as, Cultural Intelligence Center (www.culturalq.com) or Global Competence Aptitude Assessment (www.globallycompetent.com) as well as digital badges (www.openbadges.org) endorsed by outside experts to add evidence or value of their learning outcomes from transcripts, MOOCs, certificates, and/or courses prior to employment. By requiring students to complete such assessments, universities and university stakeholders would be able to acquire objective insights for improving student attitudes, beliefs and people skills that are necessary for effectiveness into our global economy.

Establish a Mentorship Program between Alumni and Students

A fourth recommendation is for policymakers to require institutional advancement/development offices to connect alumni with current undergraduate students through a mentorship program. Typically, the only way we leverage alumni is to ask them for money. Rather than simply asking alumni to give back to their alma mater, policymakers could require fundraising professionals (e.g., board of trustees, the president, development officers) in higher education to ask their alumni to serve as mentors for incoming undergraduate students during their transition into college. A 2014 Gallop-Purdue Index surveyed more than 30,000 graduates in the United States and concluded that few graduates had a mentor during their four critical years in higher education (*The 2014 Gallup-Purdue Index Report*, 2014). Accordingly, policymakers could develop a policy in which student affairs professionals must work with institutional advancement offices to connect undergraduate students with their alumni, which would allow them to identify how their coursework connects with their career goals. As Moore (2013) stated, "educators must create conditions under which students learn to think rigorously about the nature of the professional and/or civic work they do, the settings in which it happens, and the dynamics of larger society" (p. 203). Thus, one can argue that college works best when student affairs practitioners focus on cultivating student's relationships with mentors during their time in college (Chambliss & Takacs, 2014).

Adopt an Open Loop University Model

A fifth recommendation is for policymakers to consider establishing an open loop university model where students receive six years of undergraduate education over a lifetime,

rather than the traditional four years of college between ages 18-22. More specifically, policy leaders could adopt Stanford University's "Stanford 2025" model (www.stanford2025.com), where undergraduate students begin their postsecondary education at any age level after high school and complete a certain amount of courses throughout their lifetime, which aligns with their future aspirational and/or career goals. The model's flexibility would empower students in applying their workplace knowledge and skills to academic courses, for the purpose of generating a greater impact from their college degree. Furthermore, students would be able to create positive expectations with their learning goals, develop more engaging relationships with their peers, see past struggles, and focus on new on-campus possibilities. As Busteed (2015) explained, "college won't be the magic bullet they [students] hoped for, unless they take full advantage of it by finding great professors and mentors, working on long-term projects, finding internships that apply what they are learning, and being extremely involved in an extracurricular activity" (p. 5).

Integrate the Talent Pipeline Management (TPM) Initiative

A sixth recommendation is for policymakers to require colleges and universities to integrate the Talent Pipeline Management (TPM) initiative developed by the USA Funds and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation (USCCF). Modeled after the supply chain management best practices already familiar to employers, the TPM methodology turns the traditional education-to-employment process by repositioning employers as end-customers and then working backward to shape educational content and delivery (U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation, 2014). Today, eight U.S. states have responded to the call to support postsecondary education students' attainment of credentials and competencies that lead to productive and rewarding jobs and careers through the support of Completion with a Purpose[SM] project by USA Funds. The ultimate goal of TPM is to bridge the divide between education and labor to deliver value to students, business, education, and society at large. The TPM contains six strategies: 1) Organizing employer collaborative, 2) Engaging in demand planning, 3) Communicating competency and credential requirements, 4) Analyzing talent flows, 5) Implementing shared performance measures, and 6) Aligning incentives (U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation, 2015). By developing a policy that requires colleges and universities to integrate the TPM initiative on-campus, leaders of higher education can move forward in building the next generation of employer-led education and workforce partnerships to meet the skills gap and workforce challenges of our time.

Partner with Employment Tech Organizations

A seventh recommendation is for policymakers to require career service officers to partner with "employment tech" firms that have developed repurposing strategies and solutions to address the skills gap between college graduates and employers. For example, Innovate+Educate is an industry-led non-profit organization that has focused on total systemic transformation through national policy advocacy and movement building, boundary-pushing research, and the development of tools and resources to close the skills gap between college graduates and employers. Through its annual "Close It Summit" conference, Innovate+Educate showcases how technology solutions in hiring, training, and credentialing can disrupt the traditional market by forging bold new pathways to employment and training for students. By

creating a policy or scheme to which career services must partner with employment tech firms, college graduates would be able to better connect with employers during and after college that align with their knowledge and skills rather than a university degree.

Involve the Faculty and the Board of Trustees

The eighth and final recommendation is for policymakers to require senior campus leaders (e.g., vice-presidents, deans, chairs, senior international officers) to collaborate with the faculty, the board, and upper-level administrators in controlling the academic work and relationship between the institution and the marketplace. Often referred to as "academic capitalism," the involvement of faculty in market-like behaviors is crucial to ensure that professors are pursuing knowledge as a public good rather than knowledge as a commodity for profit (Palmadessa, 2014). Generally, academic capitalism challenges the traditional purpose of higher education in providing open access to knowledge for the betterment of society, for the purpose of creating an engaged, active, and educated populace (Welsh, et al., 2008). Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) defined academic capitalism as the university's "pursuit of market and market-like activities to generate external revenues" (p. 11). That is, academic capitalism has often prompted faculty to function independently as market agents for the global market economy, which has often resulted in an on-going tension between faculty and administrators with issues surrounding diversity, governance, academic freedom, and distribution of power (Gross & Simmons, 2014; Ginsberg, 2011; Rothman, Kelly-Woessner, & Woessner, 2011). As higher education institutions continue to face new pressures and challenges over knowledge discovered or created by the faculty, policymakers should develop a policy that forces university leaders and university planners to help undergraduate students define precisely what their goals and dreams ought to be at the completion of a bachelor's degree (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2005).

For example, policymakers could develop a policy scheme in which the university president would involve the faculty and board in a serious discussion about the public and personal purpose of higher education while defining its niche through a strategic plan, and implementing the plan into a classroom setting that addresses the goals and aims of higher education. A significant benefit from this approach would be greater institutional autonomy as well as greater faculty voice in governance to meet accountability expectations (Bowen & Tobin, 2015; Zemsky, 2013). Publicly funded institutions would then not only be able to claim lofty, socially beneficial goals within their mission statement, but also demonstrate that highly-valued outcomes are in fact achieved by students within their degree programs. That is, creating meaningful and permanent change in the lives of students requires intentional transformation by campus leaders (Johansson & Felten, 2014). The long-term benefit for infusing such policy would be that undergraduate students would recognize and identify the social / private benefits for completing a college degree. Furthermore, employers would be able to judge students based on their abilities, and the colleges' and universities' ideas would add value for contemporary society. Such implementation would assist in creating stronger student effort in acquiring the knowledge and skills that meet the globally competitive labor market and also help liberal arts colleges resist the pressure to vocationalize the curriculum. This would allow providers to continue to play an important role in developing a socially responsible and global-minded citizenship in the 21st century (Roth, 2014). Needless to say, "today's education for democracy needs to be informed by deep engagement with the values of liberty, equality, individual worth,

open mindedness, and the willingness to collaborate with people of differing views and backgrounds toward common solutions for the public good" (The National Task Force, 2012, p. 3).

CONCLUSION

This study adds to an on-going and active policy discussion regarding the public and private purpose of higher education in the 21st century. Today's society needs college graduates who are not only knowledgeable and intellectual, but also learners who can holistically contribute to their communities. This paper outlines the need for policymakers to develop repurposing policies and programs that reconnect undergraduate students with discipline-specific competences and generic skills with the labor market, and provides clear statements of desired learning outcomes that promote economic competitiveness and democratic vitality. In addition, this study encourages policymakers to rethink strategies in which faculty members mentor college students both academically and professionally, in a way that best aligns with both individual and career motivations. Furthermore, this paper illustrates how policymakers can create informal policies that encourage the faculty to develop innovative programs, curricula, and experiences that lead to the development of demonstrable proficiencies, as aligned with 21st century skills.

Obviously, initiating and implementing such an agenda is both methodologically and politically challenging; however, to remain economically competitive in the global marketplace, policymakers should ask university leaders to adopt a broad-based, comprehensive reform of undergraduate education to ensure that all students understand, pursue, and develop the proficiencies needed for work, life, and responsible citizenship (Chunoo & Osteen, 2016). As far too many students graduate underprepared for twenty-first-century work and citizenship (Finley, 2012), new efforts to serve, support, and graduate a more diverse and changing population is essential for developing students' skills in college and beyond (Holzer, 2015). Future research should examine how students as well as presidents define the public and private purpose of higher education in the 21st century (Dunek, 2015). Additionally, formal research that compares how different types of institutions – particularly research universities – perceive their overall college degree value, and to what extent they may or may not support students of different identities (i.e., race, religion, gender) is crucial for policymakers to better predict social, economic, cultural and political changes, all of which are essential to address the growing skills gap between education providers and undergraduate students, as well as employers and college graduates (Crow & Dabars, 2015). As Perna (2012) stated, "educational providers at all levels can and must do more to better prepare today's students for tomorrow's jobs, especially in Metropolitan America" (p. 274).

Accordingly, this paper attempts to revitalize the interest and research on the goals and purposes for higher education, and the importance for policymakers and government officials to develop policies through intentional partnerships that better prepare all students for meaningful careers and global citizenship that is direct, systematic, and creative (Clydesdale, 2015). Though particular elements of higher education do align well with student aims and expectations, this paper argues that there is a significant mismatch between the lofty and, possibly unattainable, ideals advocated by institutions and the somewhat pragmatic, instrumental goals and aims of college students.

Hence, this research has documented how higher education institutions do share some goals and purposes with undergraduate students. While there are some similarities, this study illustrates that there are contrasting emphases between education providers and undergraduate students on the social or private benefits of completing a higher education degree. Thus, this study has pointed to an important, yet unfulfilled, research agenda in higher education study. If students today are graduating from college having learned very little, then what is the public and private purpose of higher education? Do college degrees fulfill the institutional ambitions of advanced skills, general competencies, and high ideals by the time students graduate from college? Providing an answer would require operationalizing the institutional purposes, collecting data about the value-added impact on student skills and dispositions, and using such data to consider modifications to pedagogy, curriculum, and faculty development. Indeed, approaching this complex and larger issue may appear to be one of the most important and crucial self-evaluation tasks a university could undergo if colleges and universities seek to avoid an "avalanche" or "crucible moment" that may be coming in the revolution ahead.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

REFERENCES

AAC&U. Association of American Colleges and Universities. (2015a). *The LEAP challenge.* Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U).

AAC&U. Association of American Colleges and Universities. (2015b). *General education maps and markers: Designing meaningful pathways to student achievement.* Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U).

AAU. Association of American Universities. (2013). *AAU survey on undergraduate student objectives and assessment.* Washington, DC: Association of American Universities.

Aardema, B. L., & Muguruza, C. C. (2014). The humanitarian action qualifications framework: A quality assurance tool for the Humanitarian Sector. *Tuning Journal for Higher Education, 1*(2), 429-462.

Abel, J. R., & Deitz, R. (2014). Do the benefits of college still outweigh the costs? *Current Issues in Economics and Finance, 20*(3), 1-12.

Abowitz, K. A. (2008). On the public and civic purposes of education. *Educational Theory, 58*(3), 357–376.

ACE. American Council on Education. (1949). *The student personnel point of view* (SPPV). Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education (ACE).

Ananiadou, K., & Claro, M. (2009). *21st century skills and competences for new millennium learners in OECD countrie*s. OECD Education Working Papers, No. 41, OECD Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/218525261154

Archibald, R. B., & Feldman, D. H. (2014). *Why does college cost so much?*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Arum, R., & Roksa, J. (2011). *Academically adrift: Limited learning on college campuses*. Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press.

Arum, R., & Roksa, J. (2014). *Aspiring adults adrift: Tentative transitions of college graduates*. Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press.

Astin, A. W. (1993). *What matters in college: Four critical years revisited*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Astin, A. W., Oseguera, L., Sax, L.J., & Korn, W.S. (2002). *The American freshman: Thirty-five year trends*. Los Angeles, CA: Higher Education Research Institute (HERI).

Astin, A. W., Astin, H. S., & Lindholm, J. A. (2011). *Cultivating the spirit: How college can enhance students' inner lives*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Avery, C., & Turner, S. (2012). Student loans: Do college students borrow too much - or not enough. *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 26*(1), 165–192.

Baker, V. L., Baldwin, R. G., & Makker, S. (2012). Where are they now? Revisiting Breneman's study of liberal arts colleges. *Liberal Education, 98*(3), 48-53.

Bastedo, M. N., Altbach, P.G., & Gumport, P. J. (2016). *American higher education in the twenty-first century: Social, political, and economic challenges*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Barber, M., Donnelly, K., & Rizvi, S. (2013). *An avalanche is coming: Higher education and the revolution ahead*. London, UK: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Barrie, S. C. (2008). "Identity transitions: Developing graduate attributes." Paper presented at Effective Teaching & Learning Conference, Queensland, Australia.

Bath, D., Smith, C., Stein, S., & Swann, R. (2004). Beyond mapping and embedding graduate attributes: bringing together quality assurance and action learning to create a validated and living curriculum. *Higher Education Research and Development, 23*(3), 313-328.

Baum, S., Ma, J., & Payea, K. (2013). *Education pays 2013: The benefits of higher education for individuals and society*. New York, NY: The College Board.

Bennett, W. J., & Wilezol, D. (2013). *Is college worth it?: A former United States Secretary of Education and a liberal arts graduate expose the broken promise of higher education*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson.

Benson, A., Esteva, R., & Levy, F. (2013). "The economics of B.A. ambivalence: The case of California higher education" (September 13, 2013). doi: 10.2139/ssrn.2325657

Benson, M. T., & Boyd, H. R. (2015). The public university: Recalling higher education's democratic purpose. *Thought & Action*, Summer 2015, 69-84.

Berrett, D. (2015, January 26). The day the purpose of college changed. *Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from http://chronicle.com/article/the-day-the-purpose-of-college/151359

Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (2014). *Social-emotional and affective skills landscape analysis: An executive summary*. Washington, D.C.: Savitz-Romer, M., Rowan-Kenyon, H., Zhang, X., & Fancsali, C.

Blumenstyk, G. (2015). *American higher education in crisis?: What everyone needs to know*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Bok, D. C. (2003). *Universities in the marketplace: The commercialization of higher education*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bok, D. C. (2008). *Our underachieving colleges: A candid look at how much students learn and why they should be learning more*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bok, D. C. (2013). *Higher education in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bowen, W. G. (2015). *Higher education in the digital age*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bowen, W. G., & Tobin, E. M. (2015). *Locus of authority: The evolution of faculty roles in the governance of higher education*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Brennan, J., Durazzi, N., & Sene, T. (2013). *Things we know and don't know about the Wider Benefits of Higher Education: A review of the recent literature*. London, UK: London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE).

Brennan, J., Kogan, M., & Teichler, U. (Eds.). (1995). *Higher education and work*. London, UK: Jessica Kingsley.

Brighouse, H., & Mcpherson, M. (2015). *The aims of higher education: Problems of morality and justice*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Brownell, J. E., & Swaner, L. E. (2010). *Five high-impact practices: Research on learning outcomes, completion, and quality*. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U).

Brubacher, J. S., & Rudy, W. (1997). *Higher education in transition: A history of American colleges and universities* (4th ed.). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Bryer, T. A. (2014). *Higher education beyond job creation: Universities, citizenship, and community*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Bui, K. V. T. (2002). First-generation college students at a four-year university: background characteristics, reasons for pursuing higher education, and first-year experiences. *College Student Journal, 36*(1), 3-11.

Busteed, B. (2015). The magical elements of college linked to long-term success in work and life. *About Campus*, *19*(6), 2-8.

Bylsma, P. E. (2015). The teleological effect of neoliberalism on American higher education. *College Student Affairs Leadership*, *2*(2), Article 3. Available at: http://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/csal/vol2/iss2/3

Cassuto, L. (2015). *The graduate school mess: What caused it and how we can fix it*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Carey, K. (2015). *The end of college: Creating the future of learning and the university everywhere*. New York, NY: Riverhead Books.

Carini, R. M., Kuh, G. D., & Klein, S. P. (2006). Student engagement and student learning: Testing the linkages. *Research in Higher Education, 47*, 1-32.

Carnevale, A. P., & Rose, S. J. (2015). *The economy goes to college: The hidden promise of higher education in the post-industrial service economy*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce.

Carnevale, A. P., Hanson, A., & Gulish, A. (2015). *Good jobs are back: College graduates are first in line*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce.

Carnevale, A. P., Hanson, A., & Gulish, A. (2013). *Failure to launch: Structural shift and the new lost generation*. Washington, D.C.: Center on Education and the Workforce, Georgetown University.

Carnevale, A., P., Jayasundera, T., & Repnikov, D. (2014). *The online college labor market: Where the jobs are*. Washington, D.C.: Center on Education and the Workforce, Georgetown University.

Chambliss, D. F., & Takacs, C. G. (2014). *How college works*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chickering, A. W., & Gamson, Z. (1987). Seven principles of good practice in undergraduate education. *American Association of Higher Education Bulletin, 39,* 3-7.

Chronicle of Higher Education (2012, December). The role of higher education in career development: Employer perceptions. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from http://chronicle.com/items/biz/pdf/Employers%20Survey.pdf

Chunoo, V., & Osteen, L. (2016). Purpose, mission, and context: The call for educating future leaders. In K. L. Guthrie & L. Osteen (Eds.), *Reclaiming higher education's purpose in leadership development* (pp. 9-20). Malden, MA: New Directions for Higher Education.

Clydesdale, T. (2015). *The purposeful graduate: Why colleges must talk to students about the vocation*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Coates, K. S., & Morrison, B. (2016). *Dream factories: Why universities won't solve the youth jobs crisis*. Toronto, Canada: TAP Books.

Colby, A., Ehrlich, T., Sullivan, W. M., Dolle, J. R., & Shulman, L. S. (2011). *Rethinking undergraduate business education: Liberal learning for the profession*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Colby, A., Ehrlich, T., Beaumont, E. y Stephen, J. (2003). *Educating preparing America's undergraduates for lives of moral and civic responsibility*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Conte, J., & Levine, C. (1997). Student motivations, learning environments, and human capital acquisition: Toward an integrated paradigm of student development. *Journal of College Student Development, 38*(3), 229–243.

Council for Aid to Education (2014). *CLA+: National Results, 2013-2014*. New York, NY: Council for Aid to Education (CAE).

Craig, R. (2015). *College disrupted. The great unbundling of higher education*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan Trade.

Crow, M. M., & Dabars, W. B. (2015). *Designing the new American university*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Degree Qualifications Profile (DQP) (2014). "The degree qualifications profile." Champaign, IL: National Institute for Learning Outcomes Assessment (NILOA), October 2014. Retrieved from http://degreeprofile.org/read-the-dqp/dqp-cover

Delbanco, A. (2012). *College: What it was, is, and should be*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Deresiewicz, W. (2014). *Excellent sheep: The miseducation of the American elite and the way to a meaningful life*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and education: An introduction to the philosophy of education*. New York, NY: Macmillan.

Dewey, J. (2008). *The middle works, 1899-1924*. Chicago, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Dixon-Woods, M., Cavers, D., Agarwal, S., Annandale, E., Arthur, A., & Harvey, J. (2006). Conducting a critical interpretive synthesis of the literature on access to healthcare by vulnerable groups. *BMC Medical Research Methodology, 6*(35). Retrieved on December 9, 2013, from http://www.biomedcentral.com/1471-2288/6/35.

Docherty, T. (2011). *For the university: Democracy and the future of an institution*. London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic.

Docking, J. R., & Curton, C. C. (2015). *Crisis in higher education: A plan to save small liberal arts colleges in America*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan University State Press.

Dorn, C. (2011). From "Liberal professions" to "lucrative professions": Bowdoin College, Stanford University, and the civic functions of higher education. *Teachers College Record. 113*(7), 1566-1596.

Dorrer, J. (2014). Analyzing labour markets in real time: Positioning comprehensive universities for a dynamic economy. In M. Schneider & K.C. Dean, *The University Next Door*, New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Doyle, W. R. (2012). The politics of public college tuition and state financial aid. *The Journal of Higher Education, 83*(5), 617-647.

Dunek, L. A. (2015). *The future of American public higher education: Examining perspectives of university presidents on the determinative change variables that they believe are reshaping the social contract between higher education and American society in the 21st century* (Order No. 3708761). Available from Dissertations & Theses @ CIC Institutions; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (1697328335). Retrieved from http://ezproxy.lib.indiana.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1697328335?accountid=11620

Dungy, G. (2012). Connecting and collaborating to further the intellectual, civic, and moral purpose of higher education. *Journal of College and Character, 13*(3), 1-12.

Edmundson, M. (2013). *Why teach?: In defense of a real education*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Egan, K., Lozano, J. B., Hurtado, S., & Case, M. H. (2013). *The American Freshman: National Norms Fall 2013*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Higher Education Research Institute (HERI).

Entwistle, N. J., & Peterson, E. R. (2004). Conceptions of learning and knowledge in higher education: Relationships with study behaviour and influences of learning environments. *International Journal of Educational Research, 41*, 407-428.

Fallis, G. (2007). *Multiversities, ideas, and democracy*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Featherman, S. (2014). *Higher education at risk: Strategies to improve outcomes, reduce tuition, and stay competitive in a disruptive environment*. New York, NY: Stylus Publishing.

Fein, M. L. (2014). *Redefining higher education: How self-direction can save colleges*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Filippakou, O., & Williams, G. (2014). *Higher education as a public good: A critical perspective*. New York, NY: Peter Lang Publisher.

Finley, A. (2012). *Making progress? What we know about the achievement of liberal education outcomes*. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U).

Fischer, K. (2014, March 12). A college degree sorts job applicants, but employers wish it meant more. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from http://www.chronicle.com/article/the-employment-mismatch/137625/id=overview

Gallup-Purdue University (2015). *Great jobs, great lives. The relationship between student debt, experiences and perceptions of college worth*. Washington, D.C.: Gallup World Headquarters. Retrieved from http://www.gallup.com/services/185924/gallup-purdue-index-2015-report.aspx

Geisler P. R. (2006). Higher education at a crossroads. In S. Steinberg, J. Kincheloe, & N. Denzin (Eds.), *Higher Ed: Questions about the Purpose(s) of Colleges & Universities*, Vol. 16. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Gerber, T. P., & Cheung, S. Y. (2008). Horizontal stratification in postsecondary education: Forms, explanations, and implications. *The Annual Review of Sociology, 34*(1), 299–318

Ginsberg, B. (2011). *The fall of the faculty: The rise of the all-administrative university and why it matters*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Giroux, H. A. (2014). *Neoliberalism's war on higher education*. New York, NY: Haymarket Books.

Goodchild, L. F., Jonsen, R. W., Limerick, P., & Longanecker, D. A. (2014). *Public policy challenges facing higher education in the American West*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Greenstone, M., Harris, M., Li, K., Looney, A., & Patashnik, J. (2012). *A dozen economic facts about K-12 education*. The Hamilton Project: Washington, D.C.

Gonzalez, J., & Yarosh, M. (2013). Building degree profiles: The tuning approach. *Tuning Journal for Higher Education, 1*, 37-69.

Gross, N., & Simmons, S. (2014). *Professors and their politics*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Gumport, P. (2000). Academic restructuring: Organizational change and institutional imperatives. *Higher Education, 39,* 67-91.

Gutmann, A. (1987). The purposes of higher education. In A. Gutmann, *Democratic Education* (pp. 172-193). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hacker, A., & Driefus, C. (2011). *Higher education? How colleges are wasting our money and failing our kids and what we can do about it.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Griffin.

Haigh, M., & Clifford, V. A. (2011). Integral vision: A multi-perspective approach to the recognition of graduate attributes. *Higher Education Research and Development, 30*(5), 573-584.

Hansen, E. T. (2011). Liberated consumers and the liberal arts college. In E. C. Lagemann & H. Lewis, *What is college for? The public purpose of higher education*, (pp. 63-85). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Hanstedt, P., & Rhodes, T. (2012). *General education essentials: A guide for college faculty*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Hart Research Associates (2015). *Falling short?: College learning and career success*. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U). Retrieved from http://www.aacu.org/leap/public-opinion-research/2015-survey-results

Heaney, C. (2015). What is the university today?. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies, 13*(2), 278-314.

Hackman, J. J., Stixrud, J., & Urzua, S. (2006). The effects of cognitive and noncognitive abilities on labour market outcomes and social behaviour. *Journal of Labor Economics, 24*(3), 411-482.

Henderson-King, D., & Smith, M. N. (2006). Meanings of education for university students: academic motivation and personal values as predictors. *Social Psychology of Education, 9*, 195-221.

Holzer, H. (2015). *Higher education and workforce policy: Creating more skilled workers (and jobs for them to fill)*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute.

Hout, M. (2012). Social and economic returns to college education in the United States. *Annual Review of Sociology, 38*(1), 379-400.

Hu, S., & Kuh, G. D. (2003). Maximizing what students get out of college: Testing a learning productivity model. *Journal of College Student Development, 44*, 185-203.

Hu, S., & Wolniak, G. C. (2013). College student engagement and early career earnings: Differences by gender, race/ethnicity, and academic preparation. *The Review of Higher Education, 36*(2), 211-233.

Hubball, H. T. & Pearson, M. L. (2011). Scholarly approaches to curriculum evaluation: critical contributions for undergraduate degree program reform in a Canadian context. In M. Saunders, P. Trowler & V. Bamber (Eds.), *Reconceptualising evaluation in higher education: The practice turn* (pp. 186-199). New York, NY: Open University Press McGraw-Hill.

Huber, C. R., & Kuncel, N. R. (2015). Does college teach critical thinking? A meta-analysis. *Review of Educational Research, XX*(X), 1-38.

Humphreys, D., & Kelly, P. (2014). *How the liberal arts and sciences majors fair in employment: A report on earnings and long-term career paths*. Washington, D.C.: AACU and NCHEMS.

Jackson, D. (2012). Business undergraduates' perceptions of their capabilities in employability skills: implications for industry and higher education. *Industry and Higher Education, 26*(5), 345-356.

Jackson, D., & Chapman, E. (2011). Non-technical competencies in undergraduate business degree programmes: Australian and United Kingdom perspectives. *Studies in Higher Education. 37*(5) 541-567.

Jefferson, T. (1779, June 18). *A bill for the more general diffusion of knowledge*. Bill 79. Retrieved from http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-02-02-0132-0004-0079

Johansson, C., & Felten, P. (2014). *Transforming students: Fulfilling the promise of higher education*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Jovanovic, S., Poulos, C., Hamilton, C., & Moretto, K. (2015). Our work is not done: Advancing democratic engagement as purpose and product of higher education. *Journal of Community Engagement and Higher Education, 7*(1), 34-46.

Kahlenberg, R. D. (2011, September 1). The purposes of higher education. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from http://chronicle.com/blogs/innovations/the-purposes-of-higher-education/30258

Keeling, R. P., & Hersh, R. H. (2012). *We're losing our minds: Rethinking American higher education*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kennedy, M. D. (2014). *Globalizing knowledge: Intellectuals, universities, and publics in transformation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Kennett, D., Reed, M., & Lam, D. (2011). The importance of directly asking students their reasons for attending higher education. *Issues in Educational Research, 21*(1), 65-74.

Kerr, C. (1994). *Troubled times for American higher education: The 1990s and beyond*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Kezar, A. (2004). Obtaining integrity? Reviewing and examining the charter between higher education and society. *The Review of Higher Education, 27*(4), 429-459.

Kirst, M. & Stevens, M. L. (2015). *Remaking college: The changing ecology of higher education*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.

Kiziltepe, Z. (2010). Purposes and identities of higher education institutions, and relatedly the role of the faculty. *Egitim Arastirmalari - Eurasian Journal of Educational Research, 40*, 114-132.

Kuh, G. D., Cruce, T. M., Shoup, R., Kinzie, J., & Gonyea, R. M. (2008). Unmasking the effects of student engagement on first-year college grades and persistence. *Journal of Higher Education, 79*, 540-563.

Kuh, G. D., Jankowski, N., Ikenberry, S.O., & Kinzie, J. (2014). *Knowing what students know and can do: The current state of student learning outcomes assessment in US colleges and universities*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois and Indiana University, National Institute for Learning Outcomes Assessment (NILOA).

Kuh, G. D., Ikenberry, S.O., Jankowski, N., Caine, T. R., Ewell, P. T., Hutchings, P., & Kinzie, J. (2015). *Using evidence of student learning to improve higher education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Labaree, D. F. (1997). Public goods, private goods: The American struggle over educational goals. *American Educational Research Journal, 34*(1), 39–81.

Lagemann, E. C., & Lewis, H. (2012). Renewing the civic mission of American higher education. In E. C. Lagemann & H. Lewis, *What is college for? The public purpose of higher education*, (pp. 9-45). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Lam, B. H., & Kwan, K. P. (1999). Students' expectations of university education. In J. Jones and K.P. Kwan, (Eds.) *Evaluation of the Student Experience Project: Vol. 3, The Video Interview Project: Listening to Our Students Talk*, (pp. 11-20). City University of Hong Kong, Centre for the Enhancement of Learning and Teaching.

Lambert, M. T. (2014). *Privatization and the public good*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Education Press.

Levine, P. (2014). A defense of higher education and its civic mission. *Journal of General Education, 63*(1), 47-56.

Levine, A., & Dean, D. R. (2012). *Generation on a tightrope: A portrait of today's college student*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publications.

Lin, Y. P. (2016). The purpose and value of higher education: An economic perspective. *International Journal of Economics and Accounting, 7*(1), DOI: 10.1504/IJEA.2016.076755

Liu, O. L., Bridgeman, B., & Adler, R. M. (2012). Measuring learning outcomes in higher education: Motivation matters. *Educational Researcher, 41*(9), December 2012, 352-362.

Lumina Foundation and Gallup (2014). *What America needs to know about higher education redesign*. Washington, D.C.: Lumina Foundation.

Macfarlane, B., & Chan, R. Y. (2014). The last judgment: Exploring intellectual leadership in higher education through academic obituaries. *Studies in Higher Education, 39*, 294-306.

Maki, P. L. (2015). *Assessment that works: A national call, a twenty-first-century response*. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U).

Matkin, G. W. (2013). Massive open online courses: Looking ahead by looking back. *Continuing Higher Education Review, 77*, 49-56.

Marks, L. I., & Wade, J. C. (2015). Positive psychology on campus: Creating the conditions for well-being on success. *About Campus*, *19*(6), 9-15.

Maxwell, N. (2007). From knowledge to wisdom. *London Review of Education, 5,* 97-115.

McArthur, J. (2011) Reconsidering the social and economic purposes of higher education. *Higher Education Research & Development, 30*(6), 737-749.

McCann, C., & Laitinen, A. (2014). *College blackout: How the higher education lobby fought to keep students in the dark*. Washington, D.C.: New America Foundation. Retrieved from: https://www.newamerica.org/downloads/CollegeBlackoutFINAL.pdf

McClung, M. (2013). Repurposing education: The civic standard. *Phi Delta Kappan (PDK), 94*(8), 37-39.

McMahaon, W. W., & Oketch, M. (2013). Education's effects on individual life chances and development: An overview. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 61*(1), 79-107.

McHenry, L. B. (2007). Commercial influences on the pursuit of wisdom. *London Review of Education, 5,* 131-142.

McKinsey & Company. (2015). *Education to employment: Designing a system that works*. McKinsey Center for Government (MCG). Retrieved from: http://mckinseyonsociety.com/education-to-employment/report

Melville, K., Dedrick, J., & Gish, E. (2013). Preparing student for democratic life: The rediscovery of education's civic purpose. *The Journal of General Education, 62*(4), 258-276.

Menges, R. J., & Austin, A. E. (2001). Teaching in higher education. In V. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (4th ed., pp. 1122-1156). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association (AERA).

Mettler, S. (2014). *Degrees of inequality: How the politics of higher education sabotaged the American drea*m. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Milliron, M. (2016). Engaging on purpose in higher education. Washington, D.C.: EDUCAUSE. Retrieved from http://er.educause.edu/articles/2016/1/engaging-on-purpose-in-higher-education

Moore, D. T. (2013). *Engaged learning in the academy: Challenges and possibilities*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillian.

National Association of Colleges and Employers (2014). *Job outlook: The candidate skills/qualities employers want, the influence of attributes*. Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colleges and Employers. Retrieved from http://www.naceweb.org/s11122014/job-outlook-skills-qualities-employers-want.aspx

National Survey of Student Engagement (2005). *Student engagement: Pathways to collegiate success*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research.

Newman, J. H. (1976). *The idea of a university*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Clarendon Press.

Nussbaum, M. C. (2012). *Not for profit: Why democracy needs the humanities*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

OECD. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2010). *Learning a living: A first results of the adult literacy and life skills survey*. Paris, France: OECD.

O'Shea, J. (2013). *Gap year: How delaying college changes people in ways the world needs*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Palmer, P. J., Zajonc, A., Scribner, M., & Nepo, M. (2010). *The heart of higher education: A call to renewal*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publications.

Palmadessa, A. (2014). Academic capitalism and the social charter between the University and the Public. *Higher Education in Review, 11*, 45-61.

Pascarella, E. T., Ethington, C. A., & Smart, J. C. (1988). The influence of college on humanitarian/civic involvement values. *The Journal of Higher Education, 59*(4), 412–437.

Pascarella, E., & Terenzini, P. (2005). *How college affects students: Three decades of research*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Pérez, Z. J. (2014). *Removing barriers to higher education for undocumented students* (December 2014). Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress.

Perna, L. W. (2012). *Preparing today's students for tomorrow's jobs in Metropolitan America*. Philadelphia, PA: The University of Pennsylvania Press.

Perry, W. G. (1968). *Forms of intellectual and ethical development in the college years: A scheme*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Perry, J. L. (2005). Recovering the civic in public affairs education. *Journal of Public Affairs Education, 11*(4), 265–268.

Pew Charitable Trusts (2012). *Pursuing the American dream: Economic mobility across generations*. July 2012 Report. Washington D.C.: Pew Charitable Trusts.

Pew Research Center (2011). *Is college worth it? College presidents, public assess value, quality and mission of higher education*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Charitable Trusts. Retrieved from http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/05/15/is-college-worth-it

Polanyi, M. (1974). *Personal knowledge: Towards a post-critical philosophy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Porter, S. (2015). *To MOOC or Not to MOOC: How can online learning help build the future of higher education?* Waltham, MA: Chandos Publishing.

Pryor, J. H., Eagan, K., Palucki Blake, L., Hurtado, S., Berdan, J., & Case, M. H. (2013). *The American freshman: National norms Fall 2013*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Higher Education Research Institute (HERI).

Psacharapoulos, G., & Patrinos, H. A. (2004). Returns to investment in education: A further update. *Education Economics*, *12*(2), 111–134.

Pusser, B. (2006). Reconsidering higher education and the public good: The role of public spheres. In W. G. Tierney (Ed.), *Governance and the public good* (pp.11–28), Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Ramley, J. A. (2014a). The changing role that education plays. *The Journal of General Education, 62*(2-3), 144-159.

Ramley, J. A. (2014b). The changing role of higher education: Learning to deal with wicked problems. *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement, 18*(3), 7-22.

Ramaley, J., & Leskes, A. (2002). Greater expectations: A new vision for learning as a nation goes to college. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges and Universities (AACU). Retrieved from http://www.greaterexpectations.org/report/executiveoverview.html

Ramaley, J., & Leskes, A. (2002). *Greater expectations: A new vision for learning as a nation goes to college*. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges and Universities (AACU).

Readings, B. (1996). *The university in ruins*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Roksa, J., & Arum, R. (2015). Inequality in skill development on college campuses. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility, 39*, 19-31.

Rossi, A. (Producer) (2014). *Ivory Tower* [Motion picture]. USA: Participant Media See.

Roth, M. S. (2014). *Beyond the university: Why liberal education matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Rothman, S., Kelly-Woessner, A. & Woessner, M. (2011). *The still divided academy: How competing visions of power, politics, and diversity complicate the mission of higher education*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: Plymouth, United Kingdom.

Rowland, S. (2002). Overcoming fragmentation in professional life: The challenge for academic Development. *Higher Education Quarterly, 56*(1), 52-64.

Rudolph, F. (1962). *The American college and university*. Atlanta, GA: The University of Georgia Press.

Ryan, P. (2014). Editorial. *Tuning Journal for Higher Education, 1*(2), 273-275.

Rybak, J. (2007). *What's wrong with university? And how to make it work for you anyway*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: ECW Press.

Saichaie, K., & Morphew, C. C. (2014). What college and university websites reveal about the purposes of higher education. *The Journal of Higher Education, 85*(4), 499-530.

Saltmarsh, J., & Harley, M. (2012). *"To serve a larger purpose": Engagement for democracy and the transformation of higher education*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Secretary's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills (1991). *What work requires of schools: A SCANS report for America 2000*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labour.

Selingo, J. (2016). *There is life after college: What parents and students should know about navigating school to prepare for the jobs tomorrow*. New York, NY: William Morrow.

Selingo, J. (2013). *College unbound: The future of higher education, and what it means for students*. New York, NY: New Harvest.

Shapiro, H. T. (2005). *A larger sense of purpose: Higher education and society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Slaughter, S., & Rhoades, G. (2004). *Academic capitalism and the new economy: Markets, state, and higher education*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Slaughter, S., & Rhoades, G. (2005). Markets in higher education: Students in the seventies, patents in the eighties, copyrights in the nineties. In Altbach, P. G., Berdahl, R. O., & Gumport, P. J., Eds., *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century: Social, Political and Economic Challenges, Second Edition*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press.

Spellings Commission (2006). *A test of leadership charting the future of U.S. higher education: A report of the commission appointed by secretary of education Margaret Spellings*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education.

Spence, M. (1973). Job marketing signalling. *Quarterly Journal of Economics, 87*, 355-374.

Ssentamu, P. N., Ezati, B. A., Bisaso, R., Pekkola, E., & Holtta, S. (2014). Migrating a professional field of study in a multi-institutional partnership: Facilitators' experience in the competence-based curriculum development process. *Tuning Journal for Higher Education, 1*(2), 405-427

Stephens, D. (2013). *Hacking your education: Ditch the lectures, save tens of thousands, and learn more than your peers ever will*. New York, NY: Perigee Trade.

Stewart, D. W. (2010). The purpose of university education. *The Psychologist-Manager Journal, 13*(4), 244-250.

Stoecker, R., & Tryon, E. (2009). *The unheard voice: Community organizations and service-learning*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Stokes, P. J. (2015). *Higher education and employability: New models for integrating study and work.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sullivan, W. (2011). Professional education: Aligning knowledge, expertise, and public purpose. In E. C. Lagemann & H. Lewis, *What is college for? The public purpose of higher education*, (pp. 104-131). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Sullivan, W., & Rossin, M. (2008). *A new agenda for higher education*. New York: Jossey-Bass.

Suspitsyna, T. (2012). Higher education for economic advancement and engaged citizenship: An analysis of the U.S. Department of Education Discourse. *Journal of Higher Education, 83*(1), 49-72.

The 2014 Gallup-Purdue Index Report. (2014). "Great jobs, great lives: A study of more than 30,000 college graduates across the U.S." Gallup-Purdue: Washington, D.C. Retrieved from http://products.gallup.com/168857/gallup-purdue-index-inaugural-national-report.aspx

Thompson, R. J. (2014). *Beyond reason and tolerance: The purpose and practice of higher education*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Tilak, J. (2008). Higher education: A public good or a commodity for trade? *Prospects, 38*, 449-466.

Time/Carnegie Corporation of New York (2012). "Higher education poll." Published on October 18, 2012. Retrieved from http://nation.time.com/2012/10/18/higher-education-poll

The National Task Force. (2012). *A crucible moment: College learning and democracy's future*. Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U).

Tuning USA (2014). *Tuning American Higher Education: The Process*. Encinitas, CA: Institute for Evidence-Based Change. Retrieved from http://tuningusa.org/Library/Newsletters-(1)/Tuning-Higher-Education-The-Process.aspx

UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (2014). *The diversification of post-secondary education.* Paris, France: International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).

USCCF. U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation. (2014). *Managing the talent pipeline: A new approach to closing the skills gap*. Washington, D.C.: USCCF. Retrieved from https://www.uschamberfoundation.org/sites/default/files/Managing%20the%20Talent%20Pipeline.pdf

USCCF. U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation. (2015). *Building the talent pipeline: An implementation guide*. Washington, D.C.: USCCF. Retrieved from https://www.uschamberfoundation.org/sites/default/files/Building%20the%20Talent%20Pipeline_An%20Implementation%20Guide.pdf

Vargos Tamez, C. (2014). Lifelong learning principles and higher education policies. *Tuning Journal for Higher Education*, *2*(1), 91-105.

Vught, F. V., & Huisman, J. (2013). Institutional profiles: Some strategic topics. *Tuning Journal for Higher Education, 1*(1), 21-36.

Wagenaar, R. (2014). Competences and learning outcomes: A panacea for understanding the (new) role of higher education? *Tuning Journal for Higher Education, 1*(2), 279-302.

Washburn, J. (2005). *University Inc.: The corporate corruption of American higher education*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Watson, D. (2014). *The question of conscience: Higher education and personal responsibility*. London, UK: Institute of Education, University of London Press.

Watty, K. (2006). Addressing the basics: academics' view of the purpose of higher education. *Australian Educational Researcher, 33*(1), 23-39.

Weiss, A. (1995). Human capital vs. Signalling explanations of wages. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 9*(4), 133-154.

Welsh, R., Glenna, L., Lacy, W., & Biscotti, D. (2008). Closing enough but not too far: Assessing the effects of university-industry research relationships and the rise of academic capitalism. *Research Policy, 37*, 1854-1864.

Wise, S. L. & Cotten, M. R. (2009). Test-taking effort and score validity: The influence of the students' conceptions of assessment. In D. M. McInerney, G. T. L. Brown & G. A. D. Liem (Eds.), *Student perspectives on assessment: What students can tell us about assessment for learning* (pp. 187-205), Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Wolf, A. (2003). *Does education matter?: Myths about education and economic growth*. New York, NY: Penguin Business.

World Bank (2012). *Putting higher education to work: Skills and research for growth in East Asia*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Yale Report (1828). *Yale Report of 1828*. New Haven, CT: Yale College.

Zaback, K., Carlson, A., & Crellin, M. (2012). *The economic benefit of postsecondary degrees: A state and national level analysis*. Boulder, CO: State Higher Education Executive Officers.

Zemsky, R. (2013). *Checklist for change: Making American higher education a sustainable enterprise*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Zemsky, R. (2014). With a MOOC MOOC here and a MOOC MOOC there, here a MOOC, there a MOOC, everywhere a MOOC MOOC. *Journal of General Education, 63*(4), 237-243.

Zilberberg, A., Brown, A. R., Harmes, J. C., & Anderson, R. D. (2009). How can we increase student motivation during low-stakes testing? Understanding the student perspective. In D. M. McInerney, G. T. L. Brown & G. A. D. Liem (Eds.), *Student perspectives on assessment: What students can tell us about assessment for learning* (pp. 255-278). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Zimmerman, B. J., Bonner, S., & Kovach, R. (1996). *Developing self-regulated learners: Beyond achievement to self-efficacy*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association (APA).

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Roy Y. Chan is a Ph.D. candidate in Education Policy Studies at Indiana University, Bloomington. Roy holds a Master of Arts (M.A.) degree in Higher Education Administration from Boston College and a Master of Education (M.Ed.) degree in Comparative Higher Education from The University of Hong Kong. Roy's research interest focuses on the economic and non-economic benefits of a college degree, the globalization and internationalization of higher education, and the role of philanthropy and fundraising in shaping U.S. higher education. Roy is co-author of the book *Higher Education: A Worldwide Inventory of Research Centers, Academic Programs, and Journals and Publications* (2014) and is the co-editor of the book *Exploring the Future of Accessibility in Higher Education* (in press). He currently serves on the editorial advisory boards of the Journal of International Students and Journal of Critical Scholarship on Higher Education and Student Affairs, and has published research articles on the topics of higher education leadership, student learning, and alumni engagement. He is an active member of ASHE, AERA, CIES, and NAFSA.

JEPPA

www.jeppa.org

The views expressed in this publication are not necessarily those of *JEPPA's* Editorial Staff or Advisory Board.

JEPPA is a free, open-access online journal.