

Why the Presidential Debates Won't Matter



Washington[®]

MONTHLY

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BY STEPHEN BURD



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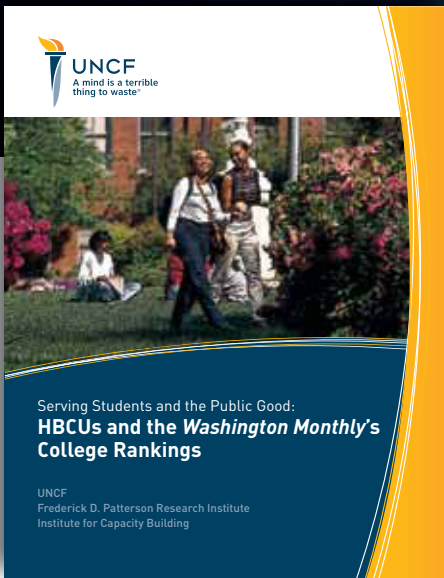
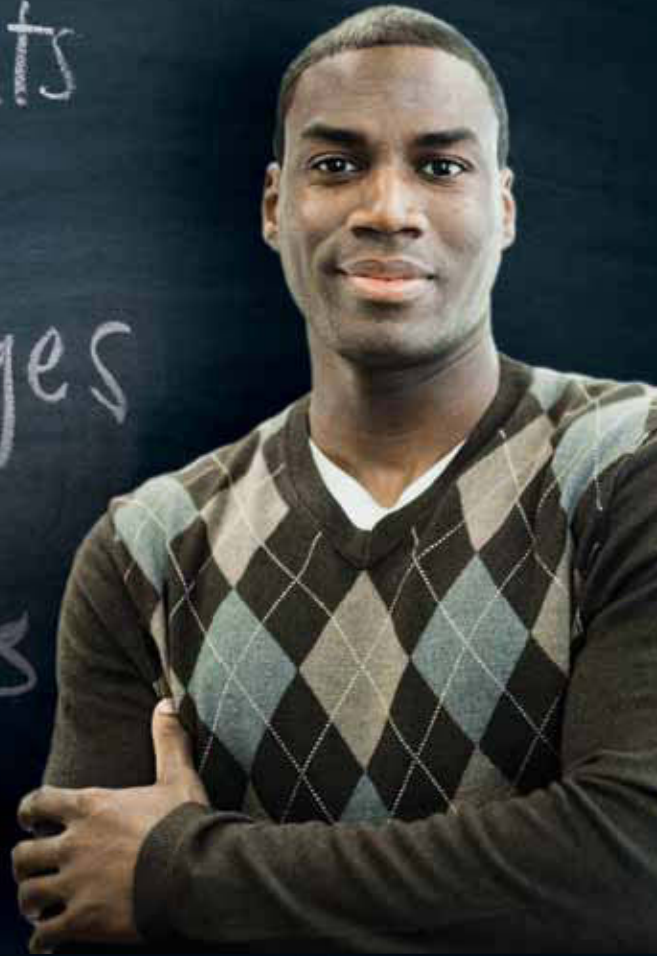
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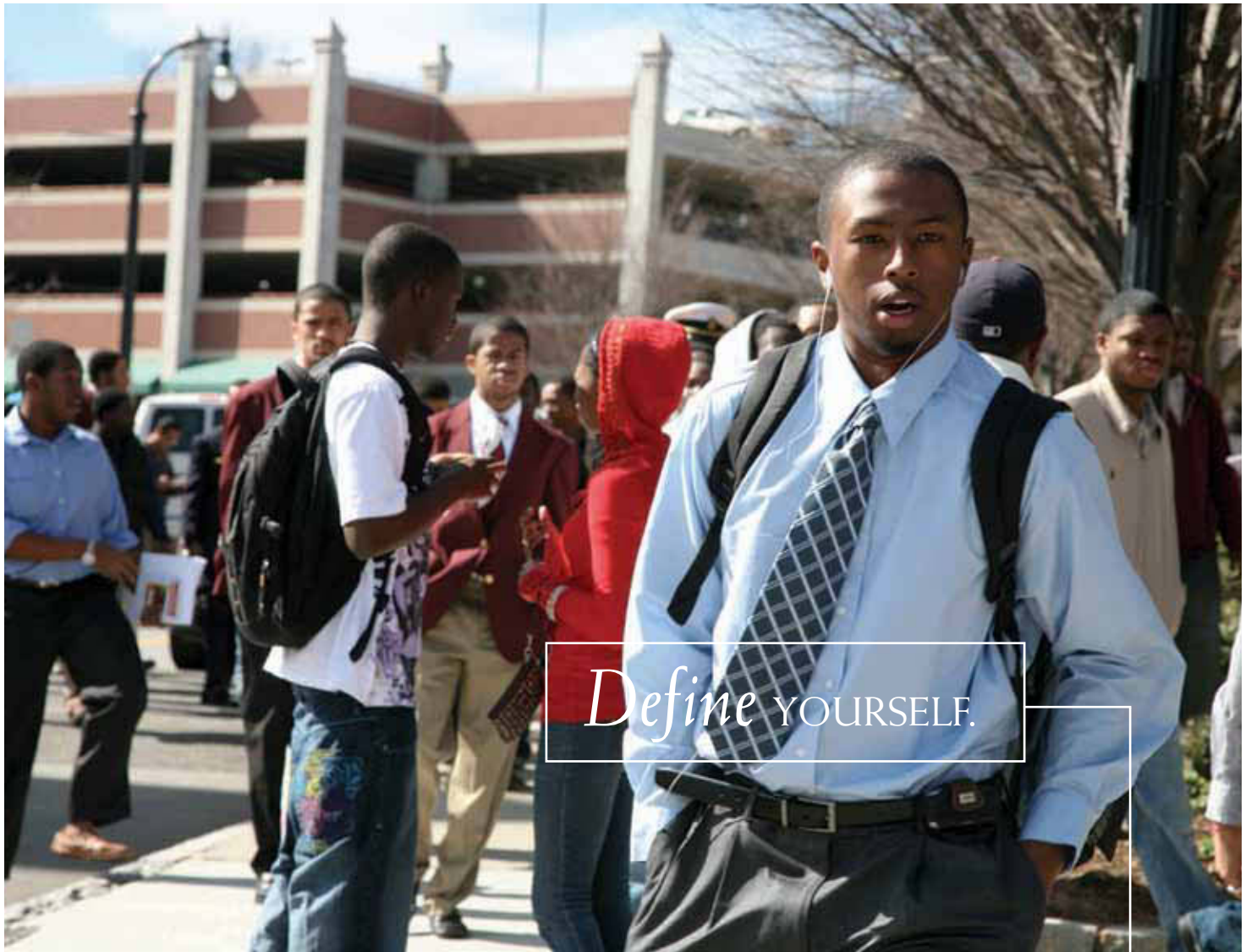
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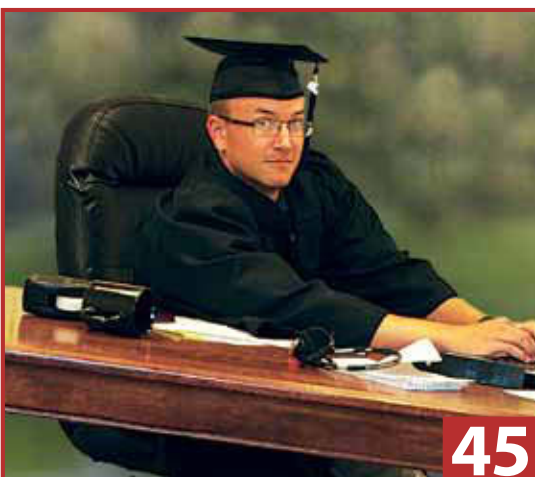
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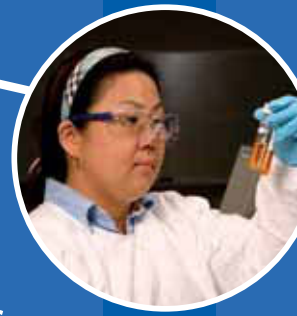
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Editor's Note

PAUL GLASTRIS

Where Credit Is Due

You would think that the first law of presidential campaigning would be to take credit for your accomplishments. And yet the current contest features two men who are unwilling even to bring up some of their most important achievements in office.

Barack Obama's first landmark action as president, for instance, was the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, otherwise known as the stimulus—a \$787 billion infusion of cash that most economists believe helped keep the economy from falling into a depression. The stimulus added as many as 3.3 million jobs and boosted GDP by between 1.7 percent and 4.5 percent, according to the Congressional Budget Office. Weeks after it went into effect unemployment claims began to subside, and twelve months later the private sector began to produce more jobs than it was losing—something that it has been doing ever since. Yet because the economy lost so many jobs during the recession and unemployment remains so stubbornly high, average Americans don't feel that the stimulus had any real effect on the economy, and indeed many think it was a huge waste of money. So the word "stimulus" never leaves the president's lips.

Similarly, Obama almost never talks about the actions he took to keep the crippled banking industry from completely collapsing and driving the economy further into a ditch. Beginning in the spring of 2009, his Treasury Department lured \$140 billion in private money to recapitalize the nation's nineteen biggest banks by imposing "stress tests" to determine the strength of their balance sheets and creating a public-private partnership to buy their "toxic assets." These efforts got the banks on their feet at basically zero cost to the taxpayer. Yet Obama seldom mentions this astonishing feat for the simple reason that voters are still furious at bankers and think of all government efforts to help them as synonymous with a "bailout." (For the record, the actual bailout happened on George W. Bush's watch, though Obama supported it.)

Romney, too, has almost totally avoided talking about his record as governor of Massachusetts. He gave twenty-five speeches in June and July and referred to his governorship only once. Part of the reason, perhaps, is that he doesn't have all that much to brag about. Jobs grew in the Commonwealth during his tenure, though not by a lot. Unemployment went down, but only by a point. Romney balanced the state's budget every year (which the state constitution mandated him to do) and did so without raising taxes, but he boosted a variety of fees, and bequeathed to his successor a nearly \$1 billion deficit. He left office with a 39 percent approval rating.

Still, Romney can claim one enormous achievement: a 2006 health insurance expansion law that has made Massachusetts the only state in the union to achieve near-universal health coverage. Since 2006, health care costs in the state have risen no faster or, in the individual market, slower than the national average. Polls show that two out of three people in the state approve of "Romney-care." Yet Romney is reluctant even to mention this singular policy triumph because it was the template for Obamacare, which he has promised to repeal.

White House contenders who distance themselves from their own records do so at their own peril—a lesson I saw play out firsthand in 2000. That summer I was assigned to cowrite President Bill Clinton's Democratic Convention speech. My boss, chief White House speechwriter Terry Edmonds, and I came up with the idea of organizing the speech chronologically, a third on the past (the Clinton-Gore record), a third on the present (the stakes in the election), a third on the future (Al Gore's agenda). We sent a memo explaining our plan to the vice president's office. Word then came back that we were to make the speech 90 percent about the past. Hoo-kay, we thought, whatever you guys want. So we drafted a speech that was backward looking but triumphal.

You may remember the speech. It began with Clinton's image on the Jumbotron, walking like a prizefighter through the maze of tunnels beneath L.A.'s Staples Center and emerging to the roar of thousands of adoring Democrats. The speech that followed was a stem-winding, double-barreled, kitchen-sink recitation of every policy accomplishment and positive outcome of the eight-year Clinton-Gore administration that we could think of—and a number of others that the president helpfully reminded us of. "More than 22 million new jobs," "the lowest child poverty rate in twenty years," "the biggest expansion of college aid since the GI Bill," "more than 100,000 new community police officers," "set aside more land in the lower forty-eight states than any administration since Teddy Roosevelt," "extending the life of the Medicare trust fund for twenty-six years," "dramatically improved diabetes care," "stopping brutal ethnic cleansing in the Balkans," "brought Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic into NATO." On and on it went, forty minutes of what pundits disparagingly call a "laundry list" but which the president's supporters loved because, you know, *that's why they hired the guy, to get stuff like that done.*

The mystery of why Gore's office would want us to focus the president's speech almost solely on the Clinton-Gore record was re-

The Jesuit Catholic Difference

vealed few days later, when the vice president took the stage, gave his wife, Tipper, an extended kiss, pronounced himself “my own man,” and said almost nothing (200 words in a 5,500-word speech) about the Clinton-Gore record. Concerned that the Monica Lewinsky scandal was hurting him in the polls, Gore used the speech to put distance between himself and the president. That was understandable. The scandal was a drag on Gore’s popularity. But the obvious need to detach himself from Clinton personally inexplicably devolved into the belief that if he were to talk about, say, the 22 million jobs created, or the turning of deficits into surpluses, voters would somehow think “blow job.”

What was especially crazy about the Gore campaign’s strategy was that the vice president had a genuine claim on the administration’s record. He was, at that point, the most involved and powerful vice president in U.S. history. He had his own large, crack White House staff, his own policy initiatives—reinventing government, managing the U.S./Russian relationship—and more influence on the president’s decisions than anyone other than Hillary Clinton. He was a strong advocate for what would turn out to be some of the administration’s most consequential actions, from welfare reform to fighting off GOP attacks on the EPA to taking a tough line with the Serbs in Bosnia. No one would have denied him substantial credit for the Clinton-Gore record. And yet, until the final weeks of the race, Gore largely avoided claiming that credit. It was the single biggest mistake of his campaign.

Now we have two candidates making the same mistake. It’s not at all clear that Romney can reverse that error, given the full-throated denunciation of Obamacare he needed in order to win the nomination. Obama, too, is limited in his ability to talk about his policy accomplishments because, unlike Clinton, he does not have—at least not yet—a booming economy for which his policies can credibly claim credit.

The truth is, no president could have quickly turned around an economy as badly damaged as this one was in 2009. History shows that recessions caused by financial crisis always take years to heal, and while Obama’s stimulus prevented a depression, it was nowhere near big enough to make up for the loss of demand caused by a 40 percent drop in the average American’s net worth. But as Michael Grunwald explains in his new book *The New New Deal*, the administration used the stimulus to make investments and spur change in everything from green energy to medical research to public schools. These and other big moves during Obama’s first term, like the health care and financial reforms laws, have the potential to pay substantial economic dividends in coming years. Obama needs to tell the story of these accomplishments and how transformative they could be.

A message about long-term payoffs might not seem like one today’s hard-pressed voters want to hear. But as James Carville and Stan Greenberg argue in their campaign book *It’s the Middle Class, Stupid*, swing voters don’t believe that happy days are just over the horizon. They know that the economy, and their place in it, is in a precarious state that is years in the making and will take years to get out of. If Obama can find a way to talk to them honestly about what he’s already done as president, they might give him a chance to keep doing it. ^{WM}



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THE BEST MODELS ARE FREE

The cover of the July/August issue was brilliant and devastating. It brought tears to my eyes.

You could feel the exasperation of the woman. She is telling her husband that there is no place left to cut the household budget. And the pain in the man's eyes is heartrending. He is afraid to quit his dead-end job (he's a refrigeration mechanic or a manager at Home Depot, or he runs a small auto-repair shop) and knows that he and his wife will be living in semipoverty retirement. His worst fear is that they become a burden to their children, who are already struggling themselves.

They know they are going nowhere but down. The photo is enough to make you want to start a revolution. Tina Shrider should get the photojournalism equivalent of the Oscar.

*Barry Parsons
Madison, Fla.*

Note: The couple used was actually Washington Monthly senior fellow Phillip Longman and his wife, Sandy. He would very much appreciate a raise, but his actual retirement will, he hopes, probably keep him safely above the poverty line.

WILLIE BROWN'S CITY

With regards to Elizabeth Lesly Stevens's article on former San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown ("The Power Broker," July/August 2012), it appears that yet another East Coast magazine has swooped in to the West Coast to tell us nothing we didn't already know. To capture the essence of Willie Brown you have to understand what those of us who have reported on him for thirty years understand: he is the best daily news story you can find. On a dull day, all we had to do was find Willie, get a sound-bite, and we'd have a story.

He is surprisingly transparent (for someone who sees the whole chessboard), and he likes nothing more than to share his tidbits with reporters who get him—which is why he's good copy. (I won't nitpick, but you should know the reason

San Francisco has more employees than San Jose is that San Francisco is a city *and* a county; San Jose is not.)

*Hank Plante
Palm Springs, Calif.*

Stevens captures the essence of San Francisco government—a body whose primary function is to enrich its employees and secondarily to provide services. San Jose is not an apt comparison, but Philadelphia is, and, by comparison, San Francisco wastes staggering amounts of taxpayer money and delivers little—see the public transit system and the proliferation of potholes across the city.

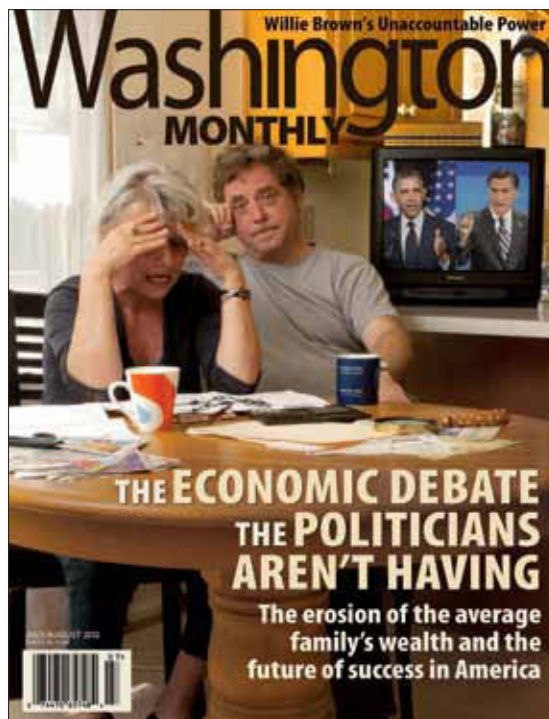
*CJRoses
Via Web comment*

WHY NOT RENT OUT YOUR BEDROOMS?

Blake Fleetwood's article about homeowners facing legal problems for renting out rooms in their own houses ("DIY B&B," July/August 2012) provides another example of established bullies trying to crush the little guy. Someone has finally figured out a way to help people with their underwater mortgages, joblessness, and gener-

al financial troubles. Is it really hurting the hotel industry or the tax base when neighbors and travelers are helping each other to afford trips that they otherwise wouldn't have made? I can't tell you how many guests we've had who have told us that our affordable rooms made it possible for them to travel. Their stays make it possible for us to pay our mortgage.

I would think that banks would be getting down on their knees and thanking Airbnb, the Internet booking company that helps connect potential renters to hosts, for preventing foreclosures. Cities should be thanking Airbnb for attracting so many new tourists, travelers, interns, etc., who are bolstering the local economy. In dire financial times, a little creativity is needed. Airbnb is doing its part to help correct some of the huge losses we've endured due to inept government regulators and greedy lenders who overlooked many



laws and rules to get rich at our expense.

*Eileen and Michael Beard
Silver Spring, Md.*

Good grief. Another article painting Airbnb hosts as victims of government and the hotel industry. Take off the Internet feel-good blinders for a second and think about why things like zoning laws exist.

Would my neighbors think it was a good idea for me to turn my garage into a full-time commercial vehicle repair shop? My garage is mine; it's an asset for me to tap! However, my neighbors might be pissed at the traffic, the noise, the smell, etc. It would also create a safety risk—increased traffic, fire, oil disposal, whatever. I can't use my garage for commercial vehicle repair because doing so imposes a cost on those around me in terms of property value, safety, and noise pollution.

Turning one's house into a hotel is a less drastic example, but the same principle applies. I also can't turn my house into a restaurant, a record store, or a fitness center. And this is a good thing.

*Rod Edwards
Winnipeg, Manitoba*

NOTHING LEFT TO SAVE

Reading Phillip Longman's article about retirement savings accounts ("How to Save Our Kids From Poverty in Old Age," July/August 2012) I wonder how we can require Americans to save for retirement when their incomes increasingly can't keep up with the cost of living.

I love how pundits say Americans can save up to such-and-such a percentage (tax free!) in 401(k) accounts and IRAs—when they're living paycheck to paycheck.

*Leo Klein
Via Web Comment*

BOOBS AND BRAINS

The racy photograph accompanying Anne Kim's article about the absence of women in Washington think tanks ("Where Are the Women Wonks?," July/August 2012) was inappropriate. Why is there a "cheesecake" photo used for an analytical piece on why women are left out of policymaking? Clearly they are left out of editorial decisions as well.

This is offensive, and does nothing to illustrate the piece. It does underscore how women are sexualized and objectified by media.

*SamiJ
Via Web comment*

Anne Kim responds:

I don't mind the picture. In fact, I like it. The photo isn't inappropriate; it's provocative. It directly challenges people to confront their own biases about how beauty (or the lack thereof) af-

fects the prospects for a woman's success in ways that men don't have to deal with. No one wants to admit that they take a woman's looks into account when they make judgments about her intellect, and that's why this photo makes people uncomfortable. How many of us assumed that the woman in the picture had an IQ lower than her bra size?

Men, on the other hand, can get away with relative anonymity as far as their looks are concerned, unless someone is excessively aesthetically challenged, either hygienically or sartorially (e.g., a penchant for seersucker in January). Even then, male wardrobe malfunctions might be seen as "charming eccentricities," rather than a proxy for his brainpower or character.

NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS MESSAGE

In the July/August issue of the magazine, Peter Beck wrote a book review of Victor Cha's new book, *The Impossible State: North Korea, Past and Future*. The review should have said that Mr. Beck wrote this in his personal capacity and the article does not in any way reflect the views of the Asia Foundation.

*Amy Ovalle
Senior Director, Global Communications
The Asia Foundation
Washington, D.C.*



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TILTING *at windmills*

By Charles Peters

Guilty party

“G.O.P. Edge As Dynamics Shift in House Races,” read a frightening headline in the *New York Times* this summer. How can this be happening after a record of ceaseless obstructionism by congressional Republicans? Much of the explanation, of course, rests on the media’s far too frequent reliance on blaming Congress rather than Republicans in Congress. On this matter, the new HBO series *The Newsroom*’s preaching is on the right track when it challenges the media to tell the truth about the Tea Partiers and the harm they have caused.

As for the Senate, Michael Grunwald, in *The New New Deal*, confirms a point I raised in my most recent column about the claim that Obama could have gotten a bigger stimulus bill—maddeningly, the assertion continues to be made, most recently in a front-page story in the *Washington Post*’s Outlook section.

What really happened was summed up for Grunwald by Joe Biden: “I spoke to seven different Republican Senators, who said, ‘Joe, I’m not going to be able to help you on anything.’ ... The way it was characterized to me was: ‘For the next two years, we can’t let you succeed in anything. That’s our ticket to coming back.’” And one Obama aide told Grunwald that “he received a similar warning from a Republican Senate staffer he was seeing at the time. He remembers asking her one morning in bed: How do we get a stimulus deal? She replied: Baby, there’s no deal.”

Okay, Biden and the staffer may not strike you as the most objective of sources, but two men who were Republican senators at the time of the stimulus, Bob Bennett and Arlen Specter, have confirmed to Grunwald that Mitch McConnell, the Senate minority leader, “demanded unified resistance” to the stimulus bill.

I also mentioned in the last issue that the political scientists Norman Ornstein and Thomas Mann identify the Republicans as the guilty party in congressional failure, but I failed to note that they join in *The Newsroom*’s challenge to the media to make clear to the public that congressional Republicans and Democrats are “no more necessarily

Vicki was a hooker who wanted to use my apartment as a pad where she could entertain her johns, for which I would be rewarded with a commission.

equally responsible than a hit and run driver and a victim.”

They were for it before they were against it

Speaking of Republicans’ “unified opposition” to Obama’s initiatives, I had known that the individual mandate to buy health insurance had originally been proposed by the conservative Heritage Foundation and

was at the heart of Romneycare in Massachusetts. I had forgotten, however, until recently reminded by Ezra Klein in the *New Yorker*, that the Republican alternative to Hillary Clinton’s bill in 1993, introduced by Senator John Chafee and cosponsored by eighteen Republican senators, including minority leader and 1996 presidential candidate Bob Dole, also featured a mandate.

Don’t forget 2010

When I read that there is an “enthusiasm gap” in the 2012 campaign that favors the Republicans by a considerable margin, I thought: If ever there was a time when the Democrats needed enthusiasm, this is it. The Republicans not only have a lot more money to spend on the campaign, but they have been making a massive effort to suppress Democratic votes. I remind readers of 2010, when liberals were devoting most of their attention to criticizing Obama instead of working for a Democratic congressional victory, thereby al-

lowing the Tea Partiers to take over the House and produce one of the worst Congresses of all time.

For me, the most maddening example of what was going wrong with liberalism was the Jon Stewart and Stephen Colbert “Rally to Restore Sanity.” I’m a fan of both men, devoutly so in Colbert’s case, but they missed a great opportunity that day. They attracted a huge crowd of some of the brightest people around, people who ordinarily would

be very active in a crucial political contest. But instead of using their humor to make clear to their audience that the coming election would be crucial, they devoted almost the entire event to showing how clever and above partisanship they were and how awesome their guests were. Only the eighty-four-year-old Tony Bennett urged the crowd to vote. And he just got out that one word, “vote,” over his shoulder as he was being hustled offstage to make room for the next act.

Where’s the beef?

One of the main problems of Obama’s health care bill has been the lack of public understanding of its provisions. Why doesn’t the public know? One answer comes from the Pew Research Center, which studied media coverage of the bill and found that only 23 percent was of substance, while 49 percent was about “politics and strategy.” Of course, the same is true every day on every issue as the media continues to focus on politics, not substance.

The Me-First Era

Both the very conservative Charles Murray and the moderate conservative David Brooks agree about what Murray calls the “segregation of capitalism from virtue.” I can remember that in the 1950s Wall Streeters like Chase Manhattan Bank’s David Rockefeller and businessmen like Scott Paper’s Thomas McCabe still liked to be called responsible, meaning that they made their money with at least some regard for the morality and the effect on the rest of us of how they made it.

Murray traces this sense of responsibility to the *McGuffey Readers*, explaining that

the books on which generations of American children were raised have plenty of stories treating initiative, hard work and entrepreneurialism as virtues, but just as many stories praising the virtues of self-restraint, personal integrity and concern for those who depend on you. The freedom to act and a stern moral obligation to act in certain ways were seen as two sides of the same American coin. Little of that has survived.

How was the sense of responsibility lost? Last year in these pages, I traced the explosion of greed and selfishness since the 1980s to the self-indulgence that developed out of the gradual morphing of the 1950s and early-1960s movement for group rights into an assertion of personal rights. Kurt Andersen, in a July op-ed in the *New York Times*, seems to join in this analysis:

“Do your own thing” is not so different than “every man for himself.” If it feels good, do it, whether that means smoking weed and watching porn and never wearing a necktie, retiring at 50 with a six-figure public pension and refusing modest gun regulation, or moving your factories overseas and letting commercial banks become financial speculators. The self-absorbed “Me” Decade, having expanded during the ’80s and ’90s from personal life to encompass the political economy, will soon be the “Me” Half-Century.

What is remarkable about this almost identical thought is that I’m sure Andersen’s thoughts are his own. I doubt that he even reads this column, a result that we pretty much assured by publishing an article making fun of the snobbish tendencies of *Spy*, a magazine he cofounded.

So I hope mine and Andersen’s is like the agreement between Murray and Brooks in suggesting that we are at last beginning to come together to figure out what’s gone wrong with this country.

Split by snobbery

The snobbery for which we criticized *Spy* was another development we did not like about the late 1960s. It was expressed most notably by the largely college-educated antiwar protestors who called blue-collar policemen pigs and justified their avoidance of the draft with words like the title of a *Monthly* article, “let those hill-

billies go get shot.” The result was the separation between blue-collar workers and liberal Democrats that Republicans have since exploited. Remember how Spiro Agnew said, “A spirit of national masochism prevails, encouraged by an effete corps of impudent snobs who characterize themselves as intellectuals”?

Pill payola

Television’s Dr. Drew—his last name is Pinsky—has been caught taking payoffs from the drug company GlaxoSmithKline for endorsing its antidepressant drug Wellbutrin. Of course, Dr. Pinsky is just the tip of a giant iceberg of medical malpractice. If you have missed the movie *Love and Other Drugs*, be sure to see it. Part of the film is a totally delicious satire of the corrupt relationship between pharmaceutical salesmen and physicians.

Kantor’s book *The Obamas*, for instance, calls the president’s legislative accomplishments “extraordinary,” but devotes less than one page—it’s 192, if you want to check—to listing them.

Feed the beast

One reason why I fear we will never get real campaign finance reform is that the media industry is reaping such vast profits from the sale of time for all those commercials that are deluging the airwaves. Both the broadcast and the cable networks feast on this income, which also enriches local stations, especially those in swing states. According to the *Wall Street Journal*’s “Heard on the Street,” political advertisers will spend \$42 per U.S. adult this year.

Two scandals that weren’t

Two recent articles in the *New York Times* have made me wonder which *Times* editors were asleep the day they were published. One, by Motoko Rich, ran as the lead article on the front page with the

headline “No Child’ Law Whittled Down by the White House—Waivers for 26 States.” The headline suggests, as does a considerable part of the article, that there may be something scandalous going on. It’s not until the eleventh paragraph, which doesn’t appear until the jump page, that the reader is given any idea that the administration is granting the waivers to provide flexibility and persuade states to adopt its Race to the Top program—though the words “Race to the Top” never appear in the article, and the program is only briefly explained in two of its twenty-nine-paragraphs. Ironically, a subsequent lead editorial in the *Times*, instead of questioning Race to the Top, praised it for providing incentives for reform that are “long overdue.”

The other piece was headlined “Obama Biography Brings New Scrutiny to President’s Own Memoir.” Its author, Michael

The political scientists Norman Ornstein and Thomas Mann challenge the media to make clear to the public that congressional Republicans and Democrats are “no more necessarily equally responsible than a hit and run driver and a victim.”

Shear, explains that “there are new questions about how closely the president’s telling of his life hews to reality.” But we don’t encounter the first example of this departure from reality until the sixteenth paragraph of the article, and what a shocker it is: Obama said his step-grandfather was killed “while fighting Dutch troops in Indonesia,” when in fact he “died trying to hang drapes.” Obama has talked a lot about his real grandparents, but he has *never* made a big thing out of the story of his step-grandfather, which easily could have been family myth handed down to him. The other illustrations offered by Shear struck me as equally trivial: Obama combined the stories of two early romances, and he smoked more pot in high school than his own book had implied.

A problem with Obama books

What is most gratifying about Michael Grunwald’s *The New New Deal* is that it gives full attention to explaining the good about Obama’s stimulus program while also acknowledging the not so good. Most of the books about Obama, even excellent ones like Jodi Kantor’s and Noam Scheiber’s, devote considerably more attention to exploring Obama’s psyche or what is wrong with his approach to governing. Kantor’s book *The Obamas*, for instance, while calling the president’s legislative accomplishments “extraordinary,” devotes less than one page—it’s 192 if you want to check—to listing them.

Clinton’s catch-22

As the Clintons were entering the White House in January 1993, I wrote an article for the *New York Times Magazine* advising them about what to do and what not to do. Among my suggestions was not to repeat the mistake I thought Hillary had made with the Clinton education program in Arkansas. Before introducing

the Clinton bill in the legislature, she had toured the state, holding meetings to discuss the bill’s possible contents. By the end of her tour she had stirred up so much opposition to the possible reforms that the teachers held a near riot outside the governor’s mansion and the Clintons had to abandon the cause of education reform. So my advice was that when she had a major reform in mind, she should get her own bill together in private and send it to Congress. That is exactly what she did with the Clinton health bill, and she was pilloried for it. As the criticism mounted, I was hoping no one would remember how wrong I had been. Or at least I thought I had been wrong, until Obama got savaged for not sending Congress a finished bill but instead allowing Congress and White House staff to shape

it along the way. If there was ever a case of damned if you do, damned if you don’t, this was it.

Remembering Raspberry

William Raspberry was one of Washington’s genuinely wise men. As a black man he had the courage to criticize his fellow blacks: “civil rights leadership, for all its emphasis on desegregating schools, has done very little to improve them.” This was written in 1982. It is lamentably true today. Just last year, Adrian Fenty, the first mayor to have the courage to take on the issue of teacher quality, was turned out in favor of Vincent Gray—whose administration has been characterized by one scandal after another—because of Gray’s support by the largely black D.C. teacher’s union.

Fun with complex geometric shapes

Not only have Republican legislatures sought to suppress Democratic votes by passing voter ID laws, they are removing Democratic voters from close congressional districts by redistricting. In Pennsylvania, for example, Naftali Bendavid of the *Wall Street Journal* found that as a result of redistricting, Republican Representative Lou Barletta had gone from “vulnerable to iron clad.” A map of his district showed that it had been radically reshaped. What would have fit into a circle now requires an irregular elongated rectangle. This made sure not only that many Democratic voters were now excluded, but also that the most likely Democratic opponent was placed just outside the district line.

Making the same mistakes again

Read Rajiv Chandrasekaran’s *Little America* and weep. In Afghanistan, Foreign Service and USAID employees are largely sealed off from Afghans, rarely fluent in the local language, frequently serving tours too short for them to understand the people or the country, and throwing too much money at problems that are usually far more complicated than we understand. It is the same story that we found in the Green Zone of Baghdad, which in turn repeated the sad story of

all our mistakes in Saigon in the 1960s and early '70s.

Chandrasekaran tells how the late Richard Holbrooke at a 2009 strategy session on Afghan policy “implored USAID and state department officials to increase the size of their initiatives.” Holbrooke, who as a young man had been a Foreign Service officer in Vietnam and should have known better, then said, “If you used to ask for 22 million and are now asking for 24 million, that’s not truly bold.”

You know?

Have you ever caught yourself abusing “you know”? Then you will sympathize with Barack Obama, who managed to use “you know” fifty-two times in just one interview, the one with ABC News correspondent Robin Roberts in which he endorsed gay marriage.

More Ginsberg memories

Now, to more memories of Allen Ginsberg. In some ways, Allen was a bad influence during that first year I knew him, in 1946–47. In teaching me how to be hip, he made me look down on those who weren’t. (You mean you haven’t read Rimbaud or Baudelaire!) But we also often just had fun. He liked jazz, and so did I. I can remember one morning I skipped class so that we could get the bargain rate—it was either 55 or 95 cents if you got there before 11:30 a.m.—at the Strand Theater, where the great tenor saxophonist Illinois Jacquet was performing with Lionel Hampton’s band. We also frequented the Three Deuces, one of the many jazz clubs that lined Fifty-second Street. It featured another tenor saxophone player, Flip Phillips. Late one night, we went to Carnegie Hall to attend a concert in the “Jazz at the Philharmonic” series that featured both Jacquet and Phillips. I was still so un-hip that Allen had to explain to me that the strong aroma in the hall was from marijuana.

Herbert Huncke was the only friend of Allen’s I met that first year (by the way, Herbert later wrote a very accurately titled autobiography, *Guilty of Everything*). Allen was away most of the next, serving in the Merchant Marine, but during the 1948–49 school year

he introduced me to Jack Kerouac, Neal Cassady, Lucien Carr, Vicki Russell, and Allen’s father, Louis. Carr seemed guarded and hard to know, but Kerouac and Cassady not only were open and affable, they could be downright exuberant. I would never have guessed the undercurrent of torment that was part of both men. Vicki was a hooker who wanted to use my apartment as a pad where she could entertain her johns, for which I would be rewarded with a commission. Thank goodness I wasn’t quite hip enough to accept that proposal.

Allen made a special effort for me to meet his father, and I think the reason was that Allen saw me as a “respectable” friend and there was part of him that, until at least 1954, had wanted to keep one foot in the respectable world. He often talked about how T. S. Eliot, as a bank official, Wallace Stevens, as an insurance company executive, and William Carlos Williams, as a family doctor, had combined lives in poetry with regular careers. The last time I saw him before I left New York to go to law school, he was wearing a suit and told me he was working for a market research firm.

Allen got arrested in 1949. I was on the subway one Saturday morning in March when, looking over another rider’s shoulder, I saw a photograph in either the *Daily Mirror* or the *Daily News* of Allen, Herbert, Vicki, and a new friend of theirs, “Little Jack” Melody, peering out of a paddy wagon. Little Jack, it turned out, was in the same line of work as Herbert, namely larceny, and was understandably apprehensive about contact with officers of the law. When a policeman attempted to stop the gang as they drove around Queens, Little Jack immediately stepped on the gas. The result was that, in the subsequent chase, his car turned over. Though the occupants fled, some of Allen’s papers were left behind. They contained Allen’s address on York Avenue, which ultimately led to the arrest of Allen and his friends, and the discovery of either stolen goods or illegal substances at his apartment. The next day I got a call from Allen, who said he was in a Manhattan jail and wanted me

to ask Mark Van Doren, a Columbia professor we both admired, to help get him out.

I went to Van Doren, who did not immediately respond—I think his attitude was that Allen needed to be taught a lesson. But after I received several more desperate calls from Allen and paid more visits to Van Doren, the professor finally agreed to ask his friend, the civil rights attorney Morris Ernst, to help. But by the time I was able to tell Allen the good news, he was out of jail; his brother Eugene, who was a lawyer, had made a deal for Allen’s freedom in return for his committing himself to the Payne-Whitney psychiatric clinic at Columbia Presbyterian Hospital.

Years later at a Washington party Allen and I were attending, I started to tell this story, but Allen quickly interrupted. I later realized he preferred a version of the story in which the Columbia faculty had actually come to his rescue. This wasn’t really that far from the truth—but it wasn’t the truth. I came to understand that Allen was an active

As the criticism of Hillary Clinton mounted, I was hoping no one would remember how wrong I had been.

participant in creating his own myth and the myth of the Beats. From the time I first met him, he wove wonderful tapestries of the group that made me eager to meet them in spite of some of the outrageous things they had done. But I don’t think this in any way diminishes works like either *Howl* or *On the Road*. Most of the famous people I have known have not been above gilding their own image.

A shifting wind

A high-end costume jewelry store serving Washington’s wealthiest neighborhood ran a poll in 2008 based on how many McCain or Obama pins it sold. Obama won by a comfortable margin. This year, Romney is ahead by a 4-to-3 margin, which curiously enough happens to be the Republican fund-raising advantage as we go to press. ^{WM}

Charles Peters is the founding editor of the *Washington Monthly*.

IT'S OK TO BE UN- DECIDED

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When a presidential race is as close as this year's, there is endless speculation about what might tip the outcome to Barack Obama or Mitt Romney. One of the most anticipated events is the debates scheduled for October, which are already being hyped as potential "game changers." A common presumption about presidential debates is that one candidate can guarantee victory with a well-timed riposte or send their campaign into an irrevocable tailspin with an ill-timed stumble. After all, every political observer can point to truly "important" debates or moments during debates: the first televised debate between Kennedy and Nixon; the moment when Gerald Ford said, "There is no Soviet domination of eastern Europe"; Michael Dukakis's answer to the question about whether he would support the death penalty if his wife were murdered; George H. W. Bush looking at his watch; Al Gore sighing.

That presidential debates can be "game changers" is a belief almost universally held by political pundits and strategists. Political scientists, however, aren't so sure. Indeed, scholars who have looked most carefully at the data have found that, when it comes to shifting enough votes to decide the outcome of the election, presidential debates have rarely, if ever, mattered.

The small or nonexistent movement in voters' preferences is evident when

Do Presidential Debates Really Matter?

Remember all the famous moments in past debates that changed the outcome of those elections? Well, they didn't.

By John Sides

comparing the polls before and after each debate or during the debate season as a whole. Political lore often glosses over or even ignores the polling data. Even those who do pay attention to polls often fail to separate real changes from random blips due to sampling error. A more careful study by political scientist James Stimson finds little evidence of game changers in the presidential campaigns between 1960 and 2000. Stimson writes, "There is no case where we can trace a substantial shift to the debates." At best, debates provide a "nudge" in very close elections like 1960, 1980, or 2000. An even more comprehen-

sive study, by political scientists Robert Erikson and Christopher Wlezien, which includes every publicly available poll from the presidential elections between 1952 and 2008, comes to a similar conclusion: excluding the 1976 election, which saw Carter's lead drop steadily throughout the fall, "the best prediction from the debates is the initial verdict before the debates." In other words, in the average election year, you can accurately predict where the race will stand after the debates by knowing the state of the race before the debates. Erikson and Wlezien conclude that evidence of debate effects is "fragile."

Why are presidential debates so often inconsequential? After all, many voters do pay attention. Debates routinely attract the largest audience of any televised campaign event. And voters do learn new information, according to several academic studies. But this new information is *not* likely to change many minds. The debates occur late in the campaign, long after the vast majority of voters have arrived at a decision. Moreover, the debates tend to attract viewers who have an abiding interest in politics and are mostly party loyalists. Instead of the debates affecting who they will vote for, their party loyalty affects who they believe won the debates. For example, in a CNN poll after one of the 2008 debates, 85 percent of Democrats thought that

Cicero. But Erikson and Wlezien's analysis shows that across the series of debates in any given election year, the candidates tend to fight to a draw—much as one would expect two equally matched candidates to do.

Consider the first Kennedy-Nixon debate, which is remembered as anything but a contest between equals. In Theodore White's famous recounting of the election, Kennedy appeared "calm and nerveless" while Nixon was "haggard-looking to the point of sickness." Two Gallup polls suggest that after the debate Kennedy moved from 1 point behind Nixon to 3 points ahead, although it is difficult to know whether that shift is statistically meaningful. Both Stimson and Erikson and Wlezien find that Ken-

salient—evidence that the public needed the news media to point out that Ford had made a mistake.

More importantly, Ford's gaffe did little to affect the main trend in the fall campaign, which was a declining lead for Carter. According to Gallup's polling, Carter had a 15-point lead before the first debate but only a 5-point lead after the second one. As Erikson and Wlezien put it, "Carter's downward slide during the fall campaign seems to belie that this debate gaffe did much lasting harm."

In 1980, the only debate between Carter and Reagan occurred a week before the election. Commentators judged Reagan's performance favorably: it was "calm and reassuring," wrote the *New*



Obama had won, but only 16 percent of Republicans agreed.

The impact of debates is also limited because the candidates are fairly evenly matched. Each candidate will have read a thick stack of briefing papers and rehearsed extensively. They will stick to their message and won't be easily rattled. One candidate's argument will be immediately countered by the other's. Perhaps one candidate may appear more comfortable than the other. Perhaps one may momentarily slip up while the other does not. But the differences in their respective performances will be small. Candidates sometimes try to lower expectations of their own debate performance by claiming that they are just humble, plainspoken folks while their opponents are the second coming of

Kennedy's margin after all of the debates was only slightly higher than his margin on the eve of the first debate. Moreover, any trend in Kennedy's favor began before the debates were held. Clearly 1960 was a close election, and many factors, including the debates, may have contributed something to Kennedy's narrow victory. But it is difficult to say that the debates were crucial.

Ford's erroneous assertion about eastern Europe in the second debate of 1976 is considered one of the biggest debate gaffes of all time. On the night of the debate, however, none of the debate viewers interviewed in one poll named the gaffe when asked about the "main things" each candidate had done well or poorly. Only for viewers interviewed the next day did this gaffe become more

York Times's Hedrick Smith the next day. A plurality of voters (44 percent) judged Reagan to be the victor, while only 26 percent picked Carter. Leading up to the debate, Reagan had about a 2-point lead, based on an average of the polls. He had a 5-point lead in the polls in the field on the day of the debate or in the two days thereafter. The debate seemed to matter, but it mainly nudged Reagan even further toward victory.

The 1988 debate between Dukakis and George H. W. Bush featured this famous question from moderator Bernard King: "Governor, if Kitty Dukakis were raped and murdered, would you favor an irrevocable death penalty for the killer?" Dukakis said, "No, I don't, Bernard," and then, in classic politician fashion, changed the subject to something he ap-

parently did want to talk about: his record on violent crime as governor and his views about the war on drugs. His response was judged inadequately emotional, given that the question referenced his own wife. The postmortem in *U.S. News & World Report* said, "The governor couldn't summon a hint of emotion in his response to a jarring hypothetical question about the death penalty for someone who had just raped and killed his wife." But voters couldn't summon a hint of emotion about this alleged gaffe. Gallup reports that the two 1988 debates had "little to no impact on voter preferences." Stimson estimates that these debates might have added a point to Bush's margin, which would have only widened his lead, not handed him the election.

In 1992, George Bush's glances at his watch in the October 15 debate with Bill Clinton and Ross Perot have been characterized, in one account, as a "display of impatience" that "seemed to speak volumes." Once again, that gaffe—and, in fact, all of the debates in 1992—had only a small impact on Bush's standing. According to Thomas Holbrook's detailed study, the second debate may have cost Bush only about 2 points. If anything, these debates mainly served to increase Perot's standing at the expense of Clinton's—although Perot's rise could also be attributed to other factors, including his own thirty-minute campaign ads during this period.

This brings us to 2000, which is a clearer case of a small, but consequential, debate effect. Al Gore's performance in the first debate—with its interruptions of George W. Bush and audible sighs—was widely lampooned and is also considered by some to be one of the "biggest blunders" in the history of presidential debates. After the debate, there was a swing of 2 or 3 points toward Bush, enough to give him a narrow lead. Erikson and Wlezien estimate that after all of the debates, Gore's poll standing was about 2 points lower than it was before. Among the many factors that influenced the outcome of the 2000 election, the debates appear to have been one.

But, even in 2000, this focus on presidential debates obscures an important point: debates aren't the only thing that voters are hearing and seeing in the weeks before the election. So even a careful comparison of polls before and after a debate assumes, perhaps incorrectly, that any change was due to the debate itself or to news coverage about the debate—and not to other events, television advertising, or the like.

Moreover, other events may outweigh any debate effect. The 1980 election provides one example. After the debate and before the election, all of the following took place: prominent aides to both Reagan and Carter were forced to resign; economic data was released showing rising inflation; there was continued news coverage of the congressional investigation of Carter's brother, Billy; and, finally, Carter was again rebuffed by Iran in his attempts to negotiate the release of the American hostages who had been held for a year. The Carter campaign's internal polling showed Carter slipping even more after the setback in Iran than he appeared to be after the debate. "It was all related to the hostages and events overseas," said Carter's pollster, Patrick Caddell. Reagan's larger-than-expected victory appeared to confirm that there was a late trend in his favor. Whether these events definitively hurt Carter in the closing days of the campaign is as difficult to determine as whether the debate helped Reagan. But the broader point remains: presidential campaigns present voters with a steady stream of information that may overshadow the debates.

A month ago, Obama's advisers declared that they expect Mitt Romney to get "a surge of positive media attention and a boost in the opinion polls after the first presidential debate." That may or may not prove true. What history can tell us is that presidential debates, while part of how the game is played, are rarely what decide the game itself. ^{WM}

John Sides, an associate professor of political science at George Washington University, blogs at the Monkey Cage and the *Washington Monthly*. Thanks go to Jessica Burnell, Robert Erikson, and Christopher Wlezien for their assistance.

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The Clintonites' Beef With Obama

It's not his policies they complain about but his messaging. Is that fair?

By Simon van Zuylen-Wood

It's April 2010, and an exploded BP rig is hemorrhaging oil into the Gulf of Mexico. President Bill Clinton, racing to the scene, leaps into the ocean "in a wet suit, trying to plug the leak personally."

This half-serious whimsy, which appears in Ed Rendell's latest book, *A Nation of Wusses*, is as much Clinton worship as it is Obama criticism; Barack Obama's "substantive response [to the spill] had been right on target in every way," writes the former Pennsylvania governor and staunch

ic stimulus bill, or hard enough for a public option, and that he caved to the banks in negotiating the bailout and the subsequent financial reform legislation. Nor would you hear it from centrist ex-Clinton strategists like Mark Penn and Doug Schoen, who decry the current president's "divisive" policies on Fox News.

Instead, Rendell—along with a half-dozen former Clinton officials I spoke to—agree with Obama's policies, but argue that he's failed to use the presiden-

tial bully pulpit to sell them to the public. According to Rendell, Obama let the GOP define down his foremost legislative achievements—health care reform and the stimulus—and paid the price in the 2010 midterm elections. "How many Americans know that

"How many Americans know that more than 40 percent of the stimulus spending was for tax cuts?" writes Ed Rendell, former Pennsylvania governor and staunch Clinton ally. "Hardly any, because it was never explained to them."

Clinton ally. "But [the] president hadn't been visible enough down in the Gulf." Rendell's dig is a curious inversion of a recurrent right-wing attack: Obama, Rendell suggests, is all substance and no style. It's also emblematic of a broader Clintonite critique of the president, one that has as much to do with well-intentioned frustration as with rose-tinted 1990s nostalgia.

This critique should not be confused with other popular left-leaning attacks on the president. It bears no relation, for instance, to the progressive charge that Obama didn't push for a bigger econom-

ic stimulus bill, or hard enough for a public option, and that he caved to the banks in negotiating the bailout and the subsequent financial reform legislation. Nor would you hear it from centrist ex-Clinton strategists like Mark Penn and Doug Schoen, who decry the current president's "divisive" policies on Fox News.

It's a refrain I heard often. "There has been, among the Clinton people, a concern that [Obama] hasn't been consistently effective at the bully pulpit," one former member of Clinton's senior staff told me. "Clinton has a unique ability to infuse policy arguments with real passion. And that energy has at times been lacking in this president." Bill Galston, a Brookings scholar and former Clinton

adviser, was harsher. "His apparent inability to turn his communication skills as a campaigner [into] campaign skills as a sitting president is his single biggest failure." Added another official, who worked in both White Houses, "Obama ran a campaign that was about selling not a vision of government, but a vision of himself." Four years later, he's still not "campaigning on what he's accomplished and what he's done."

"Bully pulpit" is an awfully broad term. William Safire, in his indispensable *Political Dictionary*, defined it as the "active use of the presidency's prestige and high visibility to inspire or moralize." That meaning is consonant with the Clintonite critique, but it doesn't completely do it justice. Lurking beneath the chronic gripe that Obama failed to "pivot" from his post-partisan campaign motif to a hard-boiled governing theme are hints that 44 simply lacks 42's leadership mojo.

The official who worked in both administrations has a pet example. When the stimulus was passed in early 2009, only one member of the president's inner sanctum—Vice President Joe Biden—was tasked with promoting it. Meanwhile, Obama was pitching health care and green jobs; economic advisers Christina Romer and Larry Summers were privately gaming out the bill's big-picture effects; Treasury Secretary Tim Geithner was doing damage control on the bank bailout; and Office of Management and Budget Director Peter Orszag was worried about deficit reduction. "The core to being an executive—what are the big problems—is focusing on a theme," the official said. "Clinton was very disciplined about that," he added, pointing out that staffers woke up each morning expecting to promote a "message of the day."

Others in the Clinton camp seized on that crippling scourge—insufficient executive experience—to make a slightly different point; Obama needed to reassure an anxious electorate not by talking a big game, but through a series of more symbolic, piecemeal, moves. One former speechwriter (fondly) recalls Clin-

ton's 1996 gambit to inch into Republican territory by vouching for public school uniforms. "That was all about sending a larger meta-message that this was a president who got up every day to fight for the American people." Obama, by contrast, "is a lot more about telling than about showing," the speechwriter said. "He gives nice speeches, but he's not really practiced in the *doing*. Part of that is because he was never a doer before he became president."

Another former Clinton official, who wouldn't let me identify him more specifically, argued that Obama showed his inexperience by letting Congress not only define his bills for him, but write them, too, in the cases of stimulus, health care, and climate legislation. "The result of that is it became extremely difficult to maintain a set of clear principles of what it is you are about," he said. "Clinton had been a five-term governor. He really knew how to be an executive. And I think it took Obama a while to learn." Rendell, no surprise, makes precisely the same point. "I think the president was hurt by being a legislator only," he said in a June television appearance. "Too much of [stimulus and health care] was left up to the Congress. He sort of said, 'Here's my concept, you guys flesh it out.' I think Hillary Clinton would have sent them a bill and said, 'Here's what I want.'"

This is where the Clintonites, their vision clouded by personal fealty, become less convincing. Rendell, who stumped hard for Hillary in 2008, seems to have forgotten that this very strategy failed miserably in 1993, when the Clintons pushed their health reform bill. Precisely because Obama saddled Congress with the responsibility of crafting the Affordable Care Act, it too was on the hook if it failed. (As are Senators John Kerry, Joe Lieberman, and Lindsey Graham for bungling climate change legislation.) Equally, talk of a leadership deficit ignores several of Obama's high-profile unilateral actions: reversing Bush's torture policies; authorizing military involvement in Libya; ordering the killing of Osama bin Laden; rescuing GM and Chrysler; and providing certain illegal immigrants relief from deportation.

But the weakness of the Clintonite gripe stems not just from papering over the Big Dog's mistakes and minimizing Obama's accomplishments. It also suffers from a blindness to Obama's political obstacles and an overly credulous conviction in the president's power to sway public opinion.

First, the economy is faring far worse today than it was sixteen years ago. In the summer of 1996, the national unemployment rate hovered around 5.5 percent; today it stands at 8.2 percent. In the modern era, only Franklin Roosevelt, who was backed by a strong New Deal coalition, has won reelection with an unemployment rate over 7.2 percent. In this context, Obama's slim lead over Republican opponent Mitt Romney is something of a victory.

Second, Congress has blocked most of Obama's agenda for the past two years, which has in turn exacerbated the country's economic and fiscal crises. While Newt Gingrich's famously intransigent 104th Congress allowed the government to shut down in 1995 and 1996, his 105th acquiesced to certain tax increases in a much-heralded 1997 budget deal that today's House, beholden to a no-tax pledge, would deem dead on arrival. Meanwhile, Senate Republicans have kept busy playing nullifier, filibustering everything from jobs bills to low-level judicial appointments.

Finally, the Clintonites place far too much faith in the bully pulpit. After all, when Obama does choose to use it, he's not always rewarded. From *Vanity Fair's* Todd Purdum, in 2010:

Obama's ... sangfroid and equanimity in the face of the worst crises became a subject of fevered agitation among the press and some critics in his own party, who accused him of failing to exploit the ultimate power of the presidency, its bully pulpit. But the moment that Obama responded to a suggestion from the Today program's Matt Lauer that he needed to "kick some butt" regarding the oil spill—by allowing that he was, indeed, do-

ing his best to figure out "whose ass to kick"—he was denounced by some of those same critics as demeaning the dignity of the presidency.

But even this anecdote obscures the larger point: what presidents say, especially in harsh economic circumstances, matters very little. As political scientists Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson argue in a recent *Presidential Quarterly* article, the bully pulpit helps presidents set their agenda, but does very little to determine "how citizens or legislators respond to these issues."

Which is all to say: if Obama had been dealt a better hand, he'd be cruising to reelection, and we probably wouldn't be dissecting his communications strategy. Granted, the Clintonite critique I've identified is not completely unjustified. When a health care bill is broadly unpopular but the general public is in favor of most of its individual parts, clearly

If Obama had been dealt a better hand, he'd be cruising to reelection, and we probably wouldn't be dissecting his communications strategy.

something's been lost in translation. Indeed, Obama himself admitted in July that he spent too much of his first term governing, and not enough time telling a "story to the American people that gives them a sense of unity and purpose and optimism."

Still, I got the sense from the Clinton folks that they didn't have a serious beef with Obama's first-term performance. Rather, like Bubba himself, they're back-seat drivers who don't want the newbie to wreck the car. "A lot of it is nostalgia," says the official who worked in both White Houses. "Anyone you talk to that's still in the immediate Clinton circle has no appreciation for the fact that not everybody is Bill Clinton." ^{WM}

Simon van Zuylen-Wood is a reporter-researcher at the *New Republic*.

Party Animals

Any chance Romney might govern as a moderate? For a clue, look at his senior staff.

By Jonathan Bernstein

What would a Mitt Romney presidency be like?

At one point over the summer, the candidate was offering, if elected, to “bury the hatchet” with Democrats, and his operatives are stressing how moderate and bipartisan Romney might be, even talking up how much they admire President Bill Clinton’s governing style. That might seem plausible to some, since Romney has proven himself to be quite, shall we say, flexible on his policy positions.

But such a thought ignores some powerful fixed realities in Washington—

mense pressure from their strongest supporters to fulfill the specific policy promises they made to win the nomination, and Romney has taken positions so far to the right—for instance, not only endorsing Paul Ryan’s budget plan but putting Ryan on the ticket—as to make compromise with the Democrats almost inconceivable.

But there’s also a subtler, less noticed change in Washington that for years has been slowly undermining the capacity of administrations of both parties to compromise. Like any human organization, the White House is pro-

foundly influenced by the nature of the people who work there, especially in senior positions. And since the 1970s, the kind of people who surround presidents has changed. In the past, they were more likely to be people whose first loyalty was to the president himself, and only second-

arily, if at all, to the president’s party. In recent decades it’s become just the opposite.

Consider an illustrative contrast: Karl Rove and H. R. “Bob” Haldeman. Both helped put a president into the Oval Office and then became powerful White House advisers. But Haldeman never worked for any other politician but Nixon, while Rove, long before he went to work for George W. Bush, was an all-purpose Republican operative,

having advised, among others, Texas Governor William Clements, Utah Senator Bob Bennett, and Missouri Governor John Ashcroft.

What’s happened over the last few decades is that the top people around the president have, like other players in Washington, become more party connected; there are fewer like Haldeman who would not be in politics except for their relationship to the president. And there are more like Rove who are deeply connected to their party, including its wider network of elected officials, interest groups, partisan media, and think tanks, and who are therefore less likely to reach across the aisle for ideas and partnerships.

The changing in the backgrounds of senior White House staffers is just one manifestation of the growing role of parties and partisanship in Washington over the last couple of generations. And of course it’s difficult to prove that any particular presidential action is tied to the influence of any particular member of the White House staff. What we *can* say is that a president like Richard Nixon could press forward with the formation of the Environmental Protection Agency, Amtrak, wage and price controls, the first affirmative action programs, as well as a vast expansion of Social Security, without receiving lots of opposition from his top White House aides (indeed, much of his domestic policy agenda was formulated by a Democratic aide, Daniel Patrick Moynihan).

Things began to change with Jimmy Carter’s White House. To be sure, Carter had his “Georgia Mafia”; by my count, six of the former governor’s top ten advisers—people like Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell—had a long-term personal connection to him, and all were at least involved in the presidential campaign. But already in that era, half had broader Democratic Party ties. Stuart Eizenstat, for example, had worked in the Johnson White House and Hubert Humphrey’s 1968 presidential campaign before moving to Georgia and then starting to work for Carter; the politics office was head-

It seems likely that Romney’s executive office, including White House staff, would be just as tied in to his party’s network as that of any recent president. It is far more likely that a Mitt Romney presidency will be defined by the Republican Party than that he will define his party.

realities that will push hard against whatever urges toward moderation Romney might harbor. The most obvious is the growing partisan divide in Congress, driven especially by the GOP’s ideological turn to the right and the Tea Party’s purging of Republican moderates, a trend that the 2012 election will almost certainly accelerate. Also, as I’ve pointed out in these pages (“Campaign Promises: What They Say Is How They’ll Govern,” January/February 2012), presidents are under im-

ed by Timothy Kraft, who had worked for the New Mexico Democrats before Carter's presidential campaign.

After Carter, those with the best access to the Oval Office were even more likely to have careers independent of the president. Ronald Reagan, too, had men like Ed Meese, Michael Deaver, and Martin Anderson who had been with him in Sacramento. But they had to compete for influence in the Reagan White House with people like James Baker, David Stockman, and David Gergen, who had their own power bases in the GOP long before they hooked up with Reagan.

Similarly, Bill Clinton brought a number of loyalists from Arkansas, such as Mack McLarty, Webb Hubbell, and Vince Foster, into his administration. But power in the Clinton White House quickly gravitated to aides like George Stephanopoulos and Leon Panetta, who were established Washington players before Clinton got to town. Fully thirteen of the fifteen top staffers in the early Clinton White House had broad ties to the Democratic Party before they went to work for Clinton, while only eight of the fifteen had been with Clinton during his first presidential campaign or earlier.

The same pattern holds for the presidents who succeeded Clinton. Of the thirteen top White House aides to George W. Bush, only five had personal ties to the president prior to the 2000 campaign. Most of the rest—people like Political Director Ken Mehlman and Press Secretary Ari Fleisher—were longtime GOP professionals. Of Barack Obama's fifteen top administration advisers, only four—David Axelrod, Peter Rouse, Valerie Jarrett, and Robert Gibbs—were involved with Obama before his first presidential campaign.

And so it goes with Mitt Romney. Only a handful of his campaign advisers—Eric Fehrnstrom, Beth Myers, and Peter Flaherty are prominent examples—go back with him even as far as his days as Massachusetts governor. And among those who have been with him the longest, most have built

their careers working for other Republican politicians or operatives. So, for example, Myers worked with Karl Rove in Texas long before Romney entered politics; Fehrnstrom was active in Massachusetts Republican politics long before he signed on with Romney; and top foreign policy adviser Dan Senor served in George W. Bush's administration and has deep ties to Washington's neoconservative think tank apparatus.

Meanwhile, Romney also has many key advisers who have no previous connections to him. Senior adviser Ron Kaufman was George H. W. Bush's White House political director. Yet another senior adviser, Bob Wickers, was with Mike Huckabee in 2008.

What does that suggest about Romney, should he be elected? Of course, it's too early to know who among his longtime associates and campaign advisers will win top jobs in a Romney administration, and we certainly don't know how the power positions will shift over time.

To the extent that we can tell, however, it seems likely that Romney's executive office, including White House staff, would be just as tied in to his party's network as that of any recent president. While a somewhat greater proportion may be personally connected to Romney than is the case with, say, Obama—whose personal network coming into office was not nearly as extensive as Romney's is—there's no reason to expect any real distance between him and the Republican Party network. We're not seeing, in personnel, anything that even remotely hints at, for example, an attempted Bain takeover of the executive branch. The bottom line is that it is far more likely that a Mitt Romney presidency will be defined by the Republican Party than that he will define his party. ^{WM}

Jonathan Bernstein is a political scientist who writes about American politics at a Plain Blog About Politics, the *Washington Post*, and the *Washington Monthly*.



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INTRODUCTION: A DIFFERENT KIND OF COLLEGE RANKING

By the Editors

In the last twelve months, public anxiety about student debt has reached a boiling point. The Occupy protests that began in 2011 included large numbers of unemployed young college graduates with five-figure indentures to the higher education–banking complex. In recent months, total outstanding student loan debt topped \$1 trillion, more than Americans owe on credit cards.

Congressional hearings and calls for massive debt forgiveness marked a growing realization that higher education's three-decade binge of tuition hikes—during which college prices *tripled* after inflation—has degraded the bargain society strikes with its young people. In the not-so-distant past, most undergraduates could rely on a combination of work and parental support to get a bachelor's degree debt free. No longer. Today nearly two-thirds of undergraduates leave college with debt averaging more than \$25,000. In more extreme cases, twenty-one-year-olds are burdened with six-figure obligations, in the worst job market in decades.

As a nation, we are inadvertently conducting a grand social experiment in which a new generation of young people is starting life attached to a financial ball and chain. Americans have long looked to higher education as a source of social mobility and public good. Increasingly, it is becoming something much different, and much worse: a narrowing aperture of opportunity through which only the children of the wealthy emerge unscathed.

But you wouldn't know it by reading the latest *U.S. News & World Report* college rankings. That well-known list actually *rewards* colleges for spending more money, raising prices, and shutting out all but the most privileged students. While the college cost crisis has many causes, including stingy state legislatures and institutions that have resisted becoming more cost-effective, the relentless chase for status is undeniably driving prices up. There's nothing wrong with rankings per se—colleges need outside scrutiny and students

need information to make choices in a complicated market. But rankings that push individual colleges to heedlessly raise prices help precipitate a collective crisis that threatens to undermine institutions that are vital to the nation's future prosperity and civic life.

That's why, since 2005, the *Washington Monthly* has published rankings that pose a different question: What are colleges doing for the country? After all, higher education matters to more than just the people who attend. We all benefit when university researchers produce groundbreaking research in science, medicine, and technology.

For more on our rankings and the latest in higher education reform news, go to the College Guide section of our Web site, at WashingtonMonthly.com/College_Guide

We're all affected by the productivity of our knowledge workers and the integrity of our college-educated leaders. And we all pay for it through hundreds of billions of dollars in public subsidies to higher education, costs that are rapidly increasing in response to tuition increases that never seem to end.

The *Washington Monthly* rankings are based on three factors. The first is social mobility, which gives colleges credit for enrolling many low-income students and helping them earn degrees. The second recognizes research production, particularly at schools whose undergraduates go on to earn PhDs. Third, we value a commitment to service. The more expensive college becomes, the more students are encouraged to see higher education as a mere return on investment. The students in our best colleges are taught by example and design to look beyond themselves and give back.

TOP 30 NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

RANK IN *U.S.*
NEWS (2012)

1.	UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA–SAN DIEGO (CA)	37
2.	Texas A&M University (TX)	58
3.	Stanford University (CA)	5
4.	Univ. of North Carolina–Chapel Hill (NC)	29
5.	University of California–Berkeley (CA)	21
6.	University of California–Los Angeles (CA)	25
7.	Case Western Reserve University (OH)	38
8.	University of Washington–Seattle (WA)	42
9.	University of California–Riverside (CA)	97
10.	Georgia Institute of Technology–Main (GA)	36
11.	Harvard University (MA)	1
12.	Univ. of Texas–El Paso (TX)	Rank not published
13.	University of Michigan–Ann Arbor (MI)	28
14.	University of California–Santa Barbara (CA)	42
15.	Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MA)	5
16.	University of Notre Dame (IN)	19
17.	University of California–Davis (CA)	38
18.	University of Wisconsin–Madison (WI)	42
19.	Cornell University (NY)	15
20.	Princeton University (NJ)	1
21.	University of Florida (FL)	58
22.	Univ. of Illinois–Urbana-Champaign (IL)	45
23.	University of Texas–Austin (TX)	45
24.	College of William and Mary (VA)	33
25.	Tufts University (MA)	29
26.	Duke University (NC)	10
27.	University of Pennsylvania (PA)	5
28.	University of Minnesota–Twin Cities (MN)	68
29.	University of Chicago (IL)	5
30.	Vanderbilt University (TN)	17

And because the cost of higher education has become so crucial, we have added a new factor to our college rankings this year. The social mobility measure that rewards colleges with better-than-expected graduation rates has been improved to account for college prices. Colleges that are both effective and inexpensive get the highest marks. As Robert Kelchen and Rachel Fishman explain in more detail on page 31, some institutions are doing an outstanding job while keeping prices low at the same time, helping students earn valuable diplomas without being shackled by debt.

The complete list of our national university rankings begins on page 54, liberal arts colleges on page 68, and master's universities and baccalaureate colleges on page 80. Some of the names are familiar. But others show that rank-

ing colleges by social mobility, research, and service produces surprising results. Some famous (and expensive) colleges that routinely top the *U.S. News* rankings fare poorly by our lights, while some far less costly institutions are providing huge benefits to their students and their nation. Here are highlights from the 2012 *Washington Monthly* college rankings.

Public Trust

When the *U.S. News* rankings were first published in the 1980s, some public universities ranked near the top. But over time, publics have been overtaken by private institutions working from a standard playbook: spend more, charge more, and cater almost exclusively to the rich and upper-upper-middle class. Our national rankings, by contrast, are far more hospitable to what sometimes seems like an endangered species: accessible, affordable, high-quality public universities. The University of California, San Diego is, as in 2011, our top-ranked national university. Six of our top twenty universities hail from the UC system, a testament to their commitment to enroll an economically diverse student body while supporting world-class research. Tragically, the system has been rocked by budget cuts and price increases in recent years. We hope this trend is reversed before the UC campuses fade from prominence.

Well-known private universities, by contrast, look different when judged by our criteria. Yale is only forty-first on our ranking. New York University, which has floated to national prominence on a sea of student debt, is seventy-seventh. NYU ranked thirty-three places higher in 2011, but our new cost-adjustment measure penalizes it for being among the most expensive universities in America. Similarly, Northeastern University in Boston has climbed eighty-eight places in the *U.S. News* rankings since 2001, all the way to sixty-second, within shouting distance of the coveted "First Tier." We rank Northeastern number 237, in the bottom 20 percent of all national universities. Why? Because Northeastern doesn't enroll very many low-income students, graduates fewer students than it should, and is unusually expensive. Most national universities are better than Northeastern at graduating students who go on to earn PhDs, and the university's faculty research awards and service statistics are mediocre. Universities that purchase a facade of greatness are recognized by *U.S. News*, but not by us.

Liberal Values

Our ranking of liberal arts colleges also reveals institutions that stand out in unconventional ways. Bryn Mawr is ranked first this year, continuing a long tradition of women's colleges serving their country. Berea College in Kentucky is ranked third, far above its *U.S. News* position, because it enrolls a predominantly low-income student population and charges no tuition. Most colleges with 90 percent of students eligible for

TOP 30

LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES

RANK IN U.S.
NEWS (2012)

1.	BRYN MAWR COLLEGE (PA)	25
2.	Swarthmore College (PA)	3
3.	Berea College (KY)	71
4.	Carleton College (MN)	6
5.	Harvey Mudd College (CA)	18
6.	New College of Florida (FL)	94
7.	Williams College (MA)	1
8.	Macalester College (MN)	25
9.	Wellesley College (MA)	6
10.	Amherst College (MA)	2
11.	Knox College (IL)	71
12.	Oberlin College (OH)	24
13.	Wesleyan University (CT)	12
14.	Reed College (OR)	57
15.	Smith College (MA)	19
16.	Davidson College (NC)	11
17.	Tougaloo College (MS)	Rank not published
18.	Haverford College (PA)	10
19.	St. John's College (MD)	139
20.	Grinnell College (IA)	19
21.	Vassar College (NY)	14
22.	Millsaps College (MS)	85
23.	Willamette University (OR)	57
24.	Kalamazoo College (MI)	68
25.	Warren Wilson College (NC)	162
26.	Pomona College (CA)	4
27.	Rhodes College (TN)	51
28.	Bates College (ME)	21
29.	Guilford College (NC)	157
30.	Whitman College (WA)	42

Pell Grants struggle to graduate even half of their students; at Berea nearly two-thirds finish in a reasonable amount of time.

Tougaloo College, a small, private, historically black institution in Mississippi, has struggled financially in recent years. But it continues to enroll large numbers of low-income students, graduate more of them than expected, and keep prices low. Tougaloo also ranks above better-known colleges in research, helping to put the college in the top twenty on our rankings. The Johnnies of St. John's College in Maryland (number nineteen) remain proudly independent, sticking to a "Great Books" curriculum even as many colleges eschew any curriculum at all. It's not for everyone, which is probably why the college's 73 percent graduation rate, while respectable, is still slightly below par. But those who remain go on to earn PhDs at a rate far beyond their numbers, and the college's success in sending graduates into the Peace Corps is just as impressive. St. John's also has a campus in New Mexico, which, for very similar reasons, ranks second on our list of master's universities.

Everyday Excellence

Research universities and liberal arts colleges that draw students from across the nation get the lion's share of attention from the media. But huge numbers of students attend regional, master's-granting universities and colleges that focus on job-related fields along with the liberal arts. The best of them give far more to their country than do their more prominent peers.

Elizabeth City State University, a public, historically black institution in North Carolina, tops our ranking of baccalaureate institutions. Tuskegee University, another historically black college, comes in at number three. Both enroll large numbers of low-income students and graduate more of them than statistics predict. Elizabeth City is extremely affordable, with one of the lowest reported net prices in the nation. Tuskegee maintains a strong pipeline into the ROTC program, and tops all but a handful of peers in research. Converse College, an economically diverse all-female liberal arts college in South Carolina, is our third-ranked master's institution, by virtue of its strong commitment to service and record of graduating women who go on to earn PhDs.

Better Measures

The larger the cost of college grows, the more important it becomes for college graduates to find well-paying jobs that allow them to pay back their loans. Since 2006, the *Washington Monthly* has been advocating for public officials to publish employment results for individual colleges, such as average earnings among graduates one, three, and five years after leaving college, and the percentage of students who land jobs in their fields of study.

College is about more than getting a job, of course. At its best, higher education helps produce a more enlight-

ened, humane citizenry. But most students go after a degree because they know the modern economy affords few opportunities for a good career without one. When they choose colleges, they should know which institutions are most likely to help them succeed. And the cost of generating these measures is trivial—state and federal labor agencies already keep track of earnings in order to calculate unemployment insurance, enforce child support orders, and distribute Social Security benefits. The biggest barrier to giving students information about college success in the employment arena is colleges themselves, whose lobbyists have opposed attempts to publish the data and often refuse to comply with employment disclosure regulations that are already on the books. Some colleges aren't doing a good job

training their students for the workforce, and they'd rather nobody knew it.

That veil of secrecy took a major blow this summer, when the U.S. Department of Education released the first results from its effort to crack down on abusive for-profit colleges. The so-called "gainful employment" regulations rate college programs on the percentage of graduates who are repaying their loans and the ratio of student debt to student earnings. The earnings data comes from the Social Security Administration. At little cost, the federal government was able, for the first time, to provide comprehensive, comparable measures of a critical higher education outcome for colleges nationwide.

The next step should be to expand this effort to all programs, for-profit and nonprofit. That doesn't mean we should regulate them in the same way—philosophy majors are clearly looking for something different than people who enroll in culinary school. But as the stakes in choosing a college grow higher and the array of options in the marketplace grows more diverse and confusing, it's critically important to arm students and parents with as much information as possible to make an informed choice, and to hold colleges accountable for results.

President Obama took a step in this direction in January, during the State of the Union address, when he said, "We can't just keep subsidizing skyrocketing tuition. We'll

run out of money." He called on states to stop slashing higher education budgets, but was clear that colleges were culpable, too: "So let me put colleges and universities on notice: If you can't stop tuition from going up, the funding you get from taxpayers will go down." Accompanying materials from the White House noted that "the President is proposing to shift some Federal aid away from colleges that don't keep net tuition down and provide good value."

The key word is *value*. Paying a lot of money for college might be a good idea if the student gets a great education in return. A cheap college might not be a bargain. The problem is that nobody really knows what college students are getting in return, because information about how much they learn and earn is being suppressed by colleges that are scared to be held accountable for the quality of their work. The only plausible long-term solution to the college cost crisis is more value competition in the marketplace, and that can't happen if value information doesn't exist.

President Obama's proposal died a quiet death in the Senate a few months ago, a testament to the power of the higher education lobby. That's to be expected—it took decades to reform health care, and the struggle continues. But in the long run, colleges and universities won't be able to hide from information. And when that information becomes available, we'll be first in line to use it on the nation's behalf. ^{WM}



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AMERICA'S BEST- BANG-FOR-THE- BUCK COLLEGES

IN THIS YEAR'S RANKINGS, WE SHOW WHICH SCHOOLS GET THEIR STUDENTS OVER THE FINISH LINE AT A REASONABLE PRICE.

By Rachel Fishman and Robert Kelchen

The main flaw in most college rankings is that they tend to measure how prestigious institutions are rather than how effectively they serve their students. Indeed, many schools have moved up the *U.S. News & World Report* rankings by abandoning the students they traditionally serve in favor of recruiting “a better sort” by raising their admissions standards.

The *Washington Monthly* has long believed that such behavior by colleges doesn't serve the broader interests of the country, and that rewarding such behavior is wrong. And so the magazine designed its own ranking system to do the opposite: to rate colleges based on how well they perform with the students they have, regardless of the students' backgrounds or SAT scores, on metrics that measure the widely shared national goals of increasing social mobility, producing research, and inspiring public service.

One goal that has long been missing in the magazine's rankings, however, is cost-effectiveness. After all, college may be a good investment, but not if you pay too much for it. Pursuing a college education still makes economic sense for most students, but that won't be true for much longer if tuitions continue to rise, as they have for years, at rates faster even than health care costs.

So this year, the *Washington Monthly* rankings incorporate a new measure we call the “cost-adjusted graduation rate.” This involves tweaking the calculations the magazine has long used to derive a school's social mobility score. In the past, we predicted a college's graduation rate using the median SAT/ACT score of each school and the percentage of its students receiving Pell Grants and then compared it to the actual graduation rate. This year, we made two changes. First, to increase our ability to predict graduation rates, we used additional student and

institutional characteristics, such as the percentage of students attending full time and the admit rate. Second, to get at cost-effectiveness, we took the gap between the predicted and actual graduation rate of a school and divided it by the net price of attending that institution. (Net price represents the average price that first-time, full-time students pay after subtracting the need-based financial aid they receive.) The aim of our new cost-adjusted graduation rate is to highlight those colleges that use their resources to effectively educate students at a relatively low cost—and to call out those that burn though tuition dollars without much to show for it.

What did we find? First, that colleges and universities that do well by this measure tend to be public institutions. That's not a surprise, given that tuition at these schools is kept relatively low by state subsidies (though per-student subsidies have been declining in many states). It also turns out that quite a few minority-serving institutions, such as the University of Texas–El Paso and Elizabeth City State University, score near the top of the list.

What may be surprising, however, is that some of the highly ranked universities from *U.S. News*, including Carnegie Mellon and the University of Southern California, rank near the bottom. Even though these institutions have high graduation rates, the types of students that they enroll are already expected to graduate at high rates. Moreover, these schools tend to be expensive, with net prices that can top more than \$30,000 per year.

Here are some examples of different kinds of colleges and universities that are able to graduate the students who can be the most difficult to get across the finish line at a relatively low average net price.

Research Universities



SAN DIEGO STATE UNIV. (CA)

Predicted grad rate: 54%

Actual grad rate: 66%

Net price: \$7,817

Reason it made the cut: According to *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education*, SDSU ranks twentieth in the nation for bachelor's degrees conferred on ethnic minorities.

With a predicted graduation rate of 54 percent and an actual graduation rate of 66 percent, SDSU does an impressive job at graduating students given their demographics. This is due in part to a concerted effort by the university to collect and analyze data about its students. With data in hand, SDSU is better able to identify where students run into roadblocks and develop interventions that result in improved outcomes. These interventions include mandatory orientation for first-year and transfer students, special programs for low-income and first-generation college students, a dedicated office for the retention and success of students, and a strong partnership with San Diego's local public schools to ensure that students in the pipeline arrive prepared.

RUTGERS UNIV.-NEWARK (NJ)



Predicted grad rate: 49%

Actual grad rate: 63%

Net price: \$10,207

Reason it made the cut: Rutgers-Newark is a public, urban, non-flagship university that attracts mostly commuter students. Despite its nontraditional student population, its graduation

rate is 14 points better than predicted.

According to *U.S. News*, Rutgers-Newark is the most diverse national university in the United States, with no racial group able to claim majority representation on campus. Its diversity, location, and relatively affordable tuition have attracted a growing student body, adding 3,000 students in less than a decade. As enrollments grow, Rutgers-Newark has pledged to remain accessible to large numbers of first-generation college students. To maintain this mission, the university actively recruits in the city of Newark, where one-quarter of residents live below the poverty line and the median household income is approximately \$35,000. The university's Academic Foundations Center houses both pre-college and undergraduate programs to provide outreach and support to students from disadvantaged backgrounds to help ensure their success.

Master's Colleges



CALIF. STATE-FRESNO (CA)

Predicted grad rate: 39%

Actual grad rate: 51%

Net price: \$5,590

Reason it made the cut: Although Fresno State's graduation rate may seem low, this Hispanic-serving institution (HSI) performs 12 points better than predicted.

Approximately 38 percent of the students at Fresno State are Hispanic, and 52 percent receive Pell Grants. Many of the university's students are the first in their family to go to college. While these characteristics normally yield a student population that is difficult to graduate, Fresno State does relatively well getting their students across the graduation stage. As a member of the Presidents' Alliance for Student Learning and Accountability, Fresno State has committed to gathering, reporting on, and using evidence to improve student learning. Using data has helped the institution to see where students fall through the cracks—those who are between their second and third years, especially those who lack connections and relationships with their major department. With this knowledge, department chairs reach out to every student between their second and third years to act as a point of contact and to provide support.



CITY UNIV. OF NEW YORK-STATEN ISLAND (NY)

Predicted grad rate: 33%

Actual grad rate: 48%

Net price: \$6,675

Reason it made the cut: With 48 percent of incoming students receiving Pell Grants, this institution has a substantial difference between its actual versus predicted graduation rate.

As an urban, commuter institution, the College of Staten Island attracts a diverse group of students from the New York City metro area. Because of the difficulty in retaining commuter students, the college offers many programs to enrich students' academic lives and provide incentives for them to stay invested in finishing their degree. The SEEK program, offered through the City University of New York, helps underprepared students by offering them academic support and financial assistance. In addition, the college has three honors programs, including the Macaulay Honors College University Scholars Program for incoming freshmen who pursue their degree full time. These scholars receive a full tuition scholarship and participate in research projects. They are also provided an additional \$7,500 fund as an incentive to study abroad and do in-depth research.

Baccalaureate Colleges



ELIZABETH CITY STATE UNIV. (NC)

Predicted grad rate: 19%

Actual grad rate: 42%

Net price: \$1,442

Reason it made the cut: While a graduation rate of 42 percent may seem low, Elizabeth City State, a public, historically black universi-

ty, only has a predicted rate of 19 percent. ECSU is doing much better than predicted, and at a very low net price.

Part of ECSU's mission is to provide a student-centered environment, delivered in a manner that enhances student learning. The university has many academic initiatives, including a summer school program to help underprepared students get on track so they arrive in the fall ready to succeed. ECSU recently expanded this program and saw enrollment increase from 1,358 in 2009 to 3,118 in 2010. In addition to a summer program, the university maintains more than twenty other academic programs, including "Motivation, Opportunities, Determination, Excellence and Leadership (MODEL) Scholars," GEAR-UP, Mathematics and Science Education Network, Upward Bound, and TRiO Programs.



COLL. OF THE OZARKS (MO)

Predicted grad rate: 38%

Actual grad rate: 68%

Net price: \$9,854

Reason it made the cut: College of the Ozarks has a relatively low net price and one of the largest differences between predicted and actual graduation rates.

The mission of College of the Ozarks is to provide the advantages of a Christian education to youth who are without sufficient means to procure such education. Similar to Berea (see below), instead of paying tuition, all full-time students work approximately fifteen hours per week on campus to subsidize their education, allowing them to graduate debt free. Ozarks students can work an additional forty hours per week during summer breaks to help cover the cost of room and board, potentially bringing their total cost of attendance to zero. Additionally, students are expected to complete their academic program within eight semesters and require special approval from the dean of the college to extend up to a maximum of two semesters. This policy helps to ensure that students graduate on time. But College of the Ozarks has a low acceptance rate (9 percent) and a small enrollment (1,377 students), reaching only a very specific population of students.

Liberal Arts Colleges



BEREA COLL. (KY)

Predicted grad rate: 50%

Actual grad rate: 64%

Net price: N/A

Reason it made the cut: In addition to an extremely low net price, the gap between the predicted and actual grad rates is 16 points.

Since its founding in 1855, Berea College's scriptural foundation, "God has made of one blood all peoples of the earth," has shaped the institution's programs and culture. Part of Berea's mission today is to provide educational opportunity to students primarily from Appalachia who have great promise and limited economic resources. As a result, more than half of Berea students are first-generation college students, and the average family income for an incoming student is \$29,273. All students receive a four-year scholarship worth up to \$96,400, and every student works approximately ten to fifteen hours per week to earn money to cover the cost of books and food. It is important to note, however, that admission to Berea is highly selective. Even though this college does a great job considering the students it enrolls, its capacity is small.



GRANITE STATE COLL. (NH)

Predicted grad rate: 28%

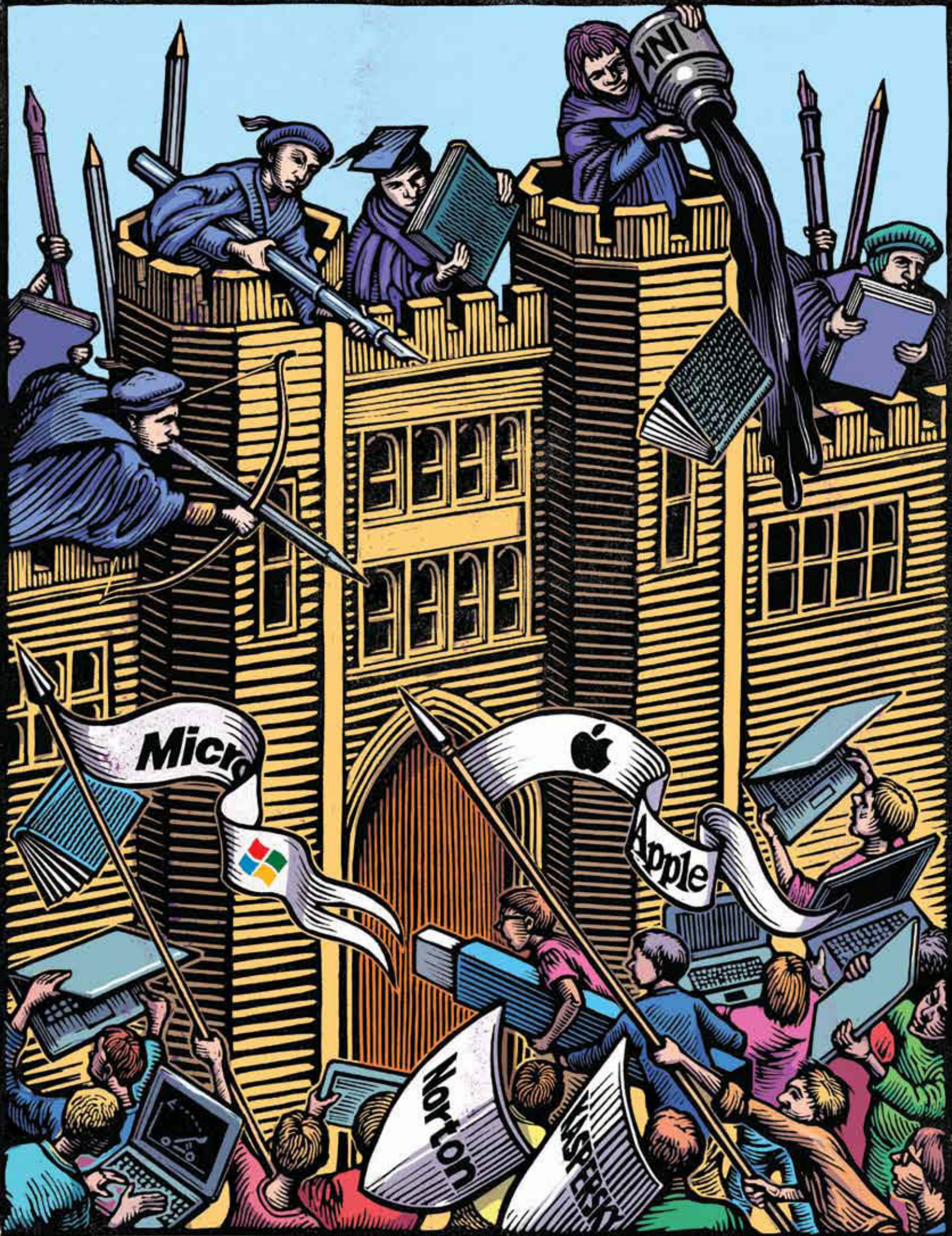
Actual grad rate: 54%

Net price: \$7,485

Reason it made the cut: With an average student age of thirty-six, Granite State serves mostly adult, nontraditional students through a variety of flexible degree programs.

Granite State College is one of the four institutions that comprise the University System of New Hampshire. In addition to being New Hampshire's leader in delivering online higher education, Granite State's primary mission is to serve as the system's college for adults. The college's open admissions policy and multiple academic centers throughout the state ensure that its reach is broad. And by offering flexible degree programs in high-demand fields and credit for prior learning, the college makes it possible for students to balance the responsibilities of school, work, and family. Granite State also offers intensive classes to help accelerate the path to a degree, like a course that spans only four weekends or six Saturdays instead of twelve to fifteen weeks. ^{WM}

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THE SIEGE OF ACADEME

FOR YEARS, SILICON VALLEY HAS FAILED TO BREACH THE WALLS OF HIGHER EDUCATION WITH DISRUPTIVE TECHNOLOGY. BUT THE TIDE OF BATTLE IS CHANGING. A REPORT FROM THE FRONT LINES.

By Kevin Carey

It's three o'clock in the afternoon on Easter, and I'm standing on a wooden deck in the Corona Heights neighborhood of San Francisco, looking out toward Nob Hill. A man is cooking large slabs of meat on a gas grill as two dozen people mingle with glasses of bourbon and bottles of beer in the cool, damp breeze blowing in off the ocean. All of these people are would-be movers and shakers in American higher education—the historic, world-leading system that constitutes one of this country's greatest economic assets—but not one of them is an academic. They're all tech entrepreneurs. Or, as the local vernacular has it, hackers.

Some of them are the kinds of hackers a college dean could love: folks who have come up with ingenious but polite ways to make campus life work better. Standing over there by the case of Jim Beam, for instance, are the founders of OneSchool, a mobile app that helps students navigate college by offering campus maps, course schedules, phone directories, and the like in one interface. The founders are all computer science majors who dropped out of Penn State last semester. I ask the skinniest and geekiest among them how he joined the company. He was first recruited last spring, he says, when his National Merit Scholarship profile mentioned that he likes to design iPhone apps in his spare time. He's nineteen years old.

But many of the people here are engaged in business pursuits far more revolutionary in their intentions. That preppy-looking guy near the barbecue? He's launching a company called Degreed, which aims to upend the traditional monopoly that colleges and universities hold over the minting of professional credentials; he wants to use publicly available data like academic rank and grade inflation to standardize the comparative value of differ-

ent college degrees, then allow people to add information about what they've learned outside of college to their baseline degree "score." It's the kind of idea that could end up fizzling out before anyone's really heard of it, or could, just maybe, have huge consequences for the market in credentials. And that woman standing by the tree? She's the recent graduate of Columbia University who works for a company called Kno, which is aiming to upset the \$8 billion textbook industry with cheaper, better, electronic textbooks delivered through tablet computers. And then there's the guy standing to her right wearing a black fleece zip-up jacket: five days ago, he announced the creation of the Minerva Project, the "first new elite American university in over a century."

Last August, Marc Andreessen, the man whose Netscape Web browser ignited the original dot-com boom and who is now one of Silicon Valley's most influential venture capitalists, wrote a much-discussed op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal*. His argument was that "software is eating the world." At a time of low start-up costs and broadly distributed Internet access that allows for massive economies of scale, software has reached a tipping point that will allow it to disrupt industry after industry, in a dynamic epitomized by the recent collapse of Borders under the giant foot of Amazon. And the next industries up for wholesale transformation by software, Andreessen wrote, are health care and education. That, at least, is where he's aiming his venture money. And where Andreessen goes, others follow. According to the National Venture Capital Association, investment in education technology companies increased from less than \$100 million in 2007 to nearly \$400 million last year. For the huge generator of innovation, technology, and wealth

that is Silicon Valley, higher education is a particularly fat target right now.

This hype has happened before, of course. Back in the 1990s, when Andreessen made his first millions, many people confidently predicted that the Internet would render brick-and-mortar universities obsolete. It hasn't happened yet, in part because colleges are a lot more complicated than retail bookstores. Higher education is a publicly subsidized, heavily regulated, culturally entrenched sector that has stubbornly resisted digital rationalization. But the defenders of the ivy-covered walls have never been more nervous about the Internet threat. In June, a panicked board of directors at the University of Virginia fired (and, after widespread outcry, rehired) their president, in part because they worried she was too slow to move Thomas Jefferson's university into the digital world.

The ongoing carnage in the newspaper industry provides an object lesson of what can happen when a long-established, information-focused industry's business

For the huge generator of innovation, technology, and wealth that is Silicon Valley, higher education is a particularly fat target right now.

model is challenged by low-price competitors online. The disruptive power of information technology may be our best hope for curing the chronic college cost disease that is driving a growing number of students into ruinous debt or out of higher education altogether. It may also be an existential threat to institutions that have long played a crucial role in American life.

I'm here at this party and in the Bay Area for the next few days to observe the habits, folkways, and codes of the barbarians at the gate—to see how close they've come toward finding business models and technologies that could wreak such havoc on higher education. My guide, and my host at this party—he organized the event for my benefit—is a man named Michael Staton. With sandy-blond hair, blue eyes, and a sunburned complexion, Michael is thirty-one—old by start-up standards—and recently married. He's the president and “chief evangelist” of Inigral, a company he created five years ago to build college-branded social networks for incoming undergraduates. But just as importantly for my purposes, he's also one of those people who has a knack for connecting with

others, a high-link node in a growing network of education technology entrepreneurs who have set their sights on the mammoth higher education industry.

One of the bedrooms in the house where we're mingling and drinking was Inigral's headquarters for the first eight months of its existence, back when the founders were “bootstrapping” the company, which is valley-speak for growing the business on their own using credit cards, waiting tips, plasma donation proceeds, and other sources that don't involve the investment dollars that can shoot a start-up toward fame and fortune at the price of diluting the founder's ownership and control. The longer someone can manage to feed themselves with ramen noodles and keep things going via bootstrapping, the more of their company they'll ultimately get to keep—unless someone else comes up with the same idea, takes the venture capital (VC) money earlier, and uses it to blow them to smithereens. The start-up culture is full of such tough decisions about money, timing, and power, which are, in their own way, just as complicated and risky as the task of building new businesses that will delight the world and disrupt a trillion-dollar market.

After the guests leave, Michael and I retire to the living room with one of his colleagues, Nick. The conversation comes around to how the money works. Nick explains that, nowadays, there is a basic philosophical divide among venture capitalists. One way of thinking goes like this: technology is a winner-takes-all world. For every Facebook, there are dozens of Friendsters lying in a pile of dead companies with silly made-up names. The difference between winning and losing everything often comes down to timing and execution. Everyone knew social networks would be huge. Mark Zuckerberg just did it better, so he won. Talent, meanwhile, is always scarce. So the VC guys try to identify the smartest people with the best teams in their quest to back the winner who takes all.

The second way of thinking—the one that Nick finds more plausible—is that the world is too complicated and chaotic to accurately predict which company will have the exact combination of talent, luck, and timing to be victorious. There's no way to know who will come out of the scrum with the ball. Therefore, the smart strategy is to invest in the entire scrum—to bet on *categories*, not people. The recent surge of money into higher education start-ups reflects growing interest in the category. My goal is to find out what it's like in the middle of the scrum.

It's 10:30 a.m. on my first full day in the valley. I'm in San Mateo, twenty miles south of San Francisco, at the offices of Learn Capital, an education-focused venture capital firm. Having driven down from the city in Michael's Honda CRV, he and I take the elevator to the second floor, where one of the firm's partners, Nathaniel Whittemore, brings us into a glass-walled conference room. We walk by five people sitting around a table, some

with headphones on, each staring intently at a thirteen-inch MacBook Air. “Do they work for you?” I ask, nodding at the people outside the glass, assuming they’re junior investment analysts or somesuch. “No,” he says. “They’re one of our investments. That’s OpenStudy.”


By which he means: the entirety of the company known as OpenStudy—its personnel and infrastructure—was sitting around that table. OpenStudy is a Web site that allows people to create online study groups, for free. “Tired of studying alone?” their site asks. “Connect with learners studying the same things you are.” OpenStudy says it has 100,000 students from 170 countries and 1,600 schools. Because all of the computing capacity, electronic memory, secure backup, and related telecommunication infrastructure necessary to do this can be bought as cheap commodities from a remote provider, the actual physical infrastructure needed to run an ed tech start-up like OpenStudy consists of, in its entirety, five lovely aluminum computers (nearly everyone I meet in Silicon Valley has a thirteen-inch Air), five ergonomically designed black chairs (they are always black), one table, and a wi-fi connection.

I ask Nathaniel about how Learn Capital sees the world. Is the real money to be made, per Marc Andreessen, in eating the existing education industry? Or will it be in providing services to the industry, helping them


do what they do better? In terms popularized by Harvard business professor Clayton Christensen, this is the difference between “disruptive” and “sustaining” innovation.

Nathaniel says that’s an “ideological” question. Learn Capital looks for two things, he says: “highly relevant niche plays,” which sound like a sustaining innovation, and winner-takes-all “platforms,” which sound like university eaters to me. In fact, if one word defines the dialogue of my trip to the valley, it is “platform.” Investors want to put their money in platforms, and start-ups want to build platforms, because right now, and for the foreseeable future, platforms rule the world.

The idea itself isn’t new. Wal-Mart builds platforms—actual, physical platforms, made of concrete, with walls around them and a roof overhead. Then it connects those platforms to several gigantic networks of transportation, telecommunications, and commerce, thus connecting tens of thousands of companies that manufacture things to hundreds of millions of people who want to buy things. Because Wal-Mart owns the platforms on which those transactions take place, it makes money with every sale. Because Wal-Mart is unusually good at figuring out where to put platforms and how to manage those gigantic networks, it is currently the world’s largest private employer.



THE PUBLIC HONORS COLLEGE



Ranked
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top 5

1:12

22
majors

+

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Making a lot of money on the Internet tends to involve building platforms for electronic commerce. The great thing about it is that you don't have to build thousands of different platforms that are physically located near your customers. You only have to build *one*. EBay? A platform for auctions and person-to-person sales. Amazon? First a platform for books and now for a great many other things. Craigslist is a platform for buying and selling things that are inherently local, like concert tickets, apartment rentals, used stereo equipment, and prostitutes. Netflix is a platform for buying and selling movie rentals, iTunes for music, the iPhone for apps. The platform builders are kings of the virtual universe.

And, of course, Facebook: the social platform. With a key difference. The first generation of platforms involved taking small pieces of larger transactions. Wal-Mart had \$447 billion in revenues last year, but in a way that overstates the size of the company, because it also had over

Higher education is a publicly subsidized, heavily regulated, culturally entrenched sector that has stubbornly resisted digital rationalization. But the defenders of the ivy-covered walls have never been more nervous about the Internet threat.

\$400 billion in expenditures, most of which went to buying things from manufacturers and reselling them to customers. When a customer rings out of Wal-Mart with a bill of \$100, most of that money doesn't go to Wal-Mart shareholders. It goes to a combination of Wal-Mart's suppliers and the millions of people who work as employees in Wal-Mart stores.

Facebook is different. It pays *nothing* for the untold terabytes of valuable information exchanged on its platform. The users generate it themselves. It doesn't pay for the telecommunications infrastructure needed to exchange information—that's between users and giant telecoms like Verizon, Comcast, and AT&T. The only cost to Facebook is software development and data storage, which becomes ever cheaper as Moore's law and its storage equivalents march on. And because it only has to build one platform, not thousands, it only has to employ a few thousand employees, not, like Wal-Mart, more than

two million. In May, Facebook launched the largest tech IPO of all time.

So the VC guys and the start-ups look at K-12 and higher education, which between them cost over \$1 trillion per year in America, and much more around the world. They see businesses that are organized around communication between people and the exchange of information, two things that are increasingly happening over the Internet. Right now, nearly all of that communication and exchange happens on physical platforms—schools and colleges—that were built a long time ago. A huge amount of money is tied up in labor and business arrangements that depend on things staying that way. How likely are they to stay that way, in the long term? Sure, there are a ton of regulatory protections and political complications tied up in the fact that most education is funded by the taxpayer. As always, the timing would be difficult, and there is as much risk in being too early as too late.

Still, \$1 trillion, just *sitting* there. And how much does it cost for a firm like Learn Capital to invest in a few people sitting around a table with their MacBook Airs? That's a cheap lottery ticket with a huge potential jackpot waiting for whomever backs the winning education platform.

After chatting with Nathaniel for a while, I eventually yield the floor to a young guy named Parker, an aspiring entrepreneur who graduated from Amherst last May, who's come to pitch an idea for a start-up in hopes of scoring seed money. In November he had an idea for a new company he calls eHighLighter, which sells a smartphone app that lets you take a picture of a book page and convert it to a document on which you can then highlight text, categorize it, save it, and otherwise organize it in useful ways. He put some bootstrapping money together and used it to hire six computer programmers in Bangalore to design the "user interface" and "user experience" (UI and UX) for the company.

He gives a short, practiced explanation of what the app does, then pulls out his white iPhone—everyone here has not only an iPhone 4S but a *white* iPhone 4S—and shows Nathaniel some screen captures of the product. The pitch takes about five minutes. Nathaniel nods, listens, and says, nicely but decisively, "I'm not sure I buy it." He sees eHighLighter as an intermediate technology, a bridge to the eventual transition from paper to electronic books. What then? Parker is ready for this and cites statistics about the slow rate at which libraries are scanning in physical books, and they have a friendly back-and-forth about this, with Nathaniel offering useful advice about going after specific market segments—PhD candidates who live in archives, for example. But his initial judgment remains unchanged.

Parker doesn't seem particularly crestfallen. It's his first pitch; there will probably be more, and the prospect of hitting a home run never seems that far off around

here. Less than a year out of Amherst with nothing but a few iPhone screen captures and Parker can walk into a room full of money and get the money's attention. You can't ask for more than that.

As we're wrapping up the meeting, suddenly everyone starts fiddling with their white iPhones at once. "Facebook just bought Instagram for \$1 billion," Michael says. This is, in many ways, local news. Lots of people here know the Instagram guys, have run into them at parties, or have otherwise overlapped circles in the small valley world. So it's slightly vertiginous to wake up the next morning and see the story of how the creators of an iPhone photo-sharing app struck it rich above the fold on the free copy of *USA Today* the hotel leaves in front of my door. Instagram comes up in nearly every meeting I attend for the next three days.

Back in San Francisco, we meet Ben Nelson, founder and president of the richly funded but still entirely theoretical Minerva Project. Michael and I meet him at an Asian restaurant in the hip SoMa (South of Market Street) district of San Francisco. Nelson is wearing another black fleece zip-up jacket. He's half a generation older than most of the start-up people I talk to—meaning late thirties—and spent more than five years as the CEO of the photo-sharing company Snapfish. Minerva made news in the valley the week before by getting \$25 million in start-up funding from Benchmark Capital, the single biggest seed investment the firm, whose past investments include eBay, Twitter, and Instagram, had ever made. Since nobody gives away all or even most of their equity in exchange for initial seed funding, \$25 million implies a substantially larger total valuation. Since these negotiations are essentially speculative and tend to involve round numbers (see: Instagram, \$1 billion), \$100 million is not a bad guess.

Minerva sprang from Nelson's observation that higher education was increasingly a realm of mismatched supply and demand. Recent decades have been generally peaceful and prosperous on planet Earth. There are a lot more people with the desire and ability to pay for higher education than there used to be. Elite American schools are the unchallenged market leaders, which is why applications to Harvard have increased by double digits annually for years, with growing demand from China and other fast-developing economies.

In response to this surge in demand for its product, Harvard has done the following: absolutely nothing. It

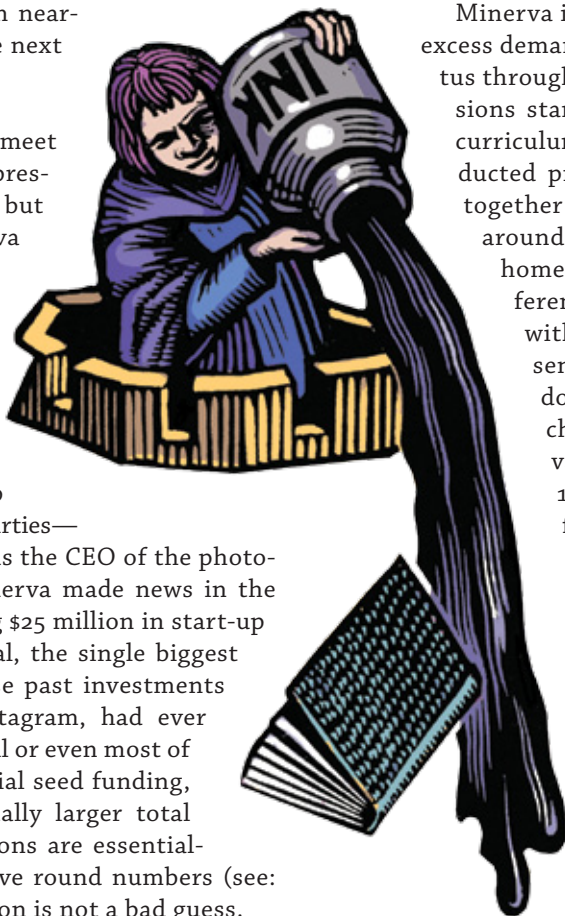
hasn't expanded the size of its freshman class by a single student in the last twenty years. With a few exceptions, this is true for all elite American schools. They don't have to get bigger, they don't want to get bigger, and, anchored as they are to immovable physical places, they can't get bigger in any meaningful or not absurdly expensive way. Yale, one of the exceptions, is currently in the process of expanding its undergraduate enrollment by 15 percent, or about 800 students. This involves building two new "colleges," the rectangular gothic buildings in which Yale undergraduates live and study, at a cost of more than \$600 million—or twenty-four times what Minerva got in seed money, an amount that was repeatedly described to me as shockingly large.

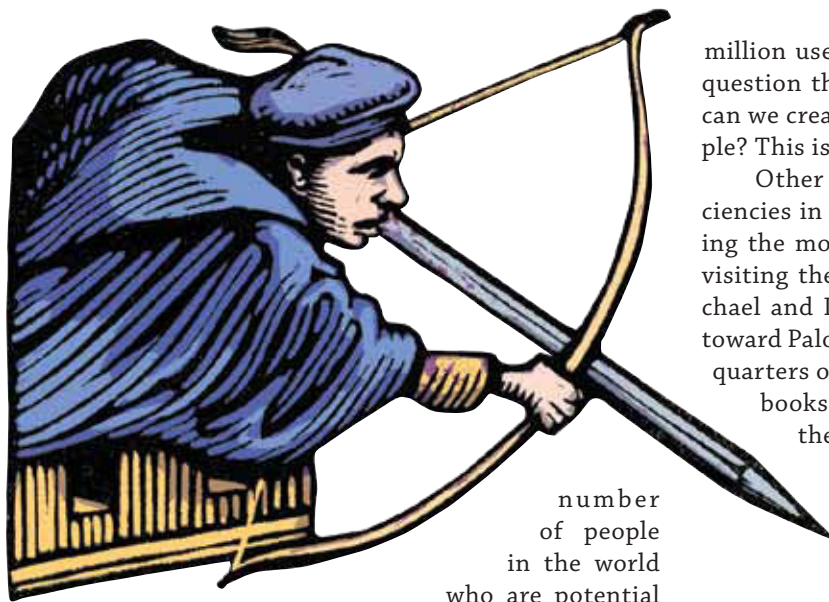
Minerva is designed to soak up this growing excess demand. Nelson plans to signal elite status through a combination of rigorous admissions standards and a nail-tough academic curriculum. While the courses will be conducted primarily online, students will live together in shared housing units in cities around the world. They'll start in their home country and then rotate to different cities in later years, finishing with a capstone project in their chosen major. Nelson figures this can be done for less than half of what Ivies charge students, and that if Minerva ends up with a student body of 10,000 undergraduates it will be a financial success.

In many ways the plausibility of Minerva comes down to a pure numbers game. The world is very big, and the number of students served by elite American schools is very small. They turn down nine out of ten potential customers *now*, and the number of global aspirants is only starting to grow. Nelson expects that 90 percent of Minerva students won't be American.

Even with the inevitable discount applied to newness and online-ness, even with a high bar to get admitted and a second high bar to graduate, at some point the sheer weight of numbers solves everything. Ten thousand is a small amount in a world of seven billion people.

Indeed, *scale* is the oxygen feeding the combustible mix of money, ambition, and technology-driven transformation in the valley. Low margins, uncertain business models, limited marketing budgets—all of these limitations and more can be overcome by scale. And the rapid growth of mobile telecommunications technology means that the





number
of people
in the world
who are potential
customers is quickly moving

toward the number of people in the world.

Minerva isn't the only project in this city—or in this neighborhood, even—playing this numbers game. One company I visited had start-up costs so low that it never even had the need for venture funding; in valley parlance, it was “100 percent bootstrapped.” Quizlet, as the company is called, was started in 2007 by a Bay Area high school student named Andrew Sutherland. The first product was flash cards. If you were learning the names of animals in French, for example (the sophomore-year high school assignment that motivated Sutherland to create Quizlet), you'd create a digital flash card by entering “penguin” on one side and “manchot” on the other. By the time Sutherland was a college junior, the site had three million monthly users. Now the company is a typical San Francisco start-up with black chairs and MacBook Airs. It makes enough money to rent space and pay salaries by running small ads on the site and by selling a premium version for \$15. The ads and subscriptions aren't expensive, but they don't have to be when you've got millions of users and host everything in the Cloud.

To drive home the point of just how cheap it is to be Quizlet, one of its executives asks me how much money the United States spends per year to educate a single student in K–12 education. About \$15,000, I say. That's more than what it costs us per month to host the entire site, serving millions, the executive responds. Quizlet has no sales force, a very small marketing department, and more than seven million monthly unique visitors. (There are about fifty million public school students in the United States.) Quizlet, in its busiest months, during the school year, is among the top 500 most visited sites on the entire Internet. Now they've expanded beyond flash cards. You can create study groups, convert your content into multiplayer games, and search for cards and games that other people have created. We think we can get to 40

million users, then 100 million, says the executive. The question that drives the company, he says, is this: How can we create amazing learning tools for one billion people? This is the way most of the people in the valley talk.

Other companies are starting by exploiting inefficiencies in the existing higher education system and using the money to bankroll more disruptive ideas. After visiting the Quizlet headquarters in San Francisco, Michael and I hopped onto Highway 101 and drove south toward Palo Alto. We stopped at the well-appointed headquarters of Chegg, which is basically the Netflix of text-

books; students rent their textbooks online and then mail them back when they're done. Chegg

has tens of thousands of student-customers and lots of cash, but it knows that sending textbooks back and forth in the mail is not the business of the future. So it has begun expanding into other services, like, for instance, one that creates a marketplace for students to share their class notes with each other. Another company that I visited that afternoon, called Course Hero, conducts a similar business.

Both companies have been on the receiving end of cease-and-desist letters from colleges and universities claiming that student notes of a lecture remain the intellectual property of the lecturer and thus can't be resold for money. But this just highlights the radical changes in power over information wrought by information technology. When colleges were originally built, there were only two ways to get scholarly information: read a book or talk to a smart person. So it made sense to concentrate the books and smart people in distinct places, and colleges benefited enormously from the combination of a growing demand for expert information and the high barriers to entry for building libraries and assembling learned faculty. The college business model depends on holding that position, so they don't take kindly to upstart companies facilitating new ways of sharing their once-scarce information.

And the one thing that sticks with me more than anything else is that the onslaught is shaping up to be relentless.

Perhaps the biggest sign that this assault on the university is of an unprecedented scale is that some of the biggest incumbents have finally started making moves to defend themselves. In Palo Alto one evening, Michael and I walk to a bar and meet a woman who is helping Stanford build out its online higher education infrastructure. For the previous five months, Stanford had been on one end of a fascinating game of higher education technology one-upsmanship. Throughout the fall 2011 semester, a group of well-known Stanford professors had been running an unorthodox experiment by letting over 100,000 students around the world take their courses, online, for free. Those who did well

got a certificate from the professor saying so. Then, in December, MIT announced the creation of MITx, a new nonprofit organization, branded by the university, which would also offer so-called “massively open online courses,” or MOOCs, and would also give certificates to those who earned them—a new kind of academic currency.

In January, some of the Stanford professors broke off from the university and formed a new for-profit company called Udacity, designed to offer the same MOOCs, sans Stanford. In March, some of the other Stanford professors formed another company, Coursera, to offer courses from Princeton, Stanford, Michigan, and Penn, also online, also for free. In May, a few weeks after I returned from the trip, Harvard got into the game by joining the MIT side and founding a larger initiative called edX. Harvard had displayed virtually no interest in online education up to that point. The edX move smacked of an industry leader finding itself in the unfamiliar position of being left behind. In July, the University of Virginia, fresh off its technology-panic leadership crisis, jumped on the Coursera bandwagon along with Duke, Cal Tech, Johns Hopkins, Rice, the University of Edinburgh, and a half-dozen other well-known universities. A week later, UC–Berkeley joined edX. In less than a year, online higher education has gone from the province of down-market for-profit colleges to being embraced by the most famous universities in the world.

Fear is a powerful motivator, and the source of that fear becomes clearest to me on the evening that Michael and I take a drive to the Presidio, a gorgeous, forested area of San Francisco near the Golden Gate Bridge that was once a military base. We park along the sidewalk and walk a short distance under streetlights, dodging sprinklers that are watering thick, green grass. We’re visiting Founders Fund, a major VC firm led by Peter Thiel. Thiel has been a major figure in the valley for years, having gotten phenomenally rich founding PayPal before making an early investment in Facebook now worth several billion dollars. But he was largely unknown in the rest of America until last summer, when he created the “Thiel fellowship.” The idea was to prove a point, which is that higher education is basically bullshit, and probably a bubble of some kind or another, and that it was ridiculous for the smartest students to waste four years and \$250,000 for a bad education when they could be doing something useful, like founding start-ups in the valley and making money instead.

The fellowship program pays twenty people under the age of twenty to leave college and spend their time creating their own business, or something else; it’s up to them. It was a genius PR move, and the timing could not have been better, because it started rolling out just as a group of fed-up people decided to occupy Wall Street. The population of anticapitalist and generally leftily outraged people with enough time on their hands to live in tents

in a public park day and night turned out to be highly correlated with the population of well-educated recent graduates of expensive colleges and universities who, owing to the recent economic catastrophe caused by various greedy and reckless Wall Street financiers, couldn’t get a job that paid enough money to pay back the kind of loans you need to take out to float a \$250,000 tuition bill. They were pissed off and began dominating the public discourse, and so people were primed to hear a famous and interesting valley rich guy say that the whole thing is a corrupt enterprise doomed to collapse in a spectacular, real-estate-market-circa-2008 fashion. The media lapped it up, and soon enough Thiel was featured in long *New York* and *New Yorker* profiles.

It’s past 8:30 when we get into the Founders Fund offices. The space is beautifully appointed (the massive flows of money in and out of the valley have clearly spawned a lucrative ancillary industry in interior design), and the waiting area features a round table, in the

While Minerva’s courses will be conducted primarily online, students will live together in shared housing units in cities around the world. Nelson figures this can be done for less than half of what Ivies charge.

middle of which is a model rocket roughly two feet tall. We sit down with Scott Nolan, who works for Thiel, in the boardroom nearby.

Nolan explains how Thiel (and, thus, Founders Fund) sees the world. A lot of their vision is in a manifesto (that’s what they call it) on their Web site titled “What Happened to the Future? We Wanted Flying Cars, Instead We Got 140 Characters.” Its point is that human progress has been disappointing in recent decades (no flying cars like we were promised), and venture capital is partly to blame. Investors have chased after clever short-term innovations and looked for quick profit, which is not only bad for the world but bad for most investors—since 1999, according to the manifesto, venture capital has lost money on average. Only the top 20 percent are any good. Thiel thinks that the smart money goes with the best people pursuing transformational ideas. He’s not someone who believes in hedging your bets through broad category investment. He wants to find the next Facebook.

Nolan restates Thiel's thesis like this: Most of the money and talent and energy have focused on things that Thiel describes as "1 to N"—in other words, taking an existing thing and making it better or distributing it to more people. Thiel (and, thus, Founders Fund) is interested in "0 to 1"—creating something amazing that genuinely didn't exist before. There is a rough parallel in this to genuinely disrupting education as opposed to simply expanding it to new people or getting rich fixing or exploiting one of its many manifest inefficiencies or absurdities.

I grow curious about how someone who's not very old—I'd guess late twenties or early thirties—ends up helping Peter Thiel invest money. So I ask, and Nolan's story proceeds from undergraduate and graduate degrees in aerospace engineering at Cornell to a job working for another formidably smart and unconventionally minded guy, Elon Musk, who founded PayPal along with Peter Thiel. Musk used his vast PayPal fortune to start three different companies, including Tesla motors, which makes high-performance electric roadsters that

*Harvard's founding of edX
smacked of an industry
leader finding itself in
the unfamiliar position
of being left behind.*

are currently owned by the likes of Matt Damon; a solar energy company; and SpaceX, which recently made its first flight to the International Space Station and that aims to reduce the cost of carrying stuff into space to roughly one-tenth that of NASA's shuttle. The scale model of this rocket is what you see in the waiting room of Founders Fund.

I ask Scott which job is harder: rocket scientist or venture capitalist? He smiles and says it depends. What exactly did he do for SpaceX? I ask. "Do you really want to know?" he replies. Sure—it's been a long day, my head is swimming, and people keep comparing start-up investment to "building a rocket and lighting the fuse." So he walks over to the whiteboard that makes up the entire wall of the conference room and deftly sketches out the inner workings of a rocket engine, showing what happens when thousands of gallons of rocket fuel are sprayed into a chamber of fire, thus igniting and creating fantastic amount of force, the eddies and whorls of which need to be predicted and calculated in minute, down-to-the-millisecond detail, so that the force can be directed down through the closed chamber in which

the initial combustion occurs and out the bottom of the rocket in the form of enough thrust to take something the size and weight of, say, a telecommunications satellite, up and away from the gravitational bonds of our planet. Any flaws in design or misunderstanding of the precise nature of the whorls and eddies result in what Scott calls a RUD—a "rapid unscheduled disassembly," meaning the rocket blows up.

This is, in and of itself, a design challenge daunting enough to keep an engineering geek in bliss. And there's more. The whole point of SpaceX is to make space flight both reliable and cheap. You can get to cheap with cheaper materials—but cheaper might mean weaker and less reliable and thus more likely to cause a RUD. So the real holy grail is a more efficient use of fuel to create thrust. The amount of thrust needed to liberate X amount of weight from the Earth's gravity well is a brute math problem. It's inescapable. And, crucially, as Scott explains it, when the rocket is sitting on the launching pad, most of the weight is fuel.

Most of the weight is fuel.

That stays with me, even after we finally leave Founders Fund, dodging the sprinklers again, and I catch a taxi a few blocks from the gates of the Presidio and head back to SoMa and my hotel. Because when most of the weight is fuel, Scott explains, a reduction in the amount of fuel you need to create thrust increases the payload weight you can move from Earth into orbit along a logarithmic scale. It's not a linear, one-to-one thing. The less fuel you need, the less fuel you need. It's exponential.

This, I realize, is pretty much what's happening to the basic math undergirding the Silicon Valley economy and, with it, the likelihood of higher education encountering some kind of dramatic disruption at the hands of a Musk-like figure. As access to the Internet grows and the cost of everything technological moves toward zero, the amount of money needed to start a company that can grow to scale and just possibly change the world—that can go from 0 to 1—drops along the same kind of exponential scale. When does that cost become functionally indistinguishable from nothing? In the admittedly much less complicated business of photo sharing, it got there nine hours before I arrived at Founders Fund. That's Instagram, the billion-dollar company that consisted of nothing more than a handful of ramen eaters (on the day it was purchased, Instagram had fewer than twenty employees) armed with ergonomic black chairs, wi-fi, and MacBook Airs.

During a meeting on Sand Hill Road, the fabled home of Silicon Valley venture capitalism, one investor told me that the basic model of firms like his making huge startup bets was ripe for disruption. A new breed of venture firms has taken to investing small amounts in start-ups, in the range of \$25,000 to \$50,000. These firms recognize that the cost of starting a new company

is far less than it used to be, which means that investors can spread their money around to more entrepreneurs and ideas. And the entrepreneurs themselves can “fail faster,” a crucial idea in an ecosystem driven by experimentation and groping around for the new new thing. Instead of shooting for the moon by building a beautiful, expensive product and hoping like hell that the whole world comes to your door, the idea now is to build the “minimal viable product,” get it to the market quickly, watch what happens, and iterate like crazy. Because the Cloud is so cheap, it doesn’t take much in the way of money to do this. Because the scale of the entire world is so large, the potential to get big is vast. If that doesn’t work, everyone can move on to the next thing with relatively little time and money wasted.

In the future, anyone with an idea will be able to build a rocket, aim it at the gigantic trillion-dollar market of education, and light the fuse.

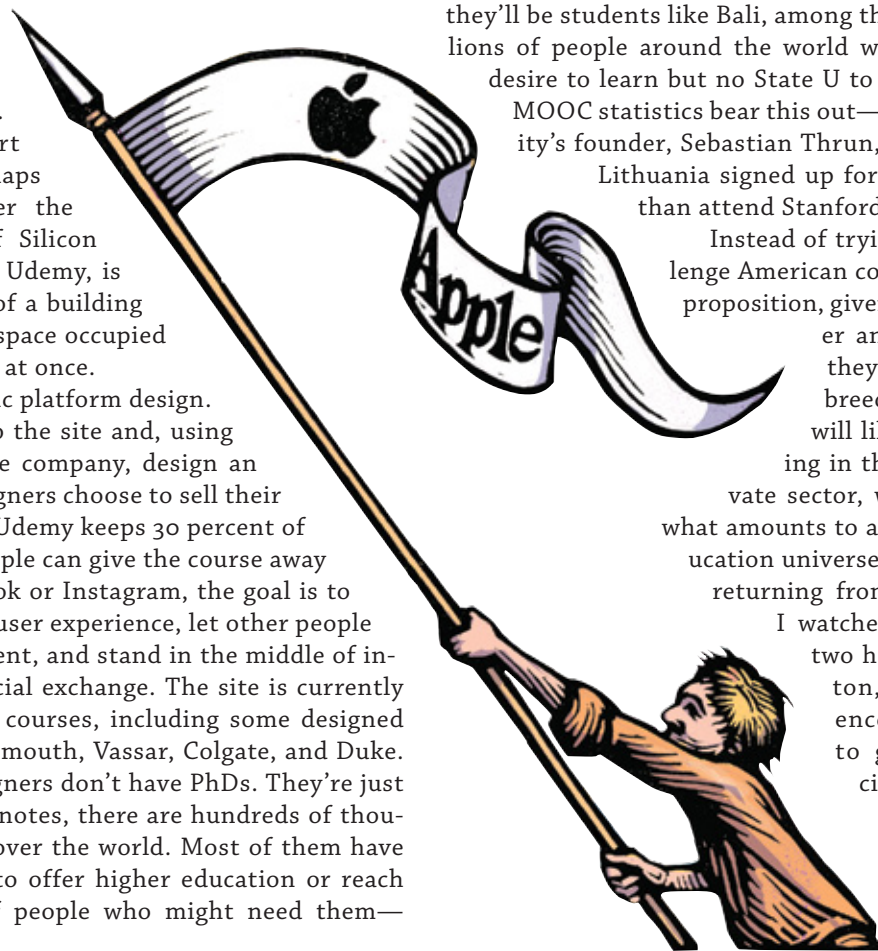
Who will hit the target? I have no idea. It might be someone like Eren Bali, who is in his late twenties and grew up in a rural village in Turkey, near the Iraqi border. A math prodigy, Bali had nowhere to go but the Internet to feed his hunger for information. With free materials he managed to cobble together online, he learned enough to enter and win several international math competitions. That led him to start a Web site and, perhaps inevitably, fall under the gravitational pull of Silicon Valley. His company, Udemy, is on the second floor of a building in SoMa, in an open space occupied by multiple start-ups at once.

Udemy is a classic platform design. Anyone can log on to the site and, using tools provided by the company, design an online course. If designers choose to sell their courses to students, Udemy keeps 30 percent of the revenues. Or, people can give the course away for free. Like Facebook or Instagram, the goal is to create a fun, elegant user experience, let other people create all of the content, and stand in the middle of information and financial exchange. The site is currently hosting hundreds of courses, including some designed by professors at Dartmouth, Vassar, Colgate, and Duke. But most of the designers don’t have PhDs. They’re just experts, and, as Bali notes, there are hundreds of thousands of experts all over the world. Most of them have never had a chance to offer higher education or reach a global audience of people who might need them—until now.

Perhaps Udemy’s democratic nature will give it a leg up in the coming war to build the dominant higher education platform. Maybe the three titans of Harvard, Berkeley, and MIT will propel edX to victory, or maybe the user experience expertise and facility with the economics of Silicon Valley will help Udacity carry the day. Coursera’s marriage of world-class brands with valley know-how seems like a formidable combination. Pearson, the British textbook giant, is working to build a platform of its own. There is a great deal of money and power at stake now. We may not know who and we may not know when, but someone is going to write the software that eats higher education.

It will probably take a little while to digest. Cars and automobiles almost entirely killed the long-distance passenger train industry, for example, but railroads today carry more freight than ever, and it would be almost impossible to build automobiles if railroads did not exist to transport the raw materials. Similarly, TV did not replace radio, but merely diluted its influence. Older models often adapt and endure in significant if less important forms. As the platform wars commence and huge online courses grow in prominence, most of the first adopters won’t be American students forgoing the opportunity to drink beer on weekends at State U. Instead, they’ll be students like Bali, among the hundreds of millions of people around the world with the talent and desire to learn but no State U to attend. The initial MOOC statistics bear this out—according to Udacity’s founder, Sebastian Thrun, more people from Lithuania signed up for his Stanford class than attend Stanford itself.

Instead of trying to directly challenge American colleges—a daunting proposition, given the political power and public subsidies they possess—the new breed of tech start-ups will likely start by working in the unregulated private sector, where they’ll build what amounts to a parallel higher education universe. A few weeks after returning from the West Coast, I watched Eren Bali spend two hours in a Washington, D.C.-area conference room listening to government officials, regulators, and representatives of for-profit higher education corporations discuss



the morass of accreditation rules and federal regulations that make it hard for entrepreneurs to compete directly with traditional schools. Finally, Bali raised his hand and politely said, in effect, I don't understand why any of this matters. I can go online right now and get everything I need to learn—courses, textbooks, videos, other students to study with—for free. And if I need to know what someone else has learned, I can look at their Linked-In profile or their blog to find out.

At a certain point, probably before this decade is out, that parallel universe will reach a point of sophistication and credibility where the degrees—or whatever new word is invented to mean “evidence of your skills and knowledge”—it grants are taken seriously by employers. The online learning environments will be good enough, and access to broadband Internet wide enough, that you won't need to be a math prodigy like Eren Bali to learn, get a credential, and attract the attention of global employers. Companies like OpenStudy, Kno, Quizlet, Chegg, Inegral, and Degreed will provide all manner of supportive services—study groups, e-books, flash cards, course notes, college-focused social networking, and many other fabulous, as-yet-un-invented things. Bali isn't just the model of the new ed tech entrepre-

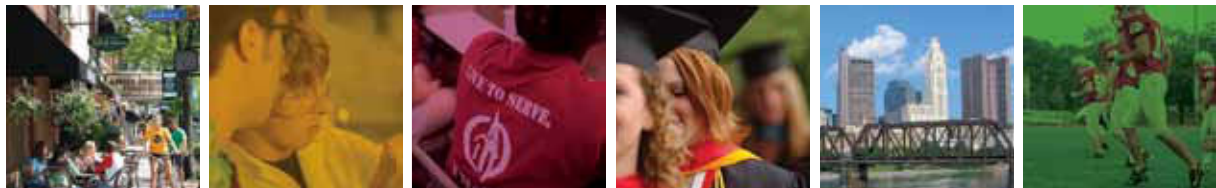
neur—he's the new global student, too, finally able to transcend the happenstance of where he was born.

That's when American colleges and universities will really start to feel the pain. Political pressure will continue to grow for credits earned in low-cost MOOCs to be transferable to traditional colleges, cutting into the profit margins that colleges have traditionally enjoyed in providing large, lecture-based college courses. At the same time, people with huge student loan burdens from overpriced institutions will be undercut in the labor market by foreign-born workers willing to work for less because they incurred no debt in getting valuable credentials in the parallel higher education universe. Colleges with strong brand names and other sources of revenue (e.g., government-sponsored research or acculturating the children of the ruling class) will emerge stronger than ever. Everyone else will scramble to survive as vestigial players.

At least, that's what people are dreaming of in the valley. If history is any guide, some of them are going to be right. ^{WM}

Kevin Carey directs the Education Policy Program at the New America Foundation.

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By Stephen Burd

Tina Schinder/Froghouse Photography, James Porter

Gregory McNeil, 49, is living out his days at a veterans home in Grand Rapids, Michigan. His room is so cramped he can barely fit his twin bed, dresser, and the computer desk he had to sneak in because it was against

regulations. His only income comes from the Social Security disability payments he began receiving last year after undergoing quadruple-bypass heart surgery. These payments go directly to the veterans home, which then gives him \$100

a month for his expenses. McNeil fears that if he leaves the home, the government will seize a portion of his Social Security to pay off the federal student loan he defaulted on two decades ago. “This veterans home may become my financial prison,” he says. “And this is no way to live.”

McNeil’s fears are well grounded. For years, private collection companies acting under contract with the U.S. Department of Education have hounded him. The government garnisheed his wages for a time, and threatened to sue him. He says he always wanted to repay, but has never had the income he would need. Meanwhile, interest continues to accrue on his debt, and has already tripled the amount he owes.

McNeil’s troubles date back to the late 1980s, when, after leaving the Navy, he decided to go back to school to study electronics. He borrowed about \$15,000 in federal student loans to attend a local branch of National Education Centers, a for-profit trade school chain that claimed an exceptional track record in helping students find employment.

More than half of all borrowers who started paying back their student loans in 2005 became delinquent, defaulted, or put their loans into forbearance to delay payments within five years.

He soon realized, however, that the training was much less than advertised. And he discovered that the company—which later shut down, due in part to a high default rate among its former students that threatened its access to federal funding—would do little to help him find a job. “They considered you placed if you were flipping burgers part time at McDonald’s,” he says.

School officials arranged one interview for him, but after that didn’t pan out he didn’t hear from them again. McNeil tried to carry on with a low-paying factory job, but couldn’t keep up with his loan payments and ended up defaulting. He tried rehabilitating his loan, but after he lost his job in the recession of the early 1990s he couldn’t manage even the reduced payments. In 1994, with only \$23 to his name, he felt he had no choice but to file for bankruptcy.

At the time, he thought the judge had discharged all his debts, but in 2001 collection agencies started calling at all hours, demanding payments on his student loans. The government subpoenaed him to appear in court, and the IRS threatened to seize money from his paychecks. Collec-

tion agents told him that his loans had not been discharged through bankruptcy after all, because at the time there was a seven-year waiting period before student loans could be erased through that process. In 2002, he filed for bankruptcy again to force the government’s debt collectors to back off. That worked for a while, but in 2007, the calls resumed, and they haven’t stopped since.

For a brief moment in 2008, McNeil thought he had a shot at making steady payments. He had worked as a machinist for fifteen years and reached journeyman status, meaning that his pay would nearly double, to \$25 an hour. “This opened the door to me finally being able to get my defaulted student loans under control,” he says. But soon afterward, with the economy in Michigan tanking, he was laid off again. With his health failing, he knew his career was over.

Not so long ago, the kind of troubles McNeil has known were generally limited to poor and working-class people who attended shady for-profit trade schools. But these days, more and more middle-class Americans who attended mainstream public and private colleges are having trouble with the loans they took out to finance their educations, and they too are getting caught in the often brutal gears of the system that manages those loans. In the absence of serious reform, the feelings of rage and helplessness that accompany such experiences are likely to become much more common.

One reason is the ever-rising cost of higher education. In the early 1990s, fewer than half of bachelor’s degree recipients graduated with student debt. Today, two-thirds do. The average amount of debt amassed has risen by 50 percent since 1993, to about \$25,000. According to the Project on Student Debt, the proportion of students who graduated from four-year colleges owing at least \$40,000 has grown, from 3 percent in 1996 to 10 percent in 2008. Four out of five of these recent borrowers took out high-cost private student loans on top of their federal loans.

Undergraduates leaving college today are also entering the worst labor market in decades. More than half are either unemployed or working in jobs that don’t require a college degree. For the 42 percent of college students who drop out before graduation, the burden of financing a degree they never received is often even more crushing. Just 26 percent of former students who took out loans and left school without a degree are keeping up with their payments.

Yet those numbers don’t come close to capturing the full extent of the crisis. According to a report released last year by the Institute for Higher Education Policy, more than half of all borrowers who started paying back their student loans in 2005 became delinquent, defaulted, or put their loans into forbearance to delay payments within five years. It is unacceptable, of course, that some students take out loans without having any intention of paying them back. But our current fearsomely complex student debt management and collection system, as it has evolved over the last generation, makes no distinction between deadbeats who don’t plan on paying back their loans and the much greater

numbers of people who just don't have the money to do it. Few policymakers understand what happens to such people once they fall into the clutches of collection agencies, or even who they are.

And for many borrowers, there is no way out. Unlike mortgages and credit card debt, student loans these days cannot be erased through bankruptcy except in rare cases of extreme hardship. And there is no longer any statute of limitation for prosecuting those who fall behind on their loans. As Deanne Loonin, director of the National Consumer Law Center's Student Loan Borrower Assistance Project, has written, "Even rapists are not in this category since there is a statute of limitations for rape prosecutions, at least in federal law and in most state laws."

Over the years, politicians, even liberal ones, have paid too little attention to what happens on the back end of the student loan system to those who can't afford to make their payments. Instead, Democrats have focused on trying to broaden access to higher education by making student loans more available and less costly on the front end. In 2010, the Obama administration achieved a major victory in this access agenda when he signed legislation ending the wasteful practice of subsidizing banks to make student loans. Since the summer of 2010, all federal student loans are now made directly by the government, saving the Treasury \$68 billion over eleven years (half of which is going to expanded Pell Grants for needy students). But this monumental reform of the front end of the student loan system leaves the back end untouched, meaning that more and more Americans—people like Gregory McNeil—are left at the mercy of predatory debt-collecting contractors. Having kicked the banks out of the student loan business, it's high time to get rid of the repo men, too.

The federal government first started underwriting student loans in 1965. At the time, the Johnson administration and Congress made clear that federal loans would be available to all eligible students, regardless of their credit history. Students would also not have to post any collateral to obtain loans.

The risks proved to be quite manageable. A 1977 GAO report found that less than 1 percent of student loans were discharged in bankruptcy. Nonetheless, stories of deadbeat doctors and lawyers escaping their federal loans in bankruptcy took hold in the public imagination, much like those about welfare queens.

In response to these anecdotes, Congress barred federal student loan borrowers from being able to discharge their debt in bankruptcy during the first five years of repayment unless they could prove "undue hardship." Lawmakers took this action over the objections of Michigan Democrat James O'Hara, then chairman of the House Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, who argued that Congress was trying to remedy "a 'scandal' which exists primarily in the imagination."

In 1981, Ronald Reagan's Department of Education began contracting with private companies to collect on defaulted federal student loans. In 1982, a new law allowed the government to withhold federal benefits (not including Social Security) from those in arrears. But the real crackdown came in the early 1990s, after student loan default rates skyrocketed as a result of widespread abuses by unscrupulous trade schools. Worried that these scandals would jeopardize popular support for the federal student aid programs as a whole, Democrats joined with President H. W. Bush's administration to rein in the trade schools and strengthen the tools the government uses to collect on defaulted loans. Congress extended the waiting period before which federal student loans could be dischargeable in bankruptcy to seven years. And, much more significantly, it changed federal law to put default on student loans into the same criminal category as murder and treason by eliminating the statute of limitations under which student loan borrowers could be prosecuted.

Our current fearsomely complex student debt management and collection system makes no distinction between deadbeats who don't plan on paying back their loans and the much greater numbers of people who just don't have the money to do it.

Liberals went along with many of these crackdowns, and even proposed some of their own. President Clinton, for example, signed a law that made it even harder to discharge federal student loans through bankruptcy and allowed the Education Department to tap into a federal database—originally designed to enforce child support payments—to track down and garnishee the wages of those who defaulted on student loans.

George W. Bush's administration proved even more zealous. It aggressively collected on long-overdue debt, by, for the first time, seizing Social Security payments from elderly and disabled defaulters and signing legislation ending bankruptcy protection for borrowers who take out risky private student loans. Nor has the Obama administration been shy; last year, President Obama called on Congress, as part of a larger deficit reduction proposal, to allow collection agencies to use automated dialing to contact defaulted borrowers' cell phones.

Why have even liberal politicians been willing to make the student loan repayment system ever more draconian? Partly it's because, in an age of federal deficits, they've been desperate to find ways to boost government revenue without raising taxes. Partly it's been a general political eagerness to signal that they are not about to coddle deadbeats.

But it's also because, for years, a number of Democrats have had a vision about how to crack down on freeloaders while at the same time easing the burden on borrowers who through no fault of their own simply cannot repay their loans. The idea is the income-contingent loan, or ICL (see "Answering the Critics of 'Pay as You Earn' Plans," page 52), whereby people who take out student loans can repay them based on a fraction of their annual income, rather than fixed payments. The free-market economist Milton Friedman came up with the basic concept in the 1950s as an alternative to state funding of higher education, and it

Should our student loan system take no account of the reality that some students embark on careers that are vitally needed by society but that only pay modest or uneven income, from being a primary care doctor to starting a new business?

was tested in pilot form by the Reagan administration. But by 1988 Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis was advocating a version of the idea as a way to make student loans more affordable.

Bill Clinton made ICL a central plank in his 1992 presidential campaign. He argued that such loans would not only offer relief to borrowers who never managed to graduate or became unemployed, but would also make it easier for students to embark on socially vital but low-paying public service careers, such as teaching or social work. He also championed the idea that the federal government could save money by making loans directly to students rather than paying banks to do so. In 1993 he signed legislation creating both a direct lending program (the one Obama would expand in 2010) and an ICL option. The hope was that the two initiatives together would provide a cheaper, simpler, and safer alternative to the traditional student loan system. But lobbyists for the banks, whose subsidies were threatened, convinced Congress and Department of Education regulators to

limit the reach of the two programs, and for years relatively few borrowers were made aware of them.

Even borrowers who do learn of the income-contingent option often face a bureaucratic nightmare when they try to exercise it. Consider the case of Kayleen Hartman. When she first entered Georgetown University Law Center in 2008, she knew she wanted to become a human rights lawyer, and that such a career would likely give her only a modest income. The only reason she thought she would nonetheless be able to carry the cost of her law degree was that she planned to repay her federal student loans through an updated and more generous version of the Clinton initiative called the income-based repayment, or IBR, program.

So after she graduated in May 2011 and passed her bar exam later that summer, she put in the paperwork for consolidating all her federal loans and using the IBR option for repaying them. But she didn't hear back from the Department of Education for months—and became alarmed when she started getting letters from her original lenders warning her that she was overdue on her payments.

By February, completely panicked, she started trying to reach the loan "servicer." Servicers are the organizations (some for-profit, some nonprofit) that the government or lenders hire to handle the paperwork on student loans. The servicing representative she talked to dismissed her concerns, saying that the consolidation would be completed any day now. It wasn't until April that she learned that the department was having trouble consolidating one of her loans—a Perkins loan she had received through her alma mater, Davidson College. The department had been alerted to the problem months earlier, but for some reason the servicer was unaware of it. Meanwhile, her original loans had become delinquent and were in danger of defaulting.

The consolidation was finally completed in May, and she thought her problems were behind her. In her application for consolidation, she had checked a box indicating that she wanted to repay through IBR, and assumed that she would now hear from the department about how to enroll in the program. Instead, she received her first monthly bill from the department for \$1,600, a figure that represented half of her take-home pay. She called the servicer again, and learned for the first time that she had to fill out a separate application and submit a copy of her income tax return.

A servicing representative mailed her the form, and she promptly returned it with all of the required documentation. She once again thought she was in the clear, until she received another bill for \$1,600.irate, she called the servicer again, only to be told that the servicing company had never received her application. The representative first questioned whether she had really sent the form, and then accused her of sending it to the wrong address.

Now she is waiting for the servicer to mail her a new application form to fill out. Nearly a year has passed since she began the process, and even with a law degree, she has still not figured out how to make the bureaucracy and its various con-

GOT STUDENT DEBT?

By Minjae Park and Danny Vinik

Over the years, government policy has created an array of repayment options for people struggling to keep up with their federal student loans. But these options are difficult to learn about and often difficult to execute. They also differ depending on what type of loan you have, and are not available if you are already in default. Below we've tried to explain them as clearly as possible—more clearly, believe us, than do servicing and debt-collection firms. (Be aware that processing the paperwork on some of these options can take weeks and sometimes longer.)

Deferment: If you're facing unemployment or other economic hardship, you may qualify to postpone repayment of your principal balance for up to three years. If your loan is subsidized, the government pays the interest. If it's unsubsidized, you pay the interest, and if you fail to do so, the unpaid interest will be added to the balance at the end of your deferment. To get a deferment, you have to apply with your loan servicer.

Forbearance: If you cannot make your loan payments you may also qualify for forbearance, which allows you to postpone or reduce your monthly amount for a limited period of time. You're responsible for paying the interest on all loans, including subsidized loans. Your servicer is required to grant you forbearance for up to five years, if you meet the eligibility criteria (you can find them at www.studentaid.ed.gov/repay-loans/deferment-forbearance). Keep in mind that interest accrues during forbearance.

Extended Repayment: If you have total outstanding principal and interest exceeding \$30,000, you may qualify for an extended repayment plan, under which you may repay on a fixed or graduated payment schedule for a period not exceeding twenty-five years.

Graduated Repayment: Under these plans, borrowers have the option to pay between 50 percent and 150 percent of their standard payment, and the payment increases every two years. The plan lasts for ten years, unless it is part of an extended repayment, in which case it can then last up to thirty years. However, the longer the length of the loan, the more the borrower pays in interest. These plans tend to work best for borrowers who are likely to see their earnings increase sharply over time.

Income-Based Repayment (IBR): If you face uneven or modest income, you may qualify for the income-based repayment plan, which limits your monthly payments to an amount based on your income and family size. Your loan servicer should determine your eligibility, taking into account the amount you owe and your income, family size, and state of residence. Under the program, if you make payments for twenty or twenty-five years (terms vary according to when you originally took out the loan), the

remainder of your debt is forgiven. You can find a calculator that shows how much you might pay under this plan at www.studentaid.ed.gov/ibr.

Income-Contingent Repayment (ICR): The government also offers a plan called income-contingent repayment. Struggling borrowers generally have lower payments in IBR than ICR, but not always. Under ICR, borrowers pay the lesser of either 20 percent of their discretionary income or the amount they would pay if they repaid their loan over twelve years, multiplied by an income percentage factor, based on adjusted gross income, family size, and the amount of loans. Under ICR, borrowers make payments for a maximum of twenty-five years. For more information, see www.studentaid.ed.gov/repay-loans/understand/plans/income-contingent and www.studentloanborrowerassistance.org/repayment/repayment-plans.

Income-Sensitive Repayment (ISR): Borrowers who still hold loans issued by the now-defunct Federal Family Education Loan (FFEL) program do not qualify for ICR, but they are eligible for the income-sensitive repayment (ISR) plan. In the application, borrowers choose their monthly payment, which must be between 4 percent and 25 percent of their gross monthly income. They then must reapply annually, for a maximum of ten years. After ten years, the borrower must continue their original payment plan to pay off the remaining principal. For more information, see www.studentaid.ed.gov/node/84.

Direct Consolidation Loan: The government allows borrowers with multiple federal loans to combine them into a direct consolidation loan. The new principal is the sum of the original loans' principal, and the new interest rate is a weighted average of the original loans' rates (not to exceed 8.25 percent). Consolidating loans may lengthen the repayment period, increasing the total interest paid, so not all borrowers will want to consolidate. For more information and the online application, see www.loanconsolidation.ed.gov/AppEntry/apply-online/appindex.jsp.

Public Service Loan Forgiveness: Borrowers employed in public service jobs (government, public safety, law enforcement, public health, public education, and so on) are eligible for loan forgiveness after making 120 on-time monthly payments, including under IBR or ICR plans, starting after October 1, 2007. For more information, see www.studentaid.ed.gov/sites/default/files/public-service-loan-forgiveness.pdf. but they are eligible for the income-sensitive repayment (ISR) plan. In the application, borrowers choose their monthly payment, which must be between 4 percent and 25 percent of their gross monthly income. They then must reapply annually, for a maximum of ten years. After ten years, the borrower must continue their original payment plan to pay off the remaining principal. For more information, see www.studentaid.ed.gov/node/84. ^{WM}

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tract agents deliver a benefit to which she is clearly entitled by law. Meanwhile, because her loans have become delinquent while she's waited for the department to refinance her loan, her credit is shot. The experience, she says, has been "maddening." She no longer trusts that the department's servicing representatives have her best interest in mind. And get this: assuming she ever gets approved for IBR, she'll have to repeat the application process every year, according to current law, or be automatically kicked out of the program.

Why do the servicers provide such lousy service? One reason is basic institutional incompetence, says the National Consumer Law Center's Loonin. But just as important, she says, is the complexity of the regulations that govern the terms and procedures of the various student loans. Even servicing representatives who are sincerely trying to help "really don't understand the programs," says Loonin. And, of course, if the loan professionals have trouble grasping the nuances of all the loan programs, what chance

We could follow the lead of countries like Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom and create a single student loan repayment system that is entirely based on a borrower's future income.

do average borrowers have? (For an as-simple-as-we-can-make-it explanation of federal student loan repayment options, see "Got Student Debt?," page 49.)

If loan servicers can be exasperating to deal with, the debt-collecting companies can be downright scary. The federal government contracts with twenty-three such firms to collect on loans in default, paying the industry hundreds of millions of dollars annually in fees and commissions. Well-documented horror stories abound about how these collection agencies routinely fail to inform borrowers about repayment options to which they are entitled, demand excessive payments, refuse to provide documentation to back up their claims, call at all hours, harass borrowers' friends, family members, and neighbors, and generally lash out in abusive and threatening ways.

One of the most aggressive loan-collection firms is Pioneer Credit Recovery, a subsidiary of student loan giant Sallie Mae. Consumer Web sites are full of complaints about the company's practices. Meanwhile, former Pioneer collectors recently told Bloomberg Businessweek that the company has a "boiler room" culture, where low-paid workers are richly re-

warded for squeezing the most money they possibly can out of defaulted borrowers. Those who miss their targets are under constant threat of losing their jobs. "When you're making eight bucks an hour, it's all about the bonuses," said a former Pioneer employee who worked at the collection agency from 2004 to 2007.

Despite such complaints and accusations, Pioneer regularly scores at or near the top of the rankings the Education Department uses each quarter to reward the best performing of its debt-collection contractors with new accounts and generous bonuses. Why? Because the rankings are based almost entirely on the amount of dollars collected, with little regard for how borrowers are treated.

In theory, the department could discipline collection agencies that are known to abuse borrowers by cutting the companies' fees or ending their contracts. But in 2003, the Department of Education's inspector general released a disturbing report that took the department to task for its complete and utter failure "to track and monitor complaints" that were made against the collection agencies. By neglecting to follow its own detailed policies for reviewing complaints, the Education Department, the report concluded, didn't have any idea whether its contractors "were appropriately servicing borrower accounts and adhering to applicable laws and regulations."

The National Consumer Law Center's Student Loan Borrower Assistance Project recently found that little has changed in the intervening years. In a report it released in May, the group revealed that the Department of Education and most of the collection companies it hires make it unnecessarily difficult for defaulted borrowers to even lodge complaints. "As long as the Department and its contractors can deploy extraordinary collections tactics to recover federal loans, borrowers must have an accessible way to register their dissatisfaction," said the report.

In recent months, the Obama administration has taken some steps to address the mess on the back end of the student loan system. The Department of Education has proposed new rules that would require all collection agencies to determine how much income and expenses defaulted borrowers have—something the department hasn't required them to do until now—and to then craft repayment plans based on the borrower's ability to pay rather than demand minimum payments based on the original loan amounts. The president has also ordered the department to set up a system to allow borrowers to apply for income-based repayment online without having to go through servicers.

But while these reforms might provide easier paths for many struggling borrowers, they largely leave the current system and its many dysfunctions in place. Borrowers will still be reliant on the servicers to tell them about their repayment options, including IBR. Collection agencies will still be paid based on how much revenue they can extract from defaulted borrowers, which means they will

have strong incentive to find ways not to comply with the new requirements. The Department of Education's lax system of oversight of servicers and collection agencies shows no real signs of improving.

Even if these incremental measures could bring some improvement, it's worth asking some bigger questions: Is this even the system we want? Do student loan repayment options need to be so impossibly complex? Is it really necessary to subject borrowers to the caprice, incompetence, and abuse of loan servicers and collectors? Should our system take no account of the reality that some students embark on careers that are vitally needed by society but that only pay modest or uneven income, from being a primary care doctor to starting a new business?

As it happens, there is a better way. We could follow the lead of countries like Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom and create a single student loan repayment system that is entirely based on a borrower's future income.

Under such a program, employees with federal student loans would see a portion of their income withheld by their employers and used to pay down their debt, much as they see payroll taxes withheld today. Self-employed borrowers would use a simple schedule on their federal income tax forms that would tell them how much they owed on their federal student loans. When a borrower's adjustable gross income went up or down, so would their monthly payments, with the only

enforcement mechanism needed being the Internal Revenue Service. Defaults would be virtually eliminated, along with the need for the government to spend tax dollars on collection agencies. Borrowers with high incomes would simply pay off the loans more quickly than those with low incomes. (For answers to questions critics of ICL raise, see "Answering the Critics of 'Pay as You Earn' Plans," page 52.)

The proposal is a win-win. Efforts would still be needed to crack down on college dropout factories and shady trade schools, and to promote improved efficiency and accountability throughout higher education. But borrowers would no longer be left on their own to navigate among a dizzying array of repayment options as their debts spiraled. Nor would anyone need to forsake such callings as family medicine or social work, or even being an entrepreneur, just because of the crushing burden of fixed student debt payments. And above all, the millions of today's younger Americans who are earnestly trying to repay their debts would not need to endure the hell faced by struggling former students like Gregory McNeil. If this proposal seems political impossible, consider that the Obama administration has already gotten the banks out of the student loan business. Having done that, surely it will be easier to throw over the repo men. ^{WM}

Stephen Burd is a senior policy analyst in the Education Policy Program at the New America Foundation.

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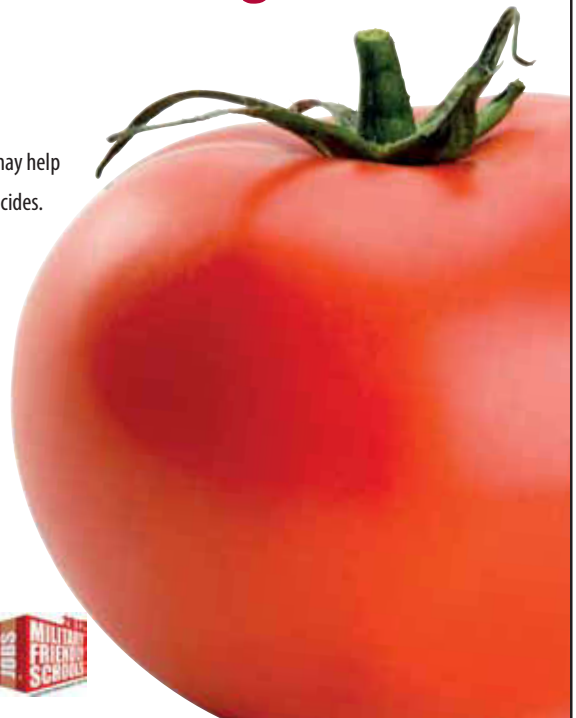
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ANSWERING THE CRITICS OF “PAY AS YOU EARN” PLANS

Tying the repayment of student loans to a borrower’s income is hardly a new idea. Conservative economist Milton Friedman proposed the basic concept in 1955, and so-called income-contingent loans (ICLs), or “pay as you earn,” plans have been championed by many liberals since. This has also given critics plenty of time to come up with well-worn criticisms that are certain to come up again if this proposal gets legs. Here are some of the arguments, followed by our responses:

Instituting an income-contingent loan system and getting rid of collection agencies would give borrowers a free ride.

While such a system would provide much-needed relief to financially distressed borrowers, it would not absolve them of their responsibility to repay their debt. In fact, with the Internal Revenue Service automatically deducting payments from borrowers’ paychecks, it would become substantially more difficult for individuals to skip out on their loans. In other countries that use an ICL system, such as Australia and the United Kingdom, only a small minority of borrowers fail to meet their repayment obligations.

Since people with very low incomes don’t have to make any payments under this system, won’t it serve as a disincentive for borrowers to work and seek higher-paying jobs?

Just as people don’t generally choose a life of poverty to avoid paying taxes, it is highly unlikely that they would do so to escape their student loan debt. There isn’t any evidence from other countries using this system that these concerns are warranted. Also, society has an interest in making it financially easier for people to pursue callings such as primary medicine or public interest law that require advanced education but that pay only modestly or involve highly variable income, such as starting and running a small business.

The IRS won’t be able to handle the job of collecting on student loans.

IRS officials have said in the past that the agency could

handle the job. At a House hearing in 1992 related to legislation that Wisconsin Representative Tom Petri sponsored to create an ICL program, Michael Bigelow, the agency’s then deputy assistant commissioner of returns processing, expressed concerns that the proposal could be practically difficult. Nevertheless, he noted that the agency already collected child support payments and delinquent small business loans successfully, and acknowledged that the IRS would “be able to collect student loan repayments, if that is the will of the Congress and the president.” And that was before all of the technological breakthroughs that have occurred over the past twenty years.

With the repayment relief this plan offers, colleges will no longer have any qualms about steering students to take on unmanageable levels of debt.

The government already puts limits on the amount of federal loan debt that borrowers can take out. These limits should remain in place under this plan. The potential for abuse could be further addressed by requiring colleges to have some skin in the game. For example, institutions should be put on the hook for a share of the losses that taxpayers sustain when a borrower defaults. Such a change would make schools think twice about overloading their students with excessive debt.

Such a change would make it easier for unscrupulous for-profit colleges to fleece their students.

It’s true that the Department of Education would no longer be able to judge schools by their default rates—since few students would default under such a system. However, with the IRS collecting income data and student debt levels of all borrowers, the government should easily be able to determine which schools are failing to provide gainful employment to their students, and remove them from the program. In addition, policymakers should, as they put ICL in place, redouble their efforts to strengthen the government’s gatekeeping system to prevent unscrupulous schools from getting access to federal student aid in the first place.

Further details about how such a system could be implemented in the United States have been put forth in a white paper by Erin Dillon, *Affordable at Last: A New Student Loan System* (Education Sector, 2011).

—Stephen Burd

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NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

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Rank	Institution	Overall Score	SOCIAL MOBILITY				RESEARCH					SERVICE				
			% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients, incoming SATs, etc.	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Science and engineering PhDs rank	Faculty awards rank	National Academies membership rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank
1	University of California—San Diego (CA)*	100.0	44	82/86	12209	64	943 (6)	39	23	12	8	33	220	32 (29)	10	117
2	Texas A&M University (TX)*	90.9	21	67/80	11808	23	690 (19)	87	15	50	53	119	1	37 (16)	53	120
3	Stanford University (CA)	90.2	15	90/95	20358	168	840 (8)	6	5	14	4	46	221	29 (36)	78	49
4	Univ. of North Carolina—Chapel Hill (NC)*	89.4	18	81/88	9013	13	755 (14)	38	21	25	48	8	133	19 (104)	8	21
5	University of California—Berkeley (CA)*	86.9	26	90/91	15825	139	694 (18)	16	1	8	2	34	205	18 (105)	125	109
6	University of California—Los Angeles (CA)*	84.9	30	84/90	13796	80	937 (7)	29	7	27	16	25	156	20 (92)	11	105
7	Case Western Reserve University (OH)	83.9	20	84/82	25560	246	418 (40)	14	61	26	36	7	197	47 (6)	139	8
8	University of Washington—Seattle (WA)*	83.7	22	69/80	8921	6	1023 (4)	53	13	20	12	23	108	18 (112)	150	92
9	University of California—Riverside (CA)*	82.4	46	66/68	11455	68	130 (107)	121	80	11	63	163	232	57 (2)	1	145
10	Georgia Institute of Technology—Main (GA)*	81.2	14	79/80	8167	21	616 (24)	41	20	3	10	158	62	12 (185)	51	114
11	Harvard University (MA)	80.9	15	90/97	16459	106	583 (29)	12	15	5	3	102	217	28 (41)	150	149
12	University of Texas—El Paso (TX)*	78.9	64	30/35	2466	1	69 (145)	183	154	159	157	246	134	22 (72)	150	149
13	University of Michigan—Ann Arbor (MI)*	78.8	15	81/90	14355	66	1184 (2)	33	3	37	32	29	105	11 (201)	43	54
14	University of California—Santa Barbara (CA)*	76.8	34	72/79	13310	60	226 (78)	47	51	10	7	27	203	16 (124)	20	94
15	Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MA)	76.7	19	95/93	18644	192	677 (22)	2	6	62	6	177	51	15 (138)	150	149
16	University of Notre Dame (IN)	75.9	12	99/96	23445	238	110 (117)	26	100	16	92	17	7	29 (37)	75	19
17	University of California—Davis (CA)*	75.3	38	77/82	12853	67	680 (21)	43	19	57	40	47	180	26 (45)	67	112
18	University of Wisconsin—Madison (WI)*	72.5	13	78/83	14063	87	1029 (3)	36	8	21	21	30	142	17 (121)	97	100
19	Cornell University (NY)	72.1	15	92/93	22537	205	750 (16)	11	17	52	18	16	162	11 (213)	80	34
20	Princeton University (NJ)	71.3	10	97/96	17568	179	243 (71)	3	44	2	5	138	126	13 (164)	150	149
21	University of Florida (FL)*	70.7	28	75/84	10476	22	682 (20)	44	2	86	71	38	82	9 (243)	150	149
22	Univ. of Illinois—Urbana-Champaign (IL)*	70.5	18	80/84	15024	105	515 (32)	40	4	7	17	65	101	24 (52)	150	149
23	University of Texas—Austin (TX)*	69.7	25	73/80	13435	59	590 (27)	52	14	15	15	73	169	39 (12)	150	149
24	College of William and Mary (VA)*	69.6	9	84/90	11163	34	57 (150)	13	188	69	157	4	109	19 (95)	18	38
25	Tufts University (MA)	69.4	10	92/91	24754	231	156 (98)	20	103	29	49	5	187	22 (74)	92	6
26	Duke University (NC)	68.9	13	95/94	20845	207	983 (5)	10	36	42	26	35	47	12 (191)	98	99
27	University of Pennsylvania (PA)	67.3	13	94/96	21731	191	836 (9)	24	28	48	22	106	202	37 (18)	93	91
28	University of Minnesota—Twin Cities (MN)*	66.5	20	70/70	14990	137	786 (12)	80	11	40	50	71	165	34 (22)	61	128

OVERALL SCORE: Overall score represents the combined score of our three metrics—social mobility, research, and service—where the highest is 100 and the lowest is 0. Each metric is weighted equally.

SOCIAL MOBILITY: The first column shows the percentage of students receiving Pell Grants. The second shows the predicted rate of graduation (based on incoming SAT scores, Pell Grant percentages, and other measures, see “A Note on Methodology,” page 88) and the actual rate of graduation. The third column shows the net price of attending that institution, which reflects the average price that first-time, full-time students who receive financial aid pay for college after subtracting need-based financial aid. The fourth column shows the rank on the cost-adjusted graduation measure, which is the difference between the actual and predicted graduation rates—a measure of how well the school performs as an engine of social mobility—divided by the net price of attendance.

RESEARCH: The first column shows the number of dollars (in millions) in total research expenditures. Rank follows in parentheses. The second shows the school's ranking in the number of bachelor's recipients who go on to receive PhDs, relative to school size. The third ranks the school by the number of science and engineering PhDs awarded. The fourth column shows the school's ranking by the number of faculty receiving prestigious awards, relative to the number of full-time faculty. The fifth column ranks the school by the number of faculty who are members of the National Academies, relative to the number of full-time faculty.

SERVICE: The first column ranks the school by the number of alumni who go on to serve in the Peace Corps, relative to school size. The second column ranks the school by the percentage of students who serve in ROTC. The third gives the percentage of funds in federal work-study money that goes to community service (versus non-community service); rank follows in parentheses. The fourth column shows the school's rank on a combined measure of the number of students participating in community service and the total number of service hours performed, both relative to school size. The fifth column shows the school's rank on a combined measure of the number of staff supporting community service, relative to the total number of staff; the number of academic courses that incorporate service, relative to school size; and whether the institution provides scholarships for community service.



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NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

		OVERALL SCORE	SOCIAL MOBILITY								RESEARCH				SERVICE		
			% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients, incoming SATs, etc.	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Science and engineering PhDs rank	Faculty awards rank	National Academies membership rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank	
29	University of Chicago (IL)	66.0	18	91/93	24321	214	438 (37)	7	41	65	27	12	235	29 (38)	150	149	
30	Vanderbilt University (TN)	65.2	12	90/91	18775	176	505 (33)	32	56	63	61	67	89	33 (24)	14	106	
31	Syracuse University (NY)	65.1	26	70/82	24306	151	107 (120)	122	108	43	87	53	110	23 (57)	37	1	
32	Dartmouth College (NH)	64.8	14	94/95	19353	184	194 (86)	5	124	30	29	14	209	11 (211)	54	67	
33	North Carolina A&T State University (NC)*	64.8	61	36/38	4728	2	35 (177)	179	220	119	157	242	23	12 (188)	150	149	
34	Michigan State University (MI)*	64.6	25	68/77	14722	69	431 (38)	111	27	68	101	49	124	18 (107)	52	40	
35	Carnegie Mellon University (PA)	64.1	14	91/86	30178	271	223 (79)	19	48	33	11	58	139	38 (14)	76	137	
36	Columbia University (NY)	64.0	16	90/93	18253	148	807 (11)	15	24	45	9	48	241	20 (90)	150	149	
37	Ohio State University—Main (OH)*	63.8	18	70/78	18253	126	755 (15)	101	10	71	57	82	98	23 (62)	83	119	
38	Rice University (TX)	63.2	15	94/92	17823	189	98 (122)	9	79	56	24	10	216	10 (216)	94	69	
39	Washington University—St. Louis (MO)	62.9	7	95/94	31391	262	696 (17)	21	54	34	35	32	206	13 (167)	5	85	
40	Brandeis University (MA)	62.4	19	88/91	25312	211	71 (141)	18	145	1	14	62	259	11 (204)	109	87	
41	Yale University (CT)	62.1	12	94/96	17634	154	624 (23)	4	34	23	13	51	254	13 (179)	150	149	
42	North Carolina State Univ.—Raleigh (NC)*	61.6	20	67/73	8816	16	361 (50)	93	25	60	44	125	36	14 (149)	64	134	
43	Utah State University (UT)*	61.6	22	53/55	9702	31	149 (101)	109	145	17	133	208	28	58 (1)	150	149	
44	Virginia Poly. Institute & State Univ. (VA)*	61.0	13	75/80	15937	111	398 (43)	57	30	84	65	78	3	9 (247)	57	111	
45	Arizona State University (AZ)*	60.8	31	50/59	8784	7	329 (57)	185	32	129	55	122	131	21 (76)	133	139	
46	Johns Hopkins University (MD)	60.6	9	93/90	27461	255	2004 (1)	23	22	19	19	18	123	12 (181)	150	149	
47	Jackson State University (MS)*	60.4	78	34/40	9225	17	45 (165)	92	197	217	157	247	53	13 (173)	150	149	
48	University of Virginia—Main (VA)*	60.3	11	85/93	11752	36	276 (67)	25	53	82	33	11	52	20 (85)	150	149	
49	California Institute of Technology (CA)	60.3	6	100/90	21627	267	362 (49)	1	59	4	1	134	259	6 (270)	150	149	
50	University of Southern California (CA)	60.1	16	94/89	28167	266	593 (26)	104	26	107	37	110	137	47 (4)	106	72	
51	University of Memphis (TN)*	60.0	46	35/36	9398	38	50 (161)	207	152	182	157	210	63	9 (225)	68	5	
52	George Washington University (DC)	59.9	12	84/81	27095	253	197 (85)	69	96	32	73	2	61	31 (32)	117	44	
53	Florida International University (FL)*	59.8	41	49/46	8333	43	110 (118)	237	111	24	121	224	200	40 (10)	82	47	
54	Indiana State University (IN)*	59.5	41	39/44	11011	39	2 (245)	243	226	181	157	243	87	12 (193)	3	3	
55	Illinois Institute of Technology (IL)	59.4	31	64/64	20100	196	37 (174)	89	140	123	70	123	6	13 (178)	131	39	
56	Texas A&M University—Kingsville (TX)*	59.0	59	36/37	5006	3	17 (205)	254	242	217	157	252	119	18 (113)	150	149	
57	South Carolina State University (SC)*	58.3	72	29/39	14610	57	7 (225)	125	253	217	157	192	10	26 (47)	150	149	
58	Purdue University—Main (IN)*	58.0	20	64/69	12128	55	549 (30)	86	9	77	46	111	41	32 (26)	150	149	
59	University of Georgia (GA)*	56.5	18	77/80	9315	26	231 (76)	98	45	118	95	60	127	13 (163)	36	77	
60	Auburn University (AL)*	56.4	11	69/66	13042	130	145 (103)	146	81	108	125	198	12	38 (15)	60	42	
61	University of Louisville (KY)*	56.0	29	54/49	11022	122	189 (89)	196	109	131	140	164	113	24 (55)	22	25	
62	Trinity International University (IL)	55.7	46	53/58	17517	129	0 (252)	258	253	217	157	139	259	14 (155)	33	11	
63	Michigan Technological University (MI)*	55.4	27	59/66	15907	93	63 (148)	56	152	64	117	61	4	12 (180)	150	149	
64	University of Illinois—Chicago (IL)*	54.9	46	56/53	8171	42	363 (48)	129	43	89	109	186	154	9 (229)	150	149	
65	University of Idaho (ID)*	54.9	33	54/55	13447	103	87 (129)	113	160	197	157	77	21	19 (96)	55	28	
66	University of Connecticut (CT)*	54.9	16	75/81	14476	88	238 (73)	94	46	39	154	96	118	21 (77)	21	66	
67	University of California—Santa Cruz (CA)*	54.8	32	71/74	13822	92	144 (104)	42	92	6	43	20	259	14 (144)	150	149	
68	Loyola University—Chicago (IL)	54.7	27	81/67	28491	279	44 (167)	134	148	217	157	42	116	41 (8)	25	32	
69	University of Southern Mississippi (MS)*	54.5	56	42/47	9046	19	42 (169)	97	145	198	157	189	76	13 (177)	124	148	
70	Florida State University (FL)*	54.4	23	65/74	11775	29	238 (74)	105	64	87	85	105	88	7 (258)	108	33	
71	Missouri Univ. of Science and Tech. (MO)*	54.3	24	59/66	13786	70	42 (168)	128	148	161	103	190	14	15 (136)	150	149	
72	Colorado State University (CO)*	54.2	19	65/64	11669	95	303 (62)	119	67	148	112	37	49	14 (143)	35	84	
73	SUNY at Albany (NY)*	53.9	31	59/67	12948	49	359 (52)	74	100	31	135	101	201	19 (99)	30	121	
74	Iowa State University (IA)*	53.8	21	65/70	13684	81	250 (70)	67	37	95	80	127	56	41 (9)	150	149	

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NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

†† Due to an error in compiling the 2012 Washington Monthly college rankings, Clarkson University did not receive credit for the number of its graduates who earn PhDs. Clarkson should have been ranked 115th overall among National Universities, not 135th. Had the correct data been included in the original rankings, some institutions would have received a slightly different rank. But because in most cases the difference would be only one ordinal position, and because the error was discovered only after the print issue of the magazine was mailed, we have chosen not to redo the entire rankings. We regret the error.

RANK	UNIVERSITY	OVERALL SCORE	SOCIAL MOBILITY					RESEARCH					SERVICE			
			% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients, incoming SATs, etc.	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Science and engineering PhDs rank	Faculty awards rank	National Academies membership rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study/funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank
75	Northwestern University (IL)	53.6	12	98/94	27919	263	604 (25)	22	31	22	25	43	233	14 (150)	150	149
76	Emory University (GA)	53.3	21	91/89	24831	237	529 (31)	27	71	74	54	6	229	13 (159)	150	149
77	New York University (NY)	53.3	22	89/86	33286	269	366 (47)	110	54	105	59	72	242	28 (42)	63	64
78	University of Arizona (AZ)*	53.2	25	52/60	12685	46	587 (28)	75	29	99	45	55	99	19 (103)	148	122
79	Georgetown University (DC)	53.1	12	93/93	27078	243	159 (96)	35	117	130	77	9	136	16 (125)	41	71
80	Florida Agricultural & Mechanical Univ. (FL)*	52.6	64	39/41	7646	14	53 (156)	162	239	143	157	252	29	7 (260)	150	149
81	Adelphi University (NY)	52.5	32	58/68	23355	163	0 (250)	241	185	217	157	209	247	23 (63)	13	2
82	Howard University (DC)	52.4	43	67/69	16403	136	40 (171)	51	156	217	64	50	35	29 (34)	150	149
83	University of Missouri–Columbia (MO)*	52.2	18	72/69	15202	165	239 (72)	90	62	176	113	118	93	51 (3)	121	126
84	Indiana University–Bloomington (IN)*	52.1	18	70/71	10219	52	178 (90)	114	38	137	83	95	145	21 (81)	87	48
85	Rutgers University–New Brunswick (NJ)*	51.9	27	75/77	14776	117	428 (39)	84	40	49	34	135	155	14 (147)	137	101
86	Tulane University of Louisiana (LA)	51.9	11	81/70	26153	275	166 (93)	59	121	90	126	36	79	17 (115)	9	9
87	Tennessee State University (TN)*	51.8	62	38/33	6145	18	12 (213)	147	208	175	157	248	135	9 (231)	143	30
88	Fordham University (NY)	51.7	20	81/80	31383	256	19 (199)	149	185	135	110	175	68	16 (122)	16	7
89	Univ. of North Carolina–Greensboro (NC)*	51.6	40	53/53	6602	8	22 (195)	222	176	206	157	173	215	9 (242)	48	59
90	Western Michigan University (MI)*	51.6	34	48/52	13708	90	26 (190)	184	143	151	157	115	81	8 (252)	59	14
91	West Virginia University (WV)*	51.5	26	58/59	7469	15	155 (99)	155	94	211	155	166	58	7 (259)	62	57
92	Georgia State University (GA)*	51.4	45	46/48	12054	77	81 (134)	234	105	53	157	154	195	13 (168)	103	89
93	Brown University (RI)	51.2	13	91/96	23077	188	336 (56)	8	76	18	30	22	246	7 (264)	150	149
94	Stony Brook University (NY)*	51.2	34	71/65	11469	134	205 (83)	139	52	109	60	229	230	13 (158)	112	24
95	Wayne State University (MI)*	51.0	56	31/31	9035	37	254 (69)	216	82	167	131	213	249	12 (195)	150	149
96	Mississippi State University (MS)*	50.9	28	55/58	12375	76	232 (75)	76	115	183	143	202	60	29 (40)	90	12
97	Marquette University (WI)	50.9	18	79/81	27714	229	14 (210)	78	194	121	157	54	8	9 (245)	29	29
98	Pennsylvania State University–Main (PA)*	50.8	14	73/85	19816	112	770 (13)	46	12	113	56	83	31	24 (54)	150	149
99	University of West Florida (FL)*	50.8	33	51/47	8427	50	18 (204)	246	244	217	157	124	18	39 (13)	150	149
100	Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (NY)	50.8	13	88/82	32616	274	84 (132)	31	85	13	31	143	5	13 (175)	150	149
101	University of Vermont (VT)*	50.7	22	71/77	12029	47	130 (108)	131	143	59	102	28	192	7 (261)	132	45
102	New Mexico State University–Main (NM)*	50.5	40	42/45	9656	27	158 (97)	167	138	55	157	180	59	21 (78)	150	149
103	Wake Forest University (NC)	50.4	15	85/89	29885	233	192 (87)	28	154	160	118	26	86	9 (226)	47	20
104	University of Colorado–Boulder (CO)*	50.4	15	65/68	18054	149	349 (55)	72	47	47	47	15	45	16 (135)	150	149
105	University of Maryland–College Park (MD)*	50.3	12	82/81	13282	123	451 (35)	63	18	51	52	59	138	22 (70)	150	149
106	University of Central Florida (FL)*	50.1	24	63/64	12226	84	118 (113)	194	76	158	153	174	128	9 (235)	2	113
107	Clark University (MA)	50.1	17	75/77	25639	218	7 (226)	34	194	101	39	3	212	7 (266)	39	51
108	American University (DC)	50.0	14	81/79	28294	252	40 (172)	132	164	94	157	1	121	18 (111)	95	73
109	University of Oklahoma–Norman (OK)*	49.9	27	61/63	13622	98	218 (80)	88	64	72	151	136	44	12 (182)	150	149
110	University of Montana (MT)*	49.8	34	49/43	12706	159	64 (147)	160	164	100	157	52	191	22 (66)	134	74
111	University of Pittsburgh–Pittsburgh (PA)*	49.2	15	80/78	18935	200	822 (10)	62	35	81	72	45	100	20 (89)	150	149
112	Polytech. Institute of New York Univ. (NY)	48.9	45	66/55	16905	248	11 (217)	102	214	101	20	252	198	11 (202)	150	149
113	University of Iowa (IA)*	48.8	15	72/70	12839	118	444 (36)	82	42	66	51	81	129	31 (30)	150	149
114	Univ. of South Carolina–Columbia (SC)*	48.8	18	70/68	14913	150	229 (77)	148	85	44	137	130	38	16 (134)	26	96
115††	Clarkson University (NY)	48.6	29	62/69	22398	174	19 (202)	56	174	37	157	219	2	0 (271)	150	149
115	University of Nevada–Las Vegas (NV)*	48.4	33	42/41	8468	28	44 (166)	253	138	178	157	227	150	47 (5)	136	97
116	Walden University (MN)*	48.1	94	10/NA	24970	180	0 (252)	269	73	217	157	252	259	0 (271)	150	149
117	University of California–Irvine (CA)*	48.0	29	84/83	12867	108	328 (58)	68	33	9	28	116	214	9 (228)	150	149
118	University of Kansas (KS)*	47.8	20	59/61	18848	170	268 (68)	73	67	127	111	64	94	10 (217)	50	68
119	Miami University–Oxford (OH)*	47.6	14	76/80	22303	187	27 (189)	55	172	173	157	40	66	18 (106)	28	63



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	OVERALL SCORE	SOCIAL MOBILITY										RESEARCH					SERVICE		
		% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients, incoming SATs, etc.	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate	performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Science and engineering PhDs rank	Faculty awards rank	National Academies membership rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study/funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank			
120 University of Rochester (NY)	47.5	21	82/84	28320	230	415 (41)	17	69	79	38	69	144	16 (131)	150	149				
121 University of North Carolina–Charlotte (NC)*	47.5	31	55/55	8175	25	32 (181)	245	130	117	157	188	39	8 (253)	115	81				
122 Brigham Young University (UT)	47.4	12	71/78	11364	30	33 (180)	37	126	150	150	211	75	0 (271)	77	22				
123 University of San Francisco (CA)	47.4	28	68/70	24926	217	2 (243)	124	249	76	157	57	83	14 (146)	19	26				
124 Oregon State University (OR)*	47.4	26	50/60	12443	33	217 (81)	135	74	106	105	66	33	9 (237)	144	138				
125 University of Utah (UT)*	47.1	18	50/56	12272	53	379 (46)	100	49	97	67	146	148	22 (75)	129	76				
126 University of Texas–Arlington (TX)*	47.1	42	44/40	8786	58	71 (139)	233	103	78	141	234	141	9 (234)	149	78				
127 Middle Tennessee State University (TN)*	46.9	39	43/46	8649	20	5 (233)	257	235	212	157	212	164	22 (67)	111	123				
128 SUNY at Binghamton (NY)*	46.8	24	76/78	12984	91	72 (138)	61	119	93	127	76	207	7 (268)	71	127				
129 Oklahoma State University–Main (OK)*	46.7	25	54/59	12656	65	147 (102)	144	98	172	108	191	91	23 (59)	120	146				
130 DePaul University (IL)	46.6	35	59/68	22732	158	5 (232)	212	225	216	157	92	208	14 (154)	96	23				
132 University of Toledo (OH)*	46.6	47	41/45	13752	86	70 (142)	166	124	168	157	162	65	19 (98)	150	149				
133 University of Oregon (OR)*	46.4	21	54/68	13772	32	94 (125)	107	110	70	68	13	152	14 (156)	150	149				
134 University of Delaware (DE)*	46.2	12	76/77	12030	82	153 (100)	65	69	28	58	85	114	20 (93)	72	95				
135 University of Tennessee (TN)*	46.1	26	70/60	13768	212	292 (64)	83	58	115	156	113	90	21 (83)	150	149				
136 Union Institute & University (OH)	46.1	84	8/25	17090	56	0 (252)	269	253	217	157	252	259	0 (271)	150	149				
137 University of North Texas (TX)*	45.8	32	54/48	10364	120	31 (182)	191	136	134	147	148	161	17 (117)	31	53				
138 University of South Florida–Main (FL)*	45.8	35	57/51	11875	140	385 (45)	145	74	112	115	150	72	12 (189)	145	103				
139 University of Wyoming (WY)*	45.8	17	55/53	8359	35	55 (155)	127	159	154	122	121	50	36 (20)	150	149				
140 Colorado School of Mines (CO)*	45.6	16	72/64	17424	234	45 (164)	54	164	73	42	94	55	40 (11)	150	149				
141 Texas Woman's University (TX)*	45.5	48	44/48	6839	5	2 (242)	177	123	179	157	217	258	11 (200)	150	149				
142 University of Alabama–Birmingham (AL)*	45.5	30	50/41	11669	181	490 (34)	138	99	213	94	183	77	23 (64)	105	144				
143 Northern Illinois University (IL)*	45.4	41	53/56	14393	104	27 (187)	186	164	110	157	197	146	33 (25)	114	90				
144 East Tennessee State University (TN)*	45.4	44	43/39	11367	114	10 (219)	158	234	217	157	238	147	34 (23)	141	133				
145 Saint Louis University–Main (MO)	45.4	18	70/72	32184	251	47 (163)	120	141	155	152	104	170	10 (214)	4	35				
146 Boston College (MA)	45.3	12	89/91	23853	210	51 (159)	45	130	156	99	19	158	13 (166)	42	65				
147 Washington State University (WA)*	45.3	25	58/69	16095	75	304 (60)	174	84	61	75	87	84	14 (152)	126	58				
148 Old Dominion University (VA)*	45.2	27	53/50	9804	78	97 (123)	181	141	169	157	172	11	19 (100)	73	147				
149 Pepperdine University (CA)	45.0	23	74/80	20875	167	3 (239)	91	244	217	157	31	175	20 (94)	27	41				
150 Sam Houston State University (TX)*	45.0	38	44/49	7981	11	8 (223)	225	223	217	157	222	103	11 (210)	40	55				
151 San Diego State University (CA)*	44.8	27	54/66	7817	4	99 (121)	172	253	146	157	84	102	27 (44)	150	149				
152 University of Denver (CO)	44.7	16	78/76	28997	254	16 (208)	161	197	122	157	21	186	18 (109)	69	60				
153 Texas A&M University–Commerce (TX)*	44.7	55	34/37	8875	24	3 (238)	223	235	217	157	252	259	31 (31)	150	149				
154 University of Texas–Dallas (TX)*	44.3	25	68/63	7939	51	82 (133)	190	89	96	89	170	253	19 (101)	150	149				
155 St. John's University–New York (NY)	44.0	45	61/58	22742	226	2 (244)	264	214	203	157	237	160	21 (82)	110	16				
156 Texas A&M University–Corpus Christi (TX)*	43.7	48	42/38	9347	74	17 (206)	187	239	217	157	215	70	29 (35)	150	149				
157 New Jersey Institute of Technology (NJ)*	43.5	33	51/55	13263	83	92 (127)	249	137	177	82	223	168	18 (108)	118	82				
158 Clemson University (SC)*	43.5	14	73/76	17840	147	175 (91)	99	92	75	145	145	17	8 (248)	86	79				
159 Our Lady of the Lake Univ.–San Anton. (TX)	43.5	63	46/32	11857	239	0 (252)	170	253	217	157	114	228	9 (240)	44	13				
160 Rutgers University–Newark (NJ)*	43.2	42	49/63	10207	9	28 (186)	180	163	88	157	252	226	0 (271)	128	149				
161 Temple University (PA)*	43.0	30	57/65	16782	101	125 (110)	232	113	201	146	167	182	25 (48)	113	61				
162 University of Hawaii–Manoa (HI)*	43.0	23	49/50	9450	41	303 (61)	150	87	103	76	128	46	14 (153)	150	149				
163 Wright State University–Main (OH)*	42.6	38	44/42	15557	160	49 (162)	188	188	217	157	220	57	20 (87)	32	110				
164 Boston University (MA)	42.6	16	82/83	28500	240	353 (53)	49	39	149	79	24	120	13 (174)	150	149				
165 University of Louisiana–Lafayette (LA)*	42.5	31	46/40	5129	10	69 (144)	220	197	138	157	250	210	16 (132)	84	129				
166 Azusa Pacific University (CA)	42.4	24	66/62	27686	259	0 (252)	211	253	166	157	144	30	12 (186)	38	4				



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		OVERALL SCORE				SOCIAL MOBILITY					RESEARCH				SERVICE		
		% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients, incoming SATs, etc.	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Science and engineering PhDs rank	Faculty awards rank	National Academies membership rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank		
167	University of New Mexico—Main (NM)*	42.3	35	43/44	9903	45	212 (82)	130	88	152	119	169	71	20 (84)	150	149	
168	IN Univ.—Purdue Univ.—Indianapolis (IN)*	42.1	36	43/34	11866	175	296 (63)	266	253	188	104	244	174	25 (50)	12	36	
169	Bowling Green State University—Main (OH)*	41.9	33	56/60	14773	99	8 (222)	123	180	204	157	91	73	8 (254)	79	50	
170	Capella University (MN)*	41.6	86	0/0	11539	85	0 (252)	269	253	217	157	252	259	0 (271)	150	149	
171	University of Massachusetts—Amherst (MA)*	41.6	21	68/69	16460	143	169 (92)	79	60	85	69	99	167	16 (126)	122	93	
172	University of Arkansas—Little Rock (AR)*	41.5	51	30/21	8847	121	11 (215)	238	220	132	124	187	166	13 (162)	150	149	
173	Cleveland State University (OH)*	41.3	54	32/30	12050	110	34 (179)	236	174	35	157	193	218	12 (196)	150	149	
174	University of South Alabama (AL)*	41.3	38	41/37	7994	44	36 (176)	199	226	217	157	206	26	10 (218)	150	149	
175	SUNY Col. of Envir. Science & Forestry (NY)*	41.1	23	64/64	15791	141	27 (188)	58	214	217	157	41	240	13 (157)	6	75	
176	University of Maine (ME)*	41.0	33	54/57	14074	97	111 (116)	137	169	217	93	97	92	22 (73)	150	149	
177	University of Cincinnati—Main (OH)*	41.0	26	58/56	18651	198	411 (42)	176	66	164	83	168	107	13 (176)	101	118	
178	University of Houston (TX)*	40.9	40	53/46	10806	133	120 (111)	195	78	147	62	199	173	9 (236)	150	149	
179	University of San Diego (CA)	40.7	15	77/73	28385	261	3 (237)	133	211	217	157	39	20	14 (151)	15	108	
180	Worcester Polytechnic Institute (MA)	40.5	16	74/80	31330	225	19 (201)	30	184	217	91	88	9	21 (79)	150	149	
181	Kansas State University (KS)*	40.2	22	61/60	13492	125	161 (95)	156	102	46	157	103	34	8 (256)	150	149	
182	University of Nebraska—Omaha (NE)*	40.2	27	50/45	11094	119	9 (220)	213	230	133	157	196	176	12 (183)	24	31	
183	East Carolina University (NC)*	40.0	25	51/56	8201	12	24 (193)	244	223	217	157	216	95	16 (128)	88	98	
184	Argosy University—Chicago (IL)*	39.9	83	13/NA	33033	228	0 (252)	269	253	217	157	252	259	10 (221)	150	149	
185	Virginia Commonwealth University (VA)*	39.8	26	56/50	16398	203	198 (84)	189	89	92	116	182	199	30 (33)	140	52	
186	University of Massachusetts—Lowell (MA)*	39.7	29	54/51	14948	166	59 (149)	252	180	136	157	236	177	23 (61)	107	18	
187	LA St. Univ. & Agri. & Mechanical Coll. (LA)*	39.7	17	70/59	10154	173	290 (65)	95	49	209	142	147	125	16 (133)	102	80	
188	Montana State University (MT)*	39.6	25	57/47	12682	206	135 (105)	108	180	126	157	44	22	9 (239)	74	130	
189	Wichita State University (KS)*	39.5	29	50/41	6537	48	52 (158)	198	203	190	157	205	259	26 (46)	150	149	
190	University of Dayton (OH)	39.3	13	73/76	27312	223	93 (126)	66	203	171	157	70	24	8 (250)	45	46	
191	Pace University—New York (NY)	39.2	37	58/56	23804	236	3 (236)	256	253	140	157	184	245	15 (142)	100	37	
192	University of Texas—San Antonio (TX)*	39.1	39	47/27	9801	277	56 (154)	261	180	111	157	228	40	11 (198)	58	116	
193	Duquesne University (PA)	39.0	19	71/75	24081	201	16 (207)	96	191	217	128	79	80	18 (110)	17	70	
194	Clark Atlanta University (GA)	38.9	68	41/43	21727	197	9 (221)	112	226	98	78	230	183	11 (207)	150	149	
195	University of Alabama (AL)*	38.9	19	70/67	16568	185	41 (170)	193	117	141	157	204	104	23 (65)	23	124	
196	University of Mississippi—Main (MS)*	38.6	22	62/59	12954	131	110 (119)	164	164	199	157	218	32	16 (127)	85	107	
197	University of Alabama—Huntsville (AL)*	38.5	27	54/44	12412	195	76 (137)	224	194	153	98	245	181	20 (91)	49	149	
198	Louisiana Tech University (LA)*	38.3	29	51/49	8554	40	26 (192)	169	208	169	157	252	149	17 (119)	127	135	
199	St. John Fisher College (NY)	38.0	33	65/71	21070	161	0 (252)	215	253	217	157	178	213	17 (116)	65	27	
200	Barry University (FL)	38.0	60	32/35	19611	169	1 (249)	226	239	185	157	153	243	7 (267)	46	125	
201	University of La Verne (CA)	37.8	48	48/70	19370	61	0 (252)	242	253	217	157	240	257	25 (51)	150	149	
202	University at Buffalo (NY)*	37.8	25	64/67	12345	73	350 (54)	152	63	38	81	149	219	9 (232)	150	149	
203	University of Nevada—Reno (NV)*	37.7	23	48/49	12923	100	95 (124)	210	129	215	96	120	140	44 (7)	150	149	
204	University of Alaska—Fairbanks (AK)*	37.6	26	30/32	10925	54	162 (94)	200	162	114	136	155	190	37 (17)	150	149	
205	University of St. Thomas (MN)	37.6	20	71/77	26442	208	1 (247)	115	244	186	157	159	13	17 (120)	150	149	
206	University of Kentucky (KY)*	37.5	22	66/58	13308	186	360 (51)	116	57	128	134	151	54	15 (139)	150	149	
207	Yeshiva University (NY)	37.4	15	75/82	23924	183	314 (59)	71	133	80	41	252	259	34 (21)	150	149	
208	Maryville University—Saint Louis (MO)	37.3	20	63/62	20308	204	0 (252)	247	253	217	157	252	225	9 (233)	7	10	
209	Seton Hall University (NJ)	37.3	31	62/65	25751	216	4 (234)	221	237	187	157	98	42	21 (80)	130	132	
210	Texas Southern University (TX)*	36.9	78	18/13	8250	63	7 (227)	219	230	217	157	249	196	10 (223)	150	149	
211	Central Michigan University (MI)*	36.9	31	55/54	13611	127	7 (224)	239	213	217	157	152	157	11 (205)	66	83	
212	University of Nebraska—Lincoln (NE)*	36.8	22	66/64	12375	109	191 (88)	85	72	83	139	80	143	12 (194)	150	149	

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~Jess Lee, 2012 Converse graduate



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NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES



Rank	University	Overall Score	OVERALL SCORE					SOCIAL MOBILITY					RESEARCH					SERVICE				
			% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients, incoming SATs, etc.	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Science and engineering PhDs rank	Faculty awards rank	National Academies membership rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank						
213	Baylor University (TX)	36.8	24	79/71	26258	270	11 (216)	77	169	208	157	157	16	28 (43)	150	149						
214	Edgewood College (WI)	36.8	33	61/57	19314	215	0 (252)	269	253	217	157	195	178	24 (53)	89	15						
215	Southern Illinois Univ.-Carbondale (IL)*	36.7	42	46/46	14912	132	70 (143)	126	122	193	157	160	43	10 (215)	135	142						
216	Florida Institute of Technology (FL)	36.1	29	57/57	26622	241	12 (214)	81	192	157	100	252	25	13 (171)	138	102						
217	University of Miami (FL)	35.8	19	81/80	27216	244	281 (66)	64	82	205	106	75	184	17 (118)	150	149						
218	Widener University-Main (PA)	35.7	29	55/48	24578	265	0 (252)	208	230	217	157	225	37	32 (28)	70	17						
219	University of South Dakota (SD)*	35.6	32	55/50	13175	152	31 (183)	251	214	217	157	178	122	29 (39)	150	149						
220	Lehigh University (PA)	35.1	13	82/88	25423	199	37 (173)	50	130	41	23	63	163	9 (244)	150	149						
221	South Dakota State University (SD)*	35.0	30	56/54	12231	115	68 (146)	173	192	145	157	235	69	12 (190)	150	149						
222	Ohio University-Main (OH)*	34.9	24	63/65	17702	153	50 (160)	136	133	91	157	109	64	13 (169)	150	149						
223	Indiana Univ. of Pennsylvania-Main (PA)*	34.8	35	53/54	14193	124	1 (246)	143	206	192	157	201	27	7 (263)	91	56						
224	University of Massachusetts-Boston (MA)*	34.2	39	42/41	12062	94	56 (153)	204	176	191	129	221	251	22 (71)	146	43						
225	Texas Tech University (TX)*	34.0	23	62/63	10775	62	133 (106)	140	95	174	149	171	112	10 (219)	150	149						
226	George Mason University (VA)*	33.1	22	65/63	10292	79	84 (131)	206	96	104	138	100	111	7 (262)	150	149						
227	University of Arkansas (AR)*	32.9	19	67/58	9655	138	114 (115)	159	105	180	97	133	67	13 (165)	150	149						
228	University of Missouri-St. Louis (MO)*	32.7	40	43/43	17162	172	15 (209)	250	201	194	132	214	237	8 (249)	150	149						
229	University of Missouri-Kansas City (MO)*	32.5	34	49/43	18457	221	30 (184)	217	188	217	157	251	239	12 (184)	34	141						
230	Regent University (VA)	32.1	45	41/NA	21219	194	0 (252)	269	249	67	157	252	224	0 (271)	150	149						
231	University of Akron-Main (OH)*	32.1	42	40/35	13619	157	53 (157)	231	128	120	120	226	153	9 (246)	150	149						
232	Kent State University-Kent (OH)*	31.9	33	59/50	16335	224	26 (191)	209	116	124	144	181	117	10 (220)	119	140						
233	Portland State University (OR)*	31.8	35	45/36	12021	182	57 (151)	255	176	184	123	93	234	13 (161)	150	149						
234	Benedictine University (IL)	31.6	38	52/52	16460	156	0 (251)	227	249	217	157	131	250	15 (137)	150	149						
235	Univ. of Maryland-Baltimore County (MD)*	31.5	18	70/57	12722	235	87 (130)	117	119	165	157	129	185	14 (148)	116	86						
236	University of the Pacific (CA)	31.4	34	73/69	25344	249	6 (228)	118	242	217	157	74	236	12 (197)	99	115						
237	Northeastern University (MA)	31.4	14	79/77	32687	268	80 (135)	201	114	125	130	142	179	22 (69)	147	88						
238	University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (WI)*	31.4	29	50/43	12538	164	71 (140)	203	107	139	148	137	223	23 (60)	150	149						
239	University of Colorado-Denver (CO)*	31.2	34	45/42	14126	146	389 (44)	218	111	200	88	203	204	13 (170)	150	149						
240	University of New Hampshire-Main (NH)*	31.2	19	68/75	17234	116	116 (114)	103	151	162	157	68	74	11 (212)	150	149						
241	Ball State University (IN)*	30.9	27	60/57	11781	107	20 (198)	182	208	217	157	161	151	13 (160)	81	143						
242	Florida Atlantic University (FL)*	30.6	31	48/42	9734	102	56 (152)	230	148	210	114	232	211	22 (68)	142	136						
243	University of Rhode Island (RI)*	30.6	23	58/63	16108	113	90 (128)	165	135	217	107	132	159	12 (187)	123	104						
244	Argosy University-Atlanta (GA)*	30.2	74	18/NA	35898	245	0 (252)	269	253	217	157	252	259	0 (271)	150	149						
245	Wilmington University (DE)	30.1	39	30/39	15863	89	0 (252)	268	253	217	157	252	231	36 (19)	150	149						
246	Stevens Institute of Technology (NJ)	29.7	23	73/72	26291	242	36 (175)	192	172	58	90	252	172	11 (206)	150	149						
247	University of Northern Colorado (CO)*	29.7	27	61/46	12730	250	3 (240)	151	202	217	157	90	130	25 (49)	150	149						
248	University of Tulsa (OK)	29.6	17	73/65	22787	257	23 (194)	60	206	144	66	56	227	13 (172)	150	149						
249	University of North Dakota (ND)*	29.3	19	56/51	13169	155	77 (136)	142	169	194	157	156	15	17 (114)	150	149						
250	University of Phoenix-Online (AZ)*	29.2	79	31/5	20472	281	0 (252)	269	253	217	157	252	259	0 (271)	150	149						
251	Northern Arizona University (AZ)*	28.8	31	56/49	13283	178	29 (185)	214	214	214	157	89	96	11 (208)	150	149						
252	Hofstra University (NY)	28.1	20	73/60	28218	278	3 (241)	205	205	196	157	140	171	19 (102)	56	131						
253	Idaho State University (ID)*	27.6	45	33/26	11745	145	20 (197)	197	211	189	157	252	194	9 (230)	150	149						
254	Georgia Southern University (GA)*	27.4	29	58/45	10476	202	4 (235)	267	253	202	157	200	78	19 (97)	150	149						
255	Illinois State University (IL)*	27.3	20	68/71	13757	96	18 (203)	202	230	217	157	107	188	20 (86)	150	149						
256	Morgan State University (MD)*	27.2	53	41/32	9961	144	13 (212)	141	229	217	157	231	106	16 (130)	150	149						
257	Texas Christian University (TX)	26.9	14	74/74	25988	232	5 (230)	153	214	217	157	86	19	8 (251)	104	62						
258	Drexel University (PA)	26.8	19	75/68	33495	276	118 (112)	168	91	163	86	141	97	9 (238)	150	149						



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NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

	OVERALL SCORE	SOCIAL MOBILITY					RESEARCH					SERVICE			
		% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients, incoming SATs, etc.	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Science and engineering PhDs rank	Faculty awards rank	National Academies membership rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank
259 Biola University (CA)	26.1	28	72/65	28393	272	0 (252)	157	238	217	157	117	115	15 (140)	150	149
260 Alliant International University (CA)	25.7	NA	34/28	NA	162	0 (252)	269	176	217	157	252	259	10 (224)	150	149
261 Southern Methodist University (TX)	25.5	14	78/74	27729	260	19 (200)	70	160	116	74	112	238	23 (58)	150	149
262 Trevecca Nazarene University (TN)	24.8	41	56/46	14750	220	0 (252)	262	253	217	157	252	244	16 (129)	150	149
263 Ashland University (OH)	24.2	34	58/59	20989	193	0 (252)	229	253	217	157	252	259	15 (141)	150	149
264 Bowie State University (MD)*	23.9	47	42/37	11411	128	0 (252)	228	253	217	157	241	48	11 (209)	150	149
265 North Dakota State University--Main (ND)*	23.9	22	62/51	12696	209	126 (109)	154	157	207	157	207	132	11 (203)	150	149
266 University of New Orleans (LA)*	22.4	35	40/20	6285	247	35 (178)	171	185	54	157	239	193	11 (199)	150	149
267 Spalding University (KY)	22.1	44	33/45	16134	72	0 (252)	178	253	217	157	165	222	16 (123)	150	149
268 The New School (NY)	22.0	34	68/66	38497	273	5 (231)	263	157	142	157	233	255	8 (255)	150	149
269 Catholic University of America (DC)	21.4	9	70/69	33528	264	21 (196)	106	197	217	157	126	85	32 (27)	150	149
270 St. Mary's University of Minnesota (MN)	21.3	27	54/59	21078	171	0 (252)	240	253	217	157	108	252	9 (227)	150	149
271 Colorado Technical University (CO)°	21.0	36	20/14	8146	71	0 (252)	269	253	217	157	252	189	14 (145)	150	149
272 Lamar University (TX)*	20.8	47	35/28	11615	142	6 (229)	259	244	217	157	252	259	9 (241)	150	149
273 Cardinal Stritch University (WI)	20.1	43	51/53	20945	190	0 (252)	248	253	217	157	252	259	8 (257)	150	149
274 Nova Southeastern University (FL)	19.4	42	49/41	21913	258	10 (218)	265	127	217	157	252	259	7 (265)	150	149
275 Oakland University (MI)*	18.2	28	52/40	13364	227	13 (211)	235	220	217	157	176	256	12 (192)	150	149
276 Andrews University (MI)	18.1	30	55/51	19154	213	1 (248)	48	244	217	157	194	259	20 (88)	150	149
277 National-Louis University (IL)	17.9	33	37/20	24734	280	0 (252)	163	249	217	157	252	259	24 (56)	150	149
278 Immaculata University (PA)	10.3	28	41/60	25982	135	0 (252)	260	253	217	157	252	259	10 (222)	150	149
279 Argosy University--Orange County (CA)*	7.8	27	51/NA	30049	222	0 (252)	269	253	217	157	252	259	0 (271)	150	149
280 Trident University International (CA)*	0.6	10	36/NA	NA	177	0 (252)	269	253	217	157	252	259	0 (271)	150	149
281 Lynn University (FL)	0.0	21	40/43	26375	219	0 (252)	175	253	217	157	185	248	7 (269)	150	149

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Rank	Institution	Overall Score	SOCIAL MOBILITY				RESEARCH			SERVICE				
			% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients, incoming SATs, etc.	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff courses, and financial aid support rank	
1	Bryn Mawr College (PA)	100.0	21	86/87	19316	99	7.48 (8)	13	27	118	66 (1)	12	19	
2	Swarthmore College (PA)	89.9	16	91/93	19979	111	2.98 (29)	1	64	118	8 (202)	4	68	
3	Berea College (KY)	87.8	90	50/64	NA	1	0.00 (105)	43	188	118	7 (209)	19	45	
4	Carleton College (MN)	87.6	14	94/93	27036	223	4.58 (15)	3	7	118	12 (144)	68	31	
5	Harvey Mudd College (CA)	78.9	12	95/87	28946	244	3.21 (25)	2	20	118	20 (64)	91	93	
6	New College of Florida (FL)*	78.6	25	73/68	9519	21	0.66 (77)	8	121	118	64 (2)	91	93	
7	Williams College (MA)	75.7	18	91/95	16791	55	4.69 (13)	5	48	118	18 (83)	91	93	
8	Macalester College (MN)	73.4	14	89/88	22225	163	4.39 (16)	21	12	96	21 (59)	42	17	
9	Wellesley College (MA)	72.1	15	91/90	18315	92	8.42 (3)	15	18	80	24 (37)	91	93	
10	Amherst College (MA)	70.2	20	94/95	13805	40	3.63 (20)	9	148	118	24 (35)	91	93	
11	Knox College (IL)	69.5	22	85/76	22487	222	0.00 (105)	30	10	118	44 (4)	32	92	
12	Oberlin College (OH)	69.3	10	92/88	32567	246	1.99 (45)	12	17	118	25 (31)	25	51	
13	Wesleyan University (CT)	69.3	17	91/94	20705	115	8.40 (4)	18	58	116	19 (71)	88	82	
14	Reed College (OR)	69.1	15	85/79	19559	157	1.90 (47)	4	45	118	15 (108)	91	93	
15	Smith College (MA)	66.7	17	84/83	22037	162	4.61 (14)	14	28	118	25 (32)	75	72	
16	Davidson College (NC)	66.3	12	84/91	22663	125	1.49 (56)	16	39	24	24 (36)	9	44	
17	Tougaloo College (MS)	65.0	85	38/40	9422	12	2.98 (30)	58	173	60	10 (176)	91	93	
18	Haverford College (PA)	64.9	14	85/92	20368	83	3.62 (21)	10	88	118	12 (151)	34	86	
19	St. John's College (MD)	64.6	14	77/73	23307	197	0.00 (105)	6	6	118	15 (107)	91	93	
20	Grinnell College (IA)	64.3	20	87/88	21813	146	2.07 (43)	7	19	118	9 (181)	91	93	
21	Vassar College (NY)	61.6	20	92/93	19241	96	1.28 (61)	11	29	118	19 (72)	91	93	
22	Millsaps College (MS)	61.3	23	71/68	15937	69	0.72 (73)	37	98	34	18 (77)	28	10	
23	Willamette University (OR)	59.7	23	79/78	25630	208	2.06 (44)	81	13	94	22 (48)	7	75	
24	Kalamazoo College (MI)	59.6	14	76/80	26419	184	0.76 (72)	20	38	118	16 (95)	51	21	
25	Warren Wilson College (NC)	58.6	25	67/49	24663	248	0.00 (105)	129	5	118	0 (230)	10	2	
26	Pomona College (CA)	58.6	17	94/94	17087	68	2.92 (31)	17	54	106	9 (187)	91	93	
27	Rhodes College (TN)	58.3	15	78/80	25639	183	0.80 (70)	48	32	45	15 (115)	1	24	
28	Bates College (ME)	57.3	12	81/88	20084	78	1.59 (53)	32	125	118	18 (74)	13	8	
29	Guilford College (NC)	57.2	59	59/58	22125	158	0.00 (105)	137	122	78	25 (33)	70	15	
30	Whitman College (WA)	56.6	11	82/86	29994	221	1.42 (58)	22	3	118	23 (43)	77	87	
31	Xavier University of Louisiana (LA)	55.9	64	47/34	16833	166	8.03 (5)	86	172	29	8 (198)	91	93	

OVERALL SCORE: Overall score represents the combined score of our three metrics—social mobility, research, and service—where the highest is 100 and the lowest is 0. Each metric is weighted equally.

SOCIAL MOBILITY: The first column shows the percentage of students receiving Pell Grants. The second shows the predicted rate of graduation (based on incoming SAT scores, Pell Grant percentages, and other measures, see “A Note on Methodology,” page 88) and the actual rate of graduation. The third column shows the net price of attending that institution, which reflects the average price that first-time, full-time students who receive financial aid pay for college after subtracting need-based financial aid. The fourth column shows the rank on the cost-adjusted graduation measure, which is the difference between the actual and predicted graduation rates—a measure of how well the school performs as an engine of social mobility—divided by the net price of attendance.

RESEARCH: The first column shows the number of dollars (in millions) in total research expenditures. Rank follows in parentheses. The second shows the school's ranking in the number of bachelor's recipients who go on to receive PhDs, relative to school size.

SERVICE: The first column ranks the school by the number of alumni who go on to serve in the Peace Corps, relative to school size. The second column ranks the school by the percentage of students who serve in ROTC. The third gives the percentage of funds in federal work-study money that goes to community service (versus non-community service); rank follows in parentheses. The fourth column shows the school's rank on a combined measure of the number of students participating in community service and the total number of service hours performed, both relative to school size. The fifth column shows the school's rank on a combined measure of the number of staff supporting community service, relative to the total number of staff; the number of academic courses that incorporate service, relative to school size; and whether the institution provides scholarships for community service.



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LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES

†† Due to an error in compiling the 2012 Washington Monthly college rankings, Colgate University did not receive credit for the number of its graduates who earn PhDs. Colgate should have been ranked 37th overall among National Universities, not 105th. Had the correct data been included in the original rankings, some institutions would have received a slightly different rank. But because in most cases the difference would be only one ordinal position, and because the error was discovered only after the print issue of the magazine was mailed, we have chosen not to redo the entire rankings. We regret the error.

		OVERALL SCORE	SOCIAL MOBILITY				RESEARCH			SERVICE			
			% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank
32	Spelman College (GA)	55.7	46	54/73	26404	107	3.18 (28)	39	113	18	9 (182)	15	37
33	Emory and Henry College (VA)	55.3	39	49/57	17913	56	0.00 (105)	111	131	118	11 (165)	3	1
34	Wesleyan College (GA)	55.3	44	56/49	12177	45	0.00 (105)	74	198	118	19 (68)	6	20
35	Hollins University (VA)	54.9	45	60/63	23922	161	0.00 (105)	49	77	118	12 (135)	61	69
36	Centre College (KY)	54.9	15	79/86	22102	114	0.00 (105)	70	60	35	22 (51)	33	43
37††	Colgate University (NY)	54.8	11	89/88	18988	110	2.85 (32)	35	34	117	36 (11)	91	93
37	Agnes Scott College (GA)	54.6	39	69/68	19085	112	1.88 (48)	26	89	73	34 (15)	91	93
38	Clafin University (SC)	54.1	76	38/46	9034	7	3.25 (24)	171	198	12	14 (119)	47	89
39	Lawrence University (WI)	53.3	22	74/73	25670	209	0.78 (71)	34	79	118	23 (42)	44	35
40	Earlham College (IN)	53.0	26	71/73	19921	106	0.00 (105)	25	2	118	15 (105)	91	93
41	Allegheny College (PA)	52.8	22	78/78	26055	203	0.51 (88)	27	72	112	30 (22)	91	30
42	St. Olaf College (MN)	52.5	17	83/85	25557	187	1.57 (54)	46	21	118	8 (197)	54	65
43	Mount Holyoke College (MA)	52.3	18	87/82	23496	204	2.79 (34)	23	24	86	23 (45)	91	93
44	Granite State College (NH)*	51.7	65	28/54	7485	2	0.00 (105)	205	198	107	17 (87)	91	93
45	Southwestern University (TX)	51.3	22	78/73	22917	196	0.00 (105)	64	66	118	14 (116)	38	13
46	Washington and Lee University (VA)	51.1	6	90/93	18829	80	0.94 (66)	96	106	37	40 (6)	39	41
47	Hamilton College (NY)	50.9	13	89/88	20146	132	3.19 (27)	45	36	118	27 (29)	91	93
48	Morehouse College (GA)	50.6	44	53/57	23884	154	7.86 (6)	104	86	5	18 (84)	91	93
49	Oglethorpe University (GA)	50.5	36	63/58	20289	164	0.00 (105)	95	179	118	14 (125)	73	9
50	Illinois Wesleyan University (IL)	50.4	16	85/81	25821	227	0.71 (74)	123	50	100	13 (128)	14	38
51	Fisk University (TN)	50.3	47	39/59	19134	41	7.70 (7)	44	79	74	14 (118)	91	93
52	Denison University (OH)	50.3	17	83/83	24904	192	0.62 (81)	90	23	102	16 (94)	50	53
53	Westminster College (MO)	50.0	28	69/63	17625	122	0.00 (105)	126	119	48	23 (41)	31	14
54	Claremont McKenna College (CA)	50.0	10	87/93	20423	86	5.73 (9)	59	26	8	14 (122)	91	93
55	Thomas Aquinas College (CA)	49.9	39	81/73	18442	152	0.00 (105)	71	108	118	0 (230)	91	93
56	Lewis & Clark College (OR)	49.3	16	82/76	27403	238	2.75 (35)	99	4	111	20 (65)	91	93
57	Ohio Wesleyan University (OH)	49.1	22	72/63	23907	231	0.34 (101)	103	62	118	29 (25)	22	57
58	Judson College (AL)	49.0	43	47/39	13732	65	0.00 (105)	134	99	63	12 (149)	72	6
59	Dillard University (LA)	48.9	69	39/28	12642	63	8.43 (2)	118	180	26	0 (230)	91	93
60	Wheaton College (IL)	48.5	20	81/88	21850	108	0.00 (105)	36	73	11	21 (56)	91	93
61	Central College (IA)	48.3	28	66/64	20012	140	0.00 (105)	173	70	118	26 (30)	18	11
62	Kenyon College (OH)	48.1	8	89/86	28476	235	0.41 (96)	19	11	118	21 (57)	91	93
63	Pitzer College (CA)	48.0	14	82/79	23115	185	0.35 (98)	82	109	66	13 (126)	2	7
64	Hobart William Smith Colleges (NY)	47.8	24	70/75	27898	198	1.43 (57)	145	44	118	28 (26)	8	46
65	Albion College (MI)	47.8	29	74/74	20678	131	0.00 (105)	77	67	118	8 (196)	63	74
66	Bowdoin College (ME)	47.8	13	89/93	22467	136	2.63 (37)	35	55	118	12 (147)	91	93
67	Hiram College (OH)	47.5	39	61/68	20015	77	0.00 (105)	105	183	105	9 (180)	58	33
68	Alma College (MI)	47.4	37	71/63	17598	137	0.00 (105)	124	43	118	10 (166)	29	16
69	Bucknell University (PA)	47.4	9	86/92	27173	181	5.46 (10)	62	96	40	11 (163)	35	63
70	Colorado College (CO)	47.1	9	85/87	23792	165	0.67 (76)	24	8	82	18 (85)	91	93
71	Barnard College (NY)	47.1	19	89/88	24481	186	3.35 (23)	42	90	118	22 (52)	91	93
72	Franklin and Marshall College (PA)	47.1	13	85/87	26983	205	3.77 (18)	73	132	118	12 (138)	24	81
73	University of Hawaii—Hilo (HI)*	47.0	44	29/33	7797	5	14.86 (1)	187	169	90	12 (150)	91	93
74	William Jewell College (MO)	47.0	27	71/65	19414	153	0.00 (105)	55	178	101	21 (58)	30	39
75	Middlebury College (VT)	47.0	10	91/91	21594	150	2.29 (39)	28	53	103	22 (49)	91	93

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LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES

RANK	COLLEGE	OVERALL SCORE	SOCIAL MOBILITY				RESEARCH				SERVICE			
			% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank	
76	Lake Forest College (IL)	46.9	33	72/70	23534	182	0.53 (86)	138	71	118	16 (98)	26	64	
77	Connecticut College (CT)	46.8	10	77/87	23464	113	1.53 (55)	52	15	118	29 (23)	81	40	
78	Occidental College (CA)	46.7	18	84/85	29060	228	2.29 (40)	40	81	98	30 (20)	91	93	
79	Whittier College (CA)	46.6	32	69/66	25691	220	0.00 (105)	143	186	118	61 (3)	78	34	
80	Hendrix College (AR)	46.3	21	81/60	19896	245	0.66 (78)	61	114	84	17 (88)	91	93	
81	College of St. Benedict (MN)	46.3	22	73/79	22244	118	0.00 (105)	154	68	72	27 (28)	74	25	
82	University of Richmond (VA)	46.2	16	82/87	17372	57	4.05 (17)	102	94	25	8 (191)	76	28	
83	Gustavus Adolphus College (MN)	46.1	22	78/77	20945	145	0.31 (103)	83	74	47	11 (153)	45	66	
84	Colby College (ME)	45.9	9	85/90	19222	75	1.78 (52)	29	46	92	22 (50)	91	93	
85	Beacon College (FL)	45.8	82	43/73	28052	73	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93	
86	Doane College (NE)	45.0	39	60/55	16783	93	0.00 (105)	186	141	99	39 (7)	83	52	
87	Coe College (IA)	44.7	22	75/70	20169	160	0.46 (95)	128	104	32	37 (10)	57	78	
88	Illinois College (IL)	44.7	29	61/61	17009	70	0.00 (105)	205	87	118	12 (145)	5	3	
89	Drew University (NJ)	44.7	26	67/71	30998	230	0.00 (105)	60	127	91	23 (44)	16	71	
90	Centenary College of Louisiana (LA)	44.6	32	64/60	14606	58	0.00 (105)	107	56	118	8 (201)	66	50	
91	Juniata College (PA)	44.3	22	72/71	23009	176	0.51 (87)	68	41	118	10 (169)	64	61	
92	Salem College (NC)	44.2	47	57/57	14381	48	0.00 (105)	167	84	118	34 (14)	91	93	
93	Savannah State University (GA)*	44.2	73	31/35	7563	4	1.87 (50)	193	198	9	18 (76)	91	93	
94	Hampshire College (MA)	44.1	20	78/69	26577	241	0.57 (83)	31	37	118	14 (117)	91	93	
95	Dickinson College (PA)	44.1	10	83/82	25104	201	2.11 (41)	91	47	13	18 (75)	48	62	
96	Univ. Science & Arts of Oklahoma (OK)*	43.8	48	38/32	5246	3	0.00 (105)	175	198	118	15 (113)	91	93	
97	Sterling College (VT)	43.6	46	45/50	16749	50	0.00 (105)	205	1	118	0 (230)	91	93	
98	Wartburg College (IA)	43.6	34	62/63	18838	90	0.00 (105)	157	171	118	7 (221)	20	4	
99	Furman University (SC)	43.6	15	77/84	24142	142	2.31 (38)	33	92	17	13 (127)	91	93	
100	St. John's University (MN)	43.0	19	70/74	21549	127	0.64 (80)	87	118	3	11 (156)	89	22	
102	Calvin College (MI)	42.9	27	72/77	22974	138	5.01 (11)	108	165	58	7 (212)	91	93	
103	College of Idaho (ID)	42.4	34	67/58	16712	129	0.00 (105)	160	59	97	40 (5)	91	93	
104	Simpson College (IA)	42.4	29	63/68	17712	60	0.00 (105)	185	157	118	15 (110)	43	12	
105	University of Minnesota-Morris (MN)*	42.4	32	56/66	13595	23	0.67 (75)	114	149	118	18 (82)	91	93	
106	SUNY College-Old Westbury (NY)*	42.4	49	52/39	8814	30	1.20 (63)	202	198	87	7 (211)	23	18	
107	Sarah Lawrence College (NY)	42.2	21	75/77	26112	190	0.16 (104)	51	102	51	38 (9)	91	93	
108	Linfield College (OR)	42.0	24	65/63	22842	178	0.00 (105)	144	16	109	12 (139)	40	32	
109	Transylvania University (KY)	41.9	24	72/76	18993	76	0.00 (105)	54	143	77	19 (70)	91	93	
110	Presbyterian College (SC)	41.9	23	61/66	13983	36	0.00 (105)	119	147	2	18 (79)	27	67	
111	Birmingham Southern College (AL)	41.7	22	72/63	20357	188	0.00 (105)	72	138	68	7 (213)	46	58	
112	Maryville College (TN)	41.7	36	67/59	15375	88	0.00 (105)	139	63	118	8 (206)	17	29	
113	College of Wooster (OH)	41.6	19	75/77	24322	177	0.99 (65)	47	22	118	15 (114)	91	93	
114	Chester College of New England (NH)	41.4	56	54/79	21374	44	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	25 (34)	91	93	
115	Kentucky State University (KY)*	40.8	64	31/25	8663	15	4.91 (12)	177	194	75	21 (60)	79	90	
116	Lane College (TN)	40.3	90	30/32	8862	9	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	12 (141)	91	93	
117	Lyon College (AR)	40.2	45	62/51	15986	134	0.00 (105)	135	155	118	14 (123)	91	93	
118	Hope College (MI)	40.0	21	76/78	22702	151	3.60 (22)	89	97	118	7 (224)	91	93	
119	West Virginia State University (WV)*	40.0	51	29/23	10346	28	3.77 (18)	182	187	28	10 (167)	91	93	
120	Gettysburg College (PA)	39.4	13	86/85	27938	229	0.81 (69)	85	51	71	10 (168)	60	85	
121	St. Norbert College (WI)	39.2	22	66/77	20019	66	0.00 (105)	147	112	33	22 (46)	41	59	

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LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES

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122 University of Maine–Machias (ME)*	39.1	58	27/34	8594	6	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	23 (40)	91	93
123 College of the Atlantic (ME)	39.0	38	60/69	13710	25	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	31 (19)	91	93
124 Austin College (TX)	38.8	26	70/79	19108	61	0.00 (105)	66	78	118	8 (204)	91	93
125 Cornell College (IA)	38.6	26	77/66	21201	217	0.00 (105)	113	120	118	15 (104)	62	84
126 Skidmore College (NY)	38.5	14	76/84	24614	141	2.85 (33)	133	91	118	13 (129)	65	48
127 Bay Path College (MA)	38.3	52	53/56	20091	104	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	16 (102)	86	5
128 United States University (CA)*	38.2	100	1/0	NA	121	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93
129 Johnson C. Smith University (NC)	38.1	71	40/39	18143	94	0.00 (105)	164	198	27	11 (152)	56	54
130 Eckerd College (FL)	37.9	17	68/69	28335	225	0.33 (102)	88	31	70	9 (185)	53	23
131 Westminster College (PA)	37.9	30	63/79	19084	47	0.00 (105)	178	162	118	22 (55)	36	27
132 Shawnee State University (OH)*	37.8	57	32/21	13958	84	0.00 (105)	205	196	118	32 (17)	85	80
133 University of Puget Sound (WA)	37.7	19	75/80	29402	211	0.46 (94)	41	14	104	7 (216)	91	93
134 Mesa State College (CO)*	37.6	38	39/26	12195	67	1.80 (51)	199	195	118	28 (27)	21	73
135 Beloit College (WI)	37.6	21	78/77	21475	156	0.00 (105)	50	69	118	11 (157)	91	93
136 Stonehill College (MA)	37.5	14	78/85	28873	193	0.00 (105)	148	116	50	16 (103)	11	47
137 Sewanee–University of the South (TN)	37.2	15	75/81	22301	123	0.00 (105)	63	61	118	17 (91)	91	93
138 Gordon College (MA)	37.0	26	70/71	25920	195	0.00 (105)	110	137	42	7 (218)	80	26
139 Harrisburg U. of Science & Tech. (PA)	36.9	69	31/NA	13515	19	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	7 (208)	91	93
140 DePauw University (IN)	36.9	20	76/85	22333	105	0.50 (89)	140	33	114	33 (16)	91	93
141 Ursinus College (PA)	36.7	20	79/81	27123	202	0.54 (85)	78	110	118	7 (223)	87	56
142 Virginia Military Institute (VA)*	36.5	15	63/70	10350	13	0.85 (67)	179	166	1	1 (229)	91	93
143 Pikeville College (KY)	36.5	66	45/38	14625	71	0.00 (105)	205	198	19	10 (177)	91	93
144 Allen University (SC)	36.3	99	22/8	12453	74	0.00 (105)	205	198	54	8 (192)	91	93
145 Univ. of North Carolina–Asheville (NC)*	36.1	22	65/55	8662	22	2.67 (36)	156	156	118	11 (154)	91	93
146 Goshen College (IN)	36.1	35	68/68	18194	87	0.00 (105)	97	65	118	7 (214)	91	93
147 Houghton College (NY)	35.9	36	68/68	21301	148	0.00 (105)	130	123	36	8 (200)	91	93
148 Georgetown College (KY)	35.8	35	62/68	16948	51	0.00 (105)	201	154	49	9 (183)	82	60
149 Scripps College (CA)	35.7	11	89/82	24014	224	0.00 (105)	79	52	118	9 (186)	91	93
150 St. Mary's College of Maryland (MD)*	35.4	11	70/77	20236	79	0.34 (99)	120	9	118	21 (61)	91	93
151 St. Michael's College (VT)	35.3	16	70/77	27472	179	0.64 (79)	165	95	62	13 (131)	37	36
152 Hanover College (IN)	35.2	30	61/66	15249	42	0.00 (105)	75	103	118	14 (121)	91	93
153 Southern Virginia University (VA)	35.1	48	50/27	17418	242	0.00 (105)	205	198	39	30 (21)	91	93
154 Lafayette College (PA)	34.2	10	82/89	22231	116	2.09 (42)	38	167	64	18 (80)	91	93
155 Berry College (GA)	34.1	30	68/60	19200	173	0.00 (105)	94	135	118	19 (67)	91	93
156 Clearwater Christian College (FL)	34.0	48	53/40	16285	155	0.00 (105)	205	145	4	12 (140)	91	93
157 Martin University (IN)	33.3	79	16/19	16126	54	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	22 (47)	91	93
158 Ripon College (WI)	32.8	32	66/71	17841	62	0.00 (105)	112	198	16	15 (112)	91	93
159 Goucher College (MD)	32.8	19	68/66	24616	199	0.49 (91)	115	75	85	10 (172)	84	70
160 Univ. of Virginia's College–Wise (VA)*	32.7	52	36/48	9921	8	0.48 (92)	194	198	55	14 (124)	91	93
161 Bennett College for Women (NC)	32.5	77	28/47	18272	37	0.00 (105)	163	198	118	10 (179)	91	93
162 Concordia College–Moorhead (MN)	32.5	23	69/67	19861	135	0.62 (82)	122	105	53	13 (133)	91	93
163 Wittenberg University (OH)	32.5	23	70/66	24917	214	0.00 (105)	56	117	118	20 (66)	91	93
164 Wabash College (IN)	32.5	21	70/77	21743	101	3.20 (26)	80	40	118	0 (230)	91	93
165 University of Wisconsin–Parkside (WI)*	32.4	37	40/32	9814	26	0.54 (84)	200	197	108	16 (99)	71	83
166 Bethany College (WV)	32.4	55	47/58	18558	52	0.00 (105)	84	170	118	8 (193)	91	93



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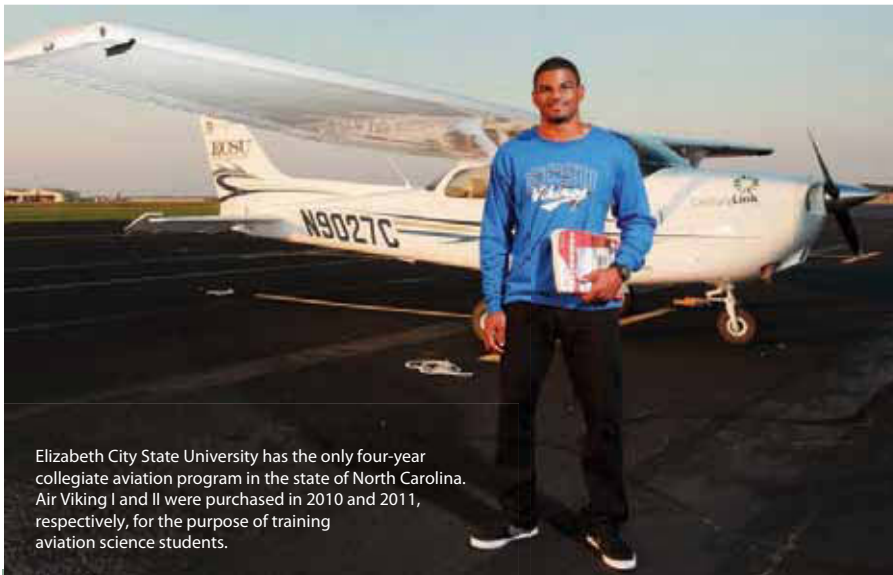
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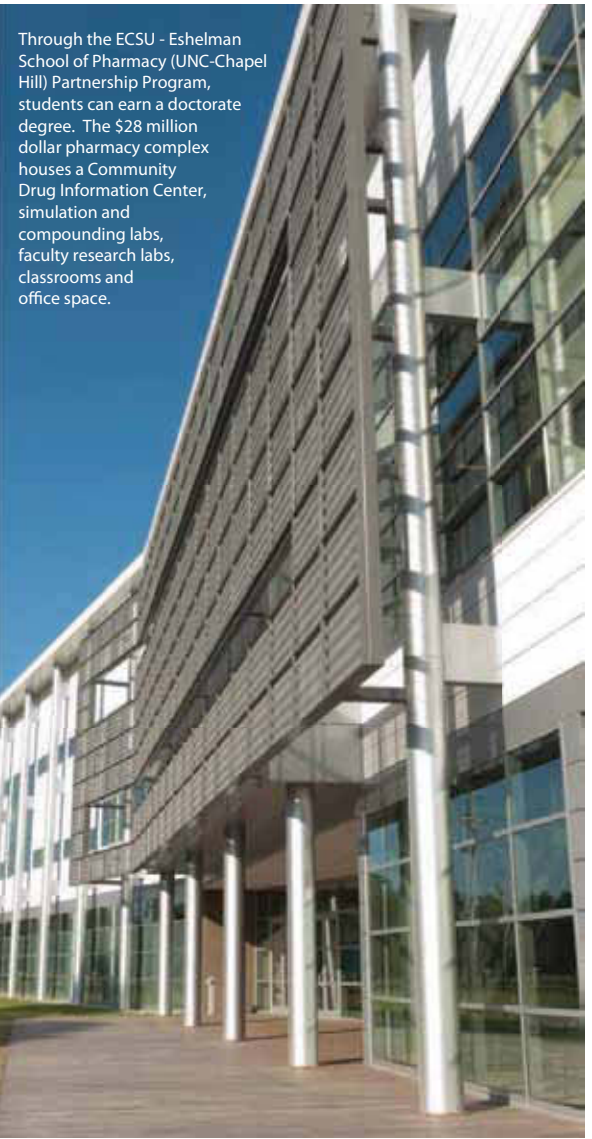
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LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES

	OVERALL SCORE	SOCIAL MOBILITY					RESEARCH			SERVICE		
		% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank
167 Hartwick College (NY)	32.4	35	67/56	21087	212	0.00 (105)	151	164	118	24 (38)	91	93
168 Susquehanna University (PA)	32.2	19	70/79	26840	159	0.00 (105)	159	130	41	29 (24)	55	77
169 Eastern Nazarene College (MA)	32.0	44	54/55	20917	133	0.00 (105)	150	198	118	35 (13)	91	93
170 Washington & Jefferson College (PA)	32.0	23	72/71	26305	210	1.33 (60)	169	115	57	24 (39)	49	88
171 Augustana College (IL)	31.8	17	73/77	24508	171	0.47 (93)	117	111	118	19 (69)	91	93
172 Bethany Lutheran College (MN)	31.6	43	56/40	15230	168	0.00 (105)	205	150	38	16 (100)	91	93
173 College of the Holy Cross (MA)	31.1	14	84/93	23288	120	1.28 (62)	57	174	20	13 (130)	91	93
174 Green Mountain College (VT)	31.0	31	56/47	24212	234	0.00 (105)	205	107	118	35 (12)	91	93
175 Northland College (WI)	30.9	35	54/54	18474	91	0.00 (105)	100	144	118	9 (184)	91	93
176 St. Mary's College (IN)	30.9	25	70/82	24964	124	0.00 (105)	152	93	23	16 (101)	91	93
177 Erskine College and Seminary (SC)	30.7	30	57/63	14899	39	0.00 (105)	53	198	76	11 (164)	91	93
178 Argosy U.-Phoenix Online (AZ)*	30.7	82	28/NA	24924	219	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93
179 Luther College (IA)	30.6	19	78/74	22722	191	0.34 (99)	121	136	118	14 (120)	91	93
180 Bloomfield College (NJ)	30.6	77	35/29	13900	59	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	11 (158)	91	93
181 Moravian Coll./Moravian Theo. Sem. (PA)	30.3	34	64/71	22799	126	0.00 (105)	146	76	79	12 (148)	91	93
182 Bennington College (VT)	30.1	21	69/60	27123	243	0.00 (105)	101	35	118	12 (136)	91	93
183 Wisconsin Lutheran College (WI)	29.8	38	62/58	16667	85	0.00 (105)	191	198	88	16 (97)	91	93
184 Union College (NY)	29.6	19	80/83	23972	167	1.98 (46)	109	161	61	10 (171)	91	93
185 Trinity College (CT)	29.5	11	81/86	19192	72	1.88 (49)	125	100	118	13 (134)	91	93
186 Rust College (MS)	29.3	68	34/27	8716	16	0.00 (105)	192	198	118	9 (188)	91	93
187 Fort Lewis College (CO)*	29.1	30	38/38	11433	24	0.39 (97)	184	134	118	22 (53)	91	93
188 Marlboro College (VT)	29.1	25	55/50	27441	237	0.00 (105)	166	25	118	18 (78)	91	93
189 Mass. College of Liberal Arts (MA)*	29.0	39	56/51	10894	29	0.00 (105)	181	146	118	13 (132)	91	93
190 Nebraska Wesleyan University (NE)	28.5	28	66/65	20723	144	0.00 (105)	155	153	93	12 (146)	91	93
191 St. Anselm College (NH)	28.2	18	64/74	27806	172	0.00 (105)	131	133	110	12 (142)	52	42
192 Ouachita Baptist University (AR)	28.1	26	65/57	15265	89	0.00 (105)	136	185	44	17 (90)	91	93
193 Wells College (NY)	27.9	34	58/63	20796	97	0.00 (105)	142	83	118	17 (92)	91	93
194 St. Lawrence University (NY)	27.8	19	81/83	25976	189	0.00 (105)	162	30	56	7 (210)	91	93
195 Pine Manor College (MA)	27.6	79	34/34	17706	81	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	7 (219)	91	93
196 Simpson University (CA)	27.5	52	50/43	17176	128	0.00 (105)	205	175	10	7 (225)	91	93
197 Carthage College (WI)	27.4	33	73/58	25435	247	0.00 (105)	170	151	95	10 (170)	91	93
198 Shimer College (IL)	27.4	53	45/22	22929	251	0.00 (105)	98	198	118	9 (190)	91	93
199 Wheaton College (MA)	26.7	19	74/76	28390	215	0.00 (105)	127	82	118	12 (143)	91	93
200 Sweet Briar College (VA)	26.3	25	58/59	26718	207	0.00 (105)	116	49	118	8 (195)	91	93
201 Penn State-Abington (PA)*	26.2	46	36/49	10927	10	0.00 (105)	205	198	31	0 (230)	91	93
202 Talladega College (AL)	26.0	73	27/19	10214	31	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93
203 Bard College (NY)	25.9	13	85/76	23916	233	0.00 (105)	76	101	118	7 (215)	91	93
204 McDaniel College (MD)	25.4	24	64/70	22073	119	0.00 (105)	132	198	6	16 (93)	91	93
205 Monmouth College (IL)	25.4	37	60/55	15993	82	0.00 (105)	188	159	52	19 (73)	91	93
206 Huston-Tillotson University (TX)	25.1	66	30/24	16587	102	0.00 (105)	205	198	22	7 (222)	91	93
207 Muhlenberg College (PA)	24.8	9	77/86	30410	200	0.49 (90)	153	181	115	10 (178)	67	55
208 Westmont College (CA)	24.7	17	71/77	30342	213	0.00 (105)	106	158	81	8 (207)	91	93
209 Randolph College (VA)	24.7	30	64/60	21395	174	0.00 (105)	160	140	118	7 (226)	91	93
210 Peace College (NC)	24.6	58	37/35	17966	95	0.00 (105)	205	163	118	7 (217)	91	93
211 Amridge University (AL)	24.4	60	27/23	17308	100	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93



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LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES

	OVERALL SCORE	SOCIAL MOBILITY				RESEARCH			SERVICE			
		% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank
212 Louisiana State Univ.—Alexandria (LA)*	24.3	42	26/11	7076	17	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	15 (111)	91	93
213 San Diego State Univ.—Imper. Vall. (CA)*	24.2	NA	48/66	NA	27	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93
214 Stillman College (AL)	24.1	69	31/24	18008	143	0.00 (105)	197	198	65	10 (173)	91	93
215 Lycoming College (PA)	23.9	33	60/70	22830	103	0.00 (105)	141	182	46	18 (86)	91	93
216 Burlington College (VT)	23.7	40	34/45	23331	109	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	11 (161)	91	93
217 Roanoke College (VA)	23.6	20	64/71	24385	147	1.38 (59)	196	177	118	11 (159)	69	49
218 Penn State—Greater Allegheny (PA)*	23.3	52	36/47	15136	32	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93
219 Siena College (NY)	23.3	19	73/80	24444	149	1.06 (64)	172	190	30	20 (62)	91	93
220 Argosy University—Los Angeles (CA)*	22.8	63	28/NA	31976	236	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93
221 Bridgewater College (VA)	22.8	27	61/64	19929	98	0.00 (105)	203	85	89	8 (199)	59	76
222 Wofford College (SC)	22.8	18	68/83	18644	46	0.00 (105)	205	139	7	9 (189)	91	93
223 Argosy University—Denver (CO)*	22.1	60	37/NA	37014	240	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93
224 King's College (NY)	22.0	32	67/50	26258	249	0.00 (105)	205	198	69	0 (230)	91	93
225 Lambuth University (TN)	21.7	49	50/35	16540	175	0.00 (105)	183	129	118	0 (230)	91	93
226 Life University (GA)	21.7	53	32/42	19358	64	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	10 (174)	91	93
227 American Jewish University (CA)	21.3	23	45/90	19824	18	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	32 (18)	91	93
228 Randolph-Macon College (VA)	21.0	23	65/62	23872	194	0.00 (105)	67	152	59	11 (160)	91	93
229 Washington College (MD)	21.0	14	72/71	28671	232	0.00 (105)	149	57	118	10 (175)	91	93
230 Pacific Union College (CA)	20.8	33	63/33	23962	252	0.00 (105)	93	184	67	22 (54)	91	93
231 Shorter University (GA)	20.7	40	50/51	13456	38	0.00 (105)	190	198	118	17 (89)	91	93
232 St. Vincent College (PA)	20.6	22	63/77	19510	53	0.00 (105)	168	189	118	18 (81)	91	93
233 Holy Cross College (IN)	20.5	33	49/13	20056	253	0.00 (105)	205	128	14	39 (8)	91	93
234 Penn State—Beaver (PA)*	20.5	40	32/43	15521	35	0.85 (68)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93
235 Hampden-Sydney College (VA)	20.3	19	63/68	26630	180	0.00 (105)	92	198	15	16 (96)	91	93
236 Univ. of New Hampshire—Manch. (NH)*	20.1	28	35/36	9666	14	0.00 (105)	205	176	118	0 (230)	90	79
237 Western State Coll. of Colorado (CO)*	19.7	29	52/36	13958	130	0.00 (105)	176	126	118	15 (109)	91	93
238 Soka University of America (CA)	19.7	26	71/88	16927	33	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	11 (155)	91	93
239 Grove City College (PA)	19.2	0	75/83	16432	43	0.00 (105)	65	193	118	0 (230)	91	91
240 Argosy University—Inland Empire (CA)*	18.8	64	29/NA	28992	239	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93
241 Virginia Wesleyan College (VA)	18.1	33	55/45	21929	216	0.00 (105)	158	124	21	5 (227)	91	93
242 Alice Lloyd College (KY)	18.0	53	45/38	9177	20	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93
243 Univ. of Pittsburgh—Greensburg (PA)*	17.7	31	54/58	13657	34	0.00 (105)	204	191	43	0 (230)	91	93
244 Principia College (IL)	17.5	0	61/74	11192	11	0.00 (105)	69	42	118	0 (230)	91	93
245 Castleton State College (VT)*	17.5	30	47/41	12977	49	0.00 (105)	189	160	83	20 (63)	91	93
246 Eastern Mennonite University (VA)	17.0	30	58/57	20559	139	0.00 (105)	198	142	118	8 (203)	91	93
247 Albright College (PA)	16.2	38	62/61	22485	169	0.00 (105)	174	192	113	8 (194)	91	93
248 Marymount Manhattan College (NY)	14.1	26	65/49	28112	250	0.00 (105)	195	198	118	12 (137)	91	93
249 Ave Maria University (FL)	14.0	28	68/52	18895	226	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	8 (205)	91	93
250 SUNY at Purchase College (NY)*	12.6	19	71/55	15245	170	0.00 (105)	180	168	118	15 (106)	91	93
251 Virginia Intermont College (VA)	5.7	27	45/29	18439	218	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	11 (162)	91	93
252 Brevard College (NC)	4.8	34	47/34	19147	206	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	7 (220)	91	93
253 New St. Andrews College (ID)	1.6	0	52/3	13661	254	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	0 (230)	91	93
254 San Diego Christian College (CA)	0.0	27	49/59	23515	117	0.00 (105)	205	198	118	4 (228)	91	93

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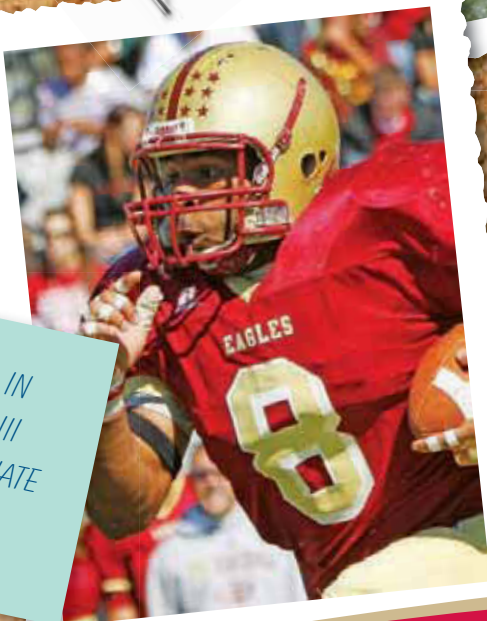
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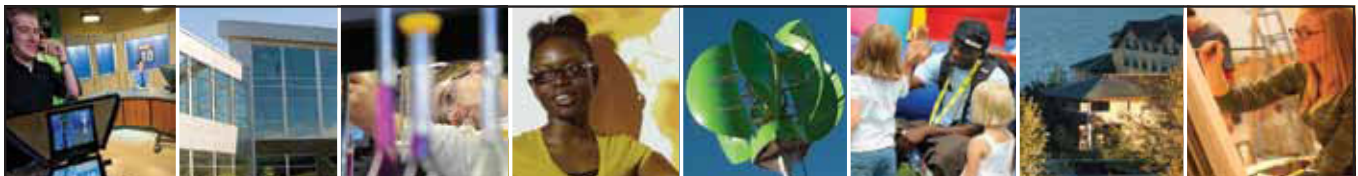
Rank	University	Overall Score	OVERALL SCORE				SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH			SERVICE		
			% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients, incoming SATs, etc.	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff courses, and financial aid support rank		
1	Trinity University (TX)	100.0	14	76/78	22819	500	1.45 (151)	1	15	185	12 (346)	36	206		
2	St. John's College (NM)	96.8	32	57/57	17564	380	0.00 (254)	3	5	448	15 (239)	234	236		
3	Converse College (SC)	96.7	42	54/57	16208	315	0.00 (254)	5	101	309	21 (144)	216	17		
4	Creighton University (NE)	94.8	17	78/77	24947	573	27.70 (10)	41	24	43	18 (185)	46	82		
5	CA State Univ.-Dominguez Hills (CA)*	94.6	63	22/31	2018	3	2.74 (111)	211	281	269	45 (20)	127	36		
6	Truman State University (MO)*	93.4	18	75/70	11191	226	0.88 (185)	7	27	68	11 (378)	94	149		
7	NM Inst. of Mining and Tech. (NM)*	88.8	23	64/48	8268	231	51.70 (1)	4	200	376	16 (235)	234	236		
8	Mills College (CA)	88.6	37	73/61	25732	657	1.68 (141)	6	9	338	7 (549)	234	236		
9	Whitworth University (WA)	87.8	26	69/79	22973	411	0.00 (254)	18	48	149	9 (451)	54	3		
10	CA State University-Fresno (CA)*	87.0	47	39/51	5590	10	8.70 (47)	314	290	112	53 (10)	14	97		
11	CA State Univ.-Los Angeles (CA)*	87.0	62	32/37	3496	4	7.71 (54)	149	206	394	18 (182)	148	123		
12	University of Mary Washington (VA)*	86.0	14	64/75	12306	124	0.00 (254)	9	1	249	16 (213)	215	187		
13	Stetson University (FL)	85.2	35	61/61	19353	420	0.00 (254)	11	28	77	12 (356)	49	66		
14	CA State University-Fullerton (CA)*	84.5	33	47/51	4338	9	21.78 (16)	394	161	200	20 (158)	27	42		
15	MS University for Women (MS)*	84.4	64	47/39	7040	81	0.00 (254)	65	300	319	29 (72)	9	218		
16	University of TX-Pan American (TX)*	84.0	71	31/35	1482	2	8.69 (48)	338	425	231	10 (404)	234	236		
17	SUNY at Geneseo (NY)*	83.9	17	81/77	14640	337	1.37 (154)	16	31	448	17 (196)	47	226		
18	St. Marys University (TX)	83.9	53	65/60	17320	422	0.50 (222)	14	425	19	8 (503)	31	37		
19	Valparaiso University (IN)	83.8	27	70/70	19734	442	0.79 (193)	15	29	62	17 (201)	68	219		
20	Hamline University (MN)	83.7	35	62/72	19693	343	0.00 (254)	19	11	251	20 (162)	171	150		
21	Nazareth College (NY)	82.1	31	65/72	21732	412	0.00 (254)	48	425	448	40 (33)	2	10		
22	College of Saint Mary (NE)	81.8	64	44/47	18438	373	0.00 (254)	49	425	448	33 (56)	56	5		
23	University of Dallas (TX)	81.4	23	75/74	24357	554	0.00 (254)	2	425	81	12 (355)	234	236		
24	Alabama A&M University (AL)*	80.0	70	32/33	7194	39	30.50 (8)	108	305	37	19 (178)	234	236		
25	Univ. of MA-Dartmouth (MA)*	79.5	34	59/48	15999	471	25.73 (12)	321	260	355	61 (6)	48	47		
26	North Carolina Central Univ. (NC)*	79.4	72	32/38	5929	16	6.87 (61)	193	425	135	29 (80)	44	80		
27	College of New Jersey (NJ)*	79.2	16	78/86	18311	318	0.85 (189)	24	100	188	10 (431)	26	44		
28	CA State University-Northridge (CA)*	79.1	53	33/48	8610	30	29.47 (9)	311	180	294	31 (61)	129	214		
29	Evergreen State College (WA)*	79.0	27	45/52	10449	99	0.90 (184)	17	8	448	9 (487)	234	236		
30	University of Redlands (CA)	78.1	25	66/64	25713	595	1.32 (156)	61	4	388	41 (30)	99	61		
31	Pacific University (OR)	78.0	31	67/65	23722	560	1.85 (134)	25	123	448	14 (272)	20	15		
32	Touro College (NY)	77.0	100	32/61	5554	6	0.00 (254)	495	425	448	18 (179)	234	236		
33	Villanova University (PA)	76.7	12	83/90	27525	544	11.43 (36)	40	65	26	14 (283)	85	192		
34	University of Portland (OR)	76.6	19	72/77	26954	548	1.21 (164)	164	7	6	30 (66)	15	111		
35	Metropolitan State University (MN)*	75.6	68	24/26	9832	104	0.00 (254)	433	402	415	48 (15)	41	19		
36	University of Evansville (IN)	75.3	32	64/66	17579	355	0.00 (254)	56	12	423	10 (438)	39	141		
37	Harding University (AR)	75.2	25	63/67	15090	272	0.00 (254)	29	71	448	10 (420)	13	184		
38	Alfred University (NY)	75.1	33	63/64	22396	497	4.52 (78)	10	34	404	13 (307)	234	236		
39	CUNY Hunter College (NY)*	74.7	43	50/46	6848	50	38.90 (3)	97	288	447	0 (592)	234	236		
40	Humboldt State University (CA)*	74.7	35	42/37	8846	126	9.85 (43)	47	18	448	13 (326)	194	164		
41	TX A&M International University (TX)*	74.5	72	42/40	1255	1	2.43 (118)	458	425	222	11 (391)	234	236		
42	Seattle University (WA)	74.3	18	76/75	28988	625	1.26 (159)	190	6	42	25 (111)	58	2		
43	Univ. of NC-Wilmington (NC)*	73.8	20	64/66	8802	75	23.14 (15)	319	70	448	33 (53)	108	181		
44	Grand Valley State University (MI)*	73.7	29	63/61	13660	290	5.04 (75)	274	112	403	11 (359)	1	12		
45	Columbia International University (SC)	73.3	43	55/63	14689	223	0.00 (254)	28	76	448	19 (165)	234	236		
46	Northeastern State University (OK)*	73.1	56	11/28	6662	12	0.71 (203)	390	408	177	24 (117)	123	23		
47	CUNY City College (NY)*	73.0	54	40/39	6506	31	46.70 (2)	188	372	374	0 (592)	234	236		
48	Mary Baldwin College (VA)	72.9	53	46/47	16874	349	0.00 (254)	55	36	7	34 (52)	173	89		
49	S. Illinois Univ.-Edwardsville (IL)*	72.9	28	55/51	16758	398	31.78 (6)	250	394	72	54 (8)	150	188		
50	Ithaca College (NY)	72.5	22	71/77	28672	572	1.08 (174)	13	39	228	7 (571)	101	195		

OVERALL SCORE: Overall score represents the combined score of our three metrics—social mobility, research, and service—where the highest is scaled to 100 and the lowest is 0. Each metric is weighted equally.

SOCIAL MOBILITY: The first column shows the percentage of students receiving Pell Grants. The second shows the predicted rate of graduation (based on incoming SAT scores, Pell Grant percentages, and other measures, see “A Note on Methodology,” page 88) and the actual rate of graduation. The third column shows the net price of attending that institution, which reflects the average price that first-time, full-time students who receive financial aid pay for college after subtracting need-based financial aid. The fourth column shows the rank on the cost-adjusted graduation measure, which is the difference between the actual and predicted graduation rates—a measure of how well the school performs as an engine of social mobility—divided by the net price of attendance.

RESEARCH: The first column shows the number of dollars (in millions) in total research expenditures. Rank follows in parentheses. The second shows the school’s ranking in the number of bachelor’s recipients who go on to receive PhDs, relative to school size.

SERVICE: The first column ranks the school by the number of alumni who go on to serve in the Peace Corps, relative to school size. The second column ranks the school by the percentage of students who serve in ROTC. The third gives the percentage of funds in federal work-study money that goes to community service (versus non-community service); rank follows in parentheses. The fourth column shows the school’s rank on a combined measure of the number of students participating in community service and the total number of service hours performed, both relative to school size. The fifth column shows the school’s rank on a combined measure of the number of staff supporting community service, relative to the total number of staff; the number of academic courses that incorporate service, relative to school size; and whether the institution provides scholarships for community service.



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		OVERALL SCORE					SOCIAL MOBILITY		RESEARCH			SERVICE			
		% of students receiving Pell Grants		Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients, incoming SATs, etc.		Net price of attendance		Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank		Research expenditures in millions (rank)			Bachelor's to PhD rank		
		Peace Corps rank		ROTC rank		% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)			Community service participation and hours served rank			Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank			
Rank	University	Overall Score	Pell Grants	Grad Rate	Net Price	Cost-Adjusted Grad Rate	Research Expenditures	Bachelor's to PhD	Peace Corps	ROTC	Federal Work-Study	Community Service	Service Staff		
51	John Carroll University (OH)	72.2	34	62/73	21850	378	1.15 (167)	34	330	63	8 (509)	104	28		
52	Otterbein University (OH)	72.2	30	59/59	22400	507	0.00 (254)	79	59	277	9 (465)	7	9		
53	CUNY Brooklyn College (NY)*	72.0	56	43/48	5096	11	6.85 (63)	192	251	446	0 (592)	234	236		
54	CA State Univ.-Sacramento (CA)*	71.6	45	40/42	9050	85	15.21 (26)	275	178	125	62 (5)	167	210		
55	Santa Clara University (CA)	71.4	15	77/87	32658	598	3.82 (90)	42	45	79	12 (339)	103	65		
56	Augsburg College (MN)	71.3	44	56/60	19388	383	0.00 (254)	125	49	391	27 (93)	12	50		
57	Rochester Institute of Technology (NY)	71.2	32	74/66	25106	633	38.66 (4)	96	172	78	14 (273)	234	236		
58	Wheelock College (MA)	70.7	38	51/60	23109	421	0.00 (254)	361	13	448	50 (12)	3	69		
59	CA State University-Bakersfield (CA)*	70.4	61	29/43	4622	7	2.08 (127)	185	284	448	13 (306)	234	236		
60	Northwest Nazarene University (ID)	70.3	39	53/54	18844	402	0.00 (254)	8	194	47	13 (316)	234	236		
61	San Francisco State University (CA)*	70.3	32	52/48	10834	195	25.62 (13)	221	75	377	27 (90)	87	110		
62	Rollins College (FL)	70.2	21	71/69	26231	607	0.00 (254)	87	20	448	19 (168)	72	40		
63	Loyola University New Orleans (LA)	69.6	31	74/57	19840	637	0.60 (214)	32	21	212	14 (298)	234	236		
64	Avila University (MO)	69.4	44	51/50	15945	341	0.00 (254)	68	73	448	9 (475)	21	77		
65	CA Polytech. St. U.-S. Luis Bispo (CA)*	69.2	12	69/73	14393	253	19.73 (18)	102	41	179	25 (106)	131	209		
66	Gonzaga University (WA)	68.9	16	70/80	25982	485	1.25 (161)	156	2	46	18 (187)	155	46		
67	College of Charleston (SC)*	68.8	17	66/66	14555	297	14.22 (29)	66	17	333	22 (135)	234	236		
68	Millersville U. of Pennsylvania (PA)*	68.7	26	60/61	11595	176	0.52 (217)	60	129	260	35 (48)	16	127		
69	James Madison University (VA)*	68.4	11	66/82	12185	96	7.04 (58)	81	44	70	28 (85)	37	224		
70	Point Loma Nazarene University (CA)	68.4	23	70/84	25503	431	0.00 (254)	22	72	44	46 (18)	234	236		
71	Western Washington University (WA)*	68.3	19	61/69	12596	155	10.57 (40)	119	3	448	17 (209)	234	156		
72	University of the Cumberlands (KY)	68.2	56	49/38	13234	370	0.00 (254)	178	69	5	10 (425)	149	104		
73	Keuka College (NY)	68.2	48	56/55	21081	493	0.00 (254)	541	229	448	47 (17)	6	14		
74	Heidelberg University (OH)	67.7	43	53/52	19402	440	0.00 (254)	12	40	296	7 (579)	234	236		
75	College of New Rochelle (NY)	67.0	89	38/30	29507	661	0.00 (254)	541	425	448	7 (574)	52	27		
76	Fayetteville State University (NC)*	66.7	76	24/34	6376	15	11.87 (35)	517	425	24	18 (188)	229	207		
77	CUNY Lehman College (NY)*	66.7	69	27/35	3885	5	3.58 (91)	498	425	380	0 (592)	234	236		
78	Mercer University (GA)	66.5	28	67/60	18461	486	27.30 (11)	161	42	98	11 (401)	234	236		
79	Bradley University (IL)	66.5	25	68/73	22447	457	1.15 (168)	23	152	227	11 (366)	116	193		
80	Rockhurst University (MO)	65.8	23	66/74	18804	331	0.00 (254)	77	25	409	12 (351)	107	57		
81	Tennessee Technological Univ. (TN)*	65.5	35	49/48	11138	177	16.75 (21)	142	411	96	27 (91)	209	213		
82	University of Northern Iowa (IA)*	65.2	20	59/67	13620	188	3.06 (101)	70	182	272	32 (57)	74	35		
83	Christian Brothers University (TN)	65.1	41	57/55	10560	161	0.00 (254)	27	196	107	7 (563)	234	236		
84	Fairfield University (CT)	65.0	14	66/83	27873	461	9.29 (44)	53	114	343	42 (27)	175	131		
85	Grambling State University (LA)*	64.7	74	36/27	11275	273	0.99 (180)	240	380	38	14 (280)	30	26		
86	William Carey University (MS)	64.7	65	56/42	12976	400	0.00 (254)	73	425	287	7 (552)	234	236		
87	Wayne State College (NE)*	64.5	41	49/47	8913	107	0.00 (254)	207	425	23	51 (11)	195	41		
88	Providence College (RI)	64.3	12	68/86	27464	441	0.92 (182)	38	37	108	10 (429)	71	100		
89	Southern Nazarene University (OK)	64.1	40	46/46	18709	409	0.00 (254)	31	118	322	45 (21)	234	236		
90	SUNY College at Potsdam (NY)*	64.1	37	53/54	12990	240	0.51 (220)	33	147	104	40 (35)	234	236		
91	Univ. of Wisconsin-Eau Claire (WI)*	63.9	22	66/65	9255	106	1.95 (130)	113	61	324	16 (226)	81	134		
92	Lee University (TN)	63.8	33	56/48	11330	267	0.00 (254)	186	150	448	14 (265)	34	22		
93	CA State Univ.-Monterey Bay (CA)*	63.6	33	51/41	9407	199	5.31 (73)	541	208	448	49 (13)	40	4		
94	Wagner College (NY)	63.4	15	73/66	27127	645	0.00 (254)	98	139	400	15 (260)	18	7		
95	Loyola Marymount University (CA)	63.3	16	73/80	35449	640	4.56 (77)	74	54	224	28 (88)	105	85		
96	CA State Univ.-San Bernardino (CA)*	63.2	58	33/44	6678	19	1.85 (133)	281	239	180	35 (46)	220	143		
97	Drake University (IA)	63.2	16	74/73	23289	538	1.03 (178)	30	47	245	10 (409)	199	229		
98	Citadel Military College of SC (SC)*	62.8	24	51/72	11541	60	0.00 (254)	69	425	1	10 (417)	234	236		
99	St. Mary's College of California (CA)	62.7	33	68/64	25067	600	0.00 (254)	194	38	286	24 (113)	55	67		
100	Gannon University (PA)	62.6	42	56/69	18530	291	0.00 (254)	267	331	73	35 (49)	59	33		



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Rank	College	Overall Score	SOCIAL MOBILITY				RESEARCH			SERVICE			
			% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients, incoming SATs, etc.	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff, courses, and financial aid support rank
1	Elizabeth City State University (NC)*	100.0	75	19/42	1442	1	5.58 (5)	129	120	12	18 (95)	16	59
2	Wheeling Jesuit University (WV)	82.0	34	56/60	17187	143	9.40 (2)	6	62	134	8 (225)	29	23
3	Tuskegee University (AL)	78.8	63	36/46	17277	91	15.58 (1)	24	69	2	14 (141)	72	71
4	Bethel College (KS)	76.2	34	58/54	16586	208	0.00 (30)	3	120	134	24 (54)	21	31
5	Cooper Un. Adv. of Science & Art (NY)	70.6	16	87/89	16883	151	0.37 (19)	1	120	134	34 (24)	72	71
6	Northwestern College (IA)	70.4	30	64/66	18159	174	0.00 (30)	42	15	134	17 (105)	2	9
7	College of the Ozarks (MO)	67.7	70	38/68	9854	5	0.00 (30)	37	120	99	0 (287)	17	70
8	MT Tech of the Univ. of Montana (MT)*	67.6	33	51/51	11151	64	7.42 (4)	103	120	134	18 (98)	65	5
9	Carson-Newman College (TN)	67.1	39	54/53	14244	135	0.00 (30)	33	54	8	9 (219)	1	43
10	Messiah College (PA)	65.8	20	66/75	24434	194	0.00 (30)	21	8	78	8 (221)	7	12
11	Augustana College (SD)	64.4	28	70/67	17611	210	0.91 (12)	45	6	62	22 (70)	34	66
12	West Virginia Wesleyan College (WV)	62.6	39	57/58	15115	125	0.00 (30)	15	120	134	13 (149)	8	30
13	Cedarville University (OH)	62.1	24	68/67	19808	224	0.00 (30)	13	40	5	21 (73)	72	71
14	Taylor University (IN)	61.6	22	63/78	22831	134	0.00 (30)	10	19	134	12 (153)	35	51
15	Franklin College (IN)	60.7	42	51/54	17329	146	0.00 (30)	54	64	86	47 (9)	26	14
16	Florida Southern College (FL)	60.4	32	56/52	15054	185	0.00 (30)	23	9	10	11 (168)	32	55
17	St. Andrews Presbyterian College (NC)	59.0	28	55/43	24248	338	0.00 (30)	11	3	134	54 (5)	72	71
18	Mars Hill College (NC)	59.0	56	44/35	17682	288	0.00 (30)	20	67	134	24 (58)	15	27
19	Texas Lutheran University (TX)	57.2	43	50/46	16645	216	0.00 (30)	19	120	134	51 (7)	37	26
20	Culver-Stockton College (MO)	56.9	51	51/53	17423	161	0.00 (30)	47	46	134	45 (16)	44	65
21	Unity College (ME)	56.7	46	49/50	19720	204	0.00 (30)	173	5	134	11 (167)	9	3
22	Asbury University (KY)	55.4	35	58/63	17743	136	0.00 (30)	7	77	43	18 (96)	72	71
23	Hastings College (NE)	55.2	36	56/65	18549	118	0.00 (30)	36	32	134	13 (151)	25	40
24	Macon State College (GA)*	55.2	59	22/16	NA	2	0.00 (30)	173	120	134	12 (152)	72	71
25	University of the Ozarks (AR)	54.9	38	52/53	4987	6	0.00 (30)	116	1	134	12 (158)	72	71
26	Warner Pacific College (OR)	54.8	59	43/94	17566	12	0.00 (30)	173	41	134	16 (111)	41	15
27	Vanguard Univ. of Southern CA (CA)	54.6	56	52/59	3569	3	0.32 (21)	133	120	59	6 (279)	72	71
28	Clarke University (IA)	54.4	36	54/64	19181	119	0.00 (30)	65	21	134	11 (169)	4	60
29	Martin Luther College (MN)	53.3	37	60/71	13062	45	0.00 (30)	125	45	134	59 (4)	72	71
30	Oklahoma Baptist University (OK)	53.2	33	54/53	13597	121	0.00 (30)	8	31	88	8 (229)	72	71
31	Iowa Wesleyan College (IA)	53.2	62	41/37	17685	235	0.00 (30)	126	120	134	31 (28)	18	6
32	University of Arkansas-Pine Bluff (AR)*	52.9	77	18/24	8436	18	8.34 (3)	130	120	11	11 (173)	72	71
33	Cedar Crest College (PA)	52.8	51	52/59	22098	183	0.00 (30)	17	76	134	24 (57)	61	53
34	Eureka College (IL)	52.2	41	52/39	18136	322	0.00 (30)	14	120	134	33 (25)	58	47
35	Manchester College (IN)	51.8	41	51/53	17165	154	0.00 (30)	30	71	134	10 (196)	13	21
36	Atlantic Union College (MA)	51.5	50	47/31	16258	335	0.00 (30)	2	120	134	19 (91)	72	71
37	Central State University (OH)*	51.3	87	18/19	8163	26	3.23 (8)	74	94	20	10 (184)	72	71
38	Blue Mountain College (MS)	51.3	51	39/40	11012	61	0.00 (30)	4	120	134	0 (287)	72	71
39	Trinity Christian College (IL)	50.0	38	58/61	21412	209	0.00 (30)	72	22	134	7 (276)	36	29
40	Kentucky Wesleyan College (KY)	50.0	52	48/50	12584	79	0.00 (30)	51	13	134	21 (78)	72	71
41	Ohio Valley University (WV)	49.9	57	53/55	16333	141	0.00 (30)	173	120	134	8 (244)	59	1
42	Loras College (IA)	49.6	21	63/61	18920	232	0.00 (30)	18	79	134	36 (19)	20	17
43	Lenoir-Rhyne University (NC)	49.0	47	51/45	17032	245	0.00 (30)	34	81	77	8 (223)	14	58
44	Benedict College (SC)	48.9	85	25/27	17287	163	1.53 (10)	128	120	41	11 (180)	39	24
45	Marietta College (OH)	48.9	34	63/59	19753	265	0.00 (30)	27	120	134	17 (109)	57	25
46	Dordt College (IA)	48.1	34	65/60	20315	277	0.00 (30)	35	120	134	14 (144)	46	34
47	Morningside College (IA)	47.8	37	56/50	17753	257	0.00 (30)	5	120	119	11 (174)	72	71
48	Covenant College (GA)	47.8	38	59/55	19627	259	0.00 (30)	40	14	134	17 (110)	72	71
49	Stephens College (MO)	47.5	40	49/55	21616	184	0.00 (30)	16	53	134	23 (61)	72	71
50	Fort Valley State University (GA)*	46.9	73	21/34	11388	23	5.31 (6)	146	110	13	5 (281)	72	71



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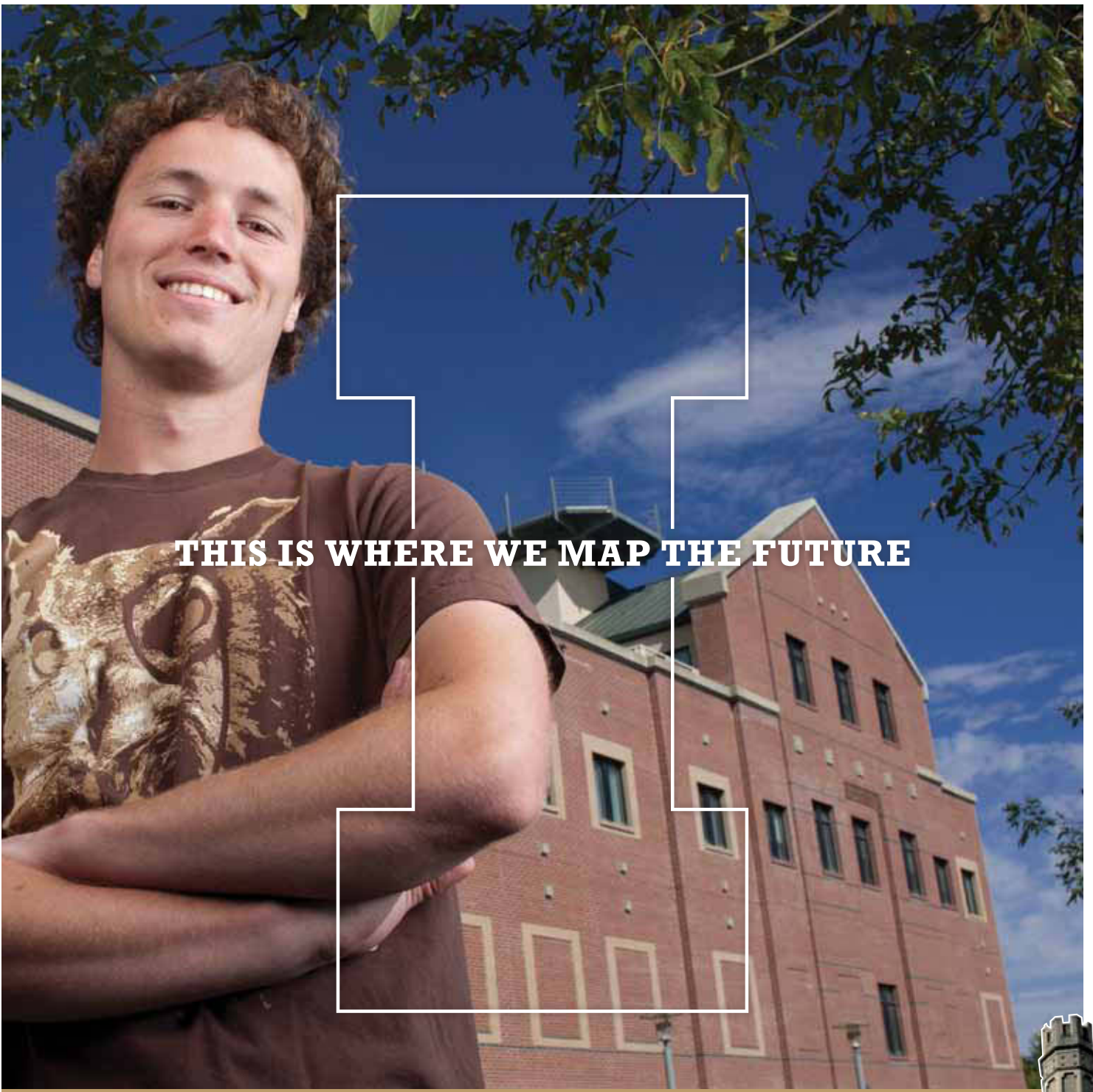
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RANK	COLLEGE	OVERALL SCORE	SOCIAL MOBILITY				RESEARCH			SERVICE			
			% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients, incoming SATs, etc.	Net price of attendance	Cost-adjusted grad rate performance rank	Research expenditures in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	Community service participation and hours served rank	Service staff courses, and financial aid support rank
51	Tabor College (KS)	46.9	46	53/43	19299	309	0.00 (30)	31	120	134	34 (22)	72	71
52	Mid-Atlantic Christian University (NC)	46.7	59	40/32	15620	246	0.00 (30)	173	120	26	27 (36)	23	13
53	Defiance College (OH)	46.0	49	48/45	18630	231	0.00 (30)	138	120	134	8 (235)	5	8
54	East Texas Baptist University (TX)	45.6	38	48/36	13530	271	0.00 (30)	12	120	134	8 (241)	52	18
55	Silver Lake College (WI)	45.3	53	30/36	14808	85	0.00 (30)	99	120	134	35 (21)	71	4
56	Buena Vista University (IA)	44.9	44	58/58	17343	176	0.00 (30)	89	73	33	7 (270)	68	32
57	Martin Methodist College (TN)	44.2	55	41/75	27356	84	0.00 (30)	173	120	134	11 (179)	11	16
58	Northland International Univ. (WI)	43.8	60	39/59	15440	38	0.00 (30)	173	120	134	51 (8)	72	71
59	Carroll College (MT)	43.5	22	60/58	20605	253	0.00 (30)	29	20	16	9 (205)	72	71
60	University of Mount Union (OH)	43.4	39	59/63	19862	181	0.00 (30)	53	120	40	7 (272)	30	62
61	Ohio Northern University (OH)	43.3	27	73/66	24116	314	0.31 (22)	32	120	121	16 (112)	72	71
62	Virginia Union University (VA)	43.3	66	31/32	17770	173	0.00 (30)	49	120	51	8 (246)	38	38
63	Ohio Christian University (OH)	43.0	86	35/31	23952	294	0.00 (30)	173	120	134	26 (42)	64	63
64	University of Maine-Farmington (ME)*	42.7	42	45/59	13133	33	0.00 (30)	83	17	134	23 (62)	72	71
65	Elizabethtown College (PA)	42.6	20	64/78	23387	145	0.51 (17)	59	48	134	7 (275)	6	71
66	Jamestown College (ND)	42.6	28	58/41	15838	336	0.00 (30)	9	18	134	10 (193)	72	71
67	Voorhees College (SC)	42.3	87	20/28	7380	9	0.00 (30)	173	120	6	0 (287)	72	71
68	Free Will Baptist Bible College (TN)	42.2	41	48/53	14587	92	0.00 (30)	173	120	61	0 (287)	19	2
69	Huntingdon College (AL)	42.1	41	47/47	16191	157	0.00 (30)	70	65	72	21 (72)	55	46
70	MacMurray College (IL)	42.0	80	35/35	16084	158	0.00 (30)	173	25	134	19 (86)	72	71
71	Missouri Western State Univ. (MO)*	41.2	49	33/29	9048	58	0.00 (30)	164	91	46	8 (240)	28	19
72	Embry Riddle Aero. Univ.-Prescott (AZ)	40.7	32	60/60	28962	300	0.00 (30)	85	120	1	0 (287)	72	71
73	Coker College (SC)	40.0	49	46/54	12107	44	0.00 (30)	106	120	134	19 (94)	53	39
74	Univ. of South Carolina-Aiken (SC)*	39.4	43	38/38	9543	46	0.34 (20)	94	108	132	26 (41)	63	48
75	Wilmington College (OH)	39.3	49	49/45	17725	233	0.00 (30)	96	120	134	8 (224)	56	49
76	Missouri Southern State Univ. (MO)*	39.2	49	38/34	7384	34	0.00 (30)	91	117	134	25 (48)	72	71
77	Adrian College (MI)	38.8	36	55/44	19355	318	0.00 (30)	39	82	104	39 (17)	72	71
78	Milligan College (TN)	38.3	36	56/56	14890	133	0.00 (30)	38	120	134	16 (119)	72	71
79	Monroe College-New Rochelle (NY) ^o	38.3	80	48/75	16423	30	0.00 (30)	173	120	134	0 (287)	72	71
80	John Brown University (AR)	38.3	25	61/61	18907	197	0.00 (30)	56	30	57	14 (137)	72	71
81	Univ. of Minnesota-Crookston (MN)*	38.2	41	41/37	11465	110	0.00 (30)	173	120	130	20 (84)	24	28
82	Kuyper College (MI)	38.2	48	52/40	17527	307	0.00 (30)	173	120	134	9 (217)	66	7
83	Lewis-Clark State College (ID)*	38.1	52	30/29	12936	113	0.00 (30)	159	95	108	32 (26)	48	67
84	Marian University (IN)	37.9	44	52/54	17085	155	0.00 (30)	141	120	69	20 (83)	12	57
85	Chadron State College (NE)*	37.7	37	44/46	8719	29	0.00 (30)	90	93	35	22 (68)	72	71
86	Central Baptist College (AR)	37.6	46	41/35	11263	129	0.00 (30)	173	120	134	93 (1)	72	71
87	Glennville State College (WV)*	37.5	67	34/28	9032	69	0.00 (30)	135	120	19	7 (260)	72	71
88	West Virginia Univ. Inst. of Tech. (WV)*	37.2	47	34/33	8790	40	0.00 (30)	22	120	79	0 (287)	72	71
89	Catawba College (NC)	36.9	37	47/57	16611	83	0.00 (30)	149	72	134	46 (12)	45	42
90	Flagler College (FL)	36.7	26	58/64	17521	127	0.00 (30)	119	4	134	16 (113)	72	71
91	Keystone College (PA)	36.4	51	36/46	13279	49	0.00 (30)	173	83	134	8 (227)	40	22
92	Rocky Mountain College (MT)	36.3	33	55/52	17862	222	0.00 (30)	137	7	63	29 (34)	72	71
93	Geneva College (PA)	35.9	38	58/61	17218	152	0.00 (30)	46	86	134	7 (266)	72	71
94	West Liberty University (WV)*	35.6	47	41/39	8350	42	1.65 (9)	79	120	131	15 (135)	72	71
95	Jarvis Christian College (TX)	35.6	83	23/29	6827	8	0.22 (27)	173	120	134	25 (46)	72	71
96	St. Mary-of-the-Woods College (IN)	35.4	55	38/51	10180	17	0.00 (30)	68	120	123	0 (286)	72	71
97	University of Sioux Falls (SD)	35.1	31	56/50	18516	273	0.00 (30)	114	35	117	37 (18)	72	71
98	Mount Marty College (SD)	35.1	50	47/56	18443	116	0.00 (30)	144	29	76	15 (134)	72	71
99	Blackburn College (IL)	35.1	49	46/44	11881	104	0.00 (30)	60	36	134	0 (287)	72	71
100	Millikin University (IL)	35.0	37	52/59	18131	126	0.00 (30)	26	96	134	16 (114)	72	71

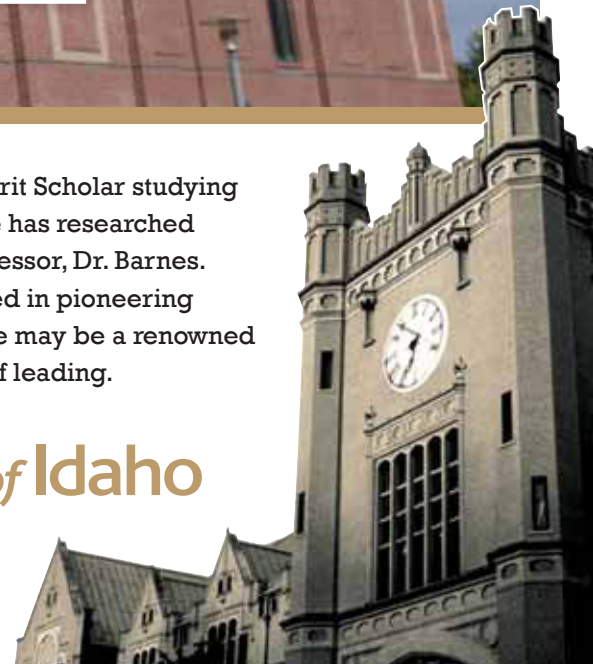


THIS IS WHERE WE MAP THE FUTURE

Reaching for the moon is not a figure of speech for Jacob Bow, a National Merit Scholar studying chemical engineering and math. Since his first year as an undergraduate, he has researched and mapped Titan, one of Saturn's largest moons, alongside his physics professor, Dr. Barnes. At the University of Idaho, Jacob's story is our story. Our students are engaged in pioneering research with some of the leading minds in their respective fields. This place may be a renowned international research institution, but we call it our home. That's the legacy of leading.

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A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY: 4-YEAR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

There are two primary goals to our methodology. First, we considered no single category to be more important than any other. Second, the final rankings needed to reflect excellence across the full breadth of our measures, rather than reward an exceptionally high focus on, say, research. Thus, all three main categories were weighted equally when calculating the final score. In order to ensure that each measurement contributed equally to a school's score within any given category, we standardized each data set so that each had a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. The data were also adjusted to account for statistical outliers. No school's performance in any single area was allowed to exceed five standard deviations from the mean of the data set. Thanks to rounding, some schools have the same overall score. We have ranked them according to their pre-rounding results.

The set of colleges included in the rankings has changed since last year. For the 2011 rankings, we included all colleges ranked by *U.S. News & World Report* in 2010. *U.S. News* changed its selection criteria in 2011 and we wanted a clear set of rules for including or excluding colleges, so we developed specific criteria for the *Washington Monthly* rankings. We started with 1,762 colleges that are listed in the U.S. Department of Education's Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) as having a Carnegie basic classification of research, master's, baccalaureate, and baccalaureate/associate's colleges and were not exclusively graduate schools. We then excluded 145 colleges which reported that at least half of the undergraduate degrees awarded in 2009–10 were not bachelor's degrees as well as the seventeen colleges with fewer than 100 undergraduate students in fall 2010. Next, we decided to exclude the five federal military academies (Air Force, Army, Coast Guard, Merchant Marine, and Navy) because their unique missions make them difficult to evaluate using our methodology. Our rankings are based in part on the percentage of students receiving Pell Grants and the percentage of students enrolled in ROTC, whereas the service academies provide all students with free tuition (and

thus no Pell Grants) and commission graduates as officers in the armed services (and thus not the ROTC program). Our final set of exclusions was to not rank colleges that had not reported any of the three main measures used in the social mobility section (percent Pell, graduation rate, and net price) in the past three years. This resulted in a final sample of 1,569 colleges and includes public, private nonprofit, and for-profit colleges.

Each of our three categories includes several components. We have determined the community service score by measuring each school's performance in five different areas: the size of each school's Air Force, Army, and Navy Reserve Officer Training Corps programs, relative to the size of the school; the number of alumni currently serving in the Peace Corps, relative to the size of the school; the percentage of federal work-study grant money spent on community service projects; a combined score based on the number of students participating in community service and total service hours performed, both relative to school size; and a combined score based on the number of full-time staff supporting community service, relative to the total number of staff, the number of academic courses that incorporate service, relative to school size, and whether the institution provides scholarships for community service.

The latter two measures are based on data reported to the Corporation for National and Community Service by colleges and universities in their applications for the President's Higher Education Community Service Honor Roll. The first is a measure of student participation in community service and the second is a measure of institutional support for service. Colleges that did not submit applications had no data and were given zeros on these measures. Some schools that dropped in our service rankings this year completed an application in 2010 and therefore received credit in last year's rankings, but did not submit an application in 2011 and therefore did not receive credit on these measures in this year's rankings. (Our advice to those schools: If you care about service, believe you do a good job of promoting it, and want the world to know, then fill out the application!)

The research score for national universities is also based on five measurements: the total amount of an institution's research spending (from the Center for Measuring University Performance and the National Science Foundation); the number of science and engineering PhDs award-

ed by the university; the number of undergraduate alumni who have gone on to receive a PhD in any subject, relative to the size of the school; the number of faculty receiving prestigious awards, relative to the number of full-time faculty; and the number of faculty in the National Academies, relative to the number of full-time faculty. For national universities, we weighted each of these components equally to determine a school's final score in the category. For liberal arts colleges, master's universities, and baccalaureate colleges, which do not have extensive doctoral programs, science and engineering PhDs were excluded and we gave double weight to the number of alumni who go on to get PhDs. Faculty awards and National Academy membership were not included in the research score for these institutions because such data is available for only a relative handful of these schools.

As some readers have pointed out in previous years, our research score rewards large schools for their size. This is intentional. It is the huge numbers of scientists, engineers, and PhDs that larger universities produce, combined with their enormous amounts of research spending, that will help keep America competitive in an increasingly global economy. But the two measures of university research quality—faculty awards and National Academy members, relative to the number of full-time faculty (from the Center for Measuring University Performance)—are independent of a school's size.

The social mobility score is more complicated. We have data from the federal Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System survey that tell us the percentage of a school's students on Pell Grants, which is a good measure of a school's commitment to educating lower-income students. We'd like to know how many of these Pell Grant recipients graduate, but schools aren't required to report those figures. Still, because lower-income students at any school are less likely to graduate than wealthier ones, the percentage of Pell Grant recipients is a meaningful indicator in and of itself. If a campus has a large percentage of Pell Grant students—that is to say, if its student body is disproportionately poor—it will tend to diminish the school's overall graduation rate.

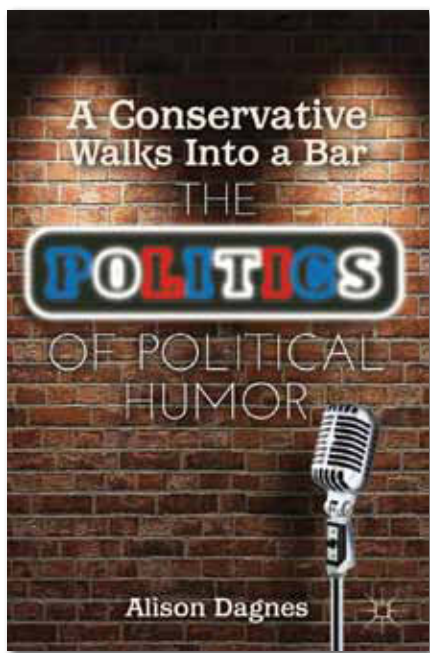
We first predicted the percentage of students on Pell Grants based on the average SAT score and the percentage of students admitted. This indicated which selective universities (since selectivity is highly correlated with SAT scores and admit rates) are making the effort to enroll

low-income students. (Since most schools only provide the twenty-fifth percentile and the seventy-fifth percentile of scores, we took the mean of the two. For schools where a majority of students took the ACT, we converted ACT scores into SAT equivalents.)

The predicted graduation rate measure has been substantially changed since last year's rankings, based on research by Robert Kelchen, a doctoral student at the University of Wisconsin–Madison and methodologist for this year's college guide, and Douglas N. Harris, associate professor at Tulane University. While last year's formula predicted graduation rates based on the percentage of Pell Grant students and its average SAT score, this year's formula includes other characteristics that are associated with the academic preparation and resources of its students. In addition to the percentage of Pell recipients and the average SAT score, the formula includes the percentage of students receiving student loans, the admit rate, the racial/ethnic and gender makeup of the student body, the number of students (overall and full-time), and institutional characteristics such as type of control (public, private nonprofit, and for-profit), and whether a college is a historically black college or university (HBCU) or primarily residential. We estimated this predicted graduation rate measure in a regression model separately for each classification, either using data from a prior year or imputing for missing data when necessary. Schools with graduation rates that are higher than the "average" school with similar stats score better than schools that match or, worse, undershoot the mark. One school, the California Institute of Technology, had a predicted graduation rate of over 100 percent. We adjusted this graduation rate to 100 percent.

We then divided the difference between the actual and predicted graduation rate by the net price of attendance, defined as the average price that first-time, full-time students who receive financial aid pay for college after subtracting need-based financial aid. This cost-adjusted graduation rate measure rewards colleges that do a good job of both graduating students and keeping costs low. Two colleges (Berea College and Macon State College) reported negative net prices and were scaled back to the smallest positive net price reported by any college (\$1,255). The two social mobility formulas (actual vs. predicted percent Pell and cost-adjusted graduation rate performance) were weighted equally. —Eds.

Why Aren't Conservatives Funny?



A Conservative Walks Into a Bar: The Politics of Political Humor

by Alison Dagnes
Palgrave Macmillan, 255 pp.

An academic's doomed attempt to explain why there are no good right-wing comedians.

By Joshua Green

Alison Dagnes, a political scientist at Shippensburg University in Pennsylvania, has a curious affliction: she thinks the comedian Dennis Miller is really, really funny. She wanted so badly to meet him and discuss his craft that she contrived to write an entire book on the subject of comedy and politics essentially as a professional excuse to fulfill this desire. Dagnes was working as a production assistant at C-SPAN in 1991 when she discovered Miller, who was then at the apex of his career, fresh off a successful run on *Saturday Night Live* and famous for his knowing, referential brand of humor. As she moved on to academe and he to HBO, Dagnes kept up what she calls her “steadfast devotion.”

Miller styles his act as a stream-of-consciousness rant that is heavy on cultural allusions and was, back then, laced with an acid scorn toward the unenlightened—especially hicks, rednecks, culture warriors, and other right-wingers. Here's the flavor of Miller's comedy circa late 2000:

And on Monday, movers went to the governor's mansion in Austin, Texas, to transfer Bush's belongings to Washington. The move itself took very little time once workers discovered that Bush had nothing upstairs. Now, I don't want to get off on a rant here, but as a comedian, with George W. Bush coming into office, I feel like the owner of a hardware store before a hurricane. I hate to see it coming, but I have to admit it's good for business.

Then something odd happened. The attacks of September 11, 2001, turned Miller into a fawning admirer of the same president he'd once held in contempt. The change was striking not only because Miller was supporting a Republican, but because he lost his sense of irony and adopted the full complement of Fox News–Republican vices: the chest-thumping America-first bravado, the angry paranoia, the presumption of treasonous bad faith in anyone who didn't share his views. This was especially jarring because the latter included most of Miller's fans, who didn't know what had happened to the guy. Dagnes, confused like the rest, watched her friends turn on Miller, and then watched the long arc of his career decline, from a failed stint hosting *Monday Night Football*, to a short-lived show on the financial network CNBC, and finally to his current role as comedian in residence at Fox News.

Dagnes, who describes herself as “fairly liberal,” is touchingly devoted to her hero but also somewhat blinded by her fandom, because she attributes Miller's

shrinking audience to his reversal in politics. In *A Conservative Walks Into a Bar: The Politics of Political Humor*, she sets out to discover why conservative satirists number so few and whether this is something that we, as a country, ought to be concerned about.

Dagnes is a pleasant guide and companion, whose accessible (sometimes chirpy) prose helps the lay reader to grasp what I suspect is a punishingly dry canon of scholarship on political humor. Most of us, for example, would prefer her synopsis of the Norwegian psychologist Sven Svebak's attempt to quantify and measure the sense of humor in 54,000 Swedes by administering his "Sense of Humor Questionnaire (SHQ)" than to read the unabridged Sven for ourselves. (Trust me, I Googled it.) Another frustrating aspect of the scholarship is that it seems awfully haphazard and contradictory. One set of scholars studying *The Daily Show* accused Jon Stewart of "unbridled political cynicism" and cultivating distrust in his impressionable viewers. But two other sets of scholars concluded that satirical comedy increased viewers' political awareness.

Do these hyperaware cynics even vote? And do they vote differently because of Stewart and his ilk? "The answers," reports Dagnes, "are wildly divergent." Some scholars have concluded that cynicism discourages participation, others that satire fosters enlightened engagement. One study determined that viewers of late-night comedy shows are more inclined to cross party lines (seeing politicians from the opposing party yukking it up with Letterman presumably casts them in a more favorable light). But Dagnes's own earlier research concluded that such personalization "encouraged superficiality," thus trivializing the discourse. Whole shelves groan with academic treatises on *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report*—stuffed with typologies, program analyses, monologue exegeses—but they don't seem to have proven much or illuminated anything particularly interesting about the audience.

In fact, much of the scholarship feels like it was primarily motivated by the authors' desire to study something cool, and then retrofitted with exaggerated significance to justify the endeavor. Take the conclusion of two academics who studied Will Ferrell's *Saturday Night Live* presidential debate skits in 2000: "Voters seeking to understand the substance of ideas in the debate may have found the parodies of the debate to be a useful organizing tool for their inherent complexities." Only a Will Ferrell character would rely on a Will Ferrell debate skit to parse the complexities of modern presidential politics.

An academic herself, Dagnes doesn't avoid some of these pitfalls. As she explains in her introduction, she examined political humor

to gauge the bias, studying the content of satirical shows, columns, and drawings. I examined the guest lists of programs and explored other data on the target of political jokes, and surveyed the long and impressive history of American political satire from its founding until today. I analyzed the satirists, their skill sets, political ideology, liberalism, conservatism, and the goals of the entertainment industry.

In other words, she is attempting, like Sven Svebak, to quantify and measure something that doesn't lend itself to quantification and measurement. Humor is subjective; an academic's tool kit—scrutinizing joke targets, sniffing out "bias" in guest lists—doesn't yield much insight about why there aren't more conservatives on late-night television. Her dutiful slog through the litany of gripes from right-wing commentators and media organizations is likewise unilluminating (they blame nefarious Hollywood liberals).

What redeems Dagnes's book is that she also interviewed a ton of comedians and television writers, who are amply and colorfully quoted throughout. This provides a real-world grounding absent from most other studies, although much of what she's told goes against her thesis that these shows are a vital part of the political process—in fact, the interviews undermine the whole idea of academics parsing *Daily Show* transcripts. As the comedian Marc Maron explains, "The one thing I do know is that 90 percent of the time if you're going to talk about politics the audience's eyes [are] going to glaze over and not know how to take it in because they don't fucking think about it." When Dagnes cites the studies about how satire affects political behavior, the comedian Lewis Black replies, "Well,

It's true that late-night television is largely bereft of conservative humor. To me, the conservative inclination to put politics before humor goes a long way toward explaining this disparity. You can't cultivate a national television audience for a comedy show if being funny isn't the first order of business.

first, tell those academics to fuck themselves.... Really, tell them it is bullshit ... satire doesn't have that effect. If satire was really that important as a way to get things done, then, you know, more shit would be getting [done]." The common thread running through all these interviews is that professional satirists are almost exclusively concerned with being funny, and while many hold liberal views, they don't expend much effort trying to impose them on others or imagine that they'd succeed if they did.

Dagnes isn't having it. "Modern political humor," she writes, "has become

a powerhouse of cultural influence and Jon Stewart, Stephen Colbert, and their brethren wield an immense amount of sway among voters, especially young ones.” And elsewhere: “As our news media soften considerably in their changing work environment, satirists (whether they like it or not) are filling some of the watchdog functions that journalists used to carry out.” But the notion that journalism has become so impoverished that hungry minds have turned to *The Daily Show* for news and moral guidance doesn’t hold up. Not only is there more and better national political journalism than ever before, spread across more platforms and easier to share, but it supplies the subject matter for *The Daily Show* and other shows like it, which don’t produce journalism, but riff on that produced by others.

So why do conservatives fail to turn political news into entertaining satire like liberals do? In 2007, with the Republican Party in tatters and Jon

Stewart splashed across every magazine cover, Fox News Channel began broadcasting *The 1/2 Hour News Hour*, which was billed as “a conservative *Daily Show*.” It was a spectacular flop, because it put politics before humor. “It was mostly just loud and complainy with not a whole lot of basis in fact or reality,” says the *Saturday Night Live* writer Alex Baze. A writer for *The 1/2 Hour News Hour* told Dagnes that Fox News censored the best material because it was deemed “too controversial.”

Surveying this landscape, Dagnes concludes that conservatism is philosophically incompatible with satire. “The nature of conservatism does not meet the conditions necessary for political satire to flourish: conservatism is harmonized and slow to criticize people in power, and it originates from a place that repudiates humor because it is absolute.” Any member of the Obama administration would heatedly disagree with the first claim; and there’s plenty of conservative humor if

you know where to find it. Conservative satire flourishes in places like the *Weekly Standard*, particularly in the essays and articles of Matt Labash and Andrew Ferguson, and the cover art of Mark Fredrickson and Thomas Fluharty, whose paintings travestying brain-dead hippies and aging radicals are dead on and piercingly funny.

It’s true that late-night television is largely bereft of conservative humor—Fox News’s late, late-night (3 a.m.) *Red Eye w/Greg Gutfeld* being a notable exception. To me, the conservative inclination to put politics before humor goes a long way toward explaining this disparity. It’s one reason why talk radio has been such a successful format for conservative entertainers (and such a challenging one for liberals, who have failed in their attempts to match it). You can’t cultivate a national television audience for a comedy show if being funny isn’t the first order of business.

Throughout the time she was researching her book, Dagnes was toiling to convince Miller to talk with her, at first by touting her academic credentials and finally by approaching him through an intermediary. He declined every advance. This wasn’t very sporting of him, but on the other hand, the prospect of his career being rigorously examined couldn’t have held much appeal.

There’s something karmically fitting about the fact that Miller, whose act requires an audience with deep cultural fluency and a finely honed sense of irony, has wound up performing for the boobs who watch *The O’Reilly Factor*. His fall has been long and precipitous, from the comedy flagship of *Saturday Night Live* to the graveyard of Fox News. Miller is too sharp not to recognize this himself.

To Dagnes, the explanation lies in the complicated interplay of political philosophy and cultural climate. But what killed Dennis Miller’s career wasn’t that he became a conservative. It’s that he stopped being funny. ^{WM}

Joshua Green is Bloomberg Businessweek’s national correspondent, and a contributing editor of the *Washington Monthly*.

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First-Rate Temperaments

Liberals don't want to admit it, and conservatives don't want to pay for it, but building character—resilience, optimism, perseverance, focus—may be the best way to help poor students succeed.

By Thomas Toch

When Barack Obama campaigned for the White House four years ago, Democrats and their allies in education policy circles were embroiled in a fierce debate over how best to improve the educational performance of the millions of K–12 students living in poverty.

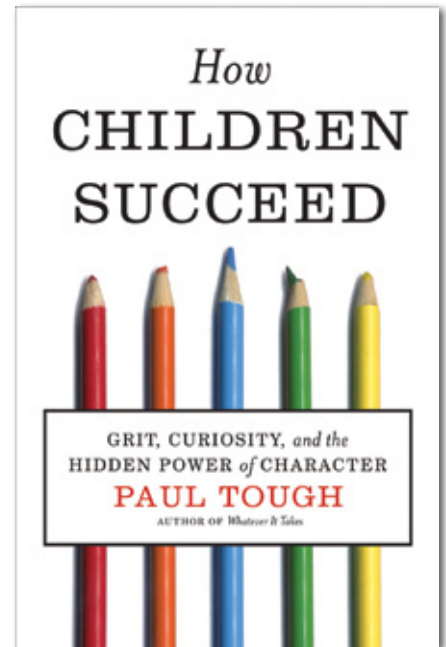
One camp, a coalition of researchers and educators formed by the Economic Policy Institute, a liberal Washington think tank, argued in a manifesto called *A Broader, Bolder Approach to Education* that tackling poverty's causes and consequences was the way to free disadvantaged students from the grip of educational failure. "Schools can ameliorate some of the impact of social and economic disadvantage on achievement," the coalition wrote. But, it continued, "[t]here is no evidence that school improvement strategies *by themselves* can substantially, consistently, and sustainably close these gaps."

In sharp contrast, a second reform group, led by then school superintendents Joel Klein of New York and Michelle Rhee of Washington, D.C., and others drafted a competing reform manifesto under the auspices of an organization known as the Education Equity Project that stressed tougher accountability for schools and teachers, governance reforms for failing schools, and the expansion of charter schools. They largely refused to acknowledge that poverty rather than school quality was the root cause of the educational problems of disadvantaged kids, for fear that saying so would merely reinforce a long-standing belief among public educators that students unlucky enough to live in poverty shouldn't be expected to achieve at high levels—and public educators shouldn't be expected to get them there.

While one of the few reformers with feet in both camps, Chicago schools superintendent Arne Duncan, was named U.S. secretary of education, the Klein cabal won the policy fight. The Obama agenda has focused almost exclusively on systemic school reform to address the achievement deficits of disadvantaged students: standards, testing, teacher evaluations, and a continued, if different, focus on accountability. The administration's one education-related poverty-fighting program, Duncan's Promise Neighborhoods initiative, is a rounding error in the Department of Education's budget.

Duncan was right to align himself early on with both Democratic factions. Good schools can, of course, make a difference in student achievement just by being good. And the inadequate nutrition, housing, language development, and early educational experiences that many impoverished students suffer are real barriers to learning.

But in the last several years a new body of neuroscientific and psychological research has made its way to the surface of public discourse that suggests that the most severe consequences of poverty on learning are psychological and behavioral rather than cognitive. The lack of early exposure to vocabulary and other cognitive deficits that school reformers have stressed are likely no more problematic, the research suggests, than the psychological impact of growing up in poverty. Poverty matters, the new work con-



How Children Succeed: Grit, Curiosity, and the Hidden Power of Character

by Paul Tough

Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 256 pp.

firms, but we've been trying to address it in the wrong way.

Former *New York Times Magazine* editor Paul Tough brings this new science of adversity to general audiences in *How Students Succeed: Grit, Curiosity, and the Hidden Power of Character*, an engaging book that casts the school reform debate in a provocative new light.

In his first book, about the anti-poverty work of the Harlem Children's Zone, Tough stressed the importance of early cognitive development in bridging the achievement gap between poor and more affluent students. In *How Students Succeed*, he introduces us to a wide-ranging cast of characters—economists, psychol-

olds from impoverished Ypsilanti, Michigan, with enriched preschooling, and then compared their life trajectories over several decades with those of Ypsilanti peers who had not received any early childhood education.

The cognitive advantages of being in the Perry program faded after a couple of years. Test scores between the two groups evened out, and the program was considered something of a failure. But Heckman and others discovered that years later the Perry preschoolers were living much better lives, including earning more and staying out of trouble with the law. And because under the Perry program teachers systematically reported on a range of students' behavioral and social skills, Heckman was able to learn that students' success later in life was predicted not by their IQs but by the noncognitive skills like curiosity and self-control that the Perry program had imparted.

Tough presents striking research from neuroendocrinology and other fields revealing that childhood psychological traumas—from physical and sexual abuse to physical and emotional neglect,

divorce, parental incarceration, and addiction, things found more often (though by no means exclusively) in impoverished families—overwhelm developing bodies' and minds' ability to manage the stress of events, resulting in "all kinds of serious and long-lasting negative effects, physical, psychological, and neurological." There's a direct link between the volume of such trauma and rates of heart disease, cancer, alcoholism, smoking, drug use, attempted suicide—and schooling problems. As Tough writes,

Children who grow up in stressful environments generally find it harder to concentrate, harder to sit still, harder to rebound from disappointment, and harder to follow directions. And that has a direct effect on their

performance in school. When you're overwhelmed by uncontrollable impulses [caused in part by disrupted brain chemistry] and distracted by negative feelings, it's hard to learn the alphabet.

In particular, such stressors compromise the higher order thinking skills that allow students to sort out complex and seemingly contradictory information such as when the letter C is pronounced like K (what psychologists call "executive functioning"), and their ability to keep a lot of information in their heads at once, a skill known as "working memory" that's crucial to success in school, college, and work.

The good news, Tough reports, is that studies reveal that the destructive stressors of poverty can be countered. Close, nurturing relationships with parents or other caregivers, he writes, have been shown to engender resilience in children that insulates them from many of the worst effects of a harsh early environment. "This message can sound a bit warm and fuzzy," Tough says, "but it is rooted in [the] cold, hard science" of neurological and behavioral research, though such nurturing is often in short supply in broken, impoverished homes (and even in many intact households and communities).

As important, Tough contends, is research demonstrating that resilience, optimism, perseverance, focus, and the other noncognitive skills that Heckman and others have found to be so important to success in school and beyond are malleable—they can be taught, practiced, learned, and improved, even into adulthood.

Tough points to the work of Martin Seligman, a University of Pennsylvania psychologist and author of *Learned Optimism*, and Stanford psychologist Carol Dweck, whose research has demonstrated that students taught to believe that people can grow intellectually earn higher grades than those who sense that intelligence is fixed. This commitment to the possibility of improvement, Seligman, Dweck, and others contend, invests

In the last several years a new body of neurological and psychological research has made its way to the surface of public discourse that suggests that the most severe consequences of poverty on learning are psychological and behavioral rather than cognitive.

ogists, and neuroscientists among them—whose work yields a compelling new picture of the intersection of poverty and education.

There's James Heckman, a Nobel Prize-winning economist at the University of Chicago, who found in the late 1990s that students who earned high school diplomas through the General Educational Development program, widely known as the GED, had the same future prospects as high school dropouts, a discovery that led him to conclude that there were qualities beyond courses and grades that made a big difference in students' success. His inclinations were confirmed when he dug into the findings of the famous Perry Preschool Project. In the early days of the federal War on Poverty in the 1960s, researchers provided three- and four-year-

students with the ability to persevere, rebound from setbacks, and overcome fears.

Psychologist Angela Duckworth, a protégé of Seligman's, has done a range of studies—on college students with low SAT scores, West Point plebes, and national spelling bee contestants, among others—and has found that a determined response to setbacks, an ability to focus on a task, and other noncognitive character strengths are highly predictive of success, much more so than IQ scores.

That's why some of the schools in the highly regarded KIPP charter school network have added the teaching of such skills to their curricula. And they've coupled their traditional academic report cards with "character report cards" developed by KIPP cofounder Dave Levin, Duckworth, and others. Concerned about their students' inability to make it through high school and college even though they're prepared academically, they grade students on self-control, gratitude, optimism, curiosity, grit, zest, and social intelligence. Other experts add conscientiousness, perseverance, work habits, time management, and an ability to seek out help to the list of key nonacademic ingredients of success in school and beyond. Students from impoverished backgrounds need such skills in larger doses, Tough argues, because they often lack the support systems available to more affluent students.

To Tough, the logic of the importance of noncognitive qualities to students' futures is clear: we need to rethink our solutions to the academic plight of impoverished students. The studies of Dweck, Duckworth, and others support conservative claims that individual character should be an important part of policy discussions about poverty. "There is no anti-poverty tool that we can provide for disadvantaged young people that will be more valuable than character strengths," Tough writes, a claim that won't be easy for liberals to stomach.

But, Tough adds, the contributions of character traits to students' success goes a long way toward refuting conservative "cognitive determinists" like Charles Murray, who claim that success is mainly a function of IQ and that education is

largely about sorting people and giving the brightest the chance to take full advantage of their potential.

The research that Tough explores also undercuts claims by Klein, Rhee, and other signers of the Education Equity Project manifesto that we can get impoverished students where they need to be educationally through higher standards, stronger teachers, and other academic reforms alone.

What we need to add to the reform equation, Tough argues, is a system of supports for children struggling with the effects of the trauma and stress of poverty. He urges the creation of pediatric wellness centers and classes that help impoverished parents build the emotional bonds with their young children that are so important to the development of children's neurological and psychological defenses against poverty's ravages. He supports KIPP's efforts to engender resilience, persistence, and other character strengths in its students, both in school and then beyond

through support programs like KIPP Through College. Work by David Yeager of the University of Texas at Austin and others have shown that even modest interventions, like teachers writing encouraging notes on students' essays, motivate children to persevere academically.

Above all, Tough makes a compelling case for giving poverty greater prominence in the education policy debate. Republican presidential hopeful Mitt Romney has talked mostly about school choice and states' rights in education, playing to conservatives and Catholics, as every GOP candidate since Ronald Reagan has done. But the new science of adversity could be the basis of a compelling reform agenda in a second Obama term—one that merges the competing progressive agendas of the last presidential election cycle. ^{WM}

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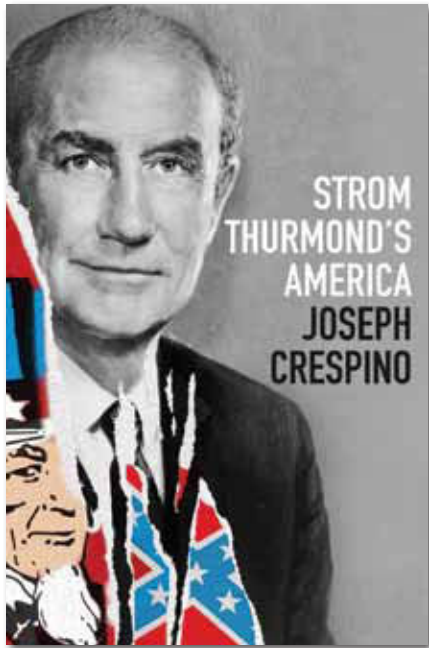
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A Malevolent Forrest Gump



Strom Thurmond's America

by Joseph Crespino
Hill and Wang, 416 pp.

Strom Thurmond's loathsomeness on race obscures his larger role: he was there at all the major choke points of modern conservative history.

By Michael O'Donnell

Like many artists and most bigots, Strom Thurmond was highly productive early in life. By the age of fifty-five, the humorless South Carolina reactionary had run for president as a Dixiecrat, secured election to the U.S. Senate, penned the neo-confederate “Southern Manifesto” denouncing *Brown v. Board of Education*, and performed the longest one-man filibuster in the Senate’s history: a ghastly *King Lear* with pitchfork and noose, in which Thurmond denounced the 1957 Civil Rights Act as the death of liberty. (It ended when he grew hoarse and sat down.) When Lyndon Johnson pushed the much toothier Civil Rights Act of 1964 through Congress, he again did it over Thurmond’s filibuster. The following year, Thurmond fought the Voting Rights Act. His political idols were John C. Calhoun, Robert E. Lee, and Spiro Agnew. In his most famous speech, Thurmond pledged in 1948 that there were not enough troops in the Army to force “the southern people” to “admit the nigger race into our theaters, into our swimming pools, into our homes, and into our churches.” But apparently they were allowed into “our” beds: in 1925 the twenty-two-year-old Thurmond sired a child with a sixteen-year-old African American family maid. His illegitimate daughter remained anonymous until her father’s death in 2003.

Today Strom Thurmond’s name brings to mind two sentiments: revulsion and disgrace. Here was a racist hypocrite who denounced the intermixing of black and white while secretly paying hush money to his own biracial daughter. He never apologized for his years as a segregationist, and even had the nerve later in life to deny that they ever occurred. Thurmond’s association was toxic enough to cost Trent Lott his position as Senate majority leader in 2002, when Lott suggested during an unguarded moment that the United States would have been a better place had Thurmond been elected president in 1948.

Yet as Joseph Crespino demonstrates in his outstanding biography, *Strom Thurmond’s America*, it is precisely Thurmond’s loathsomeness on racial issues that obscures his larger role in American politics. Like some malevolent Forrest Gump, Thurmond was there at all the major choke points of modern conservative history: the 1948 breakaway from the Democrats of the short-lived States’ Rights Democratic (or Dixiecrat) Party, Barry Goldwater’s 1964 presidential campaign, Richard Nixon’s southern strategy in 1968, and Ronald Reagan’s ascendance in 1980. A Democrat until 1964, Thurmond was the fulcrum on which the parties traded places on race issues. His trademark use of nasty populism dressed up in constitutional principle has echoes today on the far right—the territory of Rush Limbaugh and the shrillest of the Tea Partiers. Yet he also helped cement the association between con-

servatives on the one hand and big business, the Christian right, and anticommunism on the other.

Crespino, a history professor at Emory University, presents the right blend of narrative, scholarly analysis, and restrained outrage, reminding readers that Thurmond cared about far more than segregation. In 1957 the liberal group Americans for Democratic Action gave him the lowest score of any Democrat in the Senate: a zero. As Crespino writes, “Thurmond was the first southerner in the postwar period to bring together on a regional scale the visceral politics of white supremacy with southern business and industrial opposition to the New Deal.” Thurmond sat on the board of trustees of Bob Jones University, loathed communists, and never met a weapons program he didn’t like. As South Carolina’s governor from 1947 to 1951, he developed a talent for attracting companies to his state, trading his early pro-labor bona fides for reflexive hostility to unions. In 1962, the Kennedy administration incensed him by “muzzling” military leaders who had forced their troops to read material from the John Birch Society and other far-right groups. During a series of Senate hearings, Thurmond snarled invective in a high-pitched voice that merged the grievance of Dixie with the paranoia of Joseph McCarthy.

Two figures prompted Thurmond’s switch from the Democratic to the Republican Party, a move that reflected a fundamental realignment of American politics. The first was Harry Truman, and the second was Barry Goldwater. Thurmond and other southern Democrats broke with Truman in 1948 after the president issued executive orders desegregating the armed services and the federal workforce. A career grandstander, Thurmond seized the opportunity to grab the limelight by leading an informal association of southern Democratic governors and then becoming their impromptu presidential candidate in 1948. He won four southern states in the electoral college and made a national name for himself. Although he returned to the Democrats and remained with the party

for sixteen years, its leaders never trusted him again.

After winning election to the Senate in 1956, Thurmond became one of the South’s most aggressive opponents of court-ordered desegregation. Invoking various Confederate rallying points, he declared “total and unremitting war on the Supreme Court’s unconstitutional usurpations and unlawful arrogations of power,” denouncing the Court’s “false and vicious ideology.” An outrageous demagogue, Thurmond called civil rights legislation “involuntary servitude” for whites, and subjected Thurgood Marshall to the equivalent of a literacy test during his Supreme Court confirmation hearings by quizzing him on arcane subjects as a means of embarrassment. Yet Thurmond coyly protested his innocence when racial violence ensued, as it did in his home state when a mob of white residents in Lamar attacked school buses carrying black children. As the *Washington Post* observed, Thurmond and his fellow travelers “have been playing with matches in public for some time now, and yet they want us to know immediately and for the record that if there is one thing they deplore it’s fire.”

Barry Goldwater lured Strom Thurmond to the Republican Party like a rancher sweet-talking a mustang. Aware that the party needed southern white voters in order to take back the presidency in 1964, Goldwater told South Carolina audiences that he wished there were more Thurmonds in Washington—this while Thurmond was still nominally a Democrat. Thurmond made the break in September 1964, dramatically declaring himself a “Goldwater Republican” and tirelessly campaigning for the Arizona senator. Goldwater and Thurmond found common cause in right-wing anticommunism—Goldwater too participated in the Senate muzzling hearings—and if their opposition to desegregation

stemmed from different places (racism for Thurmond; libertarianism for Goldwater), the result was the same. Thurmond’s entrance into the party horrified moderate northern Republicans like George Romney and Nelson Rockefeller, and pushed the party’s platform to the right. At the time, Goldwater was unapologetic: he said he was merely “hunting where the ducks are.” Yet later he had second thoughts. He awkwardly declined to write a foreword for Thurmond’s 1968 book, *The Faith We Have Not Kept*, citing Thurmond’s enduring hostility to the *Brown* decision.

The party switch reflected the shifting allegiances of southern whites, but also revealed Thurmond’s expedient

Aware of the changing racial attitudes, Thurmond ostentatiously accompanied his daughter to her first day at an integrated public school—only to move her to a private school in Virginia once he was safely reelected in 1978.

side. Facing the prospect of a Democratic primary challenge in 1966, Thurmond realized that years of infidelity to his party might finally cost him his Senate seat. And if he stayed Democratic and won, party leaders might punish him for supporting Goldwater by stripping him of his committee assignments. Despite his carefully cultivated image as the last southern man, all backbone and principle, Thurmond throughout his career sold out in spectacular moments of cravenness. His calculated decision to back Nixon over George Wallace in 1968 was another of those moments. Thurmond archly defended the move based on fidelity to his party. In truth, he figured Wallace for an also-ran from the beginning, and recognized that an alliance with Nixon meant real proximity to power. The existence and extent of an

agreement or “understanding” between Thurmond and Nixon as the price of the former’s support is one of the enduring political narratives of the 1968 election.

Crespino is especially astute in discussing the way Thurmond’s overt racism fused with Nixon’s politics of white resentment to solidify the modern Republican coalition. Conservatives began dealing in dog whistles rather than water cannons. Crespino writes,

There were still millions of Americans who ... felt queasy over hearing the issue of law and order so baldly put in Strom Thurmond’s southern accent. The old Dixiecrat seemed to be ventriloquizing ancient southern fear mongering about lawless black men. Yet the turmoil in American politics and in cities across the country over the past several years cast Thurmond in a strange new light. Amid such frustrations, a significant number of white Americans wound up empathizing with fears and resentments that Thurmond had been channeling for more than two decades.

In the 1970s and ’80s Thurmond nimbly repositioned himself yet again, uttering fewer racist statements and even voting to create the federal Martin Luther King holiday. “The humorless segregationist firebrand was slowly giving way to the quirky, age-defying senator in jogging shorts,” Crespino writes. Yet in the book’s most fascinating pages, Crespino reveals this harmless image to be yet another cynical pose. Aware of the changing times, Thurmond took steps to insulate himself against a black electorate that was not inclined to forget his comments about “the nigger race.” He grandly hired a black staff member and pushed the nomination of a black judge for the U.S. district court in South Carolina. He ostentatiously accompanied his daughter to her first day at an integrated public school—only to move her to a private school in Virginia once he was safely reelected in 1978. Crespino cites staff memos from Thurmond’s political advisers showing these moves to be nothing more than strategic efforts to suppress turnout

among black voters. He was a Dixiecrat to the end.

Strom Thurmond’s America is a timely reminder of how easily bigotry can exploit and pervert electoral politics. Today’s intolerance—anti-Muslim invective, birther conspiracies, xenophobia—is not the same as Thurmond’s: overt racism is not nearly as prevalent. Some of the credit for this progress belongs to the many Republicans who have honorably worked to overcome their party’s legacy. Yet it is hard to deny that the voices of intolerance have gotten louder during the tenure of our first black president. Prominent Republicans openly use racial dog whistles and aggressively push policies like voter ID laws that disproportionately impede poor African Americans from voting. Thurmond’s taint, it would seem, is as thick as blood. It will take generations to wear off. [WM](#)

Michael O’Donnell, a lawyer living in Chicago, is a frequent contributor to the *Washington Monthly*.



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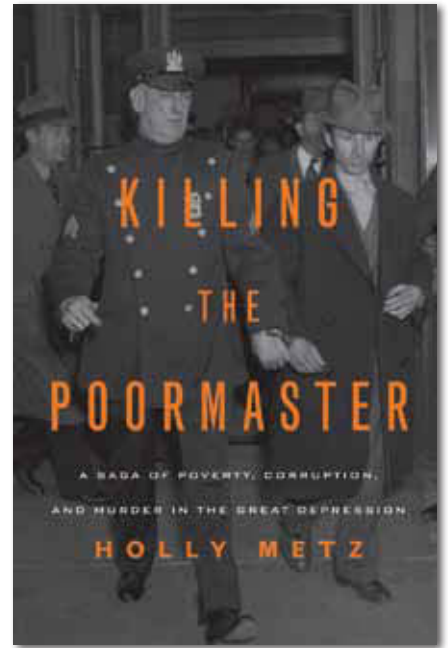
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Broken in Hoboken

How the poor used to live.

By Jamie Malanowski



Killing the Poormaster: A Saga of Poverty, Corruption, and Murder in the Great Depression

by Holly Metz

Laurence Hill Books, 256 pp.

Killing the Poormaster, the new book by Holly Metz, brings vividly to life 1930s Hoboken, New Jersey, making it easy to envision classic brownstones with street vendors, milk trucks, and boys in knickers in the same neighborhoods now filled with stockbrokers and hipsters. The book's great achievement, however, is to take us inside the walls of those houses, to place us among suffering people, mostly ignored in their time and all but invisible to us today, and to disturb us about their condition.

The Hoboken of the 1930s is as lost to us as the nineteenth-century whaling villages of Nantucket. (This is illustrated by the book's title, which demonstrates that we are visiting a time before the invention of euphemisms.) Today, people with very low incomes are in general entitled to receive a variety of government benefits, from food stamps to housing vouchers to Medicaid. But in the early twentieth century, in Hoboken, the indigent received funds, intermittently and begrudgingly, from the city's poormaster, a title that implicitly suggests a master-slave or master-servant relationship. In 1938, as Roosevelt's premature budget cutting refueled the Depression, Hoboken's poormaster was seventy-four-year-old Harry Barck, who managed his office's \$3,000-a-month budget with a tight fist and a surly temperament. A big, bluff, irascible organization man, Barck—with his disarmingly apt Dickensian name—had held that office for forty-two years, through five political bosses and eight mayors. Barck was unchallenged in his administration of the funds, as his decisions about who got welfare and how much they received knew no appeal. For decades, the work performed by poormasters in New Jersey was administered at the state level. But with the Depression straining the state budget, power had devolved back to the cities, and Barck grabbed the opportunity. Armed with sharp disdain for “chiselers” and with statements like “I'm in favor of giving the old American pioneer spirit a chance to assert itself,” he zealously guarded the city's coffers. At a time when Union City, a comparably sized town in the very same county (58,659 residents to Hoboken's 59,261), was spending \$6.34 per capita on relief, Hoboken was spending 90 cents.

Barck ran his office as a satrapy in the dominion of Bernard McFeely, the fifty-six-year-old mayor of Hoboken. Like James Curley in Boston, Tom Prendergast in Kansas City, and his neighboring municipal despot, Jersey City Mayor Frank Hague, McFeely treated Hoboken like a plantation, using all the tools at his disposal—cash, appointments, favors, thuggery—to maintain control. Nepotism was rife: more than six dozen of McFeely's relatives were on the city payroll, most conspicuously and usefully his brother, who, as chief of police, earned the same \$5,000-a-year salary that the mayor did. Favoritism is a fairly old-fashioned means of maintaining power, but elsewhere, in the field of corrupt waste management, McFeely was a pioneer. The McFeely family cartage company had finagled control of Hoboken's garbage contract in perpetuity, earning \$1.5 million for services that, according to a *New York Post* exposé, should have cost \$600,000. (Note that the average annual income for a Hoboken family at the time was \$500.) One not very sophisticated way that profits were optimized was that the streets of Hoboken were left filthy.

Harry Barck began his last day on the job in fairly typical fashion, by receiving supplicants in his office in Hoboken's great pile of a city hall. Twenty-three men and women had lined up to beseech Barck for niggling amounts of money that would nonetheless allow them to fill some bellies or turn on the heat. Barck usually responded to these entreat-

ies with a blunt refusal, even though less than two years earlier a three-year-old boy named Donald Hastie, whose parents were denied aid by the poormaster, had died of starvation. This morning was no different; within fifteen minutes he had already dismissed six applicants, sending them off with a booming “Next case!” The seventh supplication took a little longer, and ended more dramatically, with a young dark-haired woman named Lena Fusco, whose three children had rickets, running out in tears, followed by a stormy Barck, wiping her spit off his face. “Lock her up!” he bellowed. “I won’t give her any more [bread] tickets!”

The encounter with Lena Fusco, as it would turn out, was just the undercard to what would prove to be the main event of Harry Barck’s life: a meeting with Joseph Scutellaro, a thirty-six-year-old construction worker and father of two who had been out of work for more than six months. The shrunken Scutellaro—he had lost a visible amount of weight during his unemployment, and now carried less than 120 pounds—had not always had difficulty finding work. His father, Frank, an immigrant, had built a prosperous construction business, and had even benefited from a cordial relationship with the McFeely regime. But Frank made the crucial mistake of supporting an Italian candidate against McFeely one year, and although he made a public show of fealty and abasement after his man lost, the Scutellaros had no friends at city hall. When the economy collapsed, Barck made the terms of estrangement clear. Although Joe Scutellaro’s family received some relief from the poormaster, help was inconsistent and meager; the last check he’d been given, four weeks before, had been for \$5.70. A month later, down to a handful of pennies, with fuel cut off, the food gone, and the children ill, Scutellaro was reaching the end of his rope.

As Metz tells it, Scutellaro began politely enough, but grew angry as Barck’s response escalated in insolence. “Watch the mail,” a gruff Barck initially said, an answer that had proved unreliable in the past. No, Scutellaro insisted, his children were sick and hungry, to which the self-satisfied Barck responded, “What’s the matter with your wife? Can’t she go down and swing her bag

along Washington Street?” Scutellaro, not irrationally, inferred this as a suggestion that his wife take up prostitution. In very short order, voices were raised, punches thrown, and the junior featherweight Scutellaro clocked the heavyweight Barck right in the face. The poormaster may have acted a tough guy, but he apparently had a glass jaw, for he fell face-first across his desk. Unluckily, he landed on the spot where he kept a metal spindle on which he neatly spiked rejected applications. The hole in his chest was so small and tidy that for a while it went unnoticed, and at 10:25 he was pronounced dead without the wound being attended. So fast had been the police to arrest Scutellaro for assaulting Barck that they had already finished booking him for simple assault; Barck’s death forced the cops to amend the charges to murder in the first degree. Irony of ironies, at the exact time of the fight, a mailman had delivered to the Scutellaro home an \$8 relief check and thirty coupons each good for a loaf of bread. Before these items could be used by Scutellaro’s wife and kids, however, they were seized as evidence by the police.

Scutellaro became a cause célèbre, particularly in the Italian community, which saw his treatment as emblematic of the routine discrimination that group suffered. In time, the woebegone carpenter attracted two staunch champions: Samuel Leibowitz, one of the sharpest attorneys in America, who had acquired a national reputation with his historic defense of the Scottsboro boys; and Herman Matson, a thirty-seven-year-old father of six, WPA laborer, and leader in the local Workers Defense League. While Leibowitz maneuvered against the machinations of a McFeely prosecutor who aimed to tag Scutellaro with a death sentence, Matson, working quite independently of the defense team, agitated with his wife Elizabeth on the streets against the corrupt practices and cruel relief policies of the McFeely administration. When Matson attempted to speak at a rally in a park one evening, McFeely goons battered him and beat his wife, causing her to suffer a miscarriage. After the beating, McFeely police arrested Matson for inciting to riot, and he ended up with his own headline trial full of famous lawyers and McFeely hacks.

Spoiler alert: the good guys don’t win, or not exactly. Scutellaro escaped a murder rap and a death sentence but was convicted of manslaughter, the compromise verdict of a jury that initially polled eleven to one for acquittal. He was given a sentence of two to five years, and served eighteen months. Matson was convicted of being a disorderly person, and though he served no jail time, he was blackballed from WPA jobs in New Jersey and had to relocate his family to the Bronx. Although McFeely remained in office for nine more years, the trials marked a turning point, after which he faced more criticism of his administration, a federal probe into the distribution of relief and accusations against the police department over civil rights violations, and the disgruntlement of key voting blocs. In 1949, he lost the support of the police department, and he was voted out of office. A year later, the new mayor dumped the title poormaster in favor of director of welfare.

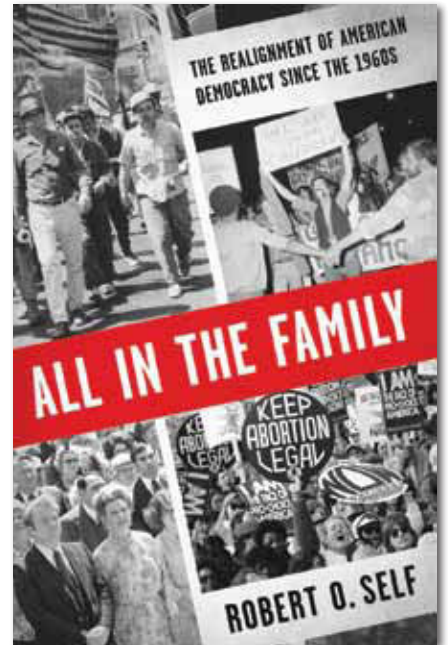
Holly Metz deserves tremendous praise for accomplishing the difficult task of evoking the pain and pathos of a long-forgotten incident, and allowing it to illuminate our own problems involving wealth and work and unemployment. We may not be seeing Scutellaro-like need on a massive scale, yet we still see unemployment mostly as a matter of individual initiative and skills, and not as a matter of justice. We are still in thrall of the power and might of the tycoon, and if we do not accept McFeely-class corruption in our city halls, we tolerate it among the financial class. The Simpson-Bowles plan, widely heralded as centrist, cuts benefits for the middle and working classes while protecting the interests of the rich. The New York Fed all but ignores LIBOR rate rigging, while the Federal Reserve Board, which is legally required to minimize unemployment, continues to study a festering 8 percent unemployment rate. Any effort to discuss inequality is labeled as an attempt to wage class warfare. *Killing the Poormaster* shows that it took a spindle through a man’s heart to set a movement toward justice in motion; one hopes that it will be something less lethal that pricks the consciences of today’s moneyed elite. ^{WM}

Jamie Malanowski is a New York writer.

Identity Politics Revisited

By most accounts, economic issues are the real core of politics, and social issues are a distraction. A historian begs to differ.

By Mark Schmitt



All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy Since the 1960s

by Robert O. Self
Hill and Wang, 528 pp.

Most of the stories we have told about American politics in recent decades have tended to divide the world between social issues and economic issues, and to focus on the interaction between them. A familiar story about liberalism, for example, holds that it was distracted by “identity politics”—the demands of minorities, women, and gay men and lesbians for rights and equality—and lost sight of the broad New Deal coalition of working-class white voters (particularly men) and the common ground of economic issues. This was explored most fully in Eric Alterman and Kevin Mattson’s recent history, *The Cause*, but was expressed most crudely in 1972 by George Meany, then president of the AFL-CIO, at the Democratic convention: “We listened to the Gay Lib people. We heard from the abortionists. But there were no steelworkers, no pipefitters ... no plumbers.” Four decades later, Thomas Frank, in *What’s the Matter With Kansas*, argued that the political right succeeded by distracting low-income white voters with social issues, such as opposition to same-sex marriage, in order to co-opt their votes for reactionary economic policies.

More recently, the tide has turned, and many social or culture war issues (with the exception of abortion rights) now seem like winners for liberals. In 2009, Ruy Teixeira and John Halpin of the Center for American Progress foresaw “a likely diminution in the culture wars that have bedeviled American politics for so long.” In place of social issues, “we are likely to see more attention paid to health care, energy, and education”—that is, the core economic agenda. Republican nominee Mitt Romney has attempted to maneuver around staggeringly unpopular GOP positions, such as opposition to contraception. Indiana Governor Mitch Daniels’s call for a “truce” in the culture wars doomed his own political future, but only because he said out loud what Romney, and what’s left of the Republican establishment, plainly think.

All of these accounts of recent politics, different as they are, share a common perspective: implicitly or explicitly, they treat economic issues as the real core of politics, while the claims of women, ethnic and racial minorities, and gay men and lesbians are peripheral. Whether issues of social and cultural identity are manipulated by the right or pulling on the left, they are seen as diversions from the real “who gets what” of politics.

In his new book, *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy Since the 1960s*, Robert O. Self, an associate professor of history at Brown, rewrites this story from its most basic assumptions. For Self, the author of an acclaimed account of integration and backlash in Oakland, California, the nature of the family, the role of women, the status of gay men and lesbians, and other subjects dismissed as “identity politics” or “social issues” are not peripheral at all, but unavoidably central to recent American politics. As Self puts it in his conclusion, “the politics of gender, sexuality, and the family since the 1960s have not been issues inserted into the public life of the nation. Rather, they have been one of the central grounds on which this public life itself has been constituted.” Self sees recent politics as a choice between a conception of the family as “adaptive and sociological,” including one-parent, unmarried two-parent, same-sex-parent families, and nonmarital sexual relationships in all their variety, and one that is “archetypal,” what former Senator Rick Santorum calls “Mom and Dad families,” with deep assumptions about gender roles and responsibilities at work and home.

Self tells the whole story of American politics through the lens of the battles about gender, sexuality, and family. It is not only the story of the women's movement and the "homophile" organizations (which is what the movement we now know as LGBT called itself in the 1950s and '60s) but also the evolving vision of manhood and a man's role in society, which was tested by Vietnam and the changing economy. "Breadwinner liberalism" is Self's brilliant term for the New Deal/Great Society vision of a just society—one in which a man can provide support for a nonworking wife and children, but that is also infused with an idealized, tough-minded manhood, exemplified by the men of the Kennedy family. Self points out that the clear-headed Cold

would prove more important than the actual breadwinning.

Self makes a powerful case for the larger importance of the LGBT and women's movements, but he sometimes delves so deeply into the internal politics of each—for example, the conflicts within 1970s lesbian activism between those who adopted "butch" and "femme" roles and the "freaky" women who rejected that imitation of heterosexual norms—that he loses some of the connection to the central grounds of political argument, veering off into alleys that involve a relatively small number of people. But these movement stories, with a rich set of characters—many of them little known to the larger liberal world—are in themselves fascinating tales. Two recurring figures in particular, the legendary gay activist Frank Kameny, who was fired from the U.S. Army Map Service and took his case to the Supreme Court in 1961, and Del Martin, a San Francisco lesbian activist of subtle strategic intelligence, emerge as figures who should occupy a much larger place in our understanding of postwar American politics. Kameny passed away last year at the age of eighty-six, and Martin, who married her partner of fifty-six years in 2008,

died later that year at eighty-seven. It is not just their longevity and final triumphs that Self calls on us to admire about Kameny and Martin, but their savvy and mature engagement in managing the wildly disparate impulses of early gay rights activism.

There is a bigger point to Self's deep dive into the internal politics of the LGBT and women's rights movements, as well as his analysis of the gender politics of the civil rights movement, the Vietnam-inflected politics of manhood and the military, and the sexual revolution. Rather than seeing identity politics as a single thing, distinct from economic issues, he shows that each movement or dimension of family politics had, at its best, an agenda that included both basic rights and economic sup-

ports that would help the changing family adapt—such as the effort to secure a strong child care program that foundered in the Nixon administration—which Self refers to using Isaiah Berlin's distinction between "negative" and "positive" rights. (A pithier version of the distinction is the computer scientist Richard Stallman's phrase, "Free as in speech, or free as in beer"—free beer, unlike speech, comes at someone else's expense.) Each movement involved its own divisions, often those of race and class, between those who could afford to prioritize negative rights and, for example, low-income unmarried women, who needed more positive support to achieve equality. This structure works better as an analysis of feminism than of gay rights. Self argues that the negative rights within each movement won out:

what has survived in the new political environment are a handful of abstract rights: women's market liberty, for instance, the constitutionality of abortion, and sexual privacy.... Meaningful rights varied with income and resources.

While the rapid shift in attitudes about same-sex marriage, and its legal status, is astonishing to all of us who have lived through it, it is also entirely consistent with Self's dichotomy between negative and positive rights. Gay marriage became acceptable as soon as people looked up and realized that nothing was threatened, that it bore no real cost. And many liberals now regard these victories as almost too easy, compared to the challenge of expanding economic opportunity, which has to come at a cost to someone, even if only the very rich. "Where are the leaders when the issues are jobs and social investment?" lamented Robert Kuttner of the *American Prospect* when Governor Andrew Cuomo of New York embraced same-sex marriage.

Does Self refute the now-conventional story that identity politics tore apart the liberal coalition that existed from the 1930s to the '60s? Not quite, which is unfortunate, because such a challenge would be useful and overdue. But he does add a great deal of nuance to the old tale. First, he shows that the emergence of a politics of rights, around the nature of the family, was

"Breadwinner liberalism" is Robert O. Self's brilliant term for the New Deal/Great Society vision of a just society—one in which a man can provide support for a nonworking wife and children, but one that is also infused with an idealized, tough-minded manhood, exemplified by the men of the Kennedy family.

War liberalism of Arthur Schlesinger's book *The Vital Center*, now widely admired and revived in Peter Beinart's book *The Good Fight*, bore an unsubtle gendered vision—what else to make of all that stuff in the book about avoiding "neurosis" and embracing "a new virility"?

Breadwinner liberalism was unsustainable, though, for both social and economic reasons. Pete Hammil in 1969 identified "the growing alienation and paranoia of the working-class white man" as the political phenomenon of the era, and that anxious backlash, driven both by race and a rapidly changing social order, foreshadowed the emergence of what Self calls "breadwinner conservatism," in which restoring the structure of the "archetypal" family

inevitable—there’s no alternative history where you get to keep “breadwinner liberalism” unchanged, and if there were, none of us would want to live in that world. Here I’m reminded of the libertarian writer Brink Lindsey’s aphorism that “left and right are both pining for the ’50s. The only difference is that liberals want to work there, while conservatives want to go home there.” Neither one has that option.

Second, Self shows that an alternative form of the politics of the family was possible, one in which issues such as child care, health care, and an economic program of full employment that included women were fully realized. The fullest achievement of that agenda would have represented a kind of post-breadwinner liberalism that would support the shared aspirations of all families, including adaptive ones. That it didn’t happen is in part the fault of the movements themselves—as Self says, “the liberal-left insurgents of the 1960s and 1970s lost momentum, political allies, and purchase on crucial symbolic mythologies of the American family”—but was also related to larger economic and political forces affecting white men as well as the rights movements.

A significant shortcoming of the book is that it drops the story around the early 1980s, even though the final section promises to cover the period from 1974 to 2011. Beyond the Carter years and the rise of both the religious right and HIV-AIDS activism in the 1980s, it thins out, and familiar anecdotes, such as the Clarence Thomas–Anita Hill showdown, substitute for the extraordinary archival research and little-known characters of the earlier chapters. As a result, Self omits one of the more interesting chapters in the history of the politics of family, which I would call the era of kids-as-politics. This period lasted from roughly the late 1980s, when Democratic pollster Stan Greenberg circulated a strategy memo with the title “Kids as Politics,” through the early George W. Bush years. Putting children at the center of politics would, it was hoped, restore the “positive liberties” that Self says were displaced in the earlier fights, and renew a sense of the purpose of government. Children could form a kind of common denominator between the adaptive

model of the liberal left and the archetypal model of the right. If the focus was on children, it really wouldn’t matter whether they were growing up with one parent or two—married or unmarried, gay or straight—or in an adoptive or foster family.

Kids-as-politics didn’t fully live up to Greenberg’s expectations, but it didn’t do too badly. Also in 1987, Senator Jay Rockefeller convened the federally funded Commission on Children, which had the valuable effect of co-opting several prominent family values conservatives to support some of the positive social supports that were necessary for children to thrive, such as health care, child care, and a children’s tax credit. While the commission’s recommendations were considered overambitious on their release in 1991, almost all of them eventually came to pass: significant increases in child care, Head Start, and the Earned Income Tax Credit; the passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act; the creation of the Child Tax Credit and its hard-fought expansion as the Additional Child Tax Credit in 2001; and the State Children’s Health Insurance Program in 1997. While kids-as-politics didn’t stop the welfare reform of 1996, which was the inevitable outcome of the racial and gender backlash Self recounts, that bill’s other provisions—separate from the now-disastrous transformation of family support to a fixed block grant—greatly expanded child care and child support enforcement.

Although the Affordable Care Act and additional low-end tax breaks in the Obama years have extended some of the gains for children, for the most part the bipartisan era of kids-as-politics crashed in about 2002, when the *Wall Street Journal* deemed the families that benefited from the Earned Income Tax Credit and the other tax benefits the “Lucky Duckies.” With this move, the right began a new stage in the culture war, in which economics itself would replace the divisive power of gender, race, and sexuality. We face a choice between an “entitlement society” that supports only peo-

ple who “want things from government,” Mitt Romney tells us, or “an opportunity society.” Nicholas Eberstadt, a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, recently assembled data that supports the Romney worldview, warning that we are becoming “a nation of ‘takers,’” and his boss, AEI President Arthur Brooks, has published two books that warn of an existential showdown between the believers in free enterprise and the forces of government. The language of irreconcilable moral viewpoints, such as characterized fights about abortion rights or gay marriage, has been ported over into the economic field, and people who believe government has a role in supporting the needy or economic growth are treated as alien—“foreign to the American experi-

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ence,” as Romney said of Obama’s ideas.

And so the fight is now fully back in the territory of economics, with the rising American electorate (unmarried women, millennials, professionals, and minorities) not only more socially tolerant but also more supportive of government’s role in the economy. Self’s book is a valuable reminder that the arguments about the family since the 1960s always had an economic dimension and were not a distraction. They also could form the basis of a richer liberalism that not only fully values the rights of individuals in their diverse identities, but also builds the kind of supportive economy and social contract that can enable everyone, in any kind of family, to make the most of his or her capacities. ^{WM}

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