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Not Your Advisor's Doctorate: The Doctor Of Arts And The Modernization Of Higher Education 1945-1970

Andrew Faber Larson

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NOT YOUR ADVISOR'S DOCTORATE:
THE DOCTOR OF ARTS AND THE MODERNIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION 1945-
1970.

By
Andrew Faber Larson
Bachelor of Science, University of South Dakota 2013
Master of Arts, University of North Dakota, 2015.

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of
Doctor of Arts
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This dissertation submitted by Andrew Larson in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

William Caraher, Chairperson

Eric Burin

Caroline Campbell

Deborah Worley

This dissertation is being submitted by the appointed advisory committee as having met all of the requirements of the School of Graduate Studies at the University of North Dakota and is hereby approved.

Chris Nelson
Associate Dean of the School of Graduate Studies

PERMISSION

Title Not Your Advisor's Doctorate: The Doctor of Arts and the Modernization of
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Department History
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Andrew Faber Larson
1 May 2020

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ABSTRACT

The “modernization” of higher education, 1945-1970, was a transitional period in American higher education. It was marked by a number of challenges that prompted rapid change in institutions around the United States. These changes were accompanied by expedient expansion in curriculum, faculty size, and physical plant of universities. One of the changes that came out of the period of modernization was the establishment of the Doctor of Arts degree as a way to produce professional faculty to fill open positions created by the rapid expansion of the modernization. As a result, the Doctor of Arts served as a modernization solution to a modernization problem.

The period impacted the University of North Dakota in the many of the same ways as larger costal institutions. UND encountered many of the same limitations and challenges as larger institutions and dealt with them in many of the same ways. UND’s administration helmed by President’s West and Starcher who sought to modernize the university and create a lasting institution that would thrive on the northern plains. An examination of UND during this time period provides context with which to situate the examination of the DA at UND.

Finally, an examination of the Doctor of Arts Degree both from a local perspective and a national perspective provides context for the lasting impacts of the modernization period. The successes and struggles of the DA illustrates the building of the modern university, and eventually the aging of that same institution.

Megustalations

For two great men: My father, Dale Larson, the man I hope to be when I grow up. And, for my son, Benjamin Larson, the man I hope to inspire as he grows up.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

I am in the Doctor of Arts program at the University of North Dakota, one of the last DA programs in existence in the United States. The DA was designed to provide students with a doctoral-level education while teaching them how to be effective teachers in a college setting. During my doctoral training, I was allowed to teach at the college level, and it provided me with proof that teaching college is what I want to do with the rest of my career.

I chose to research the Doctor of Arts based on my experience in the DA program at UND. I have had nothing but a positive experience. Several times in my undergraduate career, I took classes from Ph.D. holders who were left wanting as instructors. Unfortunately, after beginning my research, I discovered that despite the DA's obvious utility, the DA is in danger of going extinct. This prompted me to wonder why the DA was dying and consider the creation of the DA in the first place. It turns out that the roots of the DA are deeply rooted in the late 1960s during the modernization of higher education.

When one thinks about graduate education in the United States, typically, an alphabet soup of letters comes to people's minds. However, M.A. (Master of Arts) or the Ph.D. (Doctor of Philosophy) is likely the most common graduate degree considered. While the M.A. and the Ph.D. are the most common, dozens of different graduate-level degrees exist that are often overlooked when considering graduate education.

These overlooked degrees are regularly misunderstood by people from both within and without the academy. Degrees like the Ed.D. (Doctor of Education), the D.F.A. (Doctor of Fine Arts), or the D.A. (Doctor of Arts) and make up a much smaller percentage of the total doctoral degrees because they are not as widespread as the Ph.D. Comparatively few institutions offer

these non-Ph.D. doctoral degrees. The Ed.D. has made significant gains in recent years, but degrees like the DA and DFA still constitute a small percentage of the doctorates awarded in the United States.¹ The DA is the bridge between the instructional technique focused Ed.D. and the discipline-specific research-focused Ph.D. as it splits its purpose between them. The strengths and weaknesses of the degree create opportunities for graduates preparing for academic faculty positions in a more comprehensive manner, with teaching and discipline-focused research skills being the primary focuses.

In 2016, 7 DA degrees were awarded nationwide. Compared to the roughly 55,000 doctoral level degrees granted, the DA is mathematically negligible.² At its height in the early 1980s, nearly 30 DA programs granted degrees; however, today, less than ten remain in existence.³ Because of the general obscurity of the Doctor of Arts, many faculty members and administrators do not understand the differences in the scope and training that it provides. Often these non-Ph.D. doctoral degrees are designed to give the graduate a more specialized doctoral education and prepare the student to examine academic problems in different ways.

The Ph.D. is valued over the other doctoral degrees because of its preparation of students to become scholarly researchers. The academy's primary mission for time in memoriam has been the creation of new knowledge, and in the mid-19th century, the Ph.D. was created as a qualification for the credibility of that knowledge. Ph.D. holders often taught at institutions around the United States as well. Professionally trained faculty became increasingly in demand in the early 20th century, the Ph.D. cemented itself as the pinnacle of American higher

¹ National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics, "Research Degrees included in the Survey of Earned Doctorates: 2013-2017." *National Science Foundation*. Accessed 26 February 2019. <https://nces.nsf.gov/pubs/nsf19301/technical-notes>.

² National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics, "Research Degrees."

³ Judith, Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate? The Doctor of Arts Degree, Then and Now*. (Washington DC: American Association for Higher Education, 1993.); National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics. "Research Degrees."

education.⁴ Because of the rise in the status of the Ph.D., professional organizations like the American Association of University Professors, regional higher education accreditation agencies, and university administrations placed increased professional standards upon departments granting these degrees.⁵ Professionalization increased the rigors of graduate-level coursework in Ph.D. programs and changed admissions standards. By the 1940s and 1950s, admissions standards favored those looking to become researchers. This trend was focused on the sciences but applied to the humanities as well.⁶ This wave of professionalization in the early twentieth century continued well into the 1960s and beyond as graduate schools expanded to meet demand.⁷

Professionalization did take many different forms at different institutions. Places like the University of South Dakota or the University of North Dakota had much less strict restrictions on the professional qualifications for faculty members.⁸ The larger schools on the coasts, like Harvard and Yale, had a much easier time recruiting top talent. The talent was easier to recruit to schools with larger student bodies, federal grants, and superior research facilities.

Professional standard changes touched every department on UND's campus. For example, the Department of History sought to employ faculty members that held a Ph.D. or were actively working on finishing one. The majority of new history faculty hired during the 1950s and 1960s held PhDs within five years of starting work at UND. Other factors played a role in the hiring of MA holders as instructors, and those factors are discussed in Chapter 2. The new

⁴ Leonard Cassuto, *The Graduate School Mess: What Caused it and How We Can Fix It*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015) 25.

⁵ Cassuto, *The Graduate School Mess*, 1.; American Association of University Professors, "Mission Statement" AAUP. Accessed 15 September 2019. <https://www.aaup.org/about-aaup>.

⁶ Cassuto, *The Graduate School Mess*, 31.

⁷ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?*, 32.

⁸ Cedric Cummins, *The University of South Dakota 1863-1966*. (Vermillion SD: Dakota Press, 1975.) 283-284.; Lewis Geiger, *University of the Northern Plains: A History of the University of North Dakota, 1883-1958*. (Grand Forks ND: University of North Dakota Press, 1958.) 426-428.

faculty members, like Dr. Gordon Iseminger, were the first generation of professional historians educated after the modernization of the University, and its accompanying professionalization movement.⁹

In the post-WWII era, the GI Bill, post-war prosperity, the rapid expansion of the American middle class, and Cold War government initiatives all led to unprecedented growth in the American higher education system.¹⁰ Between 1940 and 1970, the total enrollment numbers for colleges and universities in the United States doubled by 1945, again by 1950, and twice more by 1970.¹¹

Institutional scholars like John Thelin or Lawrence Veysey identified 1945-1970 as a pivotal period in the development of the higher education system and characterized the period as one of modernization and significant change.¹² The GI Bill provided an education stimulus to the nearly twelve million returning veterans who quickly overwhelmed the American higher education system. As research became more prominent at large universities, professional groups were able to exercise more power. As an early example of the growing power of professional organizations, the AAUP's statement of rights established academic freedom and tenure for those employed in higher ed. Issued in 1940, the AAUP's statement of rights provided protections for scholars to conduct research and protect tenured positions at universities against administration interference.¹³

⁹ William R. Caraher, "History at the University of North Dakota, 1885-1970." Unpublished Document, 2009. 53-59.

¹⁰ John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press: 2011.) 260-280.

¹¹ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 260.

¹² Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 260-261.

¹³ American Association of University Professors, "1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure with 1970 Interpretive Comments." *AAUP Policy Tenth Ed.* 2006.

Thelin, Veysey, and others argued that the American university system came into a period that challenged its traditions after World War II. They acknowledged that the period from 1945-1970, or what this work will refer to as the "Modernization of Higher Education," was a period of rapid transformation for the American university, which was prompted by the manifestation of numerous challenges.

The periodization of "Modernization" as 1945-1970 could be somewhat problematic, as many of the changes that manifested were symptomatic of structural changes that occurred well before 1945.¹⁴ Professionalism movements began as far back as 1890 during the reorganization of the American university. After World War II, however, the rate at which professionalization occurred was unprecedented.¹⁵ Further, the impacts of many of the challenges were felt well beyond 1970. Other issues like accessibility did not truly manifest until the mid to late 1960s, and women and minority students, in particular, did not see actual equal access until the end of the 20th century.¹⁶ However, despite the issues, referring to the period of 1945-1970 as one of modernization is based in the historiography, and this study is focused within an institutional history framework. 1945-1970 saw a great deal of change, many of the precursors to that change extend before the period, and the aftereffects of the period can be felt well into the 21st century, but 1945-1970 saw rapid changes, not seen, to the same degree, before or after. The institutional history lens provides a paradigm with which to examine the challenges that American higher education underwent during the period of 1945-1970.

Challenges like rapidly expanding enrollment numbers, the professionalization movement, student accessibility initiatives, shifting funding models, and resource shortages

¹⁴ Carl Diehl, *Americans, and German Scholarship, 1770-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).

¹⁵ Diehl, *Americans and German Scholarship, 1770-1870*.

¹⁶ Cynthia J. Little, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. 110, no. 4 (1986): 599-601.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.und.edu/stable/20092065>.

facilitated the modernization of American higher education.¹⁷ The challenges of modernization manifested quickly at large research institutions and institutions that aspired to that status. Smaller institutions, junior colleges, and community colleges experienced significant growth as well, but far fewer students attended them. Less than ten percent of total college enrollees attended non-4-year colleges in the 1940s and 1950s.¹⁸

In the years after World War II, the American higher education system was initially spurred into modernizing by the rapid expansion of enrollment figures. Post-war enrollment numbers were bolstered by federal government programs, a booming economy, and accessibility initiatives. The increased enrollment strained resources all over the university. In particular, colleges and universities struggled to find enough teachers and instructors. To address this shortfall, universities compensated by adding and expanding graduate programs across the nation.¹⁹

The expansion of American graduate school programs doubled enrollment by 1950, with students totaling 237,200.²⁰ After 1950, the federal government placed Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM) at the forefront of education by providing large government research grants. STEM fields were further expanded by funding from large private companies. These grants prompted administrators to prioritize research, particularly in the STEM fields.²¹ As a result, research became more important to higher education, and the supremacy of the Ph.D. as the gold standard for doctorates was cemented. Higher salaries, increased library expenditures,

¹⁷ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 280.

For a more exhaustive look at the individual factors that played into the development of these ideas, see Appendix 1.

¹⁸ Thomas D. Snyder, Ed., "150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait" *US Department of Education Office of Educational Research and Improvement*. 65. Accessed 18 September 2019. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93442.pdf>

¹⁹ Joe Gowaskie, "The Teaching of World History: A Status Report." *The History Teacher* 18, no. 3 (1985): 365-75.

²⁰ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 281.

²¹ Roald F. Campbell, and William L. Boyd. "Federal Support of Higher Education: Elitism versus Egalitarianism." *Theory into Practice* 9, no. 4 (1970): 232-38.

reduced teaching loads, and senior-level appointments were earmarked for Ph.D. holders by administrators and department leadership, particularly in the sciences.²² The humanities also benefited from the new emphasis on research. Across the academy, Ph.D. holders trained in traditional research methods, saw contracts around the United States focus more on research rather than teaching.²³ The Ph.D. and the emergence of research will be discussed in further depth in Chapter 2. These factors, along with several others, put teaching at the end of the priority list for many professors and created an institutional crisis. This crisis occurred in a period where expansion was creating demand for classroom teachers with doctoral-level credentials.²⁴

Research provided institutions with government funding. The prominence of research led to the neglect of teaching by administrators and department leadership.²⁵ This neglect further stressed a rapidly growing academic marketplace in dire need of instructors. In the mid-1960s, the Carnegie Foundation sought to facilitate the creation of a new doctoral-level degree that would meet professional standards but focus on classroom teaching rather than research.²⁶ In 1967, the Carnegie Foundation provided ten institutions with grants to found experimental DA programs.²⁷ The University of North Dakota founded its DA program in 1969 after being granted Carnegie Foundation funding.²⁸ In many circumstances, UND included, the DA was a method to provide a local source of professional faculty that adhered to raising professional standards.

²² Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 281-282.

²³ Patrick E. McCarthy, "Higher Education: Expansion without Growth." *Daedalus* 104, no. 1 (1975): 78-86.

²⁴ David L. Swartz, "Social Closure in American Elite Higher Education." *Theory and Society* 37, no. 4 (2008): 409-19.

²⁵ McCarthy, "Higher Education." 78-86.

²⁶ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate*, 8-10.

²⁷ Paul L. Dressel and Frances H Delisle, "Blueprint for Change: Doctoral Programs for College Teachers." (Iowa City: American College Teaching Program, 1972).

²⁸ Gordon Iseminger, Elwyn Robinson, Jerome Tweton, "Proposal for a Doctor of Arts Degree. Submitted to A. William Johnson, Graduate Dean, and the Graduate Committee." 26 February 1969.

Because of a three-year degree completion plan, the DA provided a way to source professionally trained and credentialed college teachers quickly. Many of the DA programs were founded after 1970 but remained as a vestige of the period into the 21st century.²⁹ The long-term impact of modernization is illustrated through the history of the Doctor of Arts and stretches well into the 21st century.

UND graduated the first three DA students in 1971, but there have been a relatively small number of graduates from the program. By 2018 the University of North Dakota only granted a total of nineteen History DA degrees.³⁰ Despite the limited success, the department of history fought to keep the DA through the 1970s, 80s, 90s, and into the 21st century. The history of the DA at UND is discussed at length in Chapter 4.³¹

The “modernization” of the university had three major themes, accessibility, professionalization, and funding changes. After World War II the access to higher education increased significantly. Millions of students who were primarily excluded before 1945 because of race, gender, and socioeconomic status were able to attend colleges in significantly increased numbers. Women and minorities struggled during the early years of the modernization period to gain access to many places around the nation. Women's Colleges and Historically Black Colleges and Universities were the traditional outlets for these minority groups, but the 1960s created early opportunities for these groups to access higher education en masse. Feminism drove accessibility for women who strove for equality in representation not only in basic access but also access to graduate education and the career trajectories provided by graduate

²⁹ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?*, 30

³⁰ UND History Department, “History Theses and Dissertations” *University of North Dakota* Accessed. 14 February 2018. <http://arts-sciences.und.edu/history/theses-dissertations.cfm#eleven-present>.

³¹ Richard Beringer, "The Status of the DA Program at the University of North Dakota Department of History." Presented at the Conference on the DA at the Crossroads: A National Conference on the Doctor of Arts Degree. Oct 5-7, 1989. Idaho State University. Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

education.³² Minority students also saw accessibility improve during the early modernization period. The Civil Rights movement facilitated the inclusion of minority students in numbers that were unprecedented before 1960.³³ By the end of 1970, the struggle for egalitarianism for women and minority students was far from over. Women and minority students did not see true egalitarianism until much later, well into the 1990s. Accessibility initiatives, however, began in earnest, which laid the groundwork for further successes later in the 20th century.

The transformation of higher education was also driven forward as a result of modernization initiatives like government grant funding. Graduate schools expanded quickly to satisfy the demand for academic professionals and provide credentialed faculty and administrators at expanding institutions. Increased curricular versatility allowed new students to tailor their college experience for the first time in the history of higher education. Also, the creation of interdisciplinary relationships between fields further strengthened their curriculums and allowed students to tailor their studies to their educational needs further. New degree programs, graduate school expansion, and non-traditional degree completion requirements created targeted education for students to acquire specific job-related education, allowing them to move into the workforce. The evolution of the curricular models saw the diversification of course offerings and degree programs that served the burgeoning national demand, particularly in the sciences. These factors led to the rise in “Big Science.” The nation needed more scientists, engineers, and others trained in operative research-based academic fields. This need, in turn, provided more students seeking competitive education credentials and further pushed forward the development of the STEM fields.

³² Cynthia J. Little, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 110.

³³ Martin. Trow, "Notes on American Higher Education: "Planning" for Universal Access in the Context of Uncertainty." *Higher Education* 4, no. 1 (1975): 1-11. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.und.edu/stable/3446011>

Finally, funding for the university changed significantly during the modernization. Enrollment expansion stretched state funding budgets to their limit, forcing administrations to seek alternate sources of funding. Federal grants, private research funding, and tuition hikes were all used to help make up for budget shortages, a system that is in use at universities today. These four themes were the hallmarks of the Modernization period, and the effects of them are still felt in 2019.

Historiography

When looking at the modernization of higher education, the historical analyses of the period are important to consider. Histories of higher education such as Lawrence Veyseys' work *The Emergence of the American University*, and John Thelien's *History of American Higher Education*, provide historical context for the period, and its long-term impacts.³⁴ However, a substantial amount of educational policy was written by education scholars from across the spectrum of disciplines. This project seeks to position itself at the crossroads between institutional history and the educational policy written during the Modernization period and beyond. The educational policy arguments surround one major issue. Were the challenges that arose from 1945-1970, and their subsequent solutions, detrimental to the future purpose and overall health of the university, or did they serve as markers of progress and make higher education in America stronger as a result. This work is different from many because it seeks to weave these two perspectives together. It aims to examine 1945-1970 as a period of rapid institutional growth, complete with challenges and solutions, and that these solutions had long-

³⁴ Lawrence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.) 200; Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 150.

lasting impacts on higher education into the 21st century. The modernization of higher education was a period of significant change, which facilitated the creation of the Doctor of Arts.

The first part of the historiography argues that the modernization of higher education was a period of change for American higher education that threatened the traditional purpose of colleges.³⁵ Scholars argue that, as a result of period reforms, the consensus among faculty and students about the nature and functions of the university were unclear, and that the lack of clarity created confusion about the purpose of the university.³⁶ The second is that the growth in accessibility created a system of universal higher education that, in turn, made college compulsory for students.³⁷ Finally, the inclusion of non-traditional (non-white, middle class, male) students required the institutions to make concessions in the curriculum, which subsequently put the academic rigor of American universities at risk. Scholars argue that those changes in the curriculum undermined the fundamental value of a college degree and then eroded the "elite" nature of the American university.³⁸ Many of these authors made these arguments during the late 1960s and the 1970s when the long-term outcomes of modernization were unclear.³⁹ Further, the majority of these authors are male, likely due to the underrepresentation of women in graduate schools, and college faculties.

³⁵ Charles Dorn, *For the Common Good: A New History of Higher Education in America*. (Cambridge: Cornell University Press, 2016).

³⁶ Grann, "Priorities for an Expanding University." 1.; Trow, "The Expansion and Transformation of Higher Education." 61-84.; John R. Thelin, *The Journal of Higher Education* 82, no. 3 (2011): 347-49. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29789524>.; George W. Morgan, "Correspondence: Higher Education and Moral Development." *AAUP Bulletin* 63, no. 1 (1977): 37-38. DOI:10.2307/40225006.; Martin Trow, "Correspondence: Professor Trow Replies." *AAUP Bulletin* 63, no. 1 (1977): 38. DOI:10.2307/40225007.

³⁷ Bill Readings, "The University in Ruins" (1996). *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed., (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).; Bill Readings, "For a Heteronomous Cultural Politics: The University, Culture, and the State." *Oxford Literary Review* 15, no. 1/2 (1993): 163-99. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44113884>.; Bill Readings, "Dwelling in the Ruins." *Oxford Literary Review* 17, no. 1/2 (1995): 15-28. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43973733>.

³⁸ Lionel Trilling, "The Last Decade." *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008)

³⁹ Lloyd, R. Grann, "Priorities for an Expanding University." *Improving College and University Teaching* 15, no. 4 (1967): 247-49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27562742>.; Martin Trow. "The Expansion and Transformation of Higher

The “traditional purpose” of the university, according to historian Charles Dorn, was that it provided education for the common good.⁴⁰ Historically, a university-educated person would learn the skills to be a more productive member of political, economic, and religious society. In so doing, these educated elites would be better equipped to guide their communities into the future. The university's role was providing for the intangible betterment of society, via a strong humanities education.⁴¹ The end of World War II produced a sense of economic stability, which inspired more students to enter higher education. Increased accessibility to higher education further challenged the historical purpose of the university. Authors like Martin Trow and Bill Readings argue that modernization prompted a realignment and restructuring of the university began the erosion of the traditional purpose of the university and shifted it towards the private good.⁴²

From 1945-1970 the change in the purpose of the university was significant, and Martin Trow argued that these changes created a crisis of identity and that the strain of that crisis put the future of the American university system at risk.⁴³ Frank Bowles also discussed the crisis of identity in the university. His principal finding was that universities controlled the American educational system from top to bottom and that their formal requirements for admission were instruments of control. The 1960s and 1970s saw universities begin to loosen those requirements,

Education." *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale De L'Education* 18, no. 1 (1972): 61-84.; Frank Bowles, "Patterns of Development in Higher Education." *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale De L'Education* 11, no. 1 (1965): 21-33.; Frank Bowles. "AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN 1990." *Minerva* 5, no. 2 (1967): 227-41. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41822690>; Frank Bowles. "General Education in a Changing World." *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale De L'Education* 11, no. 4 (1965): 404-12. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3442634>.

⁴⁰ Dorn, *For the Common Good*. 15.

⁴¹ Dorn, *For the Common Good*. 1-15

⁴² Trow, "The Expansion and Transformation of Higher Education." 61-84.; Thelin, *The Journal of Higher Education* 347-49.; Morgan, "Correspondence: Higher Education and Moral Development." 37-38; Trow, "Correspondence: Professor Trow Replies."

⁴³ Trow, "The Expansion and Transformation of Higher Education." 61-84.

and in turn, relinquish their role in societal gatekeeping.⁴⁴ Further, Bill Readings argued that the crisis of identity begun during the modernization created a situation that the American institution was spread much too thin in terms of curricular offerings. He posits that because tuition became the primary source of funding, to remain competitive, the university was forced to be everything to everyone. As a result, he argued, the American university's "globalization" efforts during the modernization period put the strength of the American university at risk.⁴⁵ These authors, as well as several others, examine look at the identity crisis that American universities found themselves in during the modernization as a reorganization of American higher education as a source of concern it's future.⁴⁶

Further, authors like Bill Readings argue that universal education undermined the elite status of higher education in America. Initiatives like the GI Bill, the expansion of the middle class during the 1950s, the Civil Rights movement, the rise of the feminist movement, and a new wave of social programs and initiatives put higher education within reach of a much larger segment of the American populace. To Readings, this expansion was transformative because it challenged the elite nature of the university. These authors saw the unrest that resulted from the Civil Rights, student, and other social movements that occurred during the 1960s and early 1970s as an expression of globalization of the university.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Bowles, "Patterns of Development in Higher Education." 21-33.; Bowles, "AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN 1990." 227-41.; Bowles, "General Education in a Changing World." 404-12.

⁴⁵ Readings, "The University in Ruins"; Readings, "For a Heteronomous Cultural Politics." 163-99.; Readings, "Dwelling in the Ruins." 15-28.

⁴⁶ Gerald Graff, "Response to Bill Readings." *New Literary History* 26, no. 3 (1995): 493-97. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20057297>.; Paul Delany. "The University in Pieces: Bill Readings and the Fate of the Humanities." *Profession*, 2000, 89-96. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25595706>.; Marginson, "Martin Trow: Higher Education and Its Growth." 28-35.; Clifford G. Erickson. "The Two-Year College." *The Journal of Higher Education* 41, no. 2 (1970): 151-54. DOI:10.2307/1977424.

⁴⁷ Readings, "For a Heteronomous Cultural Politics." 163-99.

After World War II ended, American higher education institutions grew at unprecedented rates. By 1970, college degrees were quite common, compared to 1945, enrollments in higher education grew from approximately 1.5 million in 1940 to nearly 11 million in 1980.⁴⁸ According to many authors like Clark Kerr, this drove down the traditional value of a college education. When everyone could get a college education, then the elite nature of a college degree diminished.⁴⁹ More college degree holders meant that employers increasingly required college degrees for employment, forcing more people into college, further devaluing the elite nature of a college degree.⁵⁰

The authors who argue this point include Clark Kerr, Richard Freeman, Herbert Hollomon, and Robert Paul Wolff, among others.⁵¹ Kerr, who served as the president of the California university system during much of the period, saw the creation of the multiversity, as a fundamental shift in American higher education, albeit a necessary one.⁵² He argued that from 1945-1970, the traditional university ceased to exist, and the "multiversity replaced it." Kerr goes on to argue that elite "highly selective," higher education was useful for the creation of knowledge and for training the highly skilled persons needed by modern nations and economies. He further suggests that a differentiated system of postsecondary education was essential for its

⁴⁸ Thomas D. Snyder *ed.*, "150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait" US Department of Education Office of Educational Research and Improvement. 75. Accessed 18 September 2019.

<https://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93442.pdf>

⁴⁹ Kerr, "Higher Education: Paradise Lost?" 261-78.

⁵⁰ Marginson, "Martin Trow: Higher Education and Its Growth." 121-25.

⁵¹ Erickson, "The Two-Year College." 151-54; Marginson, "Martin Trow: Higher Education and Its Growth." 121-25.; Paul H. Mattingly, "Clark Kerr: The Unapologetic Pragmatist." *Social Science History*, 36, no. 4 (2012): 481-97. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23361140>.; Simon Marginson, "The Idea Spreads." In *the Dream Is Over: The Crisis of Clark Kerr's California Idea of Higher Education*, 51-55. (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016.) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1kc6k1p.12>.; Christopher P. Loss, "From Pluralism to Diversity: Reassessing the Political Uses of 'The Uses of the University.'" *Social Science History*, 36, no. 4 (2012): 525-49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23361142>.

⁵² Kerr, "Higher Education: Paradise Lost?" 261-78.

survival.⁵³ The multiversity was a large decentralized ‘factory’ style institution that combined the British emphasis on liberal arts undergraduate education, incorporated German influences prioritizing graduate research in science, and included a new emphasis on public service.⁵⁴

Richard Freeman and Herbert Hollomon argued that the Modernization saw the devaluation of the college degree as a result of compulsory education.⁵⁵ Robert Paul Wolff argued that the federal government purposefully manufactured the need for expansion of higher education through research grants, and accessibility initiatives.⁵⁶ This purposeful expansion of the university, according to these scholars, further undermined the traditional value of the university and threatened the future of higher education as well. These scholars viewed the purpose of the university to produce elite members of society, and the expansion of higher education would allow for more people to gain elite status. If everyone is elite, then no one is elite.

Finally, many scholars argue that curriculum reform undermined the international reputation of American institutions. Before the 1950s, and the rise of STEM, curriculum at American institutions was based around a strong liberal arts background and sought to give students the skills that were transferrable to job demands across disciplines. However, shifting institutional priorities caused by modernization challenges led to the diversification of the curriculum; this often took the form of increased emphasis in more technical skill-based fields.

⁵³ Clark Kerr, “The Uses of the University” (1964) *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

⁵⁴ Seth Rosenfeld, “Clark Kerr’s Classic, The Uses of the University Turns 50.” *California Magazine*, University of California Press, Winter 2013. Accessed. 18 September 2019. <https://alumni.berkeley.edu/california-magazine/winter-2013-information-issue/clark-kerr’s-classic-uses-university-turns-50>

⁵⁵ Richard Freeman, and J. Herbert Hollomon. "The Declining Value of College-Going." *Change* 7, no. 7 (1975): 24-62.

⁵⁶ Robert Paul Wolff, "The Ideal of the University" (1969) *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

Professional STEM fields grew significantly during the period of the modernization.⁵⁷ According to authors like Ivar Bleiklie, when students were given a choice in their curriculum, STEM programs rose, and the humanities departments declined.⁵⁸

Other authors who made similar assertions included Allan Bloom, Lionel Trilling, Alvin Kernan, and others. Allan Bloom, in his book *The Closing of the American Mind*, argued that the creation of an open curriculum drew the focus of the institution away from the classical and traditional education, and in turn, threatened to undermine the purpose and future of American higher education.⁵⁹ His book was so inflammatory that 2,476 college presidents denounced it but remains widely cited in the historiography.⁶⁰ Lionel Trilling, in his article, "The Uncertain Future of the Humanistic Educational Ideal," argues that as a result of curriculum changes, that American universities, and society more broadly, began to alienate itself from the humanistic educational ideal.⁶¹ Alvin Kernan, in his work, "Change in Humanities," examined the long-term impacts of the shift away from the humanities-centric curriculum. He examined the effects on enrollment and graduation rates in the humanities. Kernan also studied the social stigma that grew up around the humanities and their practical uses in the years since the end of the modernization period.⁶² These authors and many others looked at the impact of changing the curriculum, and the loss of focus on teaching at universities. They determined that the transitions

⁵⁷ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 280.

⁵⁸ STEM Fields received increases in funding from both public and private grant funding, which further bolstered their influence on administrations. Ivar Bleiklie, "Organizing Higher Education in a Knowledge Society." *Higher Education* 49, no. 1/2 (2005): 31-59.

⁵⁹ Allan Bloom, "The Closing of the American Mind" (1987). *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

⁶⁰ Michael Zuckert, "On Allan Bloom." *The Good Society* 17, no. 2 (2008): 81-83.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20711304>.

⁶¹ Lionel Trilling, "The Last Decade." *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

⁶² Alvin Kernan, "Change in the Humanities" (1997). *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

occurring during period threatened the long-term viability of not only the humanities but the institution of higher education as a whole.⁶³

The DA relates to these arguments because it was created during a period of uncertainty and fundamental change, and it was a representation of those changes. Many of the authors mentioned above, Kerr, Trow, Wolff, etc. wrote about, and in some cases, bemoaned the modernization of the American university. Their arguments highlight the transitional nature of the period, but also illustrate many of the challenges that manifested as a result of modernization. The DA was a vestige of the modernization process and illustrated the impact of challenges that manifested after 1945.

The historiography does not contain only those who bemoan the changes brought on by modernization. Many scholars view these challenges and their subsequent solutions as paramount to the successes that American higher education has seen in the last several decades. This argument is also broken down into three major subsections. The first sub-argument asserts that the university diversified the curriculum to provide learned and credentialed professionals to meet the national and international needs.⁶⁴ The second argument, claims that the post-World War II period saw the solidification of American universities as the gold standard for higher education, and as a result, the American university and professional degrees became coveted in industries around the globe.⁶⁵ The final argument states that increased accessibility allowed colleges and universities to expand quickly, and adapt to the needs of the new students, further

⁶³ A. J. Mandt, "Allan Bloom and Cultural Nihilism." *College Teaching* 37, no. 1 (1989): 17-19. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27558318>.; Zuckert, "On Allan Bloom." 81-83; Kernan, "Change in the Humanities"; Bloom, "The Closing of the American Mind."

⁶⁴ Bleiklie, "Organizing Higher Education in a Knowledge Society." 31-59.; Ivar Bleiklie, "Comparing University Organizations across Boundaries." *Higher Education* 67, no. 4 (2014): 381-91. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43648662>.

⁶⁵ Bernard Berelson, "Graduate Education in the United States" (1960) *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

prompting growth among new groups. Also, the increased accessibility by lower-class individuals, minorities, and women, which allowed these groups to move more easily around America's class system.⁶⁶

This segment of the historiography also provides background with which to situate the history of the Doctor of Arts. It provides context for the solutions for the challenges of modernization. The modernization of higher education created many challenges, and institutions sought to solve those challenges in several ways. The Doctor of Arts was one of the solutions to those challenges.

Lawrence Levine, Ivar Bleiklie, David Hollinger, and others argue that during the post war period, American higher education responded to the national need. Because of the Cold War, the Federal Government placed paramount importance on the development of scientific research facilities and scholars. The federal government's desire to bolster scientific research was illustrated by the creation of the National Science Foundation in 1950. The NSF's mission statement read, "to promote the progress of science; to advance the national health, prosperity, and welfare; to secure the national defense..."⁶⁷ The federal government required scientists to conduct research, and universities around the nation responded to that need. Lawrence Levine, in his book, *The Openness of the American Mind*, argued that the changes did not devalue the American curriculum, instead, they allowed for the incorporation of non-western ideas and pedagogies into the American Academy. This incorporation allowed the United States' institutions to remain viable in a world marketplace that began to place higher education at a

⁶⁶ WH. Cowley, Don Williams, *International and Historical Roots of American Higher Education*. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991). 187.

⁶⁷ National Science Foundation, "About the National Science Foundation: NSF at a Glance." National Science Foundation. Accessed 18 September 2019. <https://www.nsf.gov/about/>.

premium.⁶⁸ Ivar Bleiklie also posits that the impacts of curriculum changes during the modernization period spread the interpretations of ideas allowed the United States university system to incorporate new, and cross-national, insights into the American curriculum.⁶⁹ David Hollinger, in his article, "The Disciplines and the Identity Debates," looks at the emergence of interdisciplinary curriculum in American institutions. He argues that the rise in cooperation between disciplines during the modernization period and since has served to create a stronger institution. The identity of the institution changed after World War II, as this interdisciplinary grew significantly.⁷⁰ These authors, as well as dozens of others, examined curriculum reforms, their causes, notably the Cold War, and their impacts on American higher education from 1945-1970.⁷¹

The second argument that many authors examine at is that the changes and innovations that occurred during the modernization period caused the solidification of American higher education as the gold standard for higher education in the world. Professionalization in the late 19th and early 20th centuries saw standardization and credentialing go into effect in the United States. That standardization, as previously discussed, was driven by professional organizations like the AAUP, creating standards for graduate education and professional qualifications. By the

⁶⁸ Lawrence Levine, "The Opening of the American Mind." (1996). *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

⁶⁹ Bleiklie, "Organizing Higher Education in a Knowledge Society." 31-59.; Bleiklie, "Comparing University Organizations across Boundaries." 381-91.

⁷⁰ David Hollinger, "The Disciplines and the Identity Debates" (1997), *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).; David A. Hollinger, "The Humanities and the Dynamics of Inclusion since World War II." *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 59, no. 3 (2006): 3. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3824466>.

⁷¹ Rita M Kissen, "Multicultural Education: The Opening of the American Mind." *English Education* 21, no. 4 (1989): 211-18. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40172721>.; Greg Zacharias, *American Studies* 40, no. 1 (1999): 121-22. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40643006>.; Seth Forman, "The New Rigidity." *The American Scholar* 66, no. 4 (1997): 619-24. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41212699>.; Ivar Bleiklie, "Hierarchy and Specialization: On the Institutional Integration of Higher Education Systems." *European Journal of Education* 38, no. 4 (2003): 341-55. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1503726>.; David L Arnold, "Perspectives: Moving from General Education to Liberal Education." *Change* 38, no. 3 (2006): 48-49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40178258>.

1930s, the number of faculty members with graduate degrees was on the rise, and the Ph.D. holders were sought after by administrators because of their knowledge generation potential.⁷² Graduate schools proved vital to the professionalization movement, because, during the Modernization, professionally trained faculty trained the new generation of faculty members, which allowed for the professional academy to perpetuate and grow. As universities expanded, demand for graduate degree holders grew significantly. As a result, American schools expanded graduate programs quickly while still keeping standards high.⁷³ The Doctor of Arts was created as a way to meet the demand for professionally trained faculty. The American standard for higher education put American institutions in competition with the smaller elite universities around the globe, and the number of institutions in the United States made it convenient for international students to study in America.

Authors who argue that changes cemented American Higher Education as the global standard include: Bernard Berelson, Allan Carter, William B. Bowen, and Julie Ann Sosa, among many others. Berelson examined the historical growth of graduate programs and related it to the number of faculty positions that were available during the early modernization period. He posited that the expansion of STEM fields was the largest and that this was indicative of Modernization expansion.⁷⁴ Allan Carter, in his article "The Supply and Demand for College Teachers," looked at the shortage of college teachers during the early part of the modernization period and equated this to the overall health of the American university. He argued that the expansion of the university prompted the creation of a much larger, and better-qualified group of

⁷² Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 125.

⁷³ Julie R. Posselt, *Inside Graduate Admissions: Merit Diversity and Faculty Gatekeeping*. (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2016.); Julie R. Posselt, and Liliana M. Garces. "Expanding the Racial Diversity and Equity Agenda to Graduate Education." *American Journal of Education* 120, no. 4 (2014): 443-49. DOI:10.1086/676907.

⁷⁴ Berelson, "Graduate Education in the United States"

professors and faculty.⁷⁵ William Bowen and Julie Ann Sosa examined the expansion of faculty and concluded that the boom of the modernization period would be challenging to replicate. They look at the development of the graduate school production, and its impacts on graduate education and credentialing. They argued that it ultimately created better scholars and a better education system.⁷⁶ Many scholars have examined the historical growth of the American graduate school and argued that the professionalization movement played an essential role in the institutional changes from 1945-1970.⁷⁷

The third point that the authors make looked directly at the expansion of colleges and universities. Increased federal funding, a booming economy, and changing social attitudes gave access to higher education for underrepresented social and economic groups such as women and minorities. The inclusion of these groups provided upward mobility to groups to which it was mostly out of reach before WWII. According to the authors who argue this point, the expansion and diversification of the student body provided for the diverse college experience in evidence today and provided institutions an avenue for rapid development and further successes.⁷⁸

The authors who argue that the expansion of enrollments strengthened American higher education during the modernization period include William Crowley, James Traub, Bob Darrell, and several others. This expansion is what prompted the need for instructors, and the creation of

⁷⁵ Allan M. Carter, "The Supply and Demand for College Teachers" (1966), *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

⁷⁶ William G. Bowen, Julie Ann Sosa, "Prospect for Faculty in the Arts and Sciences" (1989), *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008)

⁷⁷ Irvin Sobel, "The Human Capital Revolution in Economic Development: Its Current History and Status." *Comparative Education Review* 22, no. 2 (1978): 278-308. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1187676>.; Douglas T. Shapiro, "Modeling Supply and Demand for Arts and Sciences Faculty: What Ten Years of Data Tell Us about the Labor Market Projections of Bowen and Sosa." *The Journal of Higher Education* 72, no. 5 (2001): 532-64. DOI:10.2307/2672880.; Rosemary Park, *Change* 22, no. 1 (1990): 61. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40177683>.; Ronald G. Ehrenberg, *Journal of Economic Literature* 31, no. 2 (1993): 907-09. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2728533>.

⁷⁸ Crowley, Williams, *International and Historical Roots of American Higher Education*. () 187.; Traub, "City on A Hill"; Darrell, "Whistle points in American Higher Education." 45-48.

the Doctor of Arts. William Crowley argued that, before World War II, Americans did not consider the ramifications of providing universal access to higher education, but after the war, they did. The post-war expansion brought higher education more and more to the attention of the American public, attention from which academia benefitted.⁷⁹ James Traub, who examined the 1960s as a period of change at City College of New York, argues that the post war period saw the inclusion of people that were previously unable to attend college. He related this expansion to the expansion of the middle class. Traub's argument challenged the earlier viewpoint that more people with degrees devalued the college degree. Traub argued that the growing middle class benefitted institutions by attending. In turn, attending college benefitted students by providing them with the potential for upward mobility.⁸⁰ Bob Darrell examined the development of higher education as a way for universities to meet the needs of the United States. He argued that the creation of universal access allowed the American university to diversify, and the impacts of that would not be seen for decades to come.⁸¹ The number of authors who examine the impacts of increased enrollments is significant, but the consensus was that academia benefitted from the expansion of universities.⁸²

The period from 1945-1970 was a period of significant change in the system of American higher education. It saw a substantial increase in the number of students that attended universities, but the expansion also put a considerable amount of pressure on institutions, and they were forced to adapt quickly. The increases in enrollment made a college degree more common and inherently less significant for the job market, but it also allowed for minority

⁷⁹ Crowley, Williams, *International and Historical Roots of American Higher Education*. 187.

⁸⁰ Traub, "City on A Hill."

⁸¹ Darrell, "Whistle points in American Higher Education." 45-48.

⁸² Stephanie Olsen, "City on a Hill: Testing the American Dream at City College." *Research and Teaching in Developmental Education* 12, no. 1 (1995): 94-96. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42802455>.

groups and people of lower socioeconomic status into the workplace and allowed for upward mobility amongst these groups.

The Doctor of Arts itself has little written about it. Historical analyses of the DA are few. Judith Glazer examined the history of the DA its successes and failures from 1960-1990.⁸³ Some articles, by authors like Leonard Cassuto, examine the usefulness of the DA in relation to the Ph.D.⁸⁴ The remainder of the historiography on the DA are articles examining specific programs, their successes and failures, and how the DA functions in various disciplines.⁸⁵ Finally, Dr. Richard Beringer researched the DA and presented his work at several conferences, but it is unclear if it was ever published. His work examined the DA from an administrator's viewpoint. He solicited responses on how the DA was viewed by administrators around the Midwest and interpreted their responses. Beringer's work provides little on the actual history of the DA; rather, it illustrates some of the failings of the DA in the latter years of its history.⁸⁶

Conclusion

The modernization of higher education, 1945-1970, was a watershed period in the history of American higher education, numerous challenges manifested, some larger than others, and in turn, solutions were formulated, some more successful than others. The Doctor of Arts

⁸³ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?*, 1.

⁸⁴ Leonard Cassuto, "Why We Need to Remember the Doctorate of Arts Degree." (9 September 2015) *Chronicle of Higher Education Online*. Accessed 14 October 2018. <https://www.chronicle.com/article/Why-We-Need-to-Remember-the/232923>.

⁸⁵ Orville M. Winsand, "A Doctor of Arts Program in Art." *Art Education* 23, no. 4 (1970): 10-13. DOI:10.2307/3191451.; Steven H. Guyford, "Doctor of Arts Degree." *Science* 170, no. 3958 (1970): 587. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1731498>.; William Asher, John B. Jenkins, and Edward J. Kormondy, "Doctor of Arts Degree." *Science* 171, no. 3968 (1971): 234-35. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1730976>.

⁸⁶ (A copy was available in an uncategorized box of history department records.) Richard Beringer, "The Status of the DA Program at the University of North Dakota Department of History." Conference on the DA at the Crossroads: A National Conference on the Doctor of Arts Degree. Oct 5-7, 1989. Idaho State University." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

was one of many of the solutions to several problems presented as a function of modernization. The following chapters seek to illustrate the nature of the modernization period and its impacts on American higher education.

The second chapter examines the period from a national perspective. It seeks to deconstruct how institutions around the nation dealt with the challenges and limitations that occurred as a result of modernization. It also seeks to illustrate how the Doctor of Arts arose as a function of that modernization.

Chapter 3 studies the modernization of higher education from a local perspective. Using the University of North Dakota as a case study, this chapter will examine the period, and its challenges, from a local viewpoint. How did UND solve some of the issues that cropped up? What were some of the triumphs or failures that UND underwent? How did the university hire new faculty? Did the challenges manifest themselves on the departmental level? How and why the DA came about at UND? All of these questions are important to the understanding of how smaller regional institutions dealt with the stress and change of the Modernization and its issues, and a case study of UND can provide answers to these questions.

Chapter 4 of the project examines the Doctor of Arts as a case study into the challenges and solutions of the modernization period. The Doctor of Arts is traced from its origins into implementation on the national level, and more specifically, on the local level at UND. Was the DA created as a result of increased enrollments that created demands for teachers? Was the DA a result of the requirement for credentialing.⁸⁷ Finally, what was the reaction to the Doctor of Arts in the graduate schools and the departments? These questions provide context for the

⁸⁷ Winsand, "Doctor of Arts Degree in Art." 10-13.; Guyford, "Doctor of Arts Degree." 587.; Asher, Jenkins, and Kormondy, "Doctor of Arts Degree." 234-35.

examination of the long-term impacts of the modernization period and the changes that took place within it.

The Modernization of Higher education was a tumultuous time in American higher education. Rapid expansion after 1945 created shortages in every significant resource at American institutions. Professionalism movement put educated faculty at a premium, and these requirements put a strain on the rapidly expanding academy. The Doctor of Arts was a solution to a Modernization problem. It served as a way to locally source faculty members for institutions that adhered to professional standards. An examination of the DA can provide scholars with context with which to better understand the period its challenges, their solutions, and the lasting impact of the modernization of higher education that took place from 1945-1970.

CHAPTER 2: MODERNIZATION ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL

The modernization of higher education was a period of significant transition for institutions of higher education, and modernization efforts created many challenges for universities around the United States.⁸⁸ The DA was created as a way to cope with several of the challenges that arose as a result of modernization after World War II. While a teaching doctorate, similar to the DA, was initially formulated in the 1930s by a group of education scholars, it was not until the 1960s that the Carnegie Foundation sought to implement the DA and funded institutional efforts to start programs.⁸⁹

The Doctor of Arts was a solution to long graduate degree completion times. After WWII faculty shortages were evident across disciplines, and institutions required additional qualified faculty members across at all levels of higher education, long degree times were exacerbating those shortages. The average time to complete a doctoral degree from 1945-1970 was shorter than it is today but still stood at approximately seven years.⁹⁰ The modernization period saw the rapid expansion of enrollments, and newly qualified faculty members were required to instruct the influx of new students. However, graduate programs could not get students finished with Ph.Ds. quickly enough to meet national demand. The DA, with its three-year degree program, served as a way to get more students into and out of graduate school

⁸⁸ John R Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press: 2011.) 260.

⁸⁹ Carnegie Foundation Archive, "Carnegie Publications." *Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*. <http://archive.carnegiefoundation.org/publications.html> Accessed 15 July 2019.

⁹⁰ Judith Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate? The Doctor of Arts Degree, Then and Now*. (Washington DC: American Association for Higher Education, 1993.) 14.

quickly to supply the expanding university system with qualified faculty members with expertise in teaching.⁹¹

The near exponential rate of enrollment expansion, coupled with a national movement toward increased professional standards, institutions began to desire faculty members who held doctorates. While the Ph.D. was not required, it was preferred by many institutions and administrations as the gold standard for faculty. However, as a result, the post WWII period saw a severe shortage of doctoral-level faculty members.⁹² The tension between teaching and research was further exacerbated by the emergence of large research grants and federal and private funding for scientific research projects at institutions around the United States.⁹³ Several intuitions, UND included, implemented the DA as a way to reconcile that tension by expanding the graduate school, while also providing regional institutions with a supply of credentialed faculty. During the period of modernization, the creation of new faculty members was essential. This was particularly important for smaller regional schools because of the focus on teaching rather than research.⁹⁴ The DA was one way to solve the issue of faculty shortage, with teaching qualifications.⁹⁵

The Doctor of Arts was a reaction to several trends that intensified as a result of modernization efforts. However, in 1970, the DA was still in its infancy, and by the mid-1980s, DA programs were shuttered around the nation. The DA served as a mechanism to assist in the modernization of the American university, but it was it shut down shortly after it began.

⁹¹ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 1.

⁹² Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 280.

⁹³ Robert Paul Wolff, "The Ideal of the University" (1969) *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

⁹⁴ Wolff, "The Ideal of the University" 1; Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 14.

⁹⁵United States Department of Education. "Structure of U.S. Education." U.S. Department of Education. <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ous/international/usnei/us/edlite-structure-us.html>

The philosophical idea of Chesterton's fence draws on several different ideas that are useful for examining the Doctor of Arts and how it relates to the modernization of higher education. The notion of Chesterton's fence reads as follows:

“There exists in such a case a certain institution or law; let us say, for the sake of simplicity, a fence or gate erected across a road. The more modern type of reformer goes gaily up to it and says, “I don't see the use of this; let us clear it away.” To which the more intelligent type of reformer will do well to answer: “If you don't see the use of it, I certainly won't let you clear it away. Go away and think. Then, when you can come back and tell me that you do see the use of it, I may allow you to destroy it.”⁹⁶

The notion of Chesterton's fence asserts that one must first understand the purpose of the creation of something before removing it. Nationally, the DA is only present at a handful of institutions, and the few programs left are disappearing due to lack of funding, interest, or ill-conceived notions by the administration of what the DA is for.⁹⁷ Applying the concept of Chesterton's fence to the Doctor of Arts facilitates the consideration of why the DA existed in the first place. It can also shed some light on the purpose and implementation of the DA.

Increasing enrollments caused the first major challenge that institutions faced during the period. Women, lower-class Americans, and minority groups attended social, economic institutions of higher education in numbers that were unprecedented before WWII. The increased enrollments created some challenges for institutions around the nation, and the new DA program was one of the solutions.

⁹⁶ American Chesterton Society, "Taking a Fence Down," American Chesterton Society. 2014. Accessed. 20 April 2018. <https://www.chesterton.org/taking-a-fence-down/>

⁹⁷ Richard Beringer, "The Status of the DA Program at the University of North Dakota Department of History." Conference on the DA at the Crossroads: A National Conference on the Doctor of Arts Degree. Oct 5-7, 1989. Idaho State University. Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

Another major challenge of modernization regarded the institutional movement toward professionalization. By the 1930s, Ph.D. programs had spread across the United States, and the qualifications required to serve in academic positions.⁹⁸ During the modernization period, the growth of professionalization accelerated. It is also important to note that these trends differed between large and private schools, and smaller or public schools, with larger schools tending to focus more on professional qualifications.

Enrollments

The post-World War II period in American history was a period of transformation for American higher education. During this period, the American people saw the benefit of higher education for large numbers of students.⁹⁹ The shifting view of the purpose of higher education prompted institutions to open their doors to different cultural, social, and economic groups. Before World War II, the distinction between public and private institutions was stark. Private institutions catered to the elite traditions of higher education, whereas public institutions were more beholden to social trends. However, in the post-WWII era of expanded access via accessibility initiatives and mass higher education, the distinction between public and private institutions began to break down.¹⁰⁰

Enrollments rose steadily through the early twentieth century, and enrollments tripled from 1910 to 1940.¹⁰¹ World War II saw a depression in students entering college, but the post-

⁹⁸ David F. Labaree, *A Perfect Mess: The Unlikely Ascendancy of American Higher Education*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.)

⁹⁹ Patrick E. McCarthy, "Higher Education: Expansion without Growth." *Daedalus* 104, no. 1 (1975): 78-86.

¹⁰⁰ McCarthy, "Higher Education:" 78-86.

¹⁰¹ Marcus Stanley, "College Education and the Midcentury G.I. Bills." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 118, no. 2 (2003): 671-708. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25053917>.

war period brought prosperity to American higher education.¹⁰² This prosperity did not occur overnight; instead, higher education expanded into two distinct stages. The first stage occurred directly after World War II ended and primarily involved white military veterans, but that upward trend tapered off by the mid-1950s. The second stage began in the mid-1950s, which saw the growth of middle-class Americans, women, and minority groups represented in higher education.¹⁰³ The expansion of enrollments was the catalyst for many of the modernization period reforms and changes and assisted in speeding up the process of modernization.

Nationally, enrollments grew from approximately 1.5 million in 1940 to nearly 11 million in 1980, nearly 800 percent in four decades. Before World War II, less than 8.5 percent of college-age students attended college. By 1980 nearly 35 percent attended college.¹⁰⁴ During the 1950s and 1960s, the number of BA degrees produced increased by 91%, and the number of master's and doctoral degrees tripled.¹⁰⁵ By 1960, nine consecutive years of fall enrollments were reported nationally by the American Association of Land Grant Colleges and State Universities, with a 12.4% increase from 1959 to 1960.¹⁰⁶ However, the demand for higher learning was tapering off after 1970. Students faced with the dual problem of declining salaries and job opportunities for college graduates, fewer persons in the college-age cohort were going to college 44% in 1969, 33.4% in 1974.¹⁰⁷ However, the population of college-age students available in the United States grew. As a result, enrollments post-1970 still grew, but the

¹⁰² Stanley, "College Education and the Midcentury G.I. Bills." 684-708.

¹⁰³ Kim, Dongbin, and John L. Rury. "The Changing Profile of College Access: The Truman Commission and Enrollment Patterns in the Postwar Era." *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (2007): 302-27.

¹⁰⁴ Dongbin, and Rury, "The Changing Profile of College Access" 309-17.

¹⁰⁵ Steven Stack, "The End of the Modernization of Higher Education." *Contemporary Sociology* 8, no. 1 (1979): 10-12.

¹⁰⁶ David Karen, "Changes in Access to Higher Education in the United States: 1980-1992." *Sociology of Education* 75, no. 3 (2002): 191-210.

¹⁰⁷ Stack, "The End of the Modernization of Higher Education." 10-12.

percentages of total students declined. Between 1970 and 1996, higher education enrollments increased by 66 percent, from 8.6 million to 14.3 million students. This increase was accompanied by a shift in the gender representation of students and the type of institution attended. In 1970, 59 percent of the students were male, and only 27 percent of enrollments were in two-year institutions; by 1996, men represented only 44 percent of enrollments, and two-year institutions had expanded to enroll 38 percent of students.¹⁰⁸

Military veterans and white middle-class men led the first stage of enrollment expansion. The period from the end of World War II in 1945, to the mid-1950s, was marked by the creation and administration of the Serviceman's Re-Adjustment Act or the "GI Bill," which constituted one of the most significant changes of the era and represented a historic transformation in American higher education.¹⁰⁹ The GI Bill allowed WWII veterans to attend college for free or significantly reduced cost. Ninety-seven percent of veterans of both Korea and WWII qualified for educational benefits. The GI Bill provided full payment for tuition, books, and supplies at nearly any higher education institution in the country, as well as a substantial living stipend that varied based on the size of the veterans' family.¹¹⁰ At its peak in 1947-1948, the veterans' federally funded tuition and fees amounted to \$365 million or 70 percent of all federal funds received by institutions of higher learning annually.¹¹¹

The effects of the GI Bill on institutions increased total numbers of postsecondary attainment of men born between 1921 and 1933 by about 15 to 20 percent.¹¹² Almost 70 percent of all men who turned 21 between 1940 and 1955 were guaranteed a subsidized college

¹⁰⁸ Karen, "Changes in Access to Higher Education in the United States." 191-210.

¹⁰⁹ Dongbin, and Rury. "The Changing Profile of College Access" 302-27.

¹¹⁰ Stanley, "College Education and the Midcentury G.I. Bills." 671-708..

¹¹¹ Roald F. Campbell, and William L. Boyd, "Federal Support of Higher Education: Elitism versus Egalitarianism." *Theory into Practice* 9, no. 4 (1970): 232-38.

¹¹² Stanley, "College Education and the Midcentury G.I. Bills." 675.

education under the GI Bill. By 1960, the GI Bill financed the educations of approximately 18 percent of total degree-holding males in the United States.¹¹³

According to Department of Defense statistics, approximately eight million veterans took advantage of the GI Bill in the first seven years. This influx of students more than doubled the number of total university students by 1950.¹¹⁴ Further, the 1951 Statistical Abstract of the United States stated that in 1947, more than one million veterans attended institutions of higher learning, some 48 percent of a total collegiate enrollment that totaled nearly 2.4 million. By 1950 this number dropped to a little less than six hundred thousand, or just a quarter of all students, and apart from a smaller burst of veteran enrollments following the Korean War, it dropped steadily after that as a portion of overall enrollments. In 1958 there were still more than four hundred thousand veterans attending college, but they represented just 15 percent of all students. After 1960, the impact of the GI bill expansion reduced even further.¹¹⁵

The GI Bill played a significant role in the expansion of enrollments during the first 15 years of the modernization of higher education. It resulted in an estimated 12.7 percent of men who turned 21 during the 1940-1952 period receiving four-year undergraduate degrees.¹¹⁶ The effects of the GI bills were substantial, but they were dwarfed compared with the consistent, rapid growth that characterized U. S. higher education throughout the modernization period more broadly.¹¹⁷ As access to higher education became available to the baby boom generation of Americans after WWII in the early 1960s, enrollments expanded even further.

¹¹³ Stanley, "College Education and the Midcentury G.I. Bills." 678

¹¹⁴ United States Department of Defense, "75 Years of the GI Bill: How Transformative it has Been" *US DEPT of DEFENSE*, 9 January 2019. Accessed 18 October. 2019. <https://www.defense.gov/explore/story/Article/1727086/75-years-of-the-gi-bill-how-transformative-its-been/>

¹¹⁵ Dongbin, and Rury, "The Changing Profile of College Access" 302-27.

¹¹⁶ Stanley, "College Education and the Midcentury G.I. Bills." 671-708.

¹¹⁷ Stanley, "College Education and the Midcentury G.I. Bills." 691-700.

Socioeconomic status also played an essential role in the expansion of enrollments throughout the post-World War II period. Before 1945, lower-class Americans had a much harder time making their way into American higher education. Americans outside of the upper-middle class remained skeptical of the value of higher education. As a result, lower-class Americans primarily did not attend institutions of higher education during the inter-war period. However, for students from the underclass and working classes who entered higher education in the 1920s and 1930s, the benefits of obtaining a degree were obvious. Attendance at any institution boosted the degree holder's chance in the job market, and such students were poised to take advantage of the postwar economic boom.¹¹⁸ The socioeconomic barriers to access to higher education began to break down in the early years of the modernization period, and by 1960 middle-class students were attending college in more significant numbers.¹¹⁹ Receiving a college degree translated to significant upward social mobility, and even more so if a graduate or professional degree was gained.¹²⁰ Graduates of higher education earned significantly more throughout their lifetime than someone with a high school degree, and the effects of that affluence translated into upward social mobility.¹²¹ Upward mobility quickly became one of the primary motivating factors for enrollment for students in higher education, further bolstering enrollment at institutions around the United States.¹²²

¹¹⁸ J. Nidiffer, (1999). "Poor Historiography: The "Poorest" in American Higher Education." *History of Education Quarterly*, 39(3), 321-336.

¹¹⁹ Dongbin, and Rury, "The Changing Profile of College Access" 309-25.

¹²⁰ Floyd M Hammack, "Class Matters in Higher Education." *Contemporary Sociology* 41, no. 4 (2012): 460-63.

¹²¹ Simon Marginson, "Higher Education and the Economy." In *the Dream Is Over: The Crisis of Clark Kerr's California Idea of Higher Education*, 168-77. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016. ; Thomas D. Snyder. ed. "150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait" US Department of Education Office of Educational Research and Improvement. 75. Accessed 18 September 2019. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93442.pdf>

¹²² Mary Ann Dzuback, "Professionalism, Higher Education, and American Culture: Burton J. Bledstein's The Culture of Professionalism." *History of Education Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1993): 375-85; David L. Swartz, "Social Closure in American Elite Higher Education." *Theory and Society* 37, no. 4 (2008): 409-19.; Gerhard Falk, "Dysfunctions in Higher Education." *Improving College and University Teaching* 15, no. 4 (1967): 243-46.

As a result of a booming economy and accessibility initiatives created by the rise in Feminist ideologies, and the early Civil Rights movement, by the late 1950s, students of various races, genders, and socioeconomic statuses were better represented on campuses around the nation.¹²³ The 1960s saw additional access for underrepresented socioeconomic groups. The generation born during the eighteen years immediately following World War II, commonly referred to as the Baby Boom generation, was more than 50 percent larger than the one preceding it, numbering more than seventy-five million in total.¹²⁴ Baby boomers, raised during the economically expansive fifties, reached college age in the mid-1960s and attended university in unprecedented numbers, notably, women, black, and other minority students.¹²⁵

The expansion of “non-traditional groups” attending college during the 1960s facilitated the rise in egalitarianism on campuses around the nation. Increased diversity in the student body, as well as political and social factors occurring in society at large, helped modernize the viewpoint of the purpose of the university for administrators and faculty members alike.¹²⁶ Smaller regional institutions like UND accepted women from the beginning, but more significant numbers of women and minority students were still represented even at places like UND during the post war period.¹²⁷

During the modernization of higher education, women entered higher education in large numbers.¹²⁸ From 1969-1970 the total number of women enrolled in college nearly tripled from 1.3 million to 3.2 million nationally. 341,220 bachelors' degrees were conferred to women,

¹²³ Nidiffer, “Poor Historiography:” 321-36.

¹²⁴ Dongbin, and Rury. “The Changing Profile of College Access” 321-27.

¹²⁵ Dongbin, and Rury. “The Changing Profile of College Access” 302-27.

¹²⁶ Swartz, "Social Closure in American Elite Higher Education." 409-19.

¹²⁷ "International Students and Faculty. University of North Dakota First Semester 1970-1971." Association of Women Students Records U.A. 91 Box 1 Folder 9. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. The University of North Dakota.

¹²⁸ Snyder. “150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait”. 65. (See FIG 1)

compared to 451,097 conferred to men during the same period.¹²⁹ Authors like Jerry Jacobs argue that the development of higher education for women was related to the economy's need for female workers with skills like nursing, secretarial, and teaching.¹³⁰ Further, graduate schools, and many professional positions, particularly in academia, had issues with accessibility for women. From 1969-1970, women received, 82,667 master's degrees, and 4,022, doctoral degrees, compared to 125,624 master's degrees, and 25,890 doctoral degrees conferred to men. While this was a significant disparity, the number of women attending graduate school grew significantly from 1959, where only 23,537 master's degrees 1,028 doctoral degrees and were conferred to women. The percentage of bachelor's, master's, and were conferred to women began to increase at an even faster rate after 1970.¹³¹ Enrollment and degree attainment for women did not equal that of men until 1980.¹³²

For those who were pursuing careers in the early 1960s, women were concentrated in a limited range of fields. Education drew almost half of women undergraduates, and over 70% of women graduates held degrees in just six fields: education, English, fine arts, nursing, history, and home economics.¹³³ Unfortunately, women still had to struggle to attain their academic goals, that struggle remains in 2019 for many academic fields, the sciences in particular. The Modernization of higher education was not necessarily golden for women in higher education, but it was a jumping-off point that began the process for women to achieve equal access.

The 1960s saw increased enrollments for women in higher education in America. However, the percentages of women in college rose and fell throughout the Modernization. In

¹²⁹ Snyder, "150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait". 75.

¹³⁰ Pamela Roby, "Women and American Higher Education." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 404 (1972): 118-39.

¹³¹ Roby, "Women and American Higher Education." 118-39.

¹³² Snyder, "150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait" 75. (See FIG 1.)

¹³³ Jacobs, "Gender Inequality and Higher Education," 153-85.

1940 women represented approximately 41 percent of college graduates. By 1950, 24 percent of college graduates were women, and by 1960, 35 percent of college graduates were women.¹³⁴ These numbers are somewhat misleading; however, as the total number of students throughout the period expanded nearly ten times, from 1.5 million to approximately 11 million.¹³⁵ The gender of the students attending higher education were disproportionately men. Further, the 1940s saw a large percentage of college-age men serve in World War II, and the GI Bill expansion applied almost exclusively to men.¹³⁶ That being said however, the total number of women in higher education still rose significantly, and women were able to get into the workforce in ways that were unprecedented prior to World War II. However, women were still woefully underrepresented in academic faculty, and administration positions both before and after the period of modernization from 1945-1970.¹³⁷ Total equality in higher education, like in society is a long process, and it has yet to be totally achieved, even as of this writing, however, small but significant steps were taken during the post-World War II period to allow for increased access and equality for women in higher education.

The total number of women attending college during the 1950s and 1960s increased significantly, and the number of degrees earned by women climbed steadily during the 1970s and 1980s. By 1980 women represented more than half (52 percent) of all college students aged nineteen and twenty and attended at a half percent higher rate than their male counterparts.¹³⁸ By 1982, women surpassed men in the number of bachelor's degrees earned.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ Jacobs, "Gender Inequality and Higher Education," 153-85.

¹³⁵ "Facts about Women in Higher Education." *Women's Studies Newsletter* 6, no. 2 (1978): 28-29. Accessed January 9, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/40042463.

¹³⁶ Dongbin, and Rury, "The Changing Profile of College Access" 310-27.

¹³⁷ Marion Kilson, "The Status of Women in Higher Education." *Signs* 1, no. 4 (1976): 935-42. Accessed January 9, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/3173243.

¹³⁸ Dongbin, and Rury. "The Changing Profile of College Access" 305-15.

¹³⁹ Jacobs, "Gender Inequality and Higher Education," 153-68.

During the modernization of higher education, minority representation in colleges expanded considerably as well. The group most associated with this was African Americans and Hispanic Americans. However, other minority groups also saw increases in their representation on campuses around the United States as well. The Civil Rights movement assisted in the integration of colleges and universities around the United States, notably in the south. Advancements in civil rights and accessibility provided minorities unprecedented access to higher education and the upward mobility that came with earning a degree.¹⁴⁰

In 1940, just 13 percent of African Americans of college-age were high school graduates, compared to 48 percent of whites. Among secondary graduates, however, college attendance rates for both groups were approximately 16 percent. During the early modernization period, black high school students were as likely to enroll in college as whites. The Hispanic high school graduation rate was comparable to whites and African Americans, but only 8 percent of these graduates attended college. Only 1 percent of college-age Hispanic youth enrolled in a college or university. By 1960 the numbers of African-American and Hispanic youth enrolled in college had increased substantially. Secondary school graduation rates improved for both groups, 33 percent for African Americans and 24 percent for Hispanic Americans, respectively. The proportion of high school graduates going to college increased proportionately, with both at about 24 percent. Still, these figures lagged well behind the nation's white population.¹⁴¹ “[By 1970] The overall rate of black college enrollment for nineteen- and twenty-year-olds grew more than 200 percent, while the rate for white students grew by roughly two-thirds. A similar process

¹⁴⁰ Swartz, "Social Closure in American Elite Higher Education." 409-19.

¹⁴¹ Dongbin, and Rury, "The Changing Profile of College Access." 306-27.

was shown in the Hispanic community over this period, although it failed to grow as rapidly as black's general attendance levels.”¹⁴²

Before the Civil Rights movement, Historically Black Colleges and Universities were the primary entry point to higher education for African Americans. The Post-War period saw significant increases in enrollment for minority students. From approximately 70,000 students to nearly 170,000 students nationally from 1954-1970.¹⁴³ Overall, the percentage of minority students that attended institutions of higher education grew steadily during the modernization period of higher education and beyond.¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately, true equality for minority students has still yet to be attained. Just like for women, the period of 1945-1970 was not perfect for minority students, but it was a starting point for the struggle for equality.

The DA was created as a result of modernization at American universities. Increases in enrollment of previously underrepresented groups like women, minorities, or lower-class Americans expedited the transformation at many institutions. Change in any complex institution is a long process, but near exponential growth in enrollments forced many institutions to change quickly in order to remain viable.¹⁴⁵ While the Doctor of Arts did not explicitly cater to these newly represented groups, new graduate programs provided access to graduate education that was previously unavailable. The Modernization was defined by two separate segments, from 1945 to 1955, and 1955-1970.¹⁴⁶ Concerning increased enrollments, the first segment of modernization was defined by the Serviceman’s Readjustment Acts and ideas of upward mobility amongst the lower to middle-class white men. After 1955 however, enrollments

¹⁴² Dongbin, and Rury, “The Changing Profile of College Access.” 302-27.

¹⁴³ Susan T. Hill, “The Traditionally Black Institutions of Higher Education 1860-1980.” National Center for Education Statistics. 16. Accessed 18 October 2019. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs84/84308.pdf> See FIG 3.

¹⁴⁴ Snyder, “150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait”. 18 See FIG 5.

¹⁴⁵ Snyder, “150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait”. 65 See FIG 1.

¹⁴⁶ Dongbin, and Rury, “The Changing Profile of College Access” 302-27.

increased even more rapidly. While lower and middle-class white men remained the majority of the enrollees, the second period of the Modernization saw women and minority representation at American institutions skyrocket.¹⁴⁷

In places like the North Dakota, and Idaho, where the longest lasting DA programs were founded, the expansion of enrollments impacted the larger regional institutions, but the small regional institutions, like the North Dakota State College of Science, were impacted as well.¹⁴⁸ In 1945, NDSCS had 435 students enrolled, compared to the 2884 in 1970.¹⁴⁹

Funding Changes

The expansion of American higher education forced the federal government, states, and regents of the institutions to consider how to pay for the expansion. It was during the modernization period that new forms of financial funding were developed by the federal and state governments to help colleges and universities stay afloat. When these efforts proved insufficient, institutions themselves were forced to solve some of their issues themselves. Funding for public institutions from a federal government point of view changed dramatically during the modernization of Higher Education. The Federal government-funded institutions in the years after World War II in two ways, the first was via the GI Bill. The second method was via federal research grants. States developed new funding algorithms during the modernization of higher education to determine how best to allocate the limited resources allocated by state legislatures to institutions of higher learning. Finally, the institutions of higher learning were

¹⁴⁷ Dongbin, and Rury, “The Changing Profile of College Access” 305-16.

¹⁴⁸ Cedric Cummins, *The University of South Dakota 1863-1966* (Vermillion South Dakota: Dakota Press, 1975) 274. ; Valley City State University Office of Institutional Research, “Fall Headcount Enrollment 1890-Present” Valley City State University. 24 September 2019.

¹⁴⁹ North Dakota State College of Science Office of Institutional Research, “Fall Headcount Data 1920-2001” North Dakota State College of Science. 3 December 2019.

forced to increase tuition and fees for students attending college when state funding proved insufficient, which in turn created the ever-advancing rise of tuition costs for college around the United States.

The federal government's funding of the GI Bill was a significant boon to higher education in America. Not only were tens of thousands of new students attending college, but their education was paid for by the Federal government. It allowed students to attend college, and institutions were more apt to take risks on lower-income veterans as their cost would be limited. The GI Bill and the land-grant college movement of the late nineteenth century are two of the most egalitarian of all federally sponsored efforts in higher education.

More broadly, however, the federal government helped support higher education via grants for science and technology research. World War II was the first war that was won with weapons that had yet to be invented when the war broke out. This made the federal government interested in defense and national security research. The Manhattan Project and similar WWII defense initiatives proved to the Department of Defense that defense research could be conducted by scientists at institutions around the United States.¹⁵⁰ The idea that institutions of higher learning were contributing to government research projects and creating weapons of war did not sit well with many across the United States.

Federal funding for research grants played an essential role in many different institutions around the United States. That being said, the majority of the federal grant funding went to only a handful of the most elite institutions.¹⁵¹ For example, one institution, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), received approximately three percent of the total federal aid

¹⁵⁰ Campbell, Roald F., and William L. Boyd, "Federal Support of Higher Education: Elitism versus Egalitarianism." *Theory into Practice* 9, no. 4 (1970): 232-38.

¹⁵¹ Campbell, and Boyd, "Federal Support of Higher Education: Elitism versus Egalitarianism." 232-37.

appropriated to higher education in 1968. By contrast, community colleges nationwide, which instructed one-third of all students, received less than 10 percent of all federal aid.¹⁵²

Schools like MIT, or Yale, became the elite institutions around the United States, they attracted the best faculty and researchers, which only fueled their elite status. Within a few years, these institutions were attracting the finest students as well, and those schools were given the resources to attract those students. For example, in 1960, 54 percent of the 1,200 National Science Foundation graduate fellows opted to attend either Harvard, Princeton, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, The University of California, The California Institute of Technology, or Stanford.¹⁵³ By the 1960s, these select few schools had increased demands for positions in their institutions and the programs which brought in the best scientific talent. These institutions were the most likely to get federal research grants, creating a small number of elite schools that received the majority of the funding.¹⁵⁴

All of these ideas surrounding federal funding are important to the policies of schools around the United States. The editors of the *Journal of Higher Education* note that federal funding clouds the idea of funding higher education.

We have no national policy to inform our decisions about financing higher education. We give categorical aid rather than general aid. As a result, buildings are built with federal money, but funds to operate them must be found elsewhere. Research is supported but only in some disciplines and at some universities. Some federal fellowships encourage graduate students to prepare for careers in college teaching but not in social work, others

¹⁵² Campbell, and Boyd, "Federal Support of Higher Education: Elitism versus Egalitarianism." 232-38.

¹⁵³ Campbell, and Boyd, "Federal Support of Higher Education: Elitism versus Egalitarianism." 232-39.

¹⁵⁴ David L. Swartz, "Social Closure in American Elite Higher Education." *Theory and Society* 37, no. 4 (2008): 409-19.

in philosophy. Financial assistance packages permit low-income students to attend college but leave some with a dowry of debt.¹⁵⁵

Scholars like Robert Campbell argue that because the federal government concentrated the funding that it distributes amongst such a small number of institutions, it has emphasized the "hard sciences." This concentration led to the neglect of social science and humanities training, as well as creating a culture that values research over teaching, and graduate over undergraduate instruction.¹⁵⁶

The modernization of Higher education not only saw the emergence of Federal appropriations for higher education but also saw a drastic change in how states funded higher education. Now, as discussed previously, the federal government grant monies were primarily distributed to a select few elite institutions; however, rapid growth was seen in institutions around the United States. Public regional institutions that were proverbially "left out in the cold" by the federal government were forced to rely on their state legislatures to provide their operating budgets. During the modernization period, particularly after 1960, states developed budget systems to help determine how and where to allocate the taxpayer's money.

Before World War II, a limited number of institutions of higher education served a distinct subset of the populous. After the war, however, enrollments expanded, and many new institutions, including liberal arts, teacher training, and technical schools, were being attended in unprecedented numbers. As the clientele and purpose of institutions of higher learning changed during the period of modernization, so did the complexity of distributing resources.¹⁵⁷ States

¹⁵⁵ C. G. A., "Editorial: "On Financing Higher Education." *The Journal of Higher Education* 38, no. 9 (1967): 511-13.

¹⁵⁶ Campbell and Boyd, "Federal Support of Higher Education: Elitism versus Egalitarianism." 232-38.

¹⁵⁷ Mary P. McKeown, "State Funding Formulas for Public Institutions of Higher Education." *Journal of Education Finance* 15, no. 1 (1989): 101-12.

were forced to deal with these changes quickly and efficiently, and as a result, during the post-World War II period, the idea of accountable spending became very popular in state legislatures around the United States.¹⁵⁸ These ideas sought to make institutions accountable for the spending that they did in order to dictate how much money the legislatures would allot for the following biennium. By 1976, approximately 45 states created accountability legislation. They forced some state governmental oversight on the spending of an institution, and formalized accounting and cost-sharing practices amongst institutions within a given state.¹⁵⁹

This further led to the development of formulas to dictate how much funding individual institutions would receive. These formulas often considered physical plant, instructional, and student-based expenses for the institution. The formulas did little to accommodate for research expenses, emergency funding, and incentive-based faculty retention and hiring. Further, with classes expanding and contracting wildly from year to year, these formulas, while beginning very basic, grew increasingly convoluted as the years and biennia of the modernization period and beyond wore on. However, despite their challenges, in 1964, upwards of sixteen states were reported to be using formulas to calculate the expenditures of each institution of higher education under their preview.¹⁶⁰

Even with formulas and sophisticated algorithms for allocating funding, by the latter years of the modernization period, states were unable time keeping up with budgetary needs. Federal funding was being cut back in the late 1960s, yet the demand for higher education remained high. This put higher education in a funding crisis, while tuition was always a part of

¹⁵⁸ Charles M Temple, and Robert O. Riggs. "The Declining Suitability of the Formula Approach to Funding Public Higher Education: Rationale and Alternatives." *Peabody Journal of Education* 55, no. 4 (1978): 351-57.

¹⁵⁹ Temple and Riggs, "The Declining Suitability of the Formula Approach to Funding Public Higher Education: Rationale and Alternatives." 351-57.

¹⁶⁰ C. G. A., "Editorial: On Financing Higher Education." *The Journal of Higher Education* 38, no. 9 (1967): 511-13.

attending higher education, it was during the latter part of the modernization period that we see institutions turn to tuition and fees to try to make up the shortages in their budgets. Institutions, aided by the federal government, were able to switch to a bank loan style of funding for higher education. The US Senate posited that this would allow institutions to charge tuition that was at or near the full cost of education at that institution. The Senate also argued that this would allow institutions to raise the quality of the education provided because they were not forced to rely so heavily on the state legislatures for funding. Further, the Senate believed that this would specifically assist states with smaller populations or limited resources, allow lower and middle-class families to go to college, and in turn, increase the responsibility of education for the student.¹⁶¹

The increases in intuition and private funding for college education forced the institutions to reconsider, downsize, or even cut some of the new institutional and curricular advancements. Support for vocational education, particularly in the medical field, was cut significantly after the National Science Foundation's budgets were downsized.¹⁶² Important programs were being cut or downsized at institutions around the United States in the late 1960s as a result of uncertain federal funding, and a loss of state support.¹⁶³ Further, even the private loan program, issued by the federal government, was underfunded. By 1970, surveys completed by the US Office of Education were warning students of shortages in the guaranteed loan programs. It also noted that those who were most likely to have their loans turned down were women and minority students.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ McKeown, "State Funding Formulas for Public Institutions of Higher Education." 101-12.

¹⁶² Campbell, and Boyd, "Federal Support of Higher Education: Elitism versus Egalitarianism." 232-38

¹⁶³ Campbell, and Boyd, "Federal Support of Higher Education: Elitism versus Egalitarianism." 232-37

¹⁶⁴ Campbell, and Boyd, "Federal Support of Higher Education: Elitism versus Egalitarianism." 232-38

Higher education experienced significant growth in enrollment and tremendous enlargement of physical facilities from 1945-1970. However, increased federal and state support to other public service programs, unemployment of college graduates, and student unrest contributed to a gradual erosion of higher education support amongst lawmakers and taxpayers alike.¹⁶⁵ In the years after 1970, federal grant monies have dwindled, and unpopular tax hikes have kept individual states from increasing funding for higher education, and tuition hikes have made college unattainable for many of America's lower class.

Professionalization

The expansion of enrollments created several problems, one of which was finding qualified instructors for the influx of students. Early professional organizations in medicine and law, like the AMA, and the American Bar Association, defined standards for curriculum in the late 19th century, and they added their prestige to schools that followed those standards. German influences on American higher education focused primarily on reforming institutional management styles, the professionalization of disciplines, and the creation of standardization in the curriculum.¹⁶⁶ Johns Hopkins University took this German system and adapted it to fit with American educational traditions. The German-American university shifted its emphasis from teaching to academic and practical research and the role of the university from a producer of students to a producer of new knowledge.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Temple, and Riggs, "The Declining Suitability of the Formula Approach to Funding Public Higher Education: Rationale and Alternatives." 351-57.

¹⁶⁶ Lawrence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.) 22-26.

¹⁶⁷ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 88-90.

As the twentieth century dawned, and professionalism became more critical to institutions around the United States. Graduate schools expanded around the nation as professional credential requirements became the standard for University faculty. During the early twentieth century, requirements to teach at the collegiate level were formalized by administrators around the United States. Graduate-level education and an advanced degree like the Ph.D. became standard.¹⁶⁸ The modern university professor was created by the professionalization of faculty and the standardization of curriculum — further, professional programs allowed for the creation of the modern university professor. The American Historical Association, for example, pushed for the Ph.D. as the preferred degree to be a professional historian.¹⁶⁹ However, as enrollments expanded, more professionally trained humanities faculty were required, which is where the DA came into play — providing a Ph.D. equivalent degree to historians who wanted to teach at the collegiate level. Other professional organizations like the Mathematics Association of America also preferred doctoral-level instructors.¹⁷⁰ The DA, for disciplines like Math, History, Fine Arts, Biology, English, and others, allowed for the professionalization of faculty quickly. On the whole professional organizations advocated for the creation of a professional of college faculty.

The professionalization movement created the need for new graduate schools, but it was not until the early 20th century that graduate education in the United States expanded beyond a handful of schools. Graduate degrees and the standards and practices that went along with them developed slowly. The first half of the 20th century saw college administrators, discipline-

¹⁶⁸ Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*. 126-127.

¹⁶⁹ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The Objectivity Question and the American Historical Profession*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

¹⁷⁰ Mathematical Association of America, “MAA History” Mathematical Association of America Accessed, 2 October 2019. <https://www.maa.org/about-maa/maa-history>.

specific professional organizations, and governmental bodies define standards and best practices for graduate education.¹⁷¹ The graduate schools provided professionally trained teachers and other personnel that assisted in the development of a body of professional knowledge. These professional faculty also provided a degree of protection from the whims of public opinion and insulated the institution from political changes in society at large.¹⁷² Professionalization of the faculty provided institutions with an air of respectability. Further, trained faculty members allowed for increased research production and increased grant revenue.¹⁷³ Doctor of Arts stood as a way to facilitate this modernization by locally sourcing the professional production faculty for regional institutions.¹⁷⁴

Professionalization was one of the significant points of modernization during the modernization of higher education. The number of doctoral degrees granted in the United States from 1920-1960 illustrated the push toward professionalization. In 1920 only 615 doctorates were awarded, but in 1960 the number was 9,829. Using the production of Ph.D.'s as an indicator of professionalization advancement, in 1954-1955, five institutions conferred 24 percent of all science doctorates, most granted to white men.¹⁷⁵ The 1960s brought a surge of interest in doctor's degrees. Not only did the absolute number of degrees rise by 204 percent between 1959-60 and 1969-70, but the ratio of doctor's degrees to 1,000 bachelor's degrees rose from 23 to 78. Also, the time-lapse from bachelor's degree to doctor's degree hit a low of 7.9 years, as short as any period measured except in 1919-20.¹⁷⁶ These figures illustrate that the expansion of

¹⁷¹ Novick, *That Noble Dream*: 10.

¹⁷² Geraldine Jonçich Clifford, "The Formative Years of Schools of Education in America: A Five-Institution Analysis." *American Journal of Education* 94, no. 4 (1986): 427-46. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1085336>.

¹⁷³ Berelson, Bernard, "Graduate Education in the United States" (1960) *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

¹⁷⁴ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 3.

¹⁷⁵ Campbell, and Boyd, "Federal Support of Higher Education:" 232-38.

¹⁷⁶ Dzuback, "Professionalism, Higher Education, and American Culture" 375-85.

graduate schools occurred as a result of modernization and that this expansion further bolstered by institutional professionalization assisted in the modernization of the university.¹⁷⁷

The institution-level expansion allowed for more significant numbers of professional faculty. New graduate degrees, like the Doctor of Arts, or the Doctor of Education, were created during this period as a way to speed up the process and provide small local institutions with a source of professionally trained faculty. As early as 1944, scholar Bernard Berelson advocated for relaxing research dissertation requirements without cutting standards for graduation. He wanted to prevent a "proletariat of scholars" from developing in the United States.¹⁷⁸ However, professionalization efforts in the post-world war II period, helped establish that proletariat who, aided by administrators, valued researchers over instructors amongst college faculty.¹⁷⁹ The division between research and teaching faculty was made worse by the emergence of public and private research grants, which infused institutions with large amounts of money, prompting institutions to begin to value research over teaching faculty. Higher salaries, increased library expenditures, reduced teaching loads, and senior-level appointments prioritized research faculty over teaching faculty.¹⁸⁰ This trend proved problematic because it prompted graduate schools to produce researchers, despite the shortage of professional teachers at the college level, which continued to worsen. However, qualified instructors were still needed, and the new degrees, like the DA, allowed universities to produce qualified college faculty more quickly and with a higher

¹⁷⁷ Falk, "Dysfunctions in Higher Education." 243-46.

¹⁷⁸ Cassuto, *The Graduate School Mess:* 11.

¹⁷⁹ Berelson, "Graduate Education in the United States" 1.

¹⁸⁰ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education.* 281-282.

professional focus on teaching, rather than research, to fulfill the need of the newly expanded institutions.¹⁸¹

Professionalization proved to be one of the hallmarks of the modernization of Higher Education. Though the trend began much earlier than 1945, by the end of WWII, professional credentials were preferred at institutions across the United States. The expansion of higher education after WWII was rapid, and faculty was desperately needed, particularly credentialed faculty, which is where degrees like the DA stepped in, providing a short time to degree, while still providing the academic rigors of the more traditional Ph.D.

1945-1970 was a period of transformation for American higher education, which came with many challenges. The expansion of enrollments was one of those challenges. The GI Bill, as well as progress toward equality in college access, prompted enrollment at institutions around the United States to expand rapidly, creating shortages in every significant resource. Faculty shortages were one of the symptoms of expansion. However, the preference for trained and credentialed faculty members helped cement a credentialing system and created a class of professional academics with terminal graduate degrees, the Ph.D., the most common. The expansion of graduate schools and innovations like the Doctor of Arts was one mechanism for institutions to cope with the faculty shortages.

Unfortunately, the DA was not implemented until 1967, and many of the issues it sought to quell were well on their way to being resolved by more traditional means. At the height of the DA, it was offered at less than thirty institutions, in many different disciplines, and had very little in unifying traits. History DA programs at Idaho State University and the University of North

¹⁸¹ David F. Labaree, *A Perfect Mess: The Unlikely Ascendancy of American Higher Education*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.); Cassuto, *The Graduate School Mess:* ”; Joe Gowaskie, "The Teaching of World History: A Status Report." *The History Teacher* 18, no. 3 (1985): 365-75.

Dakota had differing curricular models, required different graduation requirements, and the faculty administering them often made minimal effort to distinguish it from a more traditional Ph.D. As a result, the DA failed to make long-standing inroads at more than a handful of universities.¹⁸²

The modernization of Higher education was a watershed period because it saw a significant change in American higher education. Post-war prosperity allowed more people access to college than ever before, and enrollments proliferated around the nation. Coupled with this was the professionalization of the faculty at institutions of higher education, raising the quality of the education at American institutions throughout the period. During the period, the Doctor of Arts was created to help cope with modernization changes to varying degrees of success. Modernization efforts made a significant impact on higher education on the national or macro level.

¹⁸² Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 10.; Beringer, 1.

CHAPTER 3: MODERNIZATION AT UND

Up to this point, the discussion of the modernization period as a series of national trends has proven a useful way to examine the challenges that occurred in American higher education between 1945 and 1970. However, while examining national trends is a useful exercise when looking at the modernization of Higher Education, such general views tend to obscure the diversity of responses to the opportunities and challenges across institutions. The examination of specific institutions, and specific programs demonstrates the diversity of responses possible within this seemingly unified period of modernization.

Nationally, changes in how higher education was viewed, changes in access for women and minorities, and expanding institutional responsibility, created an environment for the widespread expansion of enrollments. In turn, the other significant changes experienced by institutions around the United States after World War II. These changes manifested at UND during the terms of Presidents John C. West (1933-1954) and George W. Starcher (1954-1971), aided by the North Dakota State Board of Higher Education (founded in 1939), and the state legislature, UND not only survived during the period of modernization of higher education, but it thrived.¹⁸³

The University of North Dakota, in Grand Forks, founded in 1883, has had several institutional historians. Primary among them was Louis Geiger and Elwyn B. Robinson, who chronicled its history. They stand as the authorities on its history with their books, *University on*

¹⁸³ North Dakota State Board of Higher Education, "NORTH DAKOTA STATE BOARD OF HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY MANUAL" *North Dakota State Board of Higher Education*. 1. Accessed 19 September 2019. https://ndusbpos.sharepoint.com/:w/s/NDUSPoliciesandProcedures/EaztD6i2zpFFpJT9EyF_oIoBAYbhPqc5niNFhtJ9zu2Kqw?rttime=QyMKbiE910g.

the Northern Plains, and History of North Dakota.¹⁸⁴ Geiger's work was published in 1954 when the impact of the post-war changes in higher education was only beginning to take shape.

Whereas, Robinson's *North Dakota Quarterly* article "The Starcher Years," considers the history of UND during the presidency of George Starcher who was both a national figure in higher education and oversaw fundamental transformations at UND during from 1955-1971.

This chapter builds upon Geiger's and Robinson's work through a return to the archives at UND which provide extensive notes, letters, and other primary source materials that shed significant light into the West and Starcher administrations, their actions in dealing with post-war changes and the reactions of the community. The archives also shed light on the actions of UND's internal administration, state boards, and legislative oversight committees.

Despite the archives, there remain severe gaps in the source material owing in large part to the range of archiving and reporting practices present across the university. President West's papers are limited. Only three boxes of West's papers exist, and the majority of it involves his early years during the Great Depression. Starcher's papers are not particularly well organized, the materials on the period are spread across dozens of boxes, and obscure files. The Department of Special Collections at UND was founded in the early 1960s further complicating research. Consequently, resources created before the 1960 are decentralized. Unfortunately, the files of the presidents give an incomplete picture of university governance.

Further, the files associated with deans and other administrators vary significantly in their availability and substance. Finally, archives of various programs and departments, the history department, in particular, are mostly incomplete. Precious little source material on the creation of

¹⁸⁴ Lewis Geiger, *University of the Northern Plains: A History of the University of North Dakota, 1883-1958*. (Grand Forks ND: University of North Dakota Press, 1958.); Elwyn, B. Robinson, *The History of North Dakota*. (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln NE, 1966.)

the DA program, the history department, and its adaptation throughout the period were easily accessible. What information does exist, was taken mainly from a series of unfiled history department documents, an unpublished departmental history by Dr. William Caraher, and information from an interview with Dr. Gordon Iseminger.

UND experienced the trials and tribulations of modernization in typical ways, but often to degrees that were atypical based on the rural nature of the Red River Valley. The Red River valley's racial and socioeconomic makeup played into the growth and modernization of UND. North Dakota's population in 1960 was 640,000, compared to 3.2 million in neighboring Minnesota.¹⁸⁵ UND interacted with the three crucial trends that affected higher education nationally. Expansion, professionalization, and funding changes made their way to UND like every other institution. However, UND's small size and geographic location created unique obstacles for UND. The modernization period's transformation occurred earliest at the large universities, and it trickled down to junior colleges and normal schools at a slower rate, but UND sits in a unique position between those two. UND, a state-funded four-year research university in a rural state, bridging the gap between the large research institutions, and the small regional schools of the Midwest.

The two presidents who served at UND during the modernization period were both acutely aware of the general trends in American higher education that were emerging. Nationally, 1945 to 1970 saw several significant changes, most notably the shifting role of higher education in the United States, and how the American people viewed college. By the beginning of the modernization period, these shifting ideas of the goal of higher education permeated the

¹⁸⁵ United States Census Bureau, "1960 Census Glossary" United States Census Bureau. Accessed 18 October 2019. https://www.census.gov/glossary/#term_Populationestimates

national consciousness, and UND's administration adapted accordingly. In 1965 Starcher was quoted in the *Grand Forks Herald* as stating,

No longer is college education considered to be something reserved for the financially able alone. While we recognize and cherish the traditions back of the modern college curriculum, it is important to note that colleges and universities lead the way in an age of change, and they will be increasingly concerned with the daily needs of our contemporary world. Higher education is faced with demands for expansion at the same time; there is the need to strive harder for excellence. Just now, people ask questions like, shall we accommodate all those who wish to go to college at the expense of equality, or shall we strive for excellence and limit enrollments for the few at the top? With some 5700 students now, the University can expect more than 6000 students next fall and perhaps 6500 the following year, provided we can furnish them a place to live and build the classroom and laboratory space that will be required.¹⁸⁶

The UND administration's awareness of the broader trends in higher education allowed them to shepherd the University of North Dakota through the modernization of higher education and allowed it to thrive.

President West took the helm at UND, in 1933, in the middle of the Great Depression. North Dakota was hit particularly hard by the Great Depression and the dust bowl. During the majority of his tenure as president, West saw increases in enrollment; however, after World War II, the rate of growth increased significantly. President West oversaw the first phase of the modernization of higher education at UND and saw the university follow the national patterns of

¹⁸⁶ George W. Starcher, "For the Red River Outlook Edition of the Grand Forks Herald to be Published January 31, 1965." UA 43, Box 9, Folder 6. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

accepting large numbers of veterans returning from World War II and Korea.¹⁸⁷ Further, these increases in enrollment caused shortages in physical plant space, faculty members, and state funding, all of which West sought to confront in his final years as president.¹⁸⁸ As early as the fall of 1945, the influx of veterans was felt at UND.¹⁸⁹ In October of 1945, at least 346 veterans were attending UND.¹⁹⁰ President West focused the majority of his final years on veteran's affairs, and veteran's issues. He helped guide UND through the influx of GI Bill veterans after WWII ended, and his successes set up President Starcher to continue these trends during his tenure through the remainder of the modernization period.¹⁹¹

President Starcher was acutely aware of the national trends during his long tenure at UND, which spanned from 1954 to 1971. Before his time at UND Starcher, was a trained mathematician. He also served at Ohio University as the Dean of Arts and Sciences. Significant transitions marked his time as president, including student body egalitarianism initiatives, and the professionalization of the faculty. Starcher increased the size of UND's physical plant because of significant increases in enrollment. Starcher also oversaw the further professionalization of UND's faculty and consistent changes to the institutional budget. Starcher was very aware of modernization and how it was impacting institutions around the nation. He

¹⁸⁷ It is important to note here that large numbers for UND and large numbers for UCLA, for example, are significantly different. UND saw a comparatively large number of veterans based on percentages. "Memorandum to President West, November 27, 1945." OGLMC 23, Box 1, Folder 12. John C, West Papers. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

¹⁸⁸ North Dakota Budget Board "The Biennium of 1949-1951." 24. OGLMC 23, Box 2, Folder 19. John C, West Papers. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

¹⁸⁹"Memorandum to President West, November 27, 1945.'".

¹⁹⁰ "Memorandum to President West, October 16, 1945." OGLMC 23, Box 1, Folder 12. John C, West Papers. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

¹⁹¹ Office of the President, "Past Presidents of the University of North Dakota." University of North Dakota. Accessed 22 September 2018. <http://www1.und.edu/president/past-presidents.cfm>

was given the reigns at UND at a time nationally when the assumption of the purpose of higher education was changing.¹⁹²

Modernization at UND manifested on a smaller scale in the history department, and the department saw significant changes in enrollment size, course catalog, and faculty expansion throughout the period. The history department also saw the creation of the Doctor of Arts degree in an expansion of the graduate programs at UND.

Expansion in Enrollments

The 1941-42 school year saw UND's enrollments fall very sharply, as the number of college-age men being drafted and volunteering for the armed services grew significantly. By 1943, enrollments rebounded as large numbers of women enrolled at UND. Constituting approximately 10-15% of UND's graduating classes per year.¹⁹³ The vast majority of the student body came from the Northern Great Plains region and North Dakota and Minnesota in particular; however, some students were coming from Canada and other international locations as well.¹⁹⁴ At the end of WWII, in 1944-1946, the enrollments at UND doubled the pre-war numbers to nearly 3000 students. Another small economic depression occurred from 1945-1948, but afterward, the enrollments increased steadily throughout the modernization period, to nearly 4000 by 1955.¹⁹⁵ By 1960 enrollment had doubled twice in fifteen years at UND. Through the period of 1945-1970, UND saw rapid enrollment growth.¹⁹⁶ This growth was comparable to the

¹⁹² Office of the President, "Past Presidents of the University of North Dakota."

¹⁹³ "Enrollment at the University of North Dakota." UA 43, Box 11, Folder 1. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

¹⁹⁴ "International Students and Faculty. University of North Dakota First Semester 1970-1971." Records UA 91 Box 1 Folder 9. Association of Women Students. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota. (See Fig 4)

¹⁹⁵ "Enrollment at the University of North Dakota"

¹⁹⁶ "Enrollment at the University of North Dakota."

growth of other regional research institutions around the nation.¹⁹⁷ President Starcher Stated, "The problems incident to increased enrollment involve teacher and space for housing and classrooms. These problems are nations wide. Where but 1 in 25 went to college at the turn of the century, now 1 in 3 goes to college, and soon half our college-age youth will need education beyond the high school."¹⁹⁸ This rapid growth created shortages of every significant resource at UND.

From a national standpoint, 1945-1959 were characterized by expansion as a result of the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944.¹⁹⁹ UND experienced similar growth in returning veterans as a result of the GI Bill. As early as the fall of 1945, the influx of veterans manifested at UND. Facilities administration contacted President West's office, stating, "The[re] will be a shortage of housing facilities for men students in the second semester, particularly veterans."²⁰⁰ In October of 1945, there are at least 346 veterans for whom UND was trying to find housing assignments.²⁰¹ At the end of 1959, enrollment at UND had climbed significantly. Fall enrollment in 1951 was 2163, fall enrollment in 1960 was 4130, a 90 percent increase in nine years.²⁰² Nationally, institutions from 1959 to 1960 were experiencing 12.4 percent growth,

¹⁹⁷ Lawrence Levine, "The Opening of the American Mind." (1996). *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008)

¹⁹⁸ "Members of the Senate Appropriations Committee, 1961." President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. UA 43, Box 11, Folder 2. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

¹⁹⁹ Marcus Stanley, "College Education and the Midcentury GI Bills." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 118, no. 2 (2003): 671-708. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25053917>.

²⁰⁰Memorandum to President West, November 27, 1945."

²⁰¹ "Memorandum to President West, October 16, 1945." OGLMC 23, Box 1, Folder 12. John C. West Papers. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

²⁰² "University of North Dakota 1961-63 Biennial Budget." UA 43, Box 3, Folder 47. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

while UND was outgrowing the national figures with a 16 percent growth rate.²⁰³ However, while the GI Bill played an essential role in the expansion at UND, it was not as impactful at UND as it was at other schools around the nation. UND's growth from 1945-1960 consisted mostly of non-veterans, and women, which was atypical.²⁰⁴ UND's influx of veterans was apparent; however, it was not as significant as the national trends bear out in other regions of the country.²⁰⁵ This low number of GI Bill recipients is a result of the rural nature of the Red River Valley, and also because of the increases in non-veteran enrollment at UND after WWII. The Red River Valley's primary industry in 1945 was farming, and many of the veterans who returned from WWII returned to work in positions in agriculture. As a result, the number of GI Bill recipients played a significant role in the expansion of UND, but it was not as significant as at larger institutions in urban areas.

Modernization transformations created an environment that offered women the opportunity to attend college around the United States in numbers never before seen. The University of North Dakota, however, was ahead of the curve when it came to women attending college. The University of North Dakota has always been a proponent of co-education; in fact, the very first graduating class at UND in 1887 had twice the number of women as there were men. The whole graduating class numbered six, with four of them being women.²⁰⁶ By 1927, and continuing until 1957, UND was graduating approximately one hundred women per year. The

²⁰³ American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities, "Circular Letter No.27 December 15, 1960." President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. UA 43, Box 4, Folder 3. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁰⁴ George W. Starcher, "Future of your University. 1964." UA 43, Box 11, Folder 2. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁰⁵ American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities, "Circular Letter No. 27"

²⁰⁶ "Degrees Granted by the University Since the Founding of the Institution." UA 45 Box 11, Folder 26. Office of the Registrar Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota

number of men attending UND increased significantly, making the total percentage of female students plummet, but women still made up an essential portion of UND's student body.

However, modernization caused an uptick in the number of women who graduated from UND, and this began during the years of World War II and continued after the war ended.²⁰⁷

Women at UND were an essential part of the student body. UND in 1957 founded an Association of Women Students that set out to represent the needs of female students. It sought to reflect credibility on UND and its students and sought to coordinate women's activities and to promote the participation of women students in co-curricular activities, friendship, happiness, and a personal sense of responsibility to themselves and UND.²⁰⁸ By 1962, the Association of Women Students was planning events like dances, discussion panels, conferences, introductory pamphlets for new students. In 1968, the Association of Women Students embraced the feminism movement and promoted the role of women in educational settings at UND.²⁰⁹

During the modernization period, more and more minorities were attending college nationally. The percentages of minority students at institutions, particularly in the southern United States, were growing, particularly among the African American and Latin American populations. At UND, however, growth among minorities was significantly slower. North Dakota had and still has a predominantly Caucasian population, and the racial makeup of the student body at UND reflected that.²¹⁰ While the number of African American college students grew significantly in other parts of the nation, at UND, the total number of minority students did

²⁰⁷ "Memorandum to President West, November 27, 1945."

²⁰⁸ "Constitution of the Association of Women Students, University of North Dakota Grand Forks North Dakota, October 1957." UA 137 Box 1, Folder 1. Association of Women Students Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁰⁹ "1962-1968." UA 91 Box 1, Folder 3. Association of Women Students Records Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²¹⁰ United States Census Bureau, "1960 Census Glossary" United States Census Bureau. Accessed 18 October 2019. https://www.census.gov/glossary/#term_Populationestimates

not change significantly. Despite the small numbers of minority students, by the end of the modernization period, the number of international students at UND had grown significantly. In 1970-1971, UND was host to 4 students from Africa, 57 from Asia, 16 from South America, seven from Europe, 96 from the middle east, and 307 from Canada. Thirty-five faculty members were international, as well.²¹¹ In 1961, there was an associate professor at UND listed as a "negro."²¹²

Through the modernization period, UND made efforts to diversify the student population. Before the national requirement to do so, UND took steps toward becoming an inclusive institution that was tolerant of minority students. In December of 1958, President Starcher joined the North Dakota Advisory Committee for the United States Civil Rights Commission.²¹³ In February of 1959, he chaired a joint meeting of the North and South Dakota Civil Rights commissions for the federal commission.²¹⁴ This commission was tasked with investigating issues with discrimination throughout North Dakota. The committee report on education states as follows,

“The questionnaires on education show that, without exception, there is no discrimination in our public schools nor in our institutions of higher education on the basis of race religion or social status. All of our institutions of higher learning accept students for admission on an equal basis, they are housed in dormitories on the same basis, and so far

²¹¹ “International Students and Faculty. University of North Dakota First Semester 1970-1971.”

²¹² “Report of the North Dakota Committee on Civil Rights 1 April 1961.” UA 43, Box 4, Folder 45. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²¹³ Monroe Schlactus, “Dr. George H Starcher, December 22, 1958.” President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. UA 43, Box 4, Folder 44. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²¹⁴ Grand Forks Herald, “Civil Rights Topic at UND Meeting. February 27, 1959.” President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. UA 43, Box 4, Folder 44. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

as the institutions are concerned, no situation appeared to justify further inquiry by the committee at this time.”²¹⁵

UND also employed student recruiters that would travel throughout the nation seeking to entice students to UND, particularly among African American populations. After 1960, UND, like other regional institutions, had a Black Campus movement that sought to improve the educational environment for African American students at UND.²¹⁶

The expansion of enrollments was the single most significant change that occurred at UND during the modernization of higher education. It facilitated the further transformation of UND through the period. This sequence mirrors that of other institutions around the United States closely. For example, Idaho State University, the home of one of the most successful DA programs in the nation, saw their enrollment rise from 839 in 1945, to 3,064 in 1959.²¹⁷ The University of Minnesota saw its enrollments expand from 11,396 in 1945, to 42,878, in 1970. The rate of growth of UND and UM was graphically similar, as illustrated by Figures 5 and 7.²¹⁸

Other institutions in North Dakota, saw similar growth, North Dakota State University’s enrollment was 1457 in 1945, and 6785 in 1970.²¹⁹ Valley City State University's enrollment also expanded significantly, from 205 in 1945 to 1,369 in 1970, a number that would not be met

²¹⁵ “Report of the North Dakota Committee on Civil Rights (1959).” President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. UA 43, Box 4, Folder 45. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²¹⁶ Grand Forks Herald, “Civil Rights Topic at UND Meeting. February 27, 1959.” UA 43, Box 4, Folder 44. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²¹⁷ Idaho State University Office of Data Reporting and Student Statistics, “Fall Enrollment History Tenth Day of Classes, 1902-1959.” Idaho State University. 24 September 2019.

²¹⁸ University of Minnesota Office of Institutional Research, “Historical Student Headcounts.” *University of Minnesota* Accessed 18 October 2019. <https://www.oir.umn.edu/student/headcounts>

²¹⁹ North Dakota State University Office of Data Reporting and Student Statistics, “Annual Fall Term Enrollments” North Dakota State University. Accessed 24 September 2019. <https://www.ndsu.edu/data/enrollment/annual/>

again at VCSU until 2011.²²⁰ UND's enrollments were somewhat atypical, however, as the early surge in veterans did not occur in the same numbers as larger institutions.²²¹ Instead, a higher percentage of women and middle-class men made up UND's surge in enrollment numbers in the post war period. The expansion in enrollments led to shortages of nearly every significant resource at UND. Starcher saw and addressed these shortages in the *Grand Forks Herald* by stating, "The rapid expansion of knowledge, our expanding research, and graduate programs as well as the growing demands for public service of many kinds, all contribute to the pressures felt in all of higher education in this country."²²²

Changes in Course Catalogs

The expansion of enrollments prompted UND's administration to expand its course offerings at all levels of education. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the federal government's rise in STEM prompted a national demand for new science-based degree holders. This demand prompted UND to create new majors and programs to keep up with the national demand for skilled and college-educated employees. All of these new classes and majors required space for instruction, which in turn required the administration and the state legislature to expand UND's physical plant.

UND administrators and North Dakota's legislature approved the construction of new buildings for classes and labs, upgrades to instructional space, as well as new housing

²²⁰ Valley City State University Office of Institutional Research, "Fall Headcount Enrollment 1890-Present" Valley City State University. 24 September 2019.

²²¹ Keith W. Olson, "The G. I. Bill and Higher Education: Success and Surprise." *American Quarterly* 25, no. 5 (1973): 596-610. doi:10.2307/2711698.

²²² George W. Starcher, "For the Back to School Edition of the Grand Forks Herald. (1961)" UA 43, Box 9, Folder 6. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

complexes, administrative space, library facilities, and athletic complexes during the period.²²³

The new classes and majors needed faculty members to teach those classes. This expansion provided context for the creation of the Doctor of Arts.

During his tenure, President Starcher sought to expand course offerings not only in established areas but in new areas. In the 1959-1960 school year, 54 new classes were added, and only eight were dropped from the catalog.²²⁴ In 1963, the University of North Dakota had curricula and majors in approximately fifty fields and graduate-level degrees in forty of them, a significant increase from before WWII.²²⁵

Not only did UND's undergraduate programs expand during the modernization period of higher education, but the graduate school expanded as well. In 1935 there were 27 graduate students enrolled at UND.²²⁶ After World War II ended, UND's graduate school, under the guidance of Dean Christopher Hambre, began to expand. The expansion was prompted by the growing demand for professionally trained faculty members at local universities and the demand for STEM perpetuated by the federal government and private industry. 1945's summer secession saw the number of graduate students double from previous years, bringing the total to fifty.²²⁷ In

²²³ Gerald M. Skogley, "Mr. Kenneth E. Raschke, Commissioner. July 24, 1968." UA 43, Box 4, Folder 3. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.; "University of North Dakota 191-63 Biennial Budget Request Supplement for Buildings, Plant Improvements, and Special Projects." UA 43, Box 3, Folder 47. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.; "Copy 10". UA 43, Box 3, Folder 47. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.; Charles L Lewis. "Memorandum to President Starcher." UA 43, Box 4, Folder 3. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota. (See Figure 8.)

²²⁴ University of North Dakota, "New Courses, 1959-1960 Academic Session." UA 43, Box 7, Folder 10. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²²⁵ "Legislature, 1963." UA 43, Box 11, Folder 2. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²²⁶ "Graduate Students Enrolled Up to October 7, 1935." UA 73 Box 1, Folder 9. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota

²²⁷ "Memorandum to President West, October 16, 1945."

1955, the graduate school enrollment had grown to 105.²²⁸ By 1962-63 school year, there were 349 graduate students enrolled at UND.²²⁹ The 1967 school year saw 720 graduate students enrolled at UND.²³⁰

During Academic year 1957-1958, UND conferred 500 bachelor's degrees, twenty-four master's degrees, and two doctorates.²³¹ In 1959, UND's graduate committee activated five new doctoral programs across several disciplines.²³² By 1962-63 school year, there were 349 graduate students enrolled at UND.²³³ In the year 1964, 268 graduate students earned their degrees, including 26 doctoral students.²³⁴ By 1967, UND had 720 graduate students enrolled.²³⁵ Through the years 1935-1949, UND conferred roughly 40 graduate degrees; however, after 1950, enrollments grew significantly doubling by 1957.²³⁶ The Doctor of Arts was one of the degree fields added during the modernization period.²³⁷

The graduate school at the University of North Dakota expanded greatly during the Modernization. New programs were founded, existing programs expanded, enrollments swelled, and in order to facilitate the education of all of the new undergraduate students, graduate

²²⁸ "Students Enrolled in More than Seven Hours, Fall Semester 1955." UA 73 Box 1, Folder 9. Graduate Club Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota
²²⁹"Graduate Students 1962-1963." UA 73 Box 1, Folder 9. Graduate Club Records Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota

²³⁰ "Students Enrolled in Grad School 1967." UA 73 Box 1, Folder 9. Graduate Club Records Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota

²³¹ "Memorandum to the Presidents, April 25, 1958."UA 43, Box 1, Folder 14. SBHE Materials Presidents Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²³² Christopher J, Hambre, "Activation of Doctoral Programs. 10 April 1959." UA 43, Box 9, Folder 1. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²³³"Graduate Students 1962-1963."

²³⁴ George W. Starcher, "Red River Outlook Edition of the Grand Forks Herald, to be published January 31, 1965." UA 43, Box 9, Folder 6. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²³⁵ "Students Enrolled in Grad School 1967."

²³⁶ "Graduate Degrees Granted by the University of North Dakota 1888-1957."

²³⁷ Gordon Iseminger, Elwyn Robinson, Jerome Tweton, "Proposal for a Doctor of Arts Degree. Submitted to A. William Johnson, Graduate Dean, and the Graduate Committee." February 26, 1969. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

teaching assistantships expanded as well.²³⁸ The funding for these assistantships came from expenditure allowances from the School of Graduate Studies, whose budget was increasing alongside the rest of the University. Also, grant funding assisted in expanding graduate programs, particularly in the sciences.²³⁹ By 1960-1961, there were fifty-three graduate teaching assistants at UND.²⁴⁰ Many of these Graduate Teaching Assistants, due to faculty shortages, served as graduate-level instructors to teach classes at UND.²⁴¹ This use of graduate students became one significant prompt for the creation of the Doctor of Arts.²⁴² Starcher was quite aware of the importance of graduate students, the quality of graduate students that UND had, and their impact on the future of UND and its reputation. "In this age of research, states and regions will grow relatively weaker in their positions if they cannot maintain the kinds of state universities that compete for faculty, research grants, and for the ablest students."²⁴³ During the modernization period, enrollment pressures helped fuel the increase in assistantships to teach classes, which, in turn, helped fuel growing graduate enrollments.

Professionalization

²³⁸ Christopher J. Hambre, "Letter of July 28 from Charles L. Latimer Jr. 26 August 1961." UA 43, Box 9, Folder 1. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²³⁹ University of North Dakota Budget Committee, "Minutes, April 23, 1963" UA 43, Box 3, Folder 47. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁴⁰ Christopher J. Hambre, "Memorandum to T.J. Clifford, December 18, 1959" UA 43, Box 9, Folder 1. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁴¹ John L. Rowe, "Additional Graduate Assistant Needs. (1957)" UA 43, Box 3, Folder 46. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁴² Iseminger, Robinson, and Tweton, "Proposal for a Doctor of Arts Degree. Submitted to A. William Johnson, Graduate Dean, and the Graduate Committee."

²⁴³ George W. Starcher, "For the Red River Outlook Edition of the Grand Forks Herald to be Published January 31, 1965." UA 43, Box 9, Folder 6. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

Expansion of enrollments caused shortages during the post-war period. Shortages in faculty plagued institutions of higher education, and UND was not immune. During the modernization of higher education, graduate students were relied upon heavily to teach classes due to faculty shortages.²⁴⁴ Professionalization began at UND in the 1890s, with professors like Orrin Libby, and others who held PhDs, however, the faculty was quite small, and the rapid expansion at UND during the modernization period created demand for new faculty.²⁴⁵ In 1937, only eight faculty members at UND held terminal degrees at the time of their hiring, with the majority of them being in the history department.²⁴⁶ During his tenure, Starcher sought to professionalize UND's faculty. American professional organizations starting in the early 20th century pushed for increasing levels of professionalization as a requirement to teach at the college level. Institutions around the nation preferred faculty members to have terminal degrees or be actively pursuing terminal degrees.²⁴⁷ This requirement vastly curtailed the number of qualified instructors and professors that could fill the increasing number of open positions in departments around the nation.

Professionalization efforts nationally created a high demand for doctoral-level degree holders to fill faculty positions. Starcher identified this trend early and sought to bring professional faculty members to UND throughout his tenure. Starcher, in the early part of his tenure at UND, began the process to professionalize the departments. In 1957 the State Board of Higher Education was asking President Starcher to "work with other institutions on their pre-

²⁴⁴ Christopher J. Hambre, "Letter of July 28 from Charles L. Latimer Jr. 26 August 1961."

²⁴⁵ Gordon Iseminger, "Libby, Orin 1864-1952." Encyclopedia of the Great Plains. Accessed 18 October 2019. <http://plainshumanities.unl.edu/encyclopedia/doc/egp.edu.022> ; William R Caraher. "History at the University of North Dakota, 1885-1970." Unpublished Document, 2009. 68.

²⁴⁶ "Memorandum to Faculty 23 September 1937." OGLMC 23, Box 1, Folder 4. John C, West Papers. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

²⁴⁷ Burton Bledson, *Culture of Professionalization*. (New York: WW Norton and Company, 1978).

professional curricula to ease transfer problems" and to "talk graduate work with seniors and even faculty members." Starcher was feeling pressure from the North Dakota State Board of Higher Education, which desired higher qualified faculty members and to expand the graduate school.²⁴⁸ According to the SBHE, there were 106 Doctorate holding faculty in the whole ND higher Ed system in FY 1957-1958.²⁴⁹

Starcher knew that finding new professors was an issue because of rapid expansion as early as 1960.

In a period of expansion of higher education, such as that already existing and promising to be even more intensified as a pattern for the coming years, adjustments are required more frequently as the number of positions and transfers among institutions increases. These become more difficult than at other times, especially in the higher academic ranks. Clear standards of practice in the recruitment and the resignations of existing faculties should contribute to an orderly interchange of personnel that will be in the interest of all.²⁵⁰

The AAUP was also very concerned with teaching loads, and not allowing teachers to teach too many classes, and as a result, national standards for teaching loads made their way to UND.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ "Memorandum to Presidents Hults and Starcher, July 26, 1957." UA 43, Box 1, Folder 14. SBHE Materials Presidents Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁴⁹ "Memorandum to the Presidents and the State Geologists. April 24, 1958." UA 43, Box 1, Folder 14. SBHE Materials Presidents Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁵⁰ Association of American Colleges, "Proposed Statement on Recruitment and Resignation of Faculty Members." UA 43, Box 3, Folder 5. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁵¹ American Association of University Professors. "Draft Statement of Faculty Workload. University of North Dakota Chapter 1965." UA 43, Box 3, Folder 6. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

The gap between professional standards and the number of applicants with doctorates in hand was one of the primary reasons for beginning the DA program at UND. It sought to provide the region with doctoral-level professional historians that could teach at smaller institutions around the region.²⁵²

In his efforts to modernize, President Starcher oversaw the professionalization and expansion of the faculty at UND. In 1957 the State Board of Higher Education asked President Starcher to "work with other institutions on their pre-professional curricula to ease transfer problems," and to "talk graduate work with seniors and even faculty members" in order to source local faculty members, which became one of the driving factors for the creation of the DA. The North Dakota State Board of Higher Education desired higher qualified faculty members, not only for UND but also for the other regional institutions in Minot, Fargo, Valley City, Mayville, etc.²⁵³ According to the SBHE, there were 106 Doctorate degree-holding faculty in the whole ND higher Ed system in FY 1957-1958.²⁵⁴ In 1959 UND's tenure list included 132 professors and deans.²⁵⁵ Of those faculty members, UND reported that 33% of faculty have Ph.D. level degrees. Further, of the 233 total faculty members, 50% had served less than four years, 32% were employed for 5-12 years, and 17% for more than 13 years.²⁵⁶ By September of 1967, UND had grown to employ 315 full-time teaching faculty and 25 part-time faculty members. Forty-eight full professors, 82 associate professors, 124 assistant professors, 61 instructors. This

²⁵² Richard Beringer, "The Status of the DA Program at the University of North Dakota Department of History." Conference on the DA at the Crossroads: A National Conference on the Doctor of Arts Degree. Oct 5-7, 1989. Idaho State University. Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

²⁵³ "Memorandum to Presidents Hults and Starcher, July 26, 1957."

²⁵⁴ "Memorandum to the Presidents and the State Geologists."

²⁵⁵ "University of North Dakota Tenure List, November 11, 1959, UA 43, Box 15, Folder 22. ." President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁵⁶ "Budget Proposal UND 1959-1961" UA 43, Box 11, Folder 1. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

expansion trend illustrated not only the impacts of expansion on UND's campus but also the professionalism movement nationally. It also helped to justify the expansion of the graduate school, and the creation of new degree programs, like the DA as well.²⁵⁷

President Starcher ensured that professionalization played a significant role in the modernization that UND underwent during the modernization of higher education. Unfortunately, the professionalization did not occur quickly enough for the North Dakota legislature. In a letter to the legislature, Starcher stated, "In our determination to improve salaries we have made fewer additions to our faculty than we should in the light of increased enrollment. Substantial additions to the faculty will be required next year, and I predict that we shall continue to have a highly qualified faculty."²⁵⁸ Starcher and his administration knew that for UND to be competitive in the academic marketplace that UND's faculty required a level of professionalization that met with national trends.²⁵⁹

Funding Changes

Like institutions around the nation during the modernization period, rapid rates of growth caused conflict between the administration of the UND and the North Dakota legislature. The legislature had budget requests leveled at them constantly from the Universities around North Dakota. UND required more funding each biennium to function properly. This need for

²⁵⁷ Association of American Colleges, "Proposed Statement on Recruitment and Resignation of Faculty Members." UA 43, Box 3, Folder 5. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁵⁸ George W Starcher, "Grand Forks Herald "Outlook Edition" 7 January 1966." UA 43, Box 9, Folder 6. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁵⁹ George W. Starcher, "Conservation Article, for Grand Forks Herald, due Oct 21, 1967." UA 43, Box 9, Folder 6 President George Starcher Papers, Presidents Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.; "Report of the Special Committee on the Formation of a Faculty Club" UA 43, Box 3, Folder 5. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

increased funding subsequently placed pressure on the people of North Dakota to approve increased taxes and other collections by the state government to facilitate those budget increases. As early as 1945, President West was looking at budgetary issues facing UND as a result of growth.²⁶⁰ President Starcher saw his ideas of higher education challenged by the legislature. Starcher stated in an article published in the Grand Forks *Herald*,

The incoming flood of students and rising costs threaten to erode the principle of free tuition. Without a corresponding increase in funds, growth in enrollment threatens to crowd university laboratories, to overtax the faculty, and to decrease the quality of instruction. To meet the increasing costs of education, some people have proposed "tax credit" plans and increased fees for students. Such plans put in jeopardy the basic concept of public higher education.²⁶¹

Starcher was critical of the trends of funding for higher education, and publicly argued that the lack of state funding would force institutions to raise tuition to defray the cost, and that placed undue pressure on the less fortunate students. This trend, according to Starcher, would ultimately create a monetary gatekeeping effect on higher education.

Even before the modernization period, the North Dakota's legislature was forced to accommodate growth at UND and the other institutions around the state. The 1941-43 biennium budget was 750,487.00, an increase of nearly 350,000 over the previous biennium.²⁶² The post-World War II period saw the budget grow even further. The 1945 budget proposed was

²⁶⁰“Memorandum to Staff February 10, 1945.”. OGLMC 23, Box 1, Folder 12. John C, West Papers. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

²⁶¹ George W. Starcher, “Conservation Article, for Grand Forks Herald, due Oct 21, 1967.”. UA 43, Box 9, Folder 6. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁶² North Dakota Budget Board, “The Biennium of 1943-1945.” 25. OGLMC 23, Box 2, Folder 19. John C. West Papers. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

\$992,428; however, the State Board of Higher Education's auditors recommended \$749,075 to the state legislature, the state senate then proposed an appropriation of \$690,285. Significantly less than what was requested.²⁶³ The biennia for the rest of the 1940s saw increases. The proposed UND Budget for the biennium of 1947-1949 was considerably larger than 1943-1945, which was 1,135,437.00. It increased to 3,216,726.00 an increase of 2,081,289.24.²⁶⁴ The proposed UND Budget for the biennium of 1949-1951 was considerably larger than 1947-1949, which was \$2,634,769.00. It increased to \$4,382,752.00 an increase of \$1,747,983.00.²⁶⁵ By then end of President West's tenure, UND's budget grew to \$6,045,020.00, an increase of \$2,774,670.00.²⁶⁶ The early years of modernization saw UND's budget nearly double every biennium under President West. Increases in budgets also marked the beginning of President Starcher's tenure at UND. The proposed UND Budget for the biennium of 1953-1955, which was considerably larger than in previous years, it increased to 5,829,318.20. A proposed increase of 2,155,291.²⁶⁷ UND's budget increased again in 1963-1964 to 4,789,859.²⁶⁸ From 1945 to 1964, the budget for UND nearly doubled.

²⁶³“Memorandum to The Staff, 14 February 1945.” OGLMC 23, Box 1, Folder 12. John C, West Papers. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

²⁶⁴ North Dakota Budget Board, “The Biennium of 1947-1949.” 27. . OGLMC 23, Box 2, Folder 19. John C, West Papers. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

²⁶⁵ North Dakota Budget Board, “The Biennium of 1949-1951.” 24. OGLMC 23, Box 2, Folder 19. John C, West Papers. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

²⁶⁶ North Dakota Budget Board, “The Biennium of 1951-1953.” 19. OGLMC 23, Box 2, Folder 19. John C, West Papers. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

²⁶⁷ North Dakota Budget Board, “The Biennium of 1953-1955.” 33-34. OGLMC 23, Box 2, Folder 19. John C, West Papers. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

²⁶⁸ “University of North Dakota Summary of Annual Operating Budget Request 1964-64.” UA 43, Box 3, Folder 47. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

Despite budget growth throughout the modernization period, Starcher ran into some roadblocks from the North Dakota government regarding funding for long term projects at UND. Modernization was expensive, and the legislature insisted that cuts were needed. In 1961 Starcher argued with the legislature about not getting enough money to run the institution. He composed a strongly worded letter informing the legislature that they had shorted UND nearly \$1 million necessary to operate and finish updating some buildings for educational use.²⁶⁹ The 1960s were littered with similar disputes, usually involving UND trying to make improvements to its facilities and filing reports with the state legislature when the expenditures were not approved.²⁷⁰

In the last few years of the modernization period, Starcher's disagreements with the budgetary committees grew to a fever pitch. In the 1966-67 Biennium, the legislature was cutting institutional budgets and was outwardly critical of how UND spent money.²⁷¹ The legislature also put restrictions on new building projects and prioritized construction projects despite institutional disagreements.²⁷²

The North Dakota Legislature's cuts slowed down the modernization process at UND. In particular, the creation of new faculty positions and the installation of graduate students as instructors was one of the significant cost-cutting initiatives. Starcher was critical of the trends of funding for higher education, and publicly argued that the lack of state funding would force

²⁶⁹ George W. Starcher, "Senator P.L. Floss January 13, 1961." UA 43, Box 3, Folder 47. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁷⁰ University of North Dakota Budget Committee, "Building and Plant Improvements University of North Dakota Requests for 1961-1963 Biennium." UA 43, Box 3, Folder 47. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁷¹ Grand Forks Herald, "Legislators critical of College Spending, November 30, 1966.;" George W. Starcher, "For the Red River Outlook Edition."

²⁷² Fargo Forum, "7 College Projects get Top Priority. 17 December 1966." President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. UA 43, Box 12, Folder 27. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

institutions to raise tuition to defray the cost, and that would place undue pressure on the less fortunate students. Tuition hikes, according to Starcher, would ultimately create a monetary gatekeeping effect on higher education.

History Department

An examination of modernization at UND illustrates the transformation of the period on a small institutional level. However, a smaller scale examination of UND's history department provides an even more granular look at the period and illustrates how the department adapted to the stresses and opportunities in ways that paralleled and informed institutional-level change. It also links the DA to modernization at UND. While there have been several historians who have examined UND from a broader viewpoint, Geiger and Robinson, in particular, an in-depth examination of the history department specifically was not conducted until 2009, by William Caraher. Dr. Robinson's collection at UND's Department of Special Collections also proved valuable as his writings and diaries are extensive and chronicle the development of the history department throughout the modernization period.

The period of 1945-1970 saw the history department change in ways that mirrored the grander institutional changes. The overall expansion of enrollments led to shortages in faculty, which prompted the department to expand rapidly. Further, due to administration, and State Board of Higher Education pressures, the professionalization of faculty members grew in importance, with many of the new faculty members being holders of, or in active pursuance of a Ph.D.²⁷³ More faculty members allowed the department to offer more classes in additional

²⁷³“Memorandum to Presidents Hults and Starcher.”

historical specializations.²⁷⁴ Finally, despite some setbacks, the graduate program also expanded to include more students and new degree offerings as a result of post-war expansion.

Complementing the expansion of the faculty during the modernization period, the history department expanded as well. The department of history was led by professors like Robinson, hired in the 1920s and 1930s, but additional history faculty were required. Many of these new faculty members were actively seeking or held PhDs in history. These new faculty members helped improve the professionalization of the department overall. Dr. Louis Geiger and Dr. Robert Wilkins were hired in the 1940s, and along with Robinson, made up departmental leadership for the early part of the modernization period.²⁷⁵ In the early 1960s, another group of historians was added to the department. Dr. Gordon Iseminger, European History, received his Ph.D. from Oklahoma shortly after his appointment at UND, Dr. Jerome Tweton, an American Historian, also received his Ph.D. from Oklahoma. Other faculty members received PhDs from the University of Missouri (Glab and Phillips), the University of Virginia (Snow), and others.²⁷⁶ By the early 1970s, the faculty had doubled in size to twelve professors, many of whom held PhDs.²⁷⁷ Caraher mentions that the new younger faculty members were able to revitalize the history department at UND. They did this by instituting new pedagogical practices and assessment patterns to the history department.²⁷⁸ In fact, by the mid-1960s, several members of the history department were honored by the administration and professional organizations with awards for outstanding lecturers.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁴ Caraher, "History at the University of North Dakota," 1885-1970."

²⁷⁵ Caraher, "History at the University of North Dakota," 51-53.

²⁷⁶ Caraher, "History at the University of North Dakota," 67.

²⁷⁷ "Evaluation of Graduate Program 1977" UA 22, Box 1, Folder 22. History Department Papers, Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

²⁷⁸ Caraher, "History at the University of North Dakota," 64.

²⁷⁹ Elwyn B. Robinson, "The Starcher Years:"

To pair with all of the expansion of enrollments across campus, the History department saw enrollments increase, and the department created new classes to accommodate the expansion. These new classes included additional sections of existing classes but also allowed for specialty classes to be offered by interested faculty. The lower-division courses tended to be survey classes like History 101, (European History to 1500) or History 103, (American History to 1877). These classes tended to be well attended by history majors and non-majors alike, with enrollments bolstered by prerequisites. This system closely mirrored general education programs at the University of Chicago or Columbia University.²⁸⁰ The senior division classes tended to cater to the majors and minors in history, with specialized study in various historical topics, based on the faculty's specialties. The 300 and 400 level classes offered, catered to a smaller subset of students but were required for graduation with a degree in history. This scheme was similar to the pre-modernization period, but the department added additional classes, and the additional faculty specialties allowed for upper-level topics classes allowed students to tailor their educational experience to their desires. During the latter half of the modernization period, UND's history department also experimented with short partial semester intensive reading seminars that catered to history majors and minors as well.²⁸¹

It was also during this period that UND's history department diversified its degree offerings, allowing for students to pursue history degrees that served different outcomes. The different plans allowed for students to focus on language and research skills for a future career in academia, or on more broad-based humanities education for preparation to serve as secondary school teachers.²⁸² These programs allowed for UND to provide flexibility for students who did

²⁸⁰ Caraher, "History at the University of North Dakota," 65

²⁸¹ Caraher, "History at the University of North Dakota," 66

²⁸² Caraher, "History at the University of North Dakota," 66

not desire to pursue traditional outcomes for their chosen degrees. It allowed UND to produce specialized professional graduates who were able to excel in the job market.

UND's history graduate program also expanded throughout the modernization. One hundred six graduate degrees were handed down to history students from 1940-1970.²⁸³ Four PhDs were conferred from 1945 to 1968.²⁸⁴ Unfortunately, the History department discontinued their Ph.D. program in 1963-1964, a result of several factors, a lack of experienced Ph.D. holding faculty members being one of them. The history department was also argued that the Ph.D. program was also having trouble attracting good students, the library was not adequate to support research, and the need for the program was deemed non-existent by the department and UND administration.²⁸⁵ As a result of these factors, the library limitations, in particular, the history department deemed that it was unable to produce Ph.D. students with the required research background.²⁸⁶ Despite the setback, however, the MA program at UND thrived. The History department conferred 102 MA Degrees throughout the Modernization, which is about four students per year.

In 1969, Gordon Iseminger, Elwyn Robinson, and Jerome Tweton proposed the creation of the Doctor of Arts Degree.²⁸⁷ Caraher, in his history of the history department, examined the department's argument for the establishment of the DA to the administration,

The D.A. degree was explicitly designed to respond to the needs of schools, which required qualified educators more than specialized scholars. The 1969 D.A. proposal

²⁸³ History Department "Theses and Dissertations" University of North Dakota <http://arts-sciences.und.edu/history/theses-dissertations.cfm#forty-one-sixty>

²⁸⁴ Only 6 PhDs. have been conferred by UND's history department since 1900. History Department, "Theses and Dissertations"

²⁸⁵ Caraher, "History at the University of North Dakota," 67.

²⁸⁶ "Evaluation of Graduate Program 1977"

²⁸⁷ Iseminger, Robinson, and Tweton, "Proposal for a Doctor of Arts Degree."

cited then-current articles in both the *Educational Record* and the *Journal of Higher Education* that advocated the creation of a degree that emphasized teaching over research to fill teaching positions in smaller, less research-oriented schools.²⁸⁸

The history department and administration at UND followed that model and created the Doctor of Arts as a way to provide local schools with faculty members who met modern professional standards. The department and administration deemed that the local region had several small colleges that would benefit from a local source of professional historians.²⁸⁹ The history department deemed the DA useful despite the Ph.D.'s previous cancellation because the DA was not a traditional research doctorate. As a result, the “inadequate” research facilities at UND did not impact the DA as much. Further, the lack of “good” students in the Ph.D. program was not an issue as many of the students who entered the DA program in the early years already had teaching jobs and used the program as a way to gain the doctoral credential.²⁹⁰ The Ph.D.'s extended time to degree completion also made the DA preferable to the Ph.D.

Finally, the DA was a source of prestige for the History department. The history DA program at UND was the second one of its kind in the nation, behind Carnegie Mellon University. It was an experimental doctoral program that was paid for via a grant from the Carnegie foundation. The DA was an experimental program for UND, and for the first several years, it proved to be an asset for the department of history.

The smaller schools around the area, Valley City State University, Jamestown College, Mayville State, Minot State, University of Minnesota Crookston, among others, were the target

²⁸⁸ Caraher, “History at the University of North Dakota” 67.; V. R. Cardozier, “The Doctor of Arts Degree,” *The Journal of Higher Education* 39 (1968), 261-270; E. Walters, “Trends toward a Degree for College Teachers,” *Educational Record* 48.2 (1967), 132-137.

²⁸⁹ Caraher, “History at the University of North Dakota” 68.

²⁹⁰ Richard Beringer, “Dean Knull, Internship Doctor of Arts program in History. 20 August 1992.” Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Internship Folder.

institutions for the Doctor of Arts degree. Small four-year schools like these were working to professionalize alongside the larger institutions as well.²⁹¹ While these smaller institutions saw an increase in enrollments and unprecedented growth, the growth took longer to translate to the smaller schools. They were also specialized institutions, teaching colleges, and normal schools, which had much smaller enrollments than at the larger state-wide universities. Smaller institutions, like Valley City, or Mayville, constituted less than ten percent of total growth in the post-world war II period.²⁹² They benefitted from the DA at UND because DA students found internship and full-time positions at several of these institutions.²⁹³

The expansion of the history graduate program during the modernization of higher education illustrated the general expansion of the graduate school at UND during the period. The Doctor of Arts was vital to that expansion. A study of UND's history department from 1945-1970 provides a departmental level example of the modernization of higher education. The different issues that the larger intuitions saw as a result of expansion were reflected in the history department. The push for professionalization manifested in the search committees and hiring practices for new professors, expansion of class catalogs, and graduate offerings. It is reasonable to assume that other departments at UND saw similar expansion and similar growing pains throughout the modernization period.

Conclusion

²⁹¹ "Memorandum to Presidents Hults and Starcher, July 26, 1957."

²⁹² Thomas D. Snyder ed. "150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait" US Department of Education Office of Educational Research and Improvement. 65 Accessed 18 September 2019.
<https://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93442.pdf>

²⁹³ Gordon Iseminger "DA Internship served at an institution other than the University of North Dakota." 26 April 1999. Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Internship Folder.; Beringer, "Dean Knull, Internship Doctor of Arts program in History. 20 August 1992."

The University of North Dakota saw expansion through the period of 1945-1970. Significant growth in enrollments caused shortages in faculty members, facilities, and course offerings. This growth led to the professionalization of faculty, new facilities, and expansion of course catalogs throughout the institution, but also on the departmental level, as illustrated in the history department.

The combination of the various administrations, the faculty, and the state board of higher education cooperated to steward UND through the modernization of higher education. At the end of his tenure, Starcher stated,

It is difficult for anyone so involved with an institution as the President, who has been in office for some time, to sort out and say, what history will say better, about the accomplishments of the institutions during his tenure. It is most difficult to speak of anything that the President has done because so many others are involved in every single major decision or action that I honestly have to keep point out that they, not I, did it. The question must mean what two or three main accomplishments of the University during these seventeen years are. I would have to list: 1) the growth and development of the academic program including teaching, research, and public service; 2) an internal spirit of cooperation and harmony that makes communications easier and genuine innovation, supported by the entire University, possible; and 3) significant plant expansion (that is visible).²⁹⁴

Starcher saw his impacts on UND and saw the national trends going forward after 1970.

²⁹⁴ George W. Starcher, "In Reply to your letter of December 24, I Shall Answer Your Questions in Order. 7 January 1971.". UA 43, Box 9, Folder 6. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

The modernization of Higher education brought several changes to American higher education broadly. Out of these changes, several trends emerged as a result. When one looks at these trends from a macro scale, they provide insight into how the higher education system morphed into the institutional juggernaut seen today. UND was an expression of modernization challenges on a micro-scale.

CHAPTER 4: DOCTOR OF ARTS

The modernization of higher education was a period of challenges and prosperity for institutions across the United States. The massive influx of new students led to shortages in nearly every major resource. Those shortages varied from housing to funding, to faculty. From 1945 to 1970, institutions adapted to these challenges and found new opportunities to keep the institution running smoothly. One solution to the need for faculty with doctoral degrees was a three-year teaching doctorate. The Doctor of Arts sought to produce qualified faculty who met the professional standards that were prioritized by institutional administrations.²⁹⁵

The Doctor of Arts degree was a pre-war solution to post-war problems. The DA, however, was not implemented until the late 1960s. The late appearance of the DA as a solution to modernization problems reflects both the ad hoc nature of institutional adaptations to the challenges and opportunities of the post-war period, but also, the conservative nature of academic institutions and disciplines. Further, the DA was created when the proliferation of graduate degrees was a concern nationally, but it served as a professional doctorate for those who were expected to do more teaching than research. According to many scholars, Cassuto included, non-PhD doctorates created doctoral bloat that would lead to the dilution of the Ph.D.'s professional qualifications if these professional doctorates made it into the mainstream.²⁹⁶ In 1973 a record number of doctoral degrees were conferred nationally, at 33,755, that record was

²⁹⁵ Leonard Cassuto, "Why We Need to Remember the Doctorate of Arts Degree." (9 September 2015) *Chronicle of Higher Education Online*. Accessed 14 October 2018. <https://www.chronicle.com/article/Why-We-Need-to-Remember-the/232923>

²⁹⁶ Leonard Cassuto, *The Graduate School Mess: What Caused it and How We Can Fix It*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

broken again in 1989 when 34,319 doctoral degrees were conferred.²⁹⁷ This trend has only continued in the intervening thirty years, with nearly 55,000 Doctoral degrees conferred in 2017, and only seven of those were DAs.²⁹⁸ However, from the late 1960s to the mid-1990s, the DA met with success, albeit minimal success. Only 144 DA's were conferred nationally in the first five years, and only four institutions nationally awarded more than 100 DA degrees. Carnegie Mellon, University of Northern Colorado, Middle Tennessee State University, and the University of Michigan.²⁹⁹

The DA was considered by the Association of American Universities (AAU) as a potential alternative doctoral degree in 1932 but was set aside. The DA was re-examined in the 1960s and gained favor in academic circles. Clark Kerr, president of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, argued for the need to maintain the research focus of the Ph.D. while providing more doctoral degree options for faculty at colleges and universities below tier 1.³⁰⁰ As the need for instructors rose during the modernization period, the concept of the DA became more popular among academic researchers around the United States. The DA emerged in the late 1960s because of grant dollars provided by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The Carnegie Foundation began studying education in the early 20th century and continues to research best practices and funding ideologies for both lower and higher education.³⁰¹ In the early 1960s, the foundation found that the rise in the research-focused

²⁹⁷ Kirby L. Koriath, Margaret M. Merrion, "Preparing the New Professoriate: The Doctor of Arts Revisited." *The Review of Higher Education*. Fall 1992. Vol 16, No 1. PP 63-83. Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

²⁹⁸ National Science Foundation, National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics, "Research Degrees included in the Survey of Earned Doctorates: 2013-2017." *National Science Foundation*. Accessed 26 February 2019. <https://nces.nsf.gov/pubs/nsf19301/technical-notes>.

²⁹⁹ Judith Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate? The Doctor of Arts Degree, Then and Now*. (Washington DC: American Association for Higher Education, 1993.) 44. See Figure 9.

³⁰⁰ Glazer. *A Teaching Doctorate?* 5-7.

³⁰¹ Carnegie Foundation Archive, "Carnegie Publications." Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. <http://archive.carnegiefoundation.org/publications.html> Accessed 15 July 2019.

doctorate and the rapid expansion of higher education put teaching at higher education in a secondary position. Because teaching was not the priority at many institutions, the Carnegie Foundation sought to create a degree that would provide qualified teachers for rapidly expanding higher education, while not threatening the Ph.D.'s focus on research.³⁰²

In 1967, the Doctor of Arts Degree was created by the Carnegie Foundation and offered at only one institution, Carnegie Mellon University. Shortly after that, the foundation funded early Doctor of Arts programs alongside studies on the financing and equality at institutions of higher education.³⁰³ The Carnegie Foundation provided funding to the New York Board of Regents, and 21 other public and private universities around the nation. Schools like UND, Idaho State, and others were among the first funded institutions.³⁰⁴ The Carnegie Foundation distributed grants based on requests, regional needs, and institutional resources. Early proponents of the DA argued that "the increased size and scale of graduate education led to calls for a separate "professional doctorate." It would meet the demand for college teachers without tainting the mission of scholarly researchers studying for the Ph.D."³⁰⁵ In developing the DA, it was never intended to supplant the Ph.D. Proponents of the DA did not deny the necessity of a thorough understanding of the disciplinary methodology and the significance of research which the Ph.D. provided.³⁰⁶

In the 1960s, Education scholars Paul Dressel, and Frances Delisle suggested that a degree for preparing college teachers should contain four elements. Graduate schools around the nation utilized these elements in the initial creation of the DA, UND included.

³⁰² V. R. Cardozier, "The Doctor of Arts Degree: A Review of the College-Teaching Question." *The Journal of Higher Education* 39, no. 5 (1968): 261-70. DOI:10.2307/1979419.

³⁰³ Carnegie Foundation Archive. "Carnegie Publications."

³⁰⁴ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 5.

³⁰⁵ Cassuto, "Why We Need to Remember the Doctorate of Arts Degree."

³⁰⁶ Dressel, "College Teaching as a Profession: The Doctor of Arts Degree" Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.: Cassuto "Why We Need to Remember the Doctorate of Arts Degree."

1. Content courses in one or more disciplines, with integrative, interdisciplinary seminars, or problem courses which seek to develop the unifying principles of the several disciplines studied.
2. Seminars for developing the professional knowledge and skills required in instruction curriculum development, and evaluation
3. Individual problems courses developing research methodology and integrative scholarly skills that are relevant to instruction.
4. Internships involving two or three stages of increasing instructional and curricular responsibility. ³⁰⁷

These four elements were present in the discussions around the creation of the DA on the national level. Many DA programs required training outside of the primary discipline or area of study, often in teaching or education-related fields. "The DA model sought to make available a unique kind of doctoral major to those who aspired to college and university teaching – one based on a broader, more encompassing understanding of a field of study."³⁰⁸ The foundations of the Doctor of Arts laid squarely between two distinct areas of study. The DA attempted to bridge the gap between education and the different disciplines, and it sought to provide local and regional institutions with professional faculty that could fill the needs of institutions impacted by post-war expansion.

By the mid-1980s, however, the traditional Ph.D. programs established during the modernization period began to produce graduates in large numbers, thus mitigating the need for the DA. As a result, funding for DA programs abated, including the Carnegie grants, and interest

³⁰⁷ Paul L. Dressel and Frances H Delisle, "Blueprint for Change: Doctoral Programs for College Teachers." (Iowa City: American College Testing Program, 1972).

³⁰⁸ Koriath and Merrion, "Preparing the New Professoriate:" 63-83.

in the DA waned. Education scholar, E. Alden Dunham, stated, “The DA was a victim of changing times, a decline in idealism in the 1980s, a reluctance on the part of community colleges to hire faculty with any kind of doctorates, and changing attitudes among new faculty who wanted students to be clones of themselves.”³⁰⁹ These trends continued and created an uncertain future for the Doctor of Arts degree into the 21st century. At UND, where enrollments in the program were always small, the DA was able to maintain itself well into the early 21st century. Nationally, the majority of DA programs around the nation were shuttered by the end of the 1990s³¹⁰

DA programs in several disciplines emerged at institutions around the nation. At UND, History, and Biology DA degrees were created. Idaho State University offered degrees in, Political Science, Biology, and Mathematics. Similarly, Carnegie Mellon offered degrees in Mathematics, English, History, and Fine Arts. Further, many other schools offered DAs in similar disciplines.

While the DA has fallen out of favor in the last several decades, it managed to survive for nearly three decades. In 1990, 21 institutions offered a DA program around the United States.³¹¹ The DA was created to solve a perceived problem, that stemmed from modernization expansion. Scholars state that the DA had a minimal impact by “encouraging to rethink the purposes of the doctorate, and freeing students who aspire to teach undergraduates from the rigid requirements of the research Ph.D.”³¹²

DA Post GA

³⁰⁹ E Alden Dunham, “Rx for Higher Education: The Doctor of Arts Degree.” *Journal of Higher Education* 41. (October 1970) 506.

³¹⁰ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 23.

³¹¹ Alan C Chandler, “The Doctor of Arts into the 21st Century.” Political Science Department, Idaho State University. 1989. Pp 1. Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

³¹² Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 24-25.

The modernization period saw substantial challenges arise in higher education at the national, institutional, and, most importantly, the cultural level. As a result of the expansion of Higher Education, generations of Americans received higher college degrees, changing the notion that college was for the wealthy, and making it more attainable for middle and lower-class Americans, minorities, and women. In 1940 before the modernization period, roughly 5% of Americans held a college degree or higher. By 1970 that percentage rose to nearly 10%. After 1970, enrollment growth leveled off some, but the growth was much more gradual. By 1990, nearly 21% of Americans had completed four years of college. In 2017 that percentage grew to 24%.³¹³ After 1970, enrollments continued to rise at most intuitions, but the rate at which those numbers rise was significantly fewer than the period of 1945-1970.³¹⁴

In the early 1970s, the Doctor of Arts was beginning to gain traction nationwide.³¹⁵ The popularity of the DA grew quite quickly. By 1971, education scholar Richard Koneker reported that fifteen institutions were offering the DA, and by 1975 there were 21.³¹⁶ Education scholar Alan Chandler stated,

“One early supporter of the Doctor of Arts claimed that: “the DA may be the most significant step toward improving college teaching in a century and may well be one of the great historical contributions of higher education in the United States.”³¹⁷ Another

³¹³ United States Census Bureau, “Education” 2000 United States Census. Accessed 18 September 2019. https://www.census.gov/population/www/cen2000/censusatlas/pdf/10_Education.pdf.

³¹⁴ Thomas D. Snyder ed., “150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait” US Department of Education Office of Educational Research and Improvement. 75. Accessed 18 September 2019. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93442.pdf>

³¹⁵ “The Doctor of Arts Degree in History University of North Dakota 1986.”

³¹⁶ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 6.

³¹⁷ Merrion Koriath, “Preparing the New Professoriate: The Doctor of Arts Revisited.” 63-83.; Fred F. Harcelroad, “Diversity in the Doctorate: The Demand for the DA.” Introduction to Dressel and Delisle, 1-9.

author argued that the Doctor of Arts was initially supposed to "become the standard degree for college teachers in America in the next thirty years."³¹⁸

Idaho State had one of the most robust programs, but there were also programs at Carnegie Mellon, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, Brown, Ball State, Ohio State, Washington State, Northern Colorado, and others. Ultimately many of these DA programs were shuttered in the 1980s and 1990s.³¹⁹

The DA was implemented when the proliferation of graduate degrees was a concern nationally. In 1973 a record number of doctoral degrees were conferred nationally, at 33,755, that record was broken again in 1989 when 34,319 doctoral degrees were conferred.³²⁰ 144 DA degrees were conferred nationally from 1968-1973. 1974-1979 was the highwater mark nationally when 545 DA's were granted, and from 1980-1985 516 degrees were conferred. A total of 1,943 DA degrees were granted by 31 institutions from 1968-1991, with sixty percent being conferred in the humanities.³²¹

The 1970s began with the continued expectation of chronic shortages in new faculty, and they ended with conflicting concerns about the overproduction of academic researchers, the decline in the quality of doctoral programs, and an insufficient number of quality faculty members for the growing number of junior and community colleges. The Carnegie foundation's Ernest Boyer stepped in and recommended that the "definition of scholarship be expanded to give greater legitimacy to teaching and to recognize that knowledge can be acquired through pedagogy as well as through research synthesis and practice."³²² Despite being created late in the

³¹⁸ Alan C. Chandler, "The Doctor of Arts into the 21st Century." Political Science Department, Idaho State University. 1989. Pp 1. Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

³¹⁹ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 40.

³²⁰ Koriath, "Preparing the New Professoriate:" 63-83.

³²¹ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 18

³²² Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 19.

modernization of higher education; the Carnegie Foundation funded DA programs to provide legitimacy to the notion of professional college professors rather than professional researchers.³²³

The DA saw additional expansion in the 1980s, with the addition of several different degrees at various locations around the United States. In 1989, 21 universities offered DA degrees, and those institutions graduated approximately 100 students yearly.³²⁴ Since the 1970s, the DA has remained focused on preparing college teachers, alongside the traditional emphasis on research and integration of technology.³²⁵ The institutional expansion of the modernization period did not suddenly stop in 1970; it merely slowed down. However, the DA expanded because the demand for professional faculty did not subside until the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The 1970s and 1980s also saw the DA diversify and several different curricular models developed around the US. The teaching model, the creative arts model, the curriculum model, the interdisciplinary model, the professional model, and the external degree model.³²⁶ The teaching model taught DA students how to be college teachers. The creative arts model sought to give creative writing and performing arts faculty professional teaching qualifications. The interdisciplinary model sought to give students the ability to teach in more than one discipline. Finally, the external degree model sought to provide non-traditional doctoral students with non-traditional graduate school experience. The external degree model was often an asynchronous degree program similar to today's online degrees.³²⁷ The 1980s saw administrators work to set the DA apart from the more traditional Ph.D. via these models.³²⁸

³²³ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 15.

³²⁴ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 18.

³²⁵ Koriath, "Preparing the New Professoriate:" 63-83.

³²⁶ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 9-16.

³²⁷ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 11-15.

³²⁸ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 17.

The 1980s saw a decline in the DA. The Carnegie grants began to run out in the mid-1980s, causing financial difficulty for many new programs. Next, the government and private industry required fewer numbers of PhDs, but graduate schools did not diminish to compensate. The new Ph.D. holders flooded the market for college teachers, further complicating arguments for keeping the DA. Finally, undergraduate enrollments began to stabilize or decline in some institutions, causing a release of faculty who competed with new graduates of doctoral degree programs.³²⁹ These factors prohibited the expansion of DA programs across the United States, and the number of programs peaked in the 1980s. In 1980 there were 26 with two more on the way.³³⁰ In 1989, 21 universities offered DA degrees, and those institutions only graduated approximately 100 students yearly.³³¹

Between 1976 and 1992, twelve universities shuttered their DA initiatives campus-wide, while seven more terminated discipline-specific DAs.³³² Despite the decline of the DA, however, there is evidence that many graduate schools took elements of the DA and incorporated them into their existing programs, making accommodations for teaching interests.³³³

The traditional Ph.D. focuses on research goals, and outcomes, and the majority of the training in Ph.D. programs goes into the foundations of research-based education.³³⁴ However, they have little to no training in pedagogy, or how to teach, at most institutions Ph.D. students will never assist in a classroom before their first job, let alone design, and implement their pedagogical methodology in a classroom. This lack of practical experience takes some scholars

³²⁹ Paul Dressel, "College Teaching as a Profession: The Doctor of Arts Degree" (Michigan State University, 1984) 2. Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

³³⁰ Dressel, "College Teaching as a Profession: The Doctor of Arts Degree" 2.

³³¹ Koriath, "Preparing the New Professoriate:" 69-78.

³³² Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 19.

³³³ Koriath, "Preparing the New Professoriate:" 63-83.

³³⁴ David F. Labaree, *A Perfect Mess: The Unlikely Ascendancy of American Higher Education*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press.) 48.

aback, the lack of practical experience found in Ph.D. programs. "It is a bit shocking the so many college faculty are let loose on undergraduates with practically no training in the work of teaching---itself a sign of the regrettably low esteem in which the main work of most universities is held by many of those who lead and manage them."³³⁵ Others persuasively argue that "graduate school is professional school, but most Ph.D. programs neglect graduate students' professional development."³³⁶ Many graduate schools are shifting the focus of the Ph.D. to remedy this issue. Departments around the nation are choosing to focus more on teaching by integrating it into their degree requirements. Several have even chosen to create a secondary Ph.D. for teaching, and non-traditional doctorates, instead of focusing primarily on research.³³⁷

The early 1990s saw a rise in the emphasis on the quality of college teaching, and many researchers, administrators, and institutional heads noticed the change.³³⁸ Several scholars working in the 1990s argued that the success of the Doctor of Arts laid in calling attention to the need for advanced pedagogical training, but that subsequently contributed to its decline.³³⁹ The increased call for retraining college professors in how to be good teachers, best practices, and pedagogy courses for established instructors and professors, as well as faculty instructional development, further undermined the DA.³⁴⁰ Richard Bailey wrote that "If the Doctor of Arts degree is to survive in the 1990s, administrators must recruit new faculty members, find more students, and sharpen the image of the non-traditional credential."³⁴¹

³³⁵ William G. Bowen, Michael S. McPherson, *Lesson Plan: An Agenda for Change in American Higher Education*. (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016.) 126.

³³⁶ Cassuto, *The Graduate School Mess*: 4.

³³⁷ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 45.

³³⁸ Koriath, "Preparing the New Professoriate:" 68-80.

³³⁹ Bailey Richard, "Shaky Doctor-of-Arts Degree said to Need New Teachers, Students, and Image." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Degree Folder.

³⁴⁰ Koriath, "Preparing the New Professoriate:" 68.

³⁴¹ Bailey Richard, "Shaky Doctor-of-Arts Degree said to Need New Teachers, Students, and Image."

UND DA

The majority of the history of the DA at UND takes place after 1970. Institutional scholars marked the end of the modernization period in 1970; however, the long-term impacts of the period were felt well into the 1980s, 1990s, and into today. Institutions change slowly, and the DA was a solution to many issues created during the modernization of higher education. The DA at UND saw the majority of its successes, limited as they were, in the 1970s and 1980s.

Modernization trends at the University of North Dakota after 1970 continued in many of the same ways as before 1970, but the rate of change began to plateau in the early 1970s. President Starcher retired from UND in 1971 and was replaced by President Thomas J. Clifford, who oversaw UND until 1992. During Clifford's time as president, he continued to build upon the modernization efforts of Starcher and West. President Clifford oversaw new programs created like the medical school, and aerospace sciences, and he continued to professionalize and expand the faculty. Enrollments continued to swell at UND, but at a more controlled rate than before 1970. The physical plant expanded significantly, as well. Clifford's time at UND continued the themes of the modernization period.³⁴²

The topic of the DA has precious little in the UND Archives. What evidence there is, is spread through several collections, and unfiled documents from the history department. The unfiled documents and Dr. Gordon Iseminger, one of the founders of the program, were available to this author at the time of the writing. The unfiled documents are in the process of being evaluated for filing with the Department of Special Collections.

³⁴² Grand Forks Herald, "UND BIOGRAPHY: Thomas J. Clifford." *Grand Forks Herald*. 5 February 2009. Accessed 22 September 2019. <https://www.grandforksherald.com/news/2090335-und-biography-thomas-j-clifford>.

Thanks to a grant from the Carnegie Foundation, UND was on the cutting edge of graduate school development. The University of North Dakota was the second institution to offer the DA in history in the United States, Carnegie Mellon was the first.³⁴³ In 1969 a DA in history was proposed by Drs. Gordon Iseminger, Jerome Tweton, and Richard Beringer, to the UND graduate committee and the Starcher administration. After the proposal went through the appropriate State Board of Higher Education, graduate school accreditation, and administrative approvals, the DA was implemented by UND administration in 1969. The DA at UND allowed the history department an avenue to offer a doctoral program after the cancellation of the Ph.D. program in the early 1960s. The new program also cost the university very little, grants provided by the Carnegie foundation covered the majority of the cost and helped provide regional and national prestige for the department and the university as a whole.³⁴⁴

Many of the early DA students were on leave from other teaching positions so that placement after graduation was not a problem. These early students were searching for terminal doctorates to comply with professionalization standards at their universities. This trend also reflected the move to credential previously hired faculty. Hiring MA holders to fill positions was commonplace, including at institutions like UND, in the early 1960s a large cadre of new history faculty members were hired without terminal doctorates but were actively perusing them. Dr. Iseminger is one such example. However, by the late 1960s, the push for professionalization prompted many of those MA holders to pursue terminal Doctorates, and this trend continued well into the post-modernization period.

³⁴³ “The Doctor of Arts Degree in History University of North Dakota 1986.” Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, Beringer I Graduate Program Binder.

³⁴⁴ Gordon, Iseminger, Elwyn Robinson, and Jerome Tweton, “Proposal for a Doctor of Arts Degree. Submitted to A. William Johnson, Graduate Dean, and the Graduate Committee.” February 26, 1969. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

UND conferred its' first history DA degrees in 1971.³⁴⁵ They were earned by R. Olson, and R. Veeder in August of 1971.³⁴⁶ Olson's dissertation was entitled, *The Colonial History Text: A Comparative Study*.³⁴⁷ Veeder's dissertation was entitled, *Eastern North Dakota editorial opinion and the Philippine question, May 1898-May 1901*.³⁴⁸ These early dissertation projects reflected the history departments' reliance on traditional historical Ph.D. projects, rather than the teaching-focused projects that the DA was designed for. Alongside the history department, a DA program was set up in the Biology Department at UND as well, and it conferred 10 DA degrees in the first twenty years of its existence.³⁴⁹ In western states like North Dakota, or Idaho for example, teaching doctorates in fields like History or Biology were sought after because the smaller nature of the schools made traditional research projects difficult, but teaching doctorates were desired to provide the small regional colleges with professionally trained faculty members. The DA also provided departments with a low cost, doctoral programs, and the prestige that came with it.³⁵⁰ In the larger states like New York, the DA was popular because of the sheer

³⁴⁵ "The Doctor of Arts Degree in History University of North Dakota 1986." 68.; Iseminger, Robinson, and Tweton, "Proposal for a Doctor of Arts Degree."

³⁴⁶ "List of Degrees Conferred by Department." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, Beringer I Graduate Program Binder.

³⁴⁷ "Ronald V Olson", Chester Fritz Library Database, *University of North Dakota*. Accessed 11 July 2019.

[https://odin-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=ODIN_ALEPH006816091&indx=12&recIds=ODIN_ALEPH006816091&recIdxs=1&elementId=1&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=&rftGrpCounter=2&dscent=0&vl\(1UIStartWith0\)=contains&scp.scps=scope%3A%28UND%29%2Cscope%3A%28UND_CDM%29%2Cprimo_central_multiple_fe&tb=t&fctV=%5B1970+TO+1974%5D&fctV=CFL+Floor+4+Special+Collections+UND+Theses&mode=Basic&vid=und&rftnGrp=2&rftnGrp=1&srt=rank&tab=default_tab&vl\(96977268UI0\)=creator&fctN=facet_searchcreationdate&fctN=facet_local1&vl\(freeText0\)=Olson&dum=true&dstmp=1562893308261](https://odin-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=ODIN_ALEPH006816091&indx=12&recIds=ODIN_ALEPH006816091&recIdxs=1&elementId=1&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=&rftGrpCounter=2&dscent=0&vl(1UIStartWith0)=contains&scp.scps=scope%3A%28UND%29%2Cscope%3A%28UND_CDM%29%2Cprimo_central_multiple_fe&tb=t&fctV=%5B1970+TO+1974%5D&fctV=CFL+Floor+4+Special+Collections+UND+Theses&mode=Basic&vid=und&rftnGrp=2&rftnGrp=1&srt=rank&tab=default_tab&vl(96977268UI0)=creator&fctN=facet_searchcreationdate&fctN=facet_local1&vl(freeText0)=Olson&dum=true&dstmp=1562893308261).

³⁴⁸ "Russell Veeder" Chester Fritz Library Database, *University of North Dakota*. [https://odin-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?ct=facet&fctN=facet_local1&fctV=CFL+Floor+4+Special+Collections+UND+Theses&rftnGrp=1&rftnGrpCounter=1&frbg=&&indx=1&fn=search&dscent=0&scp.scps=scope%3A\(UND\)%2Cscope%3A\(UND_CDM\)%2Cprimo_central_multiple_fe&vl\(1UIStartWith0\)=contains&tb=t&vid=und&mode=Basic&ct=search&srt=rank&tab=default_tab&vl\(96977268UI0\)=creator&dum=true&vl\(freeText0\)=veeder&dstmp=1562892679541](https://odin-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?ct=facet&fctN=facet_local1&fctV=CFL+Floor+4+Special+Collections+UND+Theses&rftnGrp=1&rftnGrpCounter=1&frbg=&&indx=1&fn=search&dscent=0&scp.scps=scope%3A(UND)%2Cscope%3A(UND_CDM)%2Cprimo_central_multiple_fe&vl(1UIStartWith0)=contains&tb=t&vid=und&mode=Basic&ct=search&srt=rank&tab=default_tab&vl(96977268UI0)=creator&dum=true&vl(freeText0)=veeder&dstmp=1562892679541) Accessed 11 July 2019.

³⁴⁹ Diane Hadden, "Biology and History DA Recipients." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, Beringer I Graduate Program Binder.

³⁵⁰ Glazer. *A Teaching Doctorate?* 25.

number of higher education institutions. More institutions meant more open positions that needed filling, and the DA provided a professional qualification in an expedient time frame that the Ph.D. did not.³⁵¹

The DA at UND throughout its history was marked with minor success. The first few graduates graduated in 1971, and by 1994, the department had conferred 37 History DA degrees.³⁵² UND's graduates constituted sixteen percent of the total 223 history DA's in the same period. Eight universities offered a History DA. UND's 47, (Including the Biology DA graduates) total DA degrees conferred from 1970 to 1990 was significantly less than the 192 conferred at Idaho State University.³⁵³ ISU, however, offered degrees in Biology, English, Politics, and Mathematics, compared to UND's Biology and History.³⁵⁴

The original history DA program was adjusted several times during the 1970s and 1980s. It was continually revised, as the history department faculty, and the graduate school reacted to the changing landscape of higher education in the 1970s. Faculty added new fields of specialty, changed the curriculum, adjusted the comprehensive exam format, and refined the final project to reflect both faculty and administration's changing views of the purpose of the DA.³⁵⁵ At one point early in the DA's history at UND, two different DAs in history were offered. The Doctor of Arts, Teaching, and the Doctor of Arts History.³⁵⁶ The Doctor of Arts, Teaching, focused on students who were already teaching and wanted to gain the doctoral level degree, while the Doctor of Arts History, was designed more like a traditional doctorate. The Doctor of Arts

³⁵¹ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 28

³⁵² "List of Degrees Conferred by Department." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, Beringer I Graduate Program Binder.

³⁵³ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 18.

³⁵⁴ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 41.

³⁵⁵ Richard Beringer, "Final Approval of DA Revisions for 1991-1993 catalog." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, Beringer I Graduate Program Binder.

³⁵⁶ Hadden, "Biology and History DA Recipients."

Teaching was the more popular of the two degrees early on, and eventually, the two different DAs were combined into one degree.³⁵⁷

The 1970s saw the DA see some limited success. UND faculty developed relationships that allowed DA students to serve as adjunct instructors at North Dakota State University, Valley City State College, Lake Region State College, and Concordia College. After the first graduates in 1971, there were several years without graduates, but 1978 saw five students graduate with their DA.³⁵⁸ During the 1970s, graduate admissions in the Department of History averaged 18 per year, with three of them enrolling in the DA program.³⁵⁹

After 1976, funding beyond the Carnegie grant did not materialize, and many DA programs depended on those grant dollars.³⁶⁰ This loss of funding meant that the future of the Doctor of Arts was at the whim of the Dean's Office, UND's administration, and the North Dakota Legislature's biennial appropriations. As a result, the purpose, and the long-term effectiveness of the DA was regularly called into question. In the late 1970s, a division between the history department's priorities and the original purpose of the program developed. In order to maintain the DA program, the history department faculty had to defend the program several times from the mid-1970s to the 1990s.³⁶¹

As early as 1977, UND's administration was questioning the DA's long-term effectiveness. During a routine program audit, Dr. Francis Prucha of Marquette University evaluated the DA. Dr. Prucha noted two fundamental issues with the degree, and the first was the

³⁵⁷ Unknown Author, "The Doctor of Arts in Teaching." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Degree Folder. (Likely Gordon Iseminger).

³⁵⁸ Unknown Author, "The Doctor of Arts in Teaching."

³⁵⁹ School of Graduate Studies, "Graduate Committee Evaluation of the Graduate Programs in History. 24 October 1977." Uncategorized Box, 1977 Graduate Program Review Folder.

³⁶⁰ Unknown Author, "The Doctor of Arts in Teaching.," Glazer. *A Teaching Doctorate?* 19.

³⁶¹ Richard Beringer, "The Status of the DA Program at the University of North Dakota Department of History." Conference on the DA at the Crossroads: A National Conference on the Doctor of Arts Degree. Oct 5-7, 1989. Idaho State University. Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

continuing need for the program. He noted in his report that the general need for the continuation of the DA was unclear, that the number of students in the program was low, and the general need in the area for a program of its nature was limited. Prucha further noted that with outside funding not materializing, the costs associated with continuing the program were prohibitive. UND was funding graduate students and placing them in small institutions around the region for supervised teaching programs, all of which cost the Graduate School money, for a small number of students. UND was also expanding other graduate programs around campus during this period, further stressing the budget.³⁶² Further, Prucha called into question the ability of UND to support students adequately and suggested that without sufficient funding, the quality of the students would likely begin to suffer. Prucha offered some ideas on how to fix these issues, including being more aggressive in recruitment efforts and studying the region to gauge the demand and appeal of DA holders for nearby institutions.³⁶³

To gauge future interest in the DA at UND, Dr. Richard Beringer, the director of the history graduate program, began to research the effectiveness of a Doctor of Arts degree in the late 1980s. Beringer focused on discerning perceptions of the DA degree in general and its reputation in the region. By 1989, Richard Beringer, in a conference article for the National Conference on the Doctor of Arts Degree, wrote that UND's DA students primarily were instructors from two-year colleges in Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Wyoming. He went on to note that institutions in these areas are the locations that UND sought to place their DA graduates.³⁶⁴ While conducting research, Beringer provided questionnaires on the effectiveness, and the general perception of the DA in general to

³⁶² Beringer, "The Status of the DA Program."

³⁶³ Francis Prucha, "External Review of the Graduate Program in History: University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, March 31, and April 1, 1977." Uncategorized Box, 1977 Graduate Program Review Folder.

³⁶⁴ Beringer, "The Status of the DA Program."

hundreds of deans, and faculty members across the nation, and despite limited responses, he deemed the majority to be reasonably positive. The respondents tended to view the DA favorably and indicated that they would consider hiring a DA holder.³⁶⁵

In his study, Beringer also noted several negative responses. He noted that many recipients did not perceive the DA as a “terminal degree” or that it made “unprepared students” too expensive to hire, because of their lack of a Ph.D. Beringer further noted that the overall unfamiliarity with the program created confusion about the DA overall and that this confusion made some skeptical of hiring DA graduates.

Beringer’s research took place in the most prosperous period for the DA at UND. From 1985 to 1995, sixteen Doctor of Arts degrees were conferred.³⁶⁶ Compared to other DA granting institutions, sixteen DA degrees in ten years at UND is low. Low enrollment, low funding, and low enthusiasm from UND faculty played into the lack of success at UND. Idaho State, a smaller university than UND, saw significantly more success with the DA, due to administration and faculty support.³⁶⁷

UND administration also continued to question the DA through the 1980s. The graduate school administrators cited the same issues that were raised by Prucha in 1977 as potential factors for the cancellation of the DA in 1988. The history department was required to justify the continuation of the program during another routine program review. Tweton and Beringer argued that dropping the DA would leave the graduates as "professional orphans" that the masters' students seminars would suffer from the lack of students, and that the teaching loads on the full

³⁶⁵ Beringer, "The Status of the DA Program at the University of North Dakota Department of History."

³⁶⁶ "Degrees conferred by the University of North Dakota by Departments." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, Beringer I Graduate Program Binder; "10 Year Profile Graduate Program in History 1996" Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, 1996. Grad Program Review Folder.

³⁶⁷ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 39.

faculty would be increased.³⁶⁸ UND's history department through the 1970s and 1980s, and even in 2019, used DA students as instructors to cover many of the survey classes, and to close down the DA program would result in the absorption of those classes by the principal faculty or discontinued. The 1988 Graduate Evaluation argued that the history faculty felt ambivalence toward the DA degree, because of the lack of resources or energy put into the DA program by the faculty. The authors of the evaluation noted that, "The viability of the Doctor of Arts Program is at least questionable, however, and the department will have to do a good deal of self-examination and soul searching, as well as formal study and other active steps, to determine if the degree is worth the energy and resources devoted to it." These resources included curriculum development time, graduate assistantships, and tuition waivers.³⁶⁹ Following the release of the report, the History Department voted 9-1 to reaffirm the department's commitment to the DA program.³⁷⁰ These negative feelings put the future of the DA in some doubt, despite exemplary graduate employment rates and positive reactions to the degree as a whole.³⁷¹

The 1990s saw several changes to UND's DA program. Nationally, the DA saw cancellations of many programs in the late 1980s and early 1990s.³⁷² At UND, in 1991, Dr. Richard Beringer worked to get UND's history DA admitted as one of the founding members of the short-lived National Doctor of Arts Association.³⁷³ Beringer was also involved in presenting

³⁶⁸ Beringer Richard, Tweton Jerome, "Justification for Doctor of Arts Degree, 1 February 1989." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Degree Folder.

³⁶⁹ School of Graduate Studies, "Graduate Committee Second Cycle Evaluation of the Master of Arts and Doctor of Arts Degrees in History Spring Semester 1989." Uncategorized Box, Graduate Program in History Second Cycle Evaluation 1987-1988 Folder.; William Johnson. "History Graduate Program Evaluation. 23 May 1988" Uncategorized Box, Graduate Program in History Second Cycle Evaluation 1987-1988 Folder.

³⁷⁰ Richard Beringer, "Graduate School, Dean Perry. 3 October 1989." Uncategorized Box, Graduate Program in History Second Cycle Evaluation 1987-1988 Folder

³⁷¹ Jerome Tweton, "September 14, 1988." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Degree Folder.

³⁷² Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 40.

³⁷³ Richard Beringer, "Charter Membership" Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

the DA as a viable degree at history conferences.³⁷⁴ The 1990s also had the DA undergo some revisions, changing the internship requirements in particular.³⁷⁵ Through the 1990s, several changes to the DA program took place; however, the initial objective of "producing well-rounded historians who will be highly skilled teachers" remained.³⁷⁶ In the 1990s, there was a growing critique nationally that the traditional research-based Ph.D. was not producing the most effective instructors. As a result, proponents of the DA shifted focus from the need to produce qualified faculty quickly to an alternative to the Ph.D. for students who would likely have high teaching loads and low research expectations.³⁷⁷

In 1993, the history department developed a relationship with the Social Science department at Valley City State University and established an internship program for DA students. The program was intended to "provide the opportunity to teach at a small university," while the DA students, "fulfill their teaching requirements associated with the DA degree, and they enable VCSU to offer additional history courses."³⁷⁸ The interns were paid, housed, and supervised while at VCSU, in the same ways that they would be at UND, had they remained there.³⁷⁹ The internship was approved and occurred in 1993.³⁸⁰ After its initial success, UND's DA internship program sought to place more students at VCSU and other institutions like the University of Minnesota Crookston, with mixed results. Within a few years, the cooperating

³⁷⁴ Richard Beringer, "Dear Bart, 10 September 1991." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

³⁷⁵ Richard Beringer, "Final Approval of Da Revisions for 1991-1993 Catalog." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Degree Folder.

³⁷⁶ History Department, "The Doctor of Arts Degree in History, University of North Dakota January 1991." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Degree Folder.

³⁷⁷ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 9-16.

³⁷⁸ "Valley City State University Social Science Department Memo" Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, 1996 Grad Program Review Folder.

³⁷⁹ Gordon Iseminger, "DA Internship served at an institution other than the University of North Dakota." 26 April 1999. Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Internship Folder.

³⁸⁰ Richard Beringer, "Dean Knull, Internship Doctor of Arts program in History. 20 August 1992." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Internship Folder.

institutions accepted fewer adjunct instructors on limited contracts, opting instead for long-term full-time faculty, who already possessed professional credentials.³⁸¹

The 1990s brought more uncertainties for the future of the DA at UND. 1996 brought another graduate school internal audit by UND administration of the history graduate program. It was in this document that the department defended the DA.

"For twenty-five years, our image of ourselves as a department has been bound up with the DA Program. We have profited by having the DA students in our classes. They have challenged us as teachers, and we are the better for it. The DA students have almost universally had a wholesome and steadying influence on our MA students. They have set good examples by holding themselves to high standards, and they are often able to advise MA students on matters that the faculty cannot. They have allowed us to strengthen our undergraduate program by teaching some of our survey courses and thereby allowed faculty to offer a broader range of courses that service the entire student body."³⁸²

Later, however, the department considered discontinuing the DA as the professors who created it were retiring, the demand for the graduates fell off significantly due to difficulty in the job market, and funding was declining rapidly in the late 1990s.³⁸³ Despite these concerns, the department decided that it would maintain the DA because it remained a "strong program, and its mission warrants the continuation of the program."³⁸⁴ Ultimately the DA provided UND with a doctoral-level history program, which even if there were few students, boosted the credentials of

³⁸¹ Gordon Hoff, "Dear Dr., Iseminger. 1 August 1994" Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Internship Folder. ; Harvey Knull. "Teaching Internships, 5 January 1995." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Internship Folder.

³⁸² History Department, "Graduate Program Self-Evaluation Report November 1996." 27. Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, 1996 Grad Program Review Folder.

³⁸³ History Department, "Graduate Program Self-Evaluation Report November 1996." 26-59.

³⁸⁴ History Department, "UND Graduate Committee Report of the History Department October 10, 1997—Final Draft." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, 1996 Grad Program Evaluation 1997 Folder.

not only the department but the UND as a whole. Also, due to the low number of students, the DA program cost UND very little to maintain, which meant that the cancellation of the DA made little sense for the department.

Throughout the 1970s and into the 21st century, the DA at UND stuck with the original intention of the degree. The Doctor of Arts Degree in History was designed to meet the needs of students who wish to teach history on the undergraduate level at two and four-year colleges or where the institutional emphasis was on teaching rather than research. The history department's objective for the DA was "to produce well-rounded historians who will be highly skilled teachers."³⁸⁵ Over the last several decades, the DA program has undergone many curricular and catalog changes, but the mission of the DA remained the same. Changes like adding required classes in the teaching and learning department, shifting dissertation, and comprehensive exam requirements altered the program to meet modern perceptions of the DA.³⁸⁶ The DA program at UND began to be called into question as early as 1977, but despite the detractors, the DA has survived into 2019. Many of the issues levied against the DA in 1977, in the 1980s, 1990s, and the early 21st century, are still used today. The future of the DA program at UND is uncertain, but the changes in the national landscape of graduate education may allow the central focus of the degree to come back to prominence.

Despite the pitfalls and struggles, at individual institutions, the DA was successful in some places in the 1990s.³⁸⁷ Apart from UND, the DA was doing well at Idaho State. In 1991

³⁸⁵ "The Doctor of Arts Degree in History University of North Dakota 1986." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, Beringer I Graduate Program Binder

³⁸⁶ Beringer Richard, "New DA Program, as indicated in the 1991-1993 Catalog." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, Beringer I Graduate Program Binder. ; Department of History "UND Department of History Graduate Assessment Plan. October 2011." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, Student Assessment Folder.

³⁸⁷ Barton Pulling, "The National Doctor of Arts Association Bulletin, Number 1, June 1991." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

Idaho State had DA programs in English, Math, Political Science, and Biology. Twenty-six students received funding from the Graduate school there, however, "substantially more" students were enrolled.³⁸⁸ Further, projections of faculty shortages in the arts and sciences in the 1990s provided a potential outlet for DA students. Paired with the increases in interest in the quality of teaching and institutional demands allowed for more space for the DA to continue to exist on some campuses around the United States.³⁸⁹

Despite the struggles, UND's graduates have had success in their careers. The overwhelming majority of them ended up either returning to or finding full-time teaching jobs after graduation. Early in the history of UND's DA, the students already had full-time positions and were using the DA program to get the professional doctoral credential. From Texas to Maryland, DA students from UND have gone on to teach at institutions around the United States.³⁹⁰ Several have stayed in the region, including Dr. Stephen Hoffbeck, at Minnesota State University Moorhead, Dr. Perry Hornbacher at Bismarck State University, and Dr. Stephen King at Valley City State University.³⁹¹ Historically, UND's DA program has a near one hundred percent employment rate. The most recent DA graduate, a USAF Lt Col. Dr. Ryan Menath, currently teaches at the United States Air Force Academy.³⁹² For the DA students that remain in the program, the future is uncertain, but they remain optimistic.

³⁸⁸ Pulling, "The National Doctor of Arts Association Bulletin, Number 1, June 1991."

³⁸⁹ Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate?* 18.

³⁹⁰UTRGV Faculty Profiles, "Dr. William L Adams." University of Texas Rio Grande Valley.

<https://webapps.utrgv.edu/aa/dm/index.cfm?action=profile&user=william.adams>

Accessed 15 July 2019.

³⁹¹ Valley City State University, "Faculty and Staff Directory" *Valley City State University*. Accessed 15 July 2019 <http://catalog.vcsu.edu/undergraduate-catalog/faculty-staff/>; Minnesota State University Moorhead, "Faculty and Staff Directory" *Minnesota State University Moorhead*. Accessed 15 July 2019. <https://www.mnstate.edu/history/faculty-staff.aspx>

³⁹² The United States Air Force Academy Department of History, "Lt Col Ryan Menath." *The United States Air Force Academy*. <https://www.usafa.edu/facultyprofile/?smid=14329> Accessed 15 July 2019.

Conclusion

The Doctor of Arts degree was a product of the late modernization of higher education. The expansion of the post-World War II period created a demand for professional college teachers. This demand was recognized by the Carnegie Foundation, who sought to experiment with a doctoral degree that would meet increasing professional standards but also create professional teaching faculty members. The DA was created to help alleviate some of the pressure on graduate schools by allowing them to bypass the lengthy dissertation stage and allow students to specialize in teaching. These students then went on to both have the professional qualifications that universities required, and they entered a job market that needed qualified faculty members.³⁹³ However, after 1970, the DA quickly ran into significant funding issues. Further, faculty and administrators at institutions like UND and others questioned the purpose and continued existence of the degree in the mid-1970s. This trend has not changed in the intervening five decades. Throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and early 21st century, the DA was questioned by scholars, defended by others, but has mostly fallen out of favor.

The DA has survived but now exists exclusively on the margins. At its height in the late-1980s, there were 31 different schools offered DA degrees.³⁹⁴ Today less than ten still exist.³⁹⁵ Even at its height, the DA never competed with the more prominent Ph.D. In the 1970s and 1980s, the pushback against the DA began. Supporters of the D.A. argued that the lengthy and specialized nature of Ph.D. dissertation research ill-prepared students for teaching undergraduates.³⁹⁶

³⁹³ Cassuto, "Why We Need to Remember the Doctorate of Arts Degree."

³⁹⁴ Dressel, "College Teaching as a Profession:" 2.

³⁹⁵ National Science Foundation, National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics, "Research Degrees included in the Survey of Earned Doctorates: 2013-2017." *National Science Foundation*. Accessed 26 February 2019. <https://nces.nsf.gov/pubs/nsf19301/technical-notes>.

³⁹⁶ Cassuto, "Why We Need to Remember the Doctorate of Arts Degree."

The DA's biggest problem was a lack of definition. Beringer, in his conference paper, described that in questionnaires about the DA, most department chairs did not understand the DA, even with a brief description. He stated that one remarked that he had not even heard of the DA until recently. Beringer stated that "clearly one of our problems is academic ignorance."³⁹⁷ Beringer goes on to state that in the days of credential supremacy, that DA students may have a problem finding a faculty position over their Ph.D. holding compatriots.³⁹⁸

Many scholars who study graduate education note that the future of graduate studies likely does not include the DA but does include many of its' elements. Early defenders of the traditional Ph.D. and proponents of the D.A. agreed that Ph.D.'s could be shifted out of the undergraduate classroom and replaced with professional D.A.s who had the proper training.³⁹⁹ However, the differences between the DA, Ph.D., and the Ed.D. remained uncertain on many campuses, especially when Ph.D. requirements are sufficiently flexible enough to be adjusted to meet the needs of graduate advisers and the wishes of degree candidates.⁴⁰⁰ That flexibility makes the future of the DA murkier.

Modern graduate school scholars like Labaree or Cassuto all argue that graduate education needs to make a fundamental change, and many of them argue that the modern Ph.D. would benefit from including many of the elements of the DA.⁴⁰¹ Unfortunately, scholars seem to agree that, "DA serves no useful purpose and is ill-conceived; DA is outside the mainstream of

³⁹⁷ Beringer, "The Status of the DA Program at the University of North Dakota Department of History."

³⁹⁸ Beringer, "The Status of the DA Program at the University of North Dakota Department of History."

³⁹⁹ Cassuto, "Why We Need to Remember the Doctorate of Arts Degree."

⁴⁰⁰ Dressel, "College Teaching as a Profession: The Doctor of Arts Degree"

⁴⁰¹ David F. Labaree, *A Perfect Mess: The Unlikely Ascendancy of American Higher Education.*; Charles. Dorn, *For the Common Good: A New History of Higher Education in America.* (Cambridge: Cornell University Press, 2016.); Cassuto, "Why We Need to Remember the Doctorate of Arts Degree.": Cassuto, *The Graduate School Mess:*

academia; As long as there are unplaced PhDs DAs will be unemployable; DA is a consolation prize, a second line degree."⁴⁰²

The Doctor of Arts degree was a solution to problems that manifested in the years 1945-1970. There were not enough credentialed instructors to fill all of the burgeoning faculty positions. However, after 1970, the challenges of the modernization period began to stabilize, and expansion continued but much more slowly. As a result, shortly after its creation, the DA began to falter. It was never particularly popular in the mainstream of graduate instruction and served a more local purpose. It did, however, have a great deal of impact on graduate instruction more generally. The push to make PhDs more focused on teaching illustrates that the DA was created and used notions that were “ahead of its time.”⁴⁰³ The legacy of the DA will likely continue to work its way into the graduate curriculum at universities around the nation. The notion that professional faculty members should also be good at teaching was not a new one in the mid-1960s when the DA was created, it is not a new idea in 2019, but it is an idea that has grown in popularity and will likely continue to do so.

⁴⁰² Alan C. Chandler, “The Doctor of Arts into the 21st Century.” Political Science Department, Idaho State University. 1989. Pp 44. Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence.

⁴⁰³ Dressel, “College Teaching as a Profession: The Doctor of Arts Degree”

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

The Doctor of Arts degree was a solution to problems that manifested between 1945-1970. It was a period of transition in American history as a whole, and American higher education was no exception. The period saw the expansion of enrollments across the nation, spurred forward first by the G.I. Bill which provided free college for veterans than by changing access and demographic shifts. The expansion of enrollments created shortages of many significant resources. Housing, classroom space, and faculty members were all in short supply. These problems provided institutions with opportunities to expand and modernize. New building projects, new housing facilities, new programs, and the expansion of existing programs were common at institutions across the country. Hiring new faculty members to teach the expanded curriculum also occurred in high numbers. These new faculty members also were expected to have professional qualifications, like a Ph.D. At many institutions, the DA was created to facilitate the professionalization of the new and existing faculty members.

On a more local scale, 1945-1970 saw a great deal of change at UND. Many of the changes seen on the national scale were in evidence at UND. UND's enrollments doubled three times in twenty-five years. Building projects across the University were expanding the physical plant, the University expanded the number of classes to accommodate the new students, new faculty members were hired in departments around the University, and the administration grew significantly as well. The DA was created at UND to help provide the Red River Valley and the surrounding region with professional faculty members.

Chapter 1 discussed the historiography of the DA and the modernization of higher education. The first chapter discussed the various authors and their arguments back and forth about the transformative period of 1945-1970. The two major historiographical arguments focus

on the modernization of the American University, and whether or not that change threatened or bolstered the function of the University. Some scholars argued that post-World War II expansion and increased accessibility challenged the elite nature of the University.⁴⁰⁴ Others argued that if everyone could go to college, then college would become compulsory. Further, if college was compulsory, college degrees would be worth less on the job market.⁴⁰⁵ Finally, authors who wrote about modernization as a threat to the American University, argued that the rapid growth challenged the University's role as providing for the common public good, but instead became a mechanism for the advancement of government and private interests.⁴⁰⁶

On the other hand, other scholars argue that the transformation of the American institution allowed the system of higher education to adapt, and ultimately become the inclusive, egalitarian system seen today. These scholars argue that modernization efforts like curricular diversification allowed students to tailor their experience to fit their needs, allowing more students to receive specialized education to fit the national need.⁴⁰⁷ Other scholars argued that the professionalization of the faculty and administrators during the modernization of higher

⁴⁰⁴ Lloyd, R. Grann, "Priorities for an Expanding University." *Improving College and University Teaching* 15, no. 4 (1967): 247-49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27562742>; Martin. Trow, "The Expansion and Transformation of Higher Education." *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale De L'Education* 18, no. 1 (1972): 61-84.; Frank Bowles, "Patterns of Development in Higher Education." *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale De L'Education* 11, no. 1 (1965): 21-33.; Frank Bowles, "AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN 1990." *Minerva* 5, no. 2 (1967): 227-41. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41822690>; Frank Bowles, "General Education in a Changing World." *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale De L'Education* 11, no. 4 (1965): 404-12. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3442634>.

⁴⁰⁵ Clark Kerr, "Higher Education: Paradise Lost?" *Higher Education* 7, no. 3 (1978): 261-78.; Bill Readings, "The University in Ruins" (1996). *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).; Bill Readings, "For a Heteronomous Cultural Politics: The University, Culture and the State." *Oxford Literary Review* 15, no. 1/2 (1993): 163-99. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44113884>. ; Bill Readings, "Dwelling in the Ruins." *Oxford Literary Review* 17, no. 1/2 (1995): 15-28. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43973733>.

⁴⁰⁶ Simon Marginson, "Martin Trow: Higher Education and Its Growth." *In the Dream Is Over: The Crisis of Clark Kerr's California Idea of Higher Education*, 28-35. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016.; Martin Trow, "The Expansion and Transformation of Higher Education." 61-84.

⁴⁰⁷ Ivar Bleiklie, "Organizing Higher Education in a Knowledge Society." 31-59.; Bleiklie, Ivar. "Comparing University Organizations across Boundaries." *Higher Education* 67, no. 4 (2014): 381-91. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43648662>.

education allowed American universities to assert themselves as the gold standard for higher education around the world.⁴⁰⁸ Finally, scholars also examine the increases in accessibility and allowed previously underrepresented groups access to higher education, and the ability to raise their socio-economic status, and promote the egalitarian nature of American society.⁴⁰⁹

Chapter 2 examined modernization and its impacts from a nation-wide perspective. It began with a discussion of the Doctor of Arts, its purpose, and early history. The chapter then goes into the foundations of the modernization of higher education and general challenges that institutions experienced during that period. The modernization period occurred because of several factors. First, the expansion of enrollments at higher education via government funding, and the GI Bill allowed millions of WWII veterans to attend college for free. This funding brought a massive influx of veterans into higher education around the nation.⁴¹⁰ Further, the economic prosperity of the late 1940s and 1950s expanded the middle class, allowing more students to pursue a college degree.⁴¹¹ In the late 1950s and 1960s, accessibility and equality initiatives provided access to women and minority students that heretofore were unable to access

⁴⁰⁸ Bernard Berelson, "Graduate Education in the United States" (1960) *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); W.H. Cowley, Don Williams *International and Historical Roots of American Higher Education*. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991) 187.; David. Hollinger, "The Disciplines and the Identity Debates" (1997), *American Higher Education Transformed*. Smith, Wilson, Bender, Thomas. Ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).; David A. Hollinger, "The Humanities and the Dynamics of Inclusion since World War II." *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 59, no. 3 (2006): 3. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3824466>.

⁴⁰⁹ Irvin Sobel, "The Human Capital Revolution in Economic Development: Its Current History and Status." *Comparative Education Review* 22, no. 2 (1978): 278-308. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1187676>.; Douglas T. Shapiro, "Modeling Supply and Demand for Arts and Sciences Faculty: What Ten Years of Data Tell Us about the Labor Market Projections of Bowen and Sosa." *The Journal of Higher Education* 72, no. 5 (2001): 532-64. DOI:10.2307/2672880.; Rosemary Park, *Change* 22, no. 1 (1990): 61. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40177683>.; Ehrenberg, Ronald G. *Journal of Economic Literature* 31, no. 2 (1993): 907-09. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2728533>.

⁴¹⁰ Kim Dongbin, and John L. Rury, "The Changing Profile of College Access: The Truman Commission and Enrollment Patterns in the Postwar Era." *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (2007): 302-27.

⁴¹¹ Marcus Stanley, "College Education and the Midcentury G.I. Bills." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 118, no. 2 (2003): 671-708. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25053917>.; Roald F. Campbell, and William L. Boyd "Federal Support of Higher Education: Elitism versus Egalitarianism." *Theory into Practice* 9, no. 4 (1970): 232-38.

higher education en masse.⁴¹² All of the expansion of enrollments prompted schools to expand quickly, undergraduate and graduate programs swelled. Cold War government research initiatives prompted the rise of STEM fields, and in conjunction with professional and accreditation organizations, pushed the professionalization of faculty and administrators forward as well.⁴¹³ Finally, all of these ideas relate to the Doctor of Arts as they were representative of the issues presented by modernization efforts. The Doctor of Arts stood as one of many solutions to ease some of those issues.

Chapter 3 examines the factors discussed in Chapter 2 only from a micro-perspective and focuses on modernization and its impacts on the University of North Dakota, specifically. It also studied how UND interacted with the national trends. UND during the modernization of higher education was led by two significant figures, Presidents West and Starcher. While West, who left UND in 1953, maintained UND through the lean years of the Great Depression, Starcher was a force for modernization.⁴¹⁴ Both presidents oversaw nearly exponential growth in enrollments over their time, but Starcher was responsible for many of the significant transitions at UND.⁴¹⁵ During Starcher's tenure, brand new programs were founded, and construction of new facilities was a near-constant situation. Starcher's push for the faculty to professionalize also assisted in raising the prestige of UND and set it on the path to becoming one of the region's premier

⁴¹² Simon. Marginson, "Higher Education and the Economy." In *the Dream Is Over: The Crisis of Clark Kerr's California Idea of Higher Education*, 168-77. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016.

⁴¹³ Mary Ann. Dzuback, "Professionalism, Higher Education, and American Culture: Burton J. Bledstein's The Culture of Professionalism." *History of Education Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1993): 375-85;

⁴¹⁴ George W. Starcher, "For the Red River Outlook Edition of the Grand Forks Herald to be Published 31 January 1965." U.A. 43, Box 9, Folder 6. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

⁴¹⁵ "International Students and Faculty. University of North Dakota First Semester 1970-1971." U.A. 91 Box 1, Folder 9. Association of Women Students Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

research institutions UND's faculty swelled to 106 doctorate holding faculty members in 1958 alone.⁴¹⁶ By 1968, UND employed 315 full-time faculty members.⁴¹⁷

Also, in Chapter 3 is a discussion of the history department at UND and its history during the period. The history department at UND from 1945-1970 provides a look into modernization from a departmental viewpoint. UND's history department modernized along with the rest of the University, and the creation of the Doctor of Arts degree in that department. The creation of the DA at UND was merely one facet of UND's efforts to modernize.

Chapter 4 looks at the history of the Doctor of Arts specifically. The first three chapters provided information on the background of, and reasoning behind the creation of the DA, and Chapter 4 examined the DA in practice. Chapter 4 discussed the creation process from a national scale. It examined the life cycle of the DA from its creation in 1967 by the Carnegie Foundation, its early successes in the 1970s, and early 1980s, to its ultimate decline in national popularity in the late 1980s and 1990s. The chapter also examined the Doctor of Arts at the University of North Dakota, to get a closer look into the local history of the DA. It studied how the history faculty, university administrators, and the State Board of Higher Education reacted to the DA and its successes and failures through the late 20th century. The History department was forced to defend the DA several times and advocate for its retention over the years.

The DA Today

⁴¹⁶ "Memorandum to the Presidents and the State Geologists. 24 April 1958." U.A. 43, Box 1, Folder 14 SBHE Materials Presidents Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

⁴¹⁷ American Association of University Professors, "Average Dollar Increases in Salaries 1966" U.A. 43, Box 3, Folder 6. President George Starcher Papers, President's Office Records. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

The Doctor of Arts degree, despite its launching at the tail end of a stage of rapid expansion, spread to some 31 institutions by the 1980s. At its height, the DA was offered in over 18 disciplines or fields of study.⁴¹⁸ Through the decades, the DA spread into fields not involving teaching, a situation that was regarded by DA proponents as lamentable because it leads to confusion regarding the character of the degree. Inevitably the consequence of degree ambiguities in the USA resulted in the DA not being widely accepted as an alternative to the Ph.D.⁴¹⁹ This ambiguity came to define the DA in the 21st century.

The 21st century so far has seen the DA struggle. During the last two decades the DA underwent increasing amounts of scrutiny. Changing budgetary models in higher education around the United States prompted several institutions to defund or cut DA programs completely.

Nationally the DA has not fared well. Most scholarly studies of the DA occurred in the 1980s and 1990s, and additional in-depth examinations have not materialized. Studies on graduate schools and an examination of trends into how to incorporate teaching into existing Ph.D. programs are conducted regularly by institutions and scholars of higher education standards. These studies took the general trends from the 1980s and 1990s and began to actively incorporate aspects of the DA into the more traditional Ph.D. programs.⁴²⁰ As a result of these trends, the 21st century has seen the DA continue the trend into obscurity that began in the late 1970s continued into the 1980s and 1990s.

⁴¹⁸ Judith Glazer, *A Teaching Doctorate? The Doctor of Arts Degree, Then and Now*. (Washington DC: American Association for Higher Education, 1993.) 44.

⁴¹⁹ Paul Dressel, "College Teaching as a Profession: The Doctor of Arts Degree" Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, DA Correspondence Folder.

⁴²⁰ David F. Labaree, *A Perfect Mess: The Unlikely Ascendancy of American Higher Education*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.): Dorn, Charles. *For the Common Good: A New History of Higher Education in America*. (Cambridge: Cornell University Press, 2016.): Leonard Cassuto, "Why We Need to Remember the Doctorate of Arts Degree." (9 September 2015) *Chronicle of Higher Education Online*. Accessed 14 October 2018. <https://www.chronicle.com/article/Why-We-Need-to-Remember-the/232923>: Leonard Cassuto, *The Graduate School Mess: What Caused it and How We Can Fix It*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

The death of the DA seems nearly assured. Nationally, in 2013, only 7 D.A.s were granted at American Institutions, 6 in 2014, 4 in 2015, 7 in 2016, and 4 in 2017. The number of completed D.A.s in the last several years is negligible compared to the total of 54,664 doctorates granted in 2017, according to the national science foundation and the U.S. Department of Education.⁴²¹ Nationally, the DA has been fading into obscurity since the mid-1990s. The National Association of Doctors of Arts dissolved, and the arguments against keeping the degree outweigh the proponents at institutions around the U.S. Nationally, the DA is disappearing, and it will continue to do so unless something drastic changes.

On a local level, the turn of the 21st century saw the DA remain in question at UND. UND's DA in history is the last of its kind in the nation.⁴²² The re-establishment of a Ph.D. program at UND, as a joint effort with NDSU, was proposed in 2000 and created in 2003.⁴²³ The re-establishment of a Ph.D. program brought the necessity of the DA further into question. In 2007, however, when UND's administration facilitated another institutional review, Dr. Gordon Iseminger stated, "I believe the M.A. is stronger than ever, the DA is still attractive."⁴²⁴ 2009's Graduate Program Evaluation Report, conducted by the Dean's Office, noted that recruiting for the Ph.D. and the DA alike were low due to lack of funding to the department. Dean Swisher went on to note that admittance of the DA program was at a five year low.⁴²⁵ 2010 saw a reorganization of the curriculum for the DA reducing the teaching requirement, but raising the

⁴²¹ National Science Foundation, National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics,

⁴²² William R Caraher, "History at the University of North Dakota, 1885-1970." Unpublished Document, 2009. 68.

⁴²³ North Dakota State University Department of History, University of North Dakota Department of History. "Proposal for Ph.D. Degree Program. 21 March 2002." Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, Ph.D. Proposal Nov 2001 Review Folder.

⁴²⁴ Gordon Iseminger, "Kim" Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, 1996 Grad Program Review Folder.; University of North Dakota Department of History. "Graduate Program Self Evaluation Report. December 2007." Uncategorized Box, 2007 Graduate Program Evaluation Folder.

⁴²⁵ Hans Birgit, Roger Melvold, Wayne Swisher, "Graduate Program Evaluation Report History, 29 October 2009." Uncategorized Box, History Graduate Program Evaluation 2009 Folder.

classroom instruction from faculty members.⁴²⁶ Despite increases in enrollments in both the undergraduate and graduate levels in the history department, in 2011, graduate funding was cut, further putting the future of the DA at risk.⁴²⁷

Since 2011, only three DA degrees have been conferred at UND, and there are currently 3 DA students in the final stages of their studies.⁴²⁸ The prospect for new DA students is slim, after budget cuts and programs dissolutions, the flow of new M.A. and DA students has been cut, and funding is quickly running out for history graduate programs at UND. Further, recent trends in higher education to incorporate education and teaching curriculum into the more traditional Ph.D. puts the need and future for the DA at UND further in doubt.

Unfortunately, the final History DA program in the United States will likely fade into oblivion due to a lack of funding for new students; however, this is seemingly the reality for the future of the DA at UND. It may survive, in name only, without funding and students until it eventually is stricken from the record in a program purge in another round of budget cuts somewhere in the future. While this may be a bleak assessment, it seems the most likely future for the DA at UND.

Personal Experience

I am a Doctor of Arts student, I am working on a DA project to receive a DA, on the history of the DA, and I am going to take a moment now to discuss my experiences in the DA program.

⁴²⁶ University of North Dakota Department of History, "Doctor of Arts (History) Changes to Existing Catalog Copy in Italics" Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, Grad Program Info Folder.

⁴²⁷ Hans Broedel, "Dear Dean, Tiemann" Department of History Records, Uncategorized Box, Broedel Graduate Director 2010-2013 Folder.

⁴²⁸ UND History Department, "Past Theses and Dissertations, 2011- Present"

Before starting the DA program, I received my B.S. in history from the University of South Dakota in 2013, and an M.A. from UND in 2015. While in the DA program at UND, I believe that I have gained valuable skills in classroom instruction and research that will benefit me significantly in my career. The UND DA program has three main facets, all of which have already proven to be very beneficial in my teaching career. The first is the traditional research component. Next, are the teaching and learning instruction received from both the departments of history and teaching and learning. Finally, the teaching component of the degree has proven most useful.

The research component of the DA at UND is very similar to the Ph.D. research component. At UND DA, MA, and Ph.D. students all take classes communally, allowing for students on different career trajectories to communicate with one another both inside and out of a classroom setting. Further, graduate classes at UND often required substantial primary and secondary research components, allowing students the opportunity to conduct historical research and produce historical research works, that were invaluable to the learning process. The Chester Fritz Library and UND's Elwin B Robinson Department of Special Collections were substantial resources for both me and the other graduate students in conducting the traditional primary and secondary research expected out of a history graduate program.

Functionally, because the Ph.D. and DA (and M.A.) students take the same classes and work through the same research-based writing prompts, the two degrees have only small differences. As a DA student, the significant difference is the required class time in the Teaching and Learning Department. While the DA students were instructed how to teach effectively, the Ph.D. students were taking additional research credits. However, a small Ph.D. program like

UND's provided students with the flexibility to take Teaching and Learning credits as well, and often the Ph.D. students took those classes alongside their DA colleagues.

The department of Teaching and Learning at UND has taught me the basics of how to structure a modern curriculum. The several classes that I took over in T&L were some of the most impactful classes throughout my entire graduate career. Learning to conduct archival research is an essential skill; however, for someone who wants to teach history classes as a career, learning how to teach effectively was invaluable. Classes in T&L instructed me how to conduct myself as a college professor, how to structure classes, syllabus writing, assessment styles and formats, learners with special needs, and the basic history of higher education, all were topics of classes. These classes laid the foundation with which any curriculum could be built upon, and they provided my colleagues and I with wisdom that we have all taken forward into our classrooms.

Finally, the most crucial facet of my DA education, actually teaching. For years, I sat in classrooms being taught how to make history, and how to do it properly — then being taught how to teach by the T&L department illustrated how to teach successfully at the collegiate level. Finally, after years of graduate school, I was given a chance to put all of these pieces together and design and teach my survey classes. Teaching those classes at UND was the single most significant experience of my graduate career. Dialing in how to teach, how to conduct lectures, designing assignments, writing tests all proved challenging. The faculty at UND came in to conduct teaching assessments and provided me with constructive feedback, further helping me develop a personal teaching style. After my two semesters of required teaching, I was hired as an adjunct to teach further history classes at UND, and political science at North Dakota State College of Science, allowing me to develop my teaching even further in preparation for a long-

term career. Without the DA teaching experience, my adjunct experience would never have been possible. My experiences teaching at UND proved to me that I did want to be a college professor for the rest of my career.

Starting the Doctor of Arts program at UND was one of the best decisions that I ever made. It has provided me with a career trajectory, the functional experience I need to achieve it, and the professional qualifications that I need to get there. A traditional Ph.D. may be the gold standard for a doctorate, but functional work experience should help propel any DA holder into consideration for faculty positions at small four year, junior, and community colleges around the nation.

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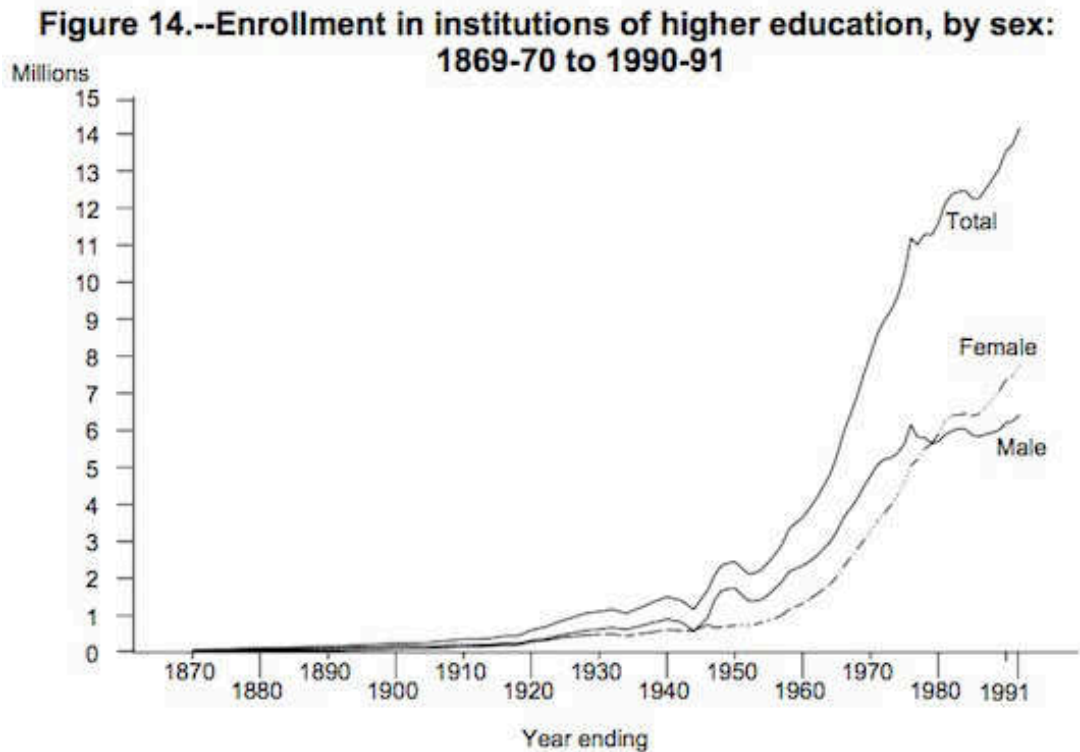
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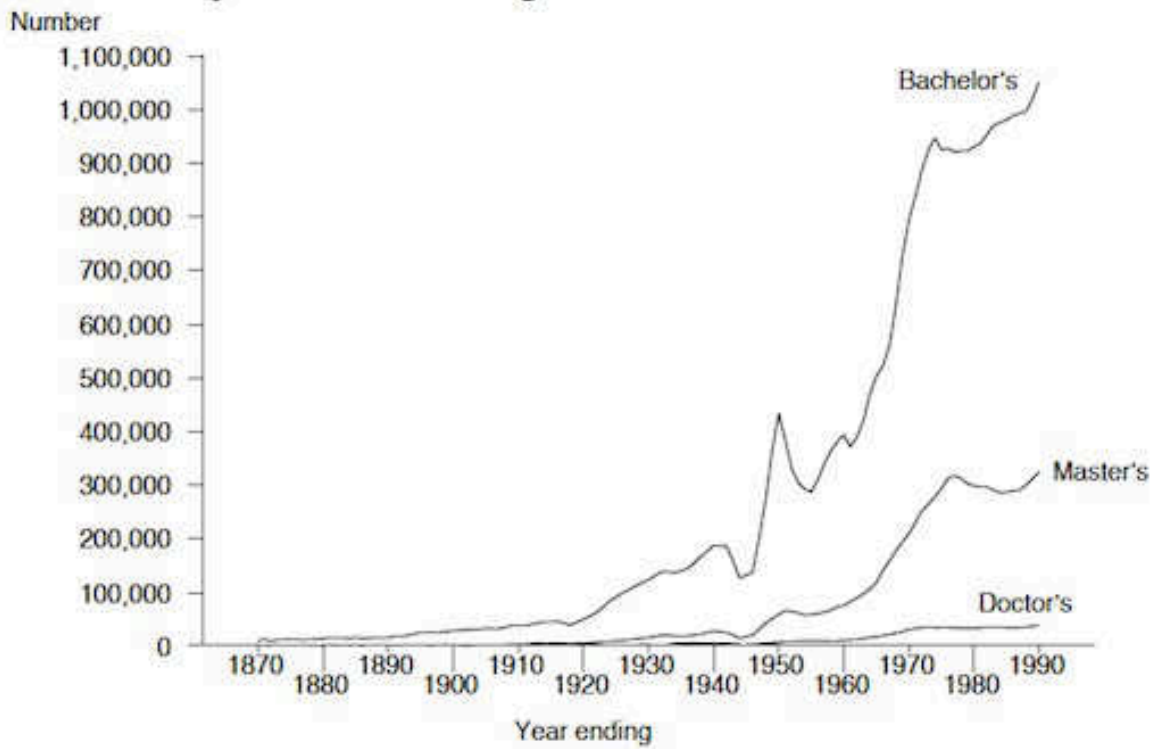


Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*; and U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics*, various issues.

⁴²⁹ Snyder Thomas D. ed. "150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait" US Department of Education Office of Educational Research and Improvement. 65. Accessed 18 September 2019.
<https://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93442.pdf>

Figure 2⁴³⁰

Figure 16.--Bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees conferred by institutions of higher education: 1869-70 to 1989-90

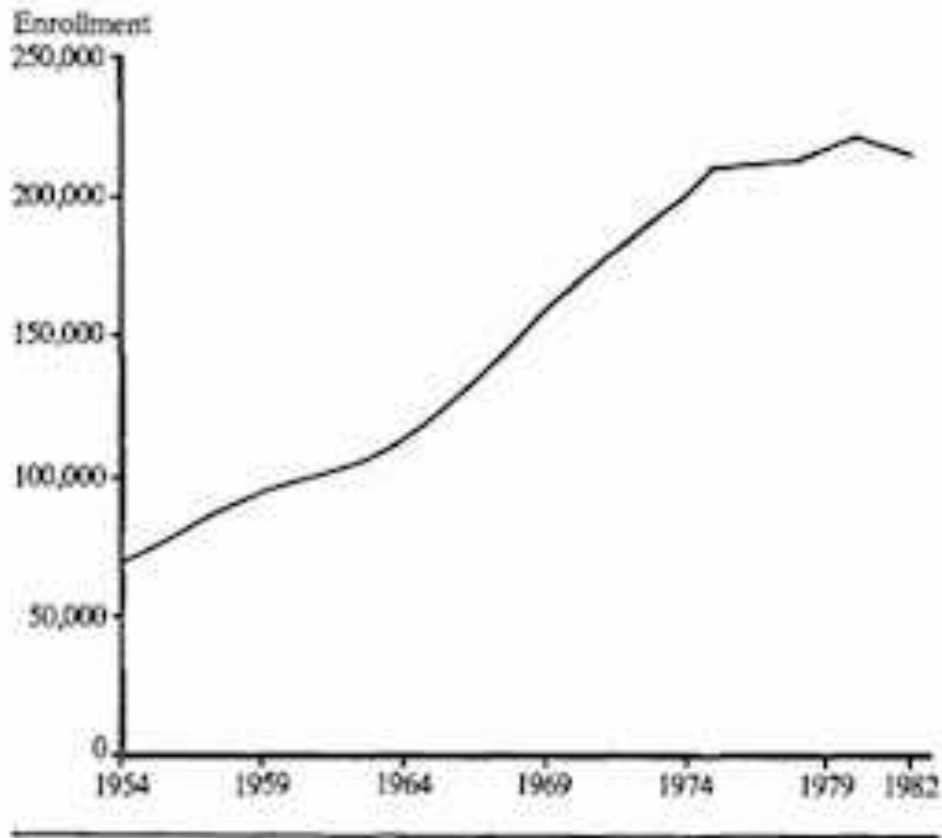


Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*; and U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics*, various issues.

⁴³⁰ Snyder. "150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait" US Department of Education Office of Educational Research and Improvement.

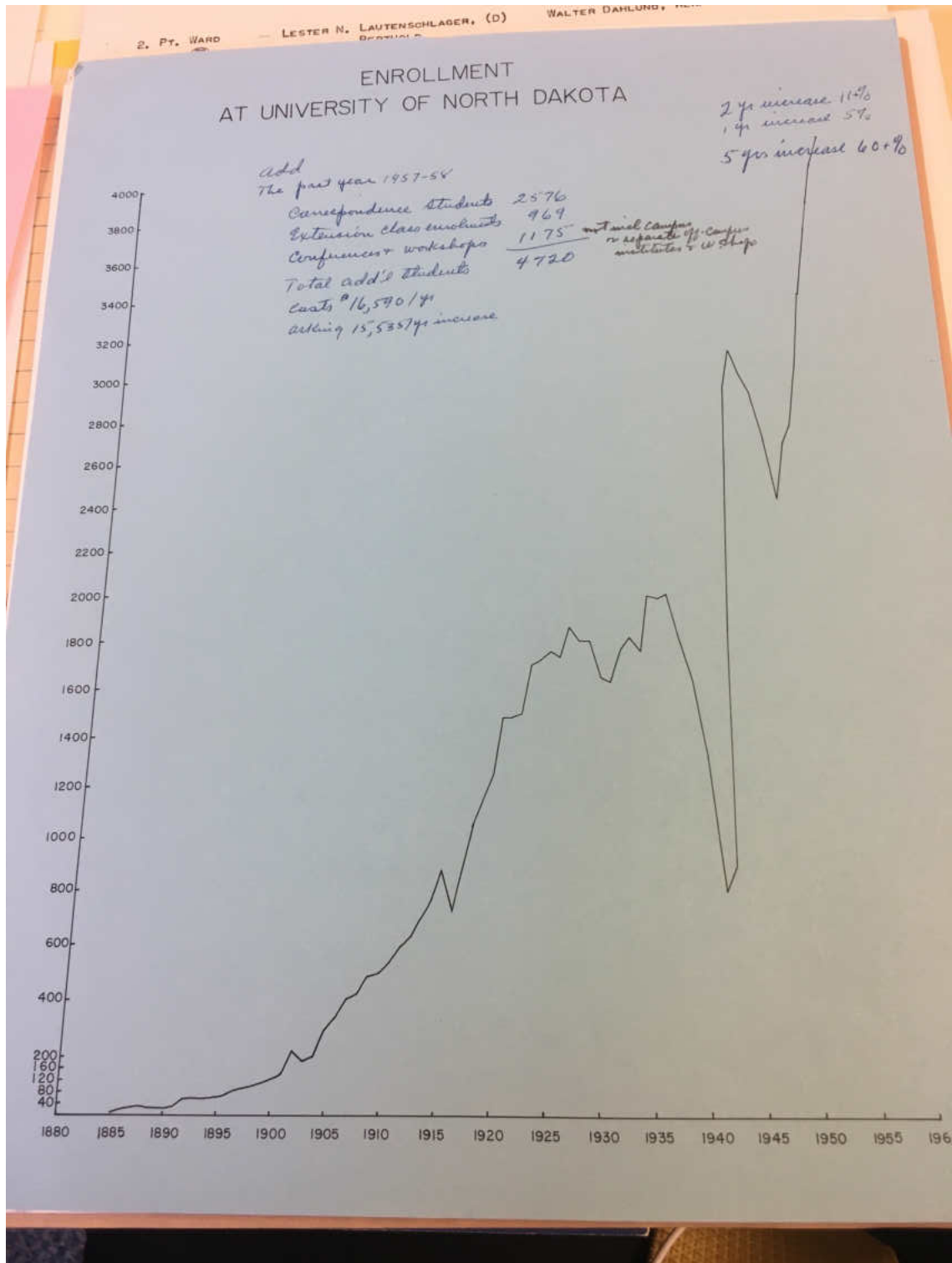
Figure 3⁴³¹

Chart 2.—Total fall enrollment in TBI's: 1954 to 1982



⁴³¹ Susan T. Hill "The Traditionally Black Institutions of Higher Education 1860-1980." National Center for Education Statistics. Accessed 18 October 2019. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs84/84308.pdf>

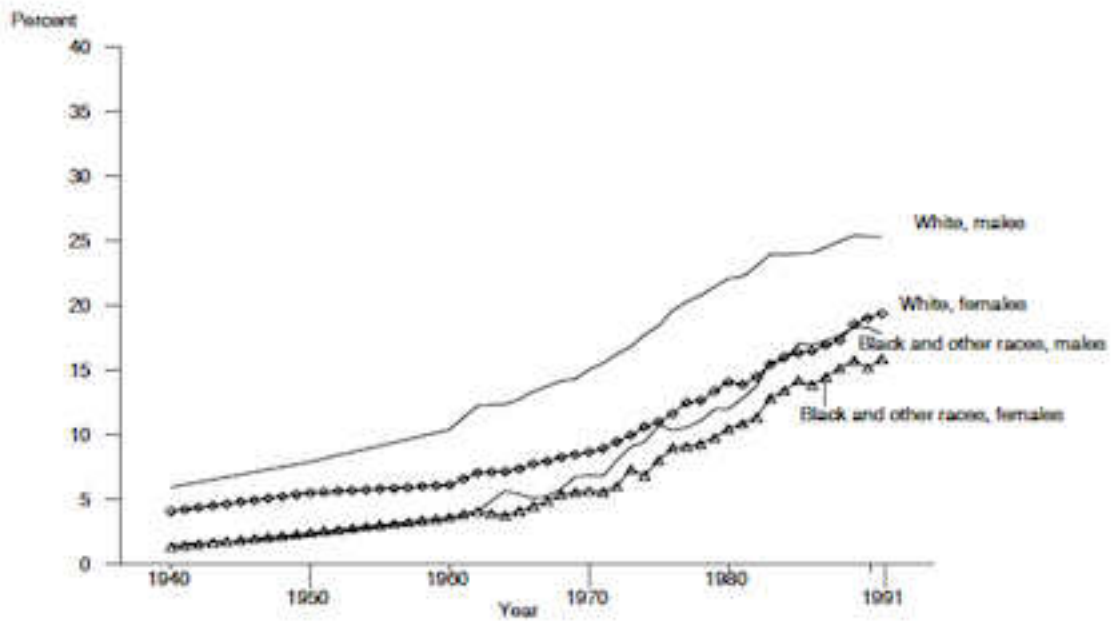
FIGURE 4³²



⁴³² "Enrollment at the University of North Dakota" President George Starcher Papers, Presidents Office Records. UA 43, Box 11, Folder 1. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

Figure 5 ⁴³³

Figure 4.—Percent of persons 25 years old and over completing 4 years of college, by sex and race: 1940 to 1991

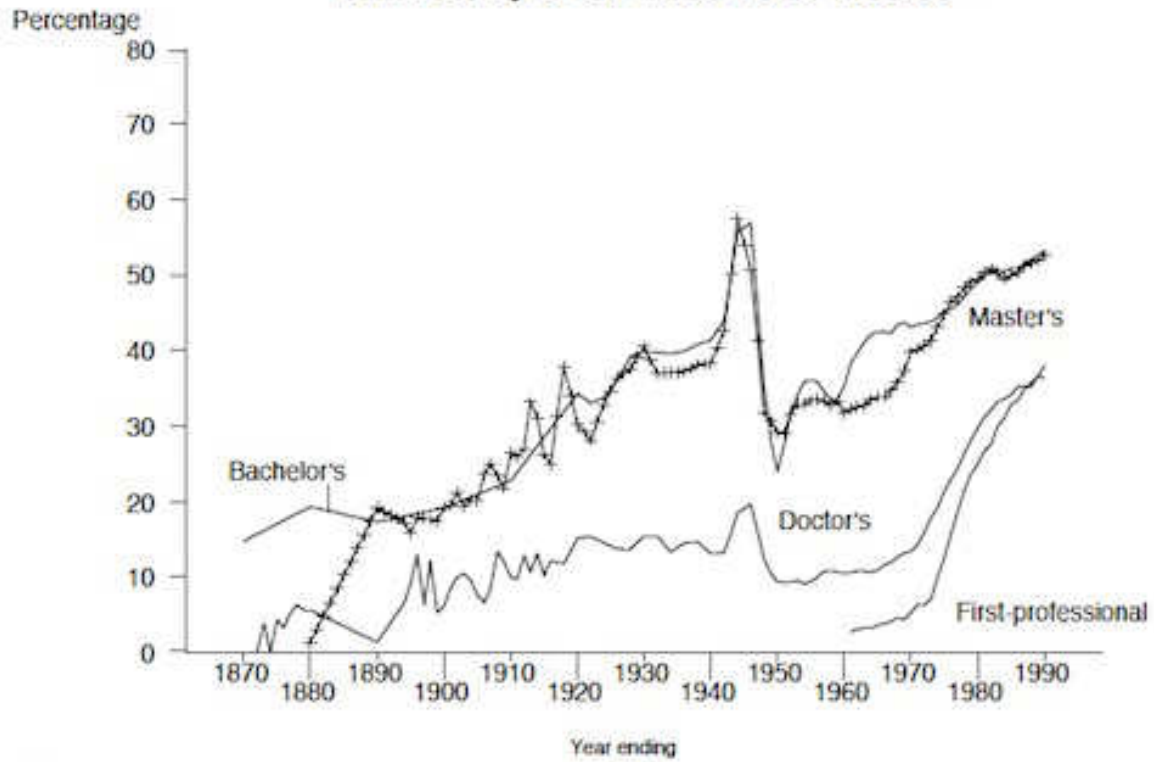


SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1870*; and *Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Educational Attainment in the United States*, various years.

⁴³³ Snyder. "150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait". 18.

Figure 6 ⁴³⁴

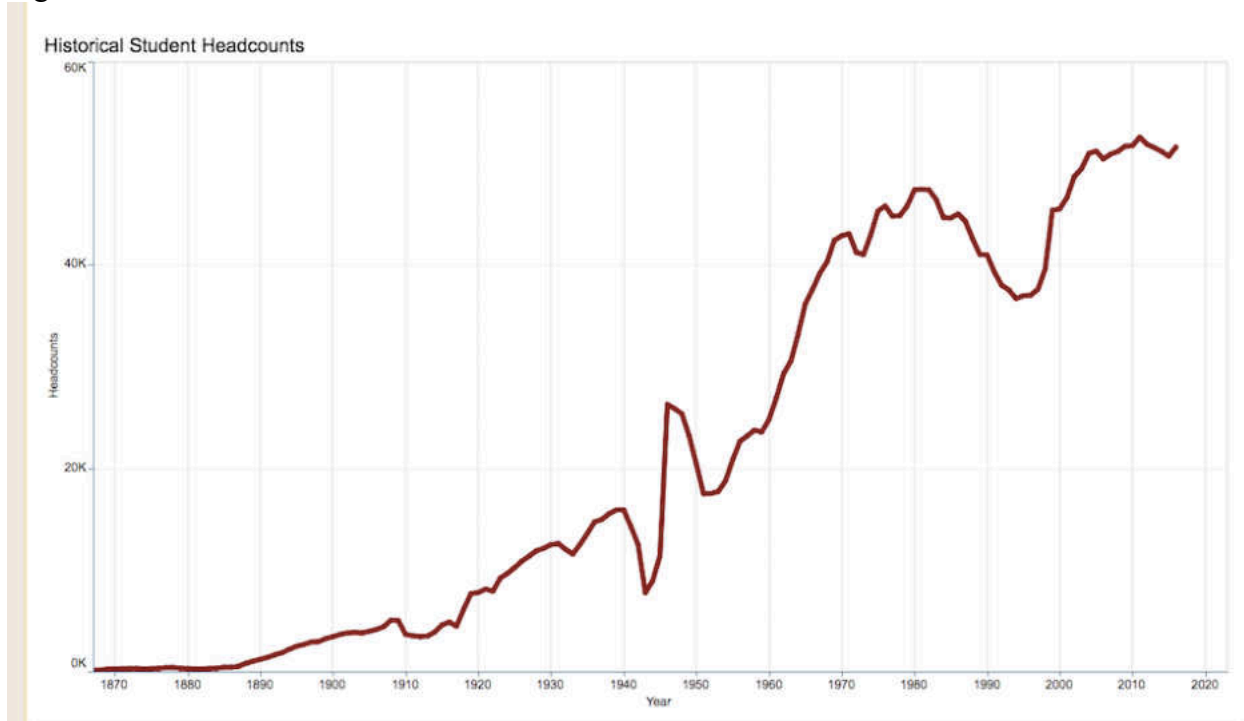
Figure 18.--Percentage of higher education degrees conferred to females, by level: 1869-70 to 1989-90



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States; Earned Degrees Conferred*; and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) "Completions" survey.

⁴³⁴ Snyder. "150 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait". 38.

Figure 7 ⁴³⁵



⁴³⁵ University of Minnesota Office of Institutional Research. "Historical Student Headcounts." *University of Minnesota* Accessed 18 October 2019. <https://www.oir.umn.edu/student/headcounts>

Figure 8 ⁴³⁶

BUILDINGS ON UND CAMPUS					
Year Occupied	Enrollment	Building	Source of Funds	Cost	Remarks
1888-89	75	Old Main	Appropriation		
1887-89	74	Girls Hall	"		
1890-94	100	Stevens Hall	"		Added in 1911
1897-99	104	Chandler Hall	"		Several additions in later years
1899-99	108	Wright Hall	"		
1901-02	175	Science Hall	"		
1907-10	224	Women's Gym	"		
1908-09	222	Home Ec. Bldg.	"		Army paid for add. between World War
1908-09	222	Sakcock Hall	"		
1908-10	222	Power House	"		Later additions were made
1911-11	404	Library	"		
1912-13	547	Chemistry Bldg.	"		
1912-13	547	Armory	Army (1st World War post paid)		Added to building in 1924
1911-13	1000	Law Building	Appropriation		
1917-18	1207	Memorial Stadium	Gifts & Loans		
1919-20	1300	Merrill Hall	Appropriation		
Year Occupied	Enrollment	Building	Source of Funds	Cost	Remarks
1926-27	1716	Winter Sports Bldg.	Gifts & Loans		
1941-42	1996	East Hall	Built by Nat. Youth Adm.		
1946-47	2292	Princeton Hall	Erected by Government		
1949-50	2267	Med. Science Bldg.	Appropriation -1947	\$400,000	See addition in 1953 below.
1951-52	2369	Student Union Bldg.	Donations & Bond Issue -1947	\$500,000	
1952-52	2369	Men's Gym	Appropriation 1947 -1949	\$350,000	
1951 spring	2023	Johnstone Hall	Revenue Bonds 1947	\$400,000	
1952 fall	2397	Hancock Hall	Revenue Bonds 1947	\$350,000	
1952-53	2631	Harrington Hall	Appropriation 1949	\$400,000	
1953-54	2708	Med. Science Bldg.	One-Mill Levy 1951	\$700,000	See orig. Bldg. 1949
1954-55	2976	Education Bldg.	Appropriation 1951	\$600,000	This was a replacement.
			Woodworth fire loss-	\$100,000	

⁴³⁶ "Buildings on UND Campus" President George Starcher Papers, Presidents Office Records. UA 43, Box 4, Folder 3. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections. Chester Fritz Library. University of North Dakota.

Figure 9⁴³⁷

Table 2. D.A. Degrees Awarded in 31 Universities, by Field, 1968-1991.*

	Field	Number of Programs	Number of Degrees Awarded
Humanities (60%)	Literature/Letters	13	640
	Fine Arts	2	22
	Foreign Languages	6	50
	History	8	223
	Humanities	2	30
	Linguistics	n/a**	11
	Music	3	187
			<u>1,163</u>
Science/Mathematics (18%)	Biology	5	122
	Chemistry	6	40
	Computer Science	1	19
	Engineering	2	13
	Health Science	1	15
	Mathematics	8	130
	Physics	3	4
			<u>343</u>
Professional (15%)	Business	1	3
	Communications	n/a	4
	Education	4	231
	Library Science	1	52
	Speech Pathology	1	11
		<u>301</u>	
Social Sciences (7%)	Area Studies	2	6
	Economics	4	29
	Geography	1	22
	Political Science	4	69
	Psychology	1	7
	Social Science	n/a	3
		<u>136</u>	
Total Number of Degrees			1,943

* These data do not include Fielding Institute and Western Colorado University.
 ** "n.a." signifies data not available as reported by the Survey of Earned Doctorates.

Sources: Survey of Earned Doctorates, unpublished data tapes, 1973-1991 data; Paul Dressel and Mary M. Thompson, *College Teaching: Improvement by Degrees* (Iowa City: American College Testing Program, 1974), 1968-1972 data.

⁴³⁷ Judith Glazer. *A Teaching Doctorate? The Doctor of Arts Degree, Then and Now*. (Washington DC: American Association for Higher Education, 1993.) 44.

Figure 10 ⁴³⁸

Table 7. Employment Status of Survey Respondents, by Degree Field.

Degree Field	Changed Jobs After D.A.	Current Employer			Current Position		
		College/University*	School District	Other	Teaching	Administration	Other
English	46%	77%	11%	12%	81%	14%	5%
History	63	61	24	15	59	26	15
Biology/Chemistry	54	97	3	—	92	8	—
Mathematics	40	93	—	7	88	8	4
Foreign Language	47	53	41	6	94	—	6
Fine Arts	50	68	14	18	68	5	27
Education/Speech	67	26	56	18	63	19	18
Social Sciences	65	91	9	—	70	22	8
Humanities	29	100	—	—	100	—	—
Engineering	33	67	—	33	67	—	33
Total	51%	72%	18%	10%	75%	15%	10%

* Includes community colleges.

Source: National Survey of Doctor of Arts Degree Recipients, Spring 1991.

⁴³⁸ Judith Glazer. *A Teaching Doctorate? The Doctor of Arts Degree, Then and Now.* (Washington DC: American Association for Higher Education, 1993.) 49.

APPENDIX 1

A Brief History of Higher Education

Since the 18th century, The United States and its founders focused on the importance of education. Many of the founders saw education in the United States as instrumental to the survival of the Union. Thomas Jefferson was so passionate about higher education in the United States that he founded the University of Virginia. Jefferson wrote, “I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom, and happiness.”⁴³⁹ For men like Thomas Jefferson, education sat at the heart of American democracy.

The history of higher education in the United States closely mirrors the history of the United States more broadly. When the United States was still firmly tied with Britain, early administrators, built institutions that very closely mirrored the British system.⁴⁴⁰ Early American institutions focused on providing a traditional liberal arts education and sought to serve the public good.⁴⁴¹ Through the 19th century, as the United States expanded westward, universities and colleges moved westward as well. With growing interest in the expansion of the agricultural output of the United States, states founded vocational institutions to improve the efficiency and productivity of the agricultural sector by educating farmers and related industry. Social and cultural changes in the early twentieth century encouraged the growth of new styles of educational institutions, coeducational colleges, Historically black colleges and universities, professional schools, of the higher education system in the 19th century. After World War II, the

⁴³⁹ Jefferson, Thomas. “Jefferson Quotes and Family Letters” *The Jefferson, Monticello*. Accessed 18 October 2018, http://tjrs.monticello.org/archive/search/quotes?field_tjrs_categorization_tid%5B%5D=2174.

⁴⁴⁰ David F. Labaree, *A Perfect Mess: The Unlikely Ascendancy of American Higher Education*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.)

⁴⁴¹ Charles. Dorn, *For the Common Good: A New History of Higher Education in America*. (Cambridge: Cornell University Press, 2016.)

United States found itself as a military and economic power in the world, and as a result, higher education sought to assert America's industrial, scientific, and economic superiority through investment in science, engineering, and technology. These changes led to the rise of STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) based fields. Higher education in America is a mirror to the historical priorities of the United States. When American changes, American higher education changes with it.

It is crucial to keep in mind when looking at the history of higher education that each period builds on the previous one. While each period of American higher education has challenges and opportunities, this survey organizes the history of these periods around **four major themes**. The **first theme** pertains to curriculum changes. Every period in American higher education witnessed ongoing efforts to adapt the curriculum to the requirements of society, the economy, and American political culture. The **second theme** is accessibility. In keeping with democratic roots and the tie between higher education and democracy in the U.S., the American higher education navigated the challenges of providing accessibility to students of different races, creeds, gender, and nationalities. The **third major theme** deals with changes in funding standards and sources. Like any institution funding plays an essential role in the character and development of higher education, and, while funding for higher education in the U.S. has always drawn on private funds, public funds, and tuition, the proportion of these funds has shifted over time. The **final theme** of this introduction will explore the introduction of new institutional models. In response to changes in funding, in student population, and the curriculum, state actors and private groups introduced new institutional models designed to address new opportunities and challenges over time. These appear throughout the history of

higher education and can provide a thematic look at the development of American higher education through its beginnings to the modern-day.

A vibrant scholarly discourse has developed around efforts to understand higher education in America. The study of higher education proliferated during the mid-twentieth century. Early works like Fredrick Rudolph's *American College and University: A History* served as a standard for the discussion of higher education in America.⁴⁴² The works of Laurence R. Veysey and John R. Thelin also provide more recent surveys of Higher Education's development in the United States.⁴⁴³ Other authors take a more policy-based and nuanced approach to higher education. Authors like Charles Dorn examine the purpose of higher education throughout its history, or Julie Posselt, who examines the impacts of admissions standards on graduate admissions.⁴⁴⁴ Dozens of scholarly journals focus on the history of higher education. *College Teaching*, *The History of Higher Education*, *Review of Higher Education*, among others provide an avenue for hundreds of scholars across the United States, to present their research on the history of higher education the functions of higher education from its most broad-spectrum, to the minutia, and the historiography grows every year.

The following pages will trace through the history of Higher education in the United States very briefly. Though brief, it will become clear that the study of higher education via the four major themes dictated above, can provide a distinctive lens through which to view American history.

⁴⁴² Fredrick. Rudolph, *American College and University: A History*. (University of Georgia Press, 1990 (Re-Issue Ed.)).

⁴⁴³ Lawrence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.); John R Thelin. *A History of American Higher Education*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press: 2011.)

⁴⁴⁴ Dorn, 25; Posselt, Julie. *Inside Graduate Admissions: Merit Diversity, and Faculty Gatekeeping*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.)

Higher Education in the Colonies

During the colonial period, American higher education developed from the British system, and it had a distinct impact on early American institutions. The oldest institution of higher education in the United States is Harvard University. Founded in 1636, it served as the genesis of the American higher education system⁴⁴⁵ Along with several other early institutions: The College of William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, Rutgers (founded initially as Queen's College), and others were all founded during the colonial period of the United States.⁴⁴⁶ These schools closely resembled their English counterparts, Oxford and Cambridge, developed around individual colleges. In early American colleges, a president would oversee the operations of an institution, but often would teach as well, due to the small number of students enrolled in these colleges. Many titles used by high-level administrators today, such as Provost, Chancellor, and Dean share their roots with their counterparts in the British system. The architectural style of early American colleges also echoed the style of British institutions. Harvard's architecture is in the neoclassical style, similar to that of Oxford. What kept these schools from becoming clones of their British counterparts was enrollment.⁴⁴⁷ Enrollments in these early institutions were very low. Since enrollments were low, the number of faculty was low, and this kept operating costs low. In the early years for these institutions there would likely be only a handful of students and even fewer faculty. Further, the likelihood of these faculty members having college experience themselves was low.⁴⁴⁸ The first institutions of higher education in America were small, and it

⁴⁴⁵ Presidents and Fellows of Harvard College. "Harvard at a Glance" *Harvard College*. <https://www.harvard.edu/about-harvard/harvard-glance>.

⁴⁴⁶ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 1.

⁴⁴⁷ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 8-12.

⁴⁴⁸ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 18-20.

was trying to grow, but the social and economic realities in the colonies kept them from going to college. These small early institutions in the United States served local communities, as they were more tied to the individual communities than their counterparts in England.

During the colonial period, accessibility was low for higher education because few people could send their sons to college. In England, colleges were exclusively for members of the upper class, and those who desired to join the clergy.⁴⁴⁹ The cultural makeup of the students in colonial colleges was significantly different than we see today. The students were exclusively white men, who came from wealthy families. These students were at times willful, disobedient, and on a few occasions, violent toward the faculty. Student behavior sometimes forced colleges to expel students, but the financial and social need to maintain enrolment numbers and tuition income led to these students returning the following semester and acting out again.⁴⁵⁰

The colonial curriculum closely resembled that of the English system. American colleges, much like their British counterparts, existed to teach students classics, like Greek, Latin, philosophy, rhetoric, and a study of the liberal arts. The early colonial colleges also focused on training clergy. Early institutions were not research-based. In many cases, early colonial colleges articulated their mission to provide for the common good. They sought to teach the men who attended them on how to be better citizens, church members, civic leaders, et cetera. Colleges and universities worked to make their students more productive members of society. Through the study of the Classics, students sought to develop the skills and social character necessary to serve in leadership positions, because of their education.⁴⁵¹ Often students would spend a few

⁴⁴⁹ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz. *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.) 10-17.

⁴⁵⁰ Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life*: 23-27.

⁴⁵¹ Dorn, *For the Common Good*: 2.

semesters in school and then transition into jobs as their family needs dictated. As a result, many early college students did not complete degrees.⁴⁵²

As an extension, their mission to advance the public good, many early colleges focused on religion, and the production of clergy members. Protestantism was the dominant religion in the United States, and the population of the colonies grew rapidly. This population growth led to a need for more clergy members. These early colleges helped fill the demand for these clergy members, as they provided religious education.⁴⁵³ Uniquely in the United States, the denominations in the colonial period were much more influential, and the different religions were more tolerated in the American colonies than in England. The differences in religious affiliations were influential in the creation of the different American colonies, and the religious denominations were similarly instrumental in the development of individual institutions.⁴⁵⁴

The colonial period in American higher education illustrates that, like America itself, higher education in America was in its infancy. It was small, and melded aspects of England with the distinct needs of the colonies in terms of institutional organization, curriculum, and architecture, but reproduced on a smaller and regional scale. However, As the 19th century began, the American higher education system began to grow significantly and became a system all its own.

1800-1860

The 19th century in American higher education was marked by expansion. Westward expansion and the industrial revolution pushed higher education in the United States to grow

⁴⁵² Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 21.

⁴⁵³ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 23-27.

⁴⁵⁴ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 14-15.

along with the new nation. In 1800 there were twenty-five degree-granting institutions in the United States, but by 1820 there were fifty-two. In 1860 there were two hundred and forty-one degree-granting institutions in the United States.⁴⁵⁵ As the American populace moved west, and higher education expanded with states founding universities in Iowa, Illinois, and Michigan to serve the newly settled regions. All of this expansion allowed for greater coverage of accessibility across the United States.

The expansion of the American higher education system produced a few innovations in institutional type as well. Newly founded state universities accelerated the establishment of professional schools during this period with medical and law schools springing up across the young nation. The first medical school was founded at the University of Pennsylvania in 1765; several others were built during the early years of the 19th century.⁴⁵⁶ The Universities of Maryland, New York, Connecticut, and others all established medical schools during this period. The American Medical Association was founded during this period, and they provided some rough curricular guidelines, but there was very little government oversight.⁴⁵⁷ Professionalization of the medical practice did not occur for another five decades, and as a result, the curriculum was not standardized across the newly founded medical schools, and the education that students received varied widely.⁴⁵⁸

Another type of professional school, the normal school was also a product of this period. They developed as an institution, as a result of westward expansion. The first normal school was founded in Vermont in the early 1830s. The concept of the normal school spread, and dozens of

⁴⁵⁵ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 41-42.

⁴⁵⁶ University of Pennsylvania "School of Medicine, Historical Development 1765-1800." *University of Pennsylvania, Archives and Records Center*. 2017. Accessed 18 October 2018. <http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/1700s/medsch.html>.

⁴⁵⁷ American Medical Association, "AMA History" *American Medical Association*, 2017. <https://www.ama-assn.org/ama-history>.

⁴⁵⁸ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 53-58.

normal schools were set up around the United States. The normal school was developed as a teacher's college and was dedicated to the training and creation of teachers. Except for a few exceptions, the normal schools were the only coeducational schools, allowing women to receive an education.⁴⁵⁹ Normal schools tended to be regional and catered to regional student needs. Nearly two hundred normal former schools still exist today.⁴⁶⁰ These normal schools were rebranded as colleges and universities during the early to mid-twentieth century to serve the needs of their communities better.⁴⁶¹ In the state of North Dakota, Valley City State University, Minot State University, and Mayville State University were all normal schools before reorganizing. While these institutions were founded in the late 19th century, meeting the needs of the local community were the driving factor behind their founding.

The 19th century saw the inclusion of women in higher education for the first time in the United States. Before 1800, women were not allowed in schools by the administrations, but by the mid 19th century, in addition to normal schools, a handful of women's colleges were opened. "Women's colleges were established to provide educational opportunities to those who were denied access to the American higher education system. ... Societal forces such as women's suffrage, the abolition movement, and religious intolerance also contributed to the founding of women's colleges."⁴⁶²

The Second Great Awakening saw the inclusion of for women's political rights, their role in abolitionism and other social and political movements with a religious fervor that coincided with the traditional role of colleges and universities as carrying forward progressive Christian

⁴⁵⁹ Kelly Ritter, "Her History Matters: The United States Normal School and the Roots of Women's Public Education." In *to Know Her Own History: Writing at the Woman's College, 1943-1963*, 19-52. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012. doi:10.2307/j.ctt7zw8cm.5. 1.

⁴⁶⁰ Ritter, "Her History Matters:" 19-52.

⁴⁶¹ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 21.

⁴⁶² Emily A. Langdon. "Women's Colleges Then and Now: Access Then, Equity Now." *Peabody Journal of Education* 76, no. 1 (2001): 5-30. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1493003>. 5.

ideas. Increasing sectionalism, the Second Great Awakening, and a rise in religious diversity fueled the founding of new religious schools during the first half of the nineteenth century. An essential new educational institution was created in America in the early nineteenth century—the theological seminary. The development of seminaries, although almost entirely ignored by twentieth-century educational historians, was a landmark achievement with far-reaching consequences for religion, education, and society. Education for the ministry became formally organized, systematized, and extended in the specialized theological seminaries which substantially improved professional preparation.⁴⁶³

As a result, religious schools grew in popularity during this period. Different denominational schools that allowed them to train clergy members in the intricacies of their own religious beliefs. They were often small, and very local, which meant that many of them were dependent on the local populations for support in funding and students alike.⁴⁶⁴

The theological seminary became the accepted pattern of professional training for the educated and learned ministry in Protestant churches. Alumni of seminaries and divinity schools preached not only the gospel but also extended education by establishing and supporting thousands of educational agencies and institutions literally: colleges and seminaries, academies and common schools, churches and Sunday schools.⁴⁶⁵ These seminary schools sought to provide their communities and surrounding areas with religious guidance, and simultaneously provide those religious leaders with the education to provide that guidance. The religious institutions and seminaries that founded during the early 19th century sought to serve their communities and provide for the common good.

⁴⁶³ Natalie A. Naylor. "The Theological Seminary in the Configuration of American Higher Education: The Antebellum Years." *History of Education Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (1977): 17-30.

⁴⁶⁴ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 60-64.

⁴⁶⁵ Naylor, "The Theological Seminary in the Configuration of American Higher Education" 17-30.

These institutions allowed women access to a level of education that was unprecedented and included them in the broader mission of higher education in supporting and advancing both the public and individual good. Oberlin College, Smith College, Wesleyan Female Seminary, Mount Holyoke, were a few of the institutions that opened during this period.⁴⁶⁶ These early educational institutions for women pursued a variety of outcomes ranging from providing more structured training for a growing nation's teachers to serving as affluent finishing schools for young ladies and offering the social and political advantages associated with "prestigious, selective, rigorous places of higher learning."⁴⁶⁷

The first half of the 19th century was marked industrial expansion across the eastern portion of the United States. Westward expansion was also an enormous factor in the early nineteenth century. It was during this period that some new institutions and institutional types were created, and as a result, higher education in the United States grew rapidly. It was during this period that the original land grant was proposed, but political turmoil forced it off of the political agenda. However, the start of the Civil War in 1861 slowed the growth of American higher education. The Civil War claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of men of college-age. That is not to say that innovation in higher education in America stopped. Notably, the Morrill Act, which established America's land grant institutions, was passed in 1862. The Civil War prompted a reevaluation of purpose for higher education, and the late nineteenth century becomes a distinct period in the history of higher education as a result.

Late 19th Century

⁴⁶⁶ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 55.

⁴⁶⁷ J. K. Rice. "Separation and the Education of Women." *Initiatives Magazine*, 1990. 53

The late nineteenth century saw a reorganization of the American higher education system marked, in particular, by the emergence of new institutional types. These new types of institutions allowed for new groups to have greater access to higher education. The late nineteenth century also saw the continued development of ideas of professionalism, and this movement extended from both the goals of higher education to the qualification of faculty. This period was transformative to the American higher education in the late 19th century.

The German perception of professionalization made its way into the institutions in the United States during the late 19th century. Professionalization is the creation of educational standards and curriculum by outside groups that work to elevate the recipients of the degrees. German influences on American higher education focused primarily on reforming institutional management styles, the professionalization of disciplines, and the creation of standardization in the curriculum.⁴⁶⁸ Johns Hopkins University was where the American-German style university was born. This form of university shifted its emphasis from teaching to a greater focus on both academic and practical research and the role of the university from a producer of students to being significant producers of new knowledge from the dynamic and increasingly complex late-19th-century economy. These notions were elevated further in the 1950s and continue to survive to this day.⁴⁶⁹ Johns Hopkins University opened in 1876 with the inauguration of its first president, Daniel Coit Gilman. To further the professionalization movement, Gilman oversaw the opening of the university press, the hospital, and the schools of nursing and medicine.⁴⁷⁰ Johns Hopkins led the shift into research and professional education in the late nineteenth century.

⁴⁶⁸ Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*. 22-26.

⁴⁶⁹ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 88-90.

⁴⁷⁰ Johns Hopkins University, "History and Mission" *Johns Hopkins University*. Accessed 18 October 2018. <https://www.jhu.edu/about/history/>

Between 1850 and 1900 universities in almost every western nation took a lead role in scientific research and also held a monopoly in the training of professional researchers.⁴⁷¹

Professionalization played an essential role during this period. As a result of these professionalization efforts, graduate schools were developed to elevate the level of education received at colleges. Graduate schools during this period were in their early years, the first PhDs and MAs were conferred, and the graduate school defined itself as a way to create professional academics. The late nineteenth century also saw the creation of professional groups like the American Historical Association in 1884, the American Bar Association in 1878, and others during the same period.⁴⁷² These groups, in turn, created standards for disciplinary methodologies and, in some cases, a standardized curriculum.⁴⁷³ This professionalization saw the requirements for admissions and graduation being redefined by administrators and professional associations.

Professionalization also translated into the university faculty as well. During the late nineteenth century, requirements to teach at the collegiate level were formalized by administrators around the United States. Further, graduate-level education and an advanced degree like the MA became standard.⁴⁷⁴ Professionalization in academic faculty and the standardization of curriculum in professional programs created the modern university professor. The American

⁴⁷¹ Robert E. Kohler. "The Ph.D. Machine: Building on the Collegiate Base." *Isis* 81, no. 4 (1990): 638-62. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/233809>.

⁴⁷² American Historical Association, "Brief History of the AHA." *American Historical Association*. <https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/brief-history-of-the-aha>; American Bar Association "History of the American Bar Association," *American Bar Association*, https://www.americanbar.org/about_the_aba/history.html

⁴⁷³ Leonard Cassuto. *The Graduate School Mess: What Caused it and How We Can Fix It*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015) 22-23.

⁴⁷⁴ Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*. 126-127.

Historical Association, for example, pushed for the Ph.D. as the degree required to be a professional historian.⁴⁷⁵

The late nineteenth century saw the establishment of several different types of institutions. There were a significant number of institutions that were established during the early 19th century. By 1850 nearly five hundred different institutions were operating within the United States.⁴⁷⁶ This period was marked by a large number of new types of educational institutions: co-educational institutions, historically black colleges, and land-grant institutions.

Co-education was an essential innovation of the late 19th century. By 1860, approximately forty-five institutions allowed women into their programs, but the curriculum was focused mainly on vocational training and professional education. These institutions often heavily favored women, but it was during this period that different institutions were allowing women to enroll in courses. The first coeducational schools drastically changed the way that women interacted with higher education in the United States. It was during this period that women were able to go to college with men, but, unfortunately, the types of education that women received did not bring total equality into the classroom.⁴⁷⁷

The late nineteenth century saw the development of two different types of institutions as well. The first institutional type was the creation of the Land Grant institutions. These land grant institutions were set up by the 1862 Morrill Act, which provided large parcels of land to institutions in each state. These lands were then sold by the federal government to provide

⁴⁷⁵ Peter Novick. *That Noble Dream: The Objectivity Question and the American Historical Profession*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁴⁷⁶ Claudia Goldin, and Lawrence F. Katz. "The Shaping of Higher Education: The Formative Years in the United States, 1890 to 1940." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13, no. 1 (1999): 37-62.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2647136>.

⁴⁷⁷ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 96-98.

funding for these institutions.⁴⁷⁸ These schools were required to make some curriculum concessions to the federal government as a result. These schools were required to specialize in agriculture and technical education.⁴⁷⁹ Iowa State University and the University of Minnesota are all the land grant institutions of their states. As new states were added to the union, the Morrill Act was extended to these states as well. North Dakota State University was one of the recipients of these extensions. These new institutional types were also used in the creation of many State College systems, and further differentiated the other public schools that focused around the newly founded professional programs and academics.

The second Morrill Act in 1890, kept the land grant institutions from using race as a factor in admittance, and it also assisted in the creation of many historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs.)⁴⁸⁰ Historically black colleges and universities have a proud and storied role in the education and progress of blacks in the United States. For nearly a century, HBCUs were among the only institutions of higher learning open to African Americans.⁴⁸¹ In the reconstruction south, racism was still a problem, and segregation was still commonplace. HBCUs were essential to the accessibility of education for the former slave populations. Spelman University, Delaware State University, Howard University, and dozens of others were all established as a result of the Second Morrill Act of 1890, to help the former slave populations achieve some semblance of equality.⁴⁸² HBCUs did not train students in emerging professions like law and medicine, and as a result, the graduates of HBCUs were not qualified for them.

⁴⁷⁸ John Morrill. "Morrill Act" *Primary Sources in American History*. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Morrill.html>.

⁴⁷⁹ Goldin and Katz, "The Shaping of Higher Education:"

⁴⁸⁰ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 105.

⁴⁸¹ Roland G. Fryer, and Michael Greenstone. "The Changing Consequences of Attending Historically Black Colleges and Universities." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 2, no. 1 (2010): 116-48. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25760195>.

⁴⁸² Dorn, *For the Common Good*; 151-168.

Those who did gain these qualifications were forced to go to existing schools.⁴⁸³ HBCUs still exist today, but since the 1960s equal opportunity has diversified the student populations at these traditional black colleges.⁴⁸⁴

The late 19th century was a critical period in the development of American higher education. It saw the development of the public university system, professionalize, and the inclusion of African Americans and women via the creation of new institutional types.⁴⁸⁵

All of these factors allowed the United States to become one of the largest providers of higher education in the world. By 1880 there were over 800 institutions of various types in the United States, five times as many as Europe.⁴⁸⁶ Higher education in the United States continued to develop through the early years of the 20th century as an economic and diplomatic powerhouse on the world stage.

Early 20th Century

The early years of the 20th century saw several changes in the development of American higher education. The early 20th century saw the extension of the themes of the late 19th century, but a few innovations made it significant. Thematically, the early 20th century saw changes in the curriculum as a result of professionalization. As the late 19th century's push to professionalize spread, graduate schools developed in earnest, professional associations and institutional protections for faculty members became very influential. These advancements also assisted in the creation of a tier system in American higher education.

⁴⁸³ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 102-103.

⁴⁸⁴ Kim Clark. "Why Black Colleges May be the Best Value" *US News and World Report*. 9 February 2009. <https://www.usnews.com/education/articles/2009/02/09/why-black-colleges-might-be-the-best-bargains>

⁴⁸⁵ Goldin, and Katz. "The Shaping of Higher Education:"

⁴⁸⁶ David F. Labaree. *A Perfect Mess: The Unlikely Ascendancy of American Higher Education*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.) 40- 41.

The professionalization movement created the need for graduate schools in the late 19th century, but it was not until the early 20th century that graduate education in the United States expanded beyond a handful of schools. The development of graduate degrees and the standards and practices that went along with it were still in their infancy, and it was not until the early twentieth century that these standards and practices were defined by administrators, discipline-specific professional organizations, and governmental bodies.⁴⁸⁷ Professional schools were also pressured to supply the needs of schools. They provided teachers and other personnel, for leadership in the development of a body of professional knowledge, and a degree of protection from the whims of public opinion and political expediency.⁴⁸⁸

Universities during the early twentieth century were still trying to define the best way to conduct graduate education. During the 1930's it became apparent that the simple four-year teacher education requirement was not sufficient for professionalization.⁴⁸⁹ It was during this period that the Master's degree came to prominence. However, the MA was quickly replaced by the need for more formal education, and the Ph.D. Became the gold standard college professors.⁴⁹⁰

There was a good deal of variation between academic disciplines and the requirements for both graduate and undergraduate curricula. The older universities like Harvard and Yale were seen as the most prestigious points of American Higher education, and they offered a model for colleges and universities that sought to emulate them to gain some of their prestige for themselves. The east coast universities like Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and Yale were the first to

⁴⁸⁷ Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 205.

⁴⁸⁸ Geraldine Joncich Clifford. "The Formative Years of Schools of Education in America: A Five-Institution Analysis." *American Journal of Education* 94, no. 4 (1986): 427-46. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1085336>.

⁴⁸⁹ William Brink. "Selecting Graduate Students," *The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 10, No. 8 (Nov. 1939), pp. 425-430. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1974267>

⁴⁹⁰ Cassuto, *The Graduate School Mess*, 26.

establish graduate schools. As a result, these schools created a template for graduate education and proposed curriculum, cultivated culture, and set standards that spread to other universities around the country.⁴⁹¹ The prestige of these programs created a tiered system of academics that is seen in American higher education today. The higher tiers of institutions, like Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, are those with the most academic prestige. They often have more students and cost more for students to attend. Lower tier schools worked to imitate the higher tier schools in order to bolster their legitimacy and prestige.⁴⁹²

The professionalization of academia in the early 20th century was the direct result of those who worked in the university to organizing themselves into professional organizations. The American Association of University Professors or AAUP is one of these professional organizations. During the early 20th century, the university professor had little to no rights when it came to academic freedom. In fact, at Stanford University, a professor was fired after speaking out against the treatment of workers by railroad barons of the late 19th century. Stanford was named after one such railroad baron, and the professor was fired.⁴⁹³ By 1940, the AAUP published their “Statements of the Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure.” The AAUP defines the guidelines of the tenure system and the rights and privileges that are included with it. They also define the ideas of academic freedom, which allows professors and instructors the right to research and teach, in any manner that they see fit, as long as they fit within a defined set of professional guidelines.⁴⁹⁴ The establishment of academic freedom and tenure allowed faculty to research things that previously impossible, and it allowed professors to teach topics without

⁴⁹¹ Cassuto, *The Graduate School Mess*, 31.

⁴⁹² Clifford, "The Formative Years of Schools of Education in America" 427-46.

⁴⁹³ Ralph F Fuchs. "Academic Freedom. Its Basic Philosophy, Function, and History." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 28, no. 3 (1963): 431-46. doi:10.2307/1190640.

⁴⁹⁴ American Association of University Professors. "Statements of the Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure." AAUP. <https://www.aaup.org/report/1940-statement-principles-academic-freedom-and-tenure>.

fear of repercussions from administration or legislators.⁴⁹⁵ A university president would not know what makes a good economist or competent engineers; only engineers and economists know what is necessary to make good economists or engineers. So, administrators, in response to the professionalization of academic disciplines, over time, allowed for more and more academic freedom. The protection of academic freedom remains an essential factor in academia today.

The period of the early 20th century saw significant changes in higher education; the United States was becoming a player on the world stage and was establishing an empire of its own overseas. The early 20th century American higher education saw a similar period of definition. The prestige of American higher education grew as a result of increased professionalization, the creation of standardized graduate curriculum, and the implementation of standards and practices that applied to the faculty around the United States. The devastation of the first world war crippled the European economy, which made the 1920s very prosperous for the United States. The 1930s saw a distinct change, however, as they were quite hard for the United States. The Great Depression was difficult for higher ed. A crashing economy forced students out of college and into the workplace. The great depression hit America very hard, and the higher education system was no different. Enrollments dropped significantly, and universities faced budgetary crises during the great depression. World War II pulled the United States out of the economic devastation,

Mid 20th Century

As the carnage of World War II drew to a close, the United States found itself in a position that was unprecedented in its history. The US found itself embroiled in a bitter political

⁴⁹⁵ Walter P. Metzger. "The 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 53, no. 3 (1990): 3-77. doi:10.2307/1191793.

struggle against the USSR. Thematically, this period saw significant modernization which included, increases in accessibility, and ongoing efforts to redefine the curriculum across the academy fueled by new funding priorities and opportunities universities. The period after World War II marked the period of the most significant expansion of American higher education in history. The GI Bill bolstered enrolments in American universities by providing the funding to bring millions of veterans into colleges and universities across the country. The “space race” and the “arms race” followed the technological struggle between the U.S. and the USSR as it grew into the Cold War, and the federal government, along with private industry, began to invest millions of dollars in scientific research at universities. As a result of all of these factors, the Modernization of the American higher education dawned.

Shortly before the end of World War II, Congress passed the Serviceman’s Re-Adjustment act of 1944, colloquially known as the GI Bill. Its goal was to provide an economic and education stimulus to the nearly twelve million returning veterans. It allowed these veterans the opportunity to attend college for free, or at significantly reduced cost. The GI Bill gave access to higher education, for millions who would otherwise not have had the opportunity. Almost 70 percent of all men who turned 21 between 1940 and 1955 were guaranteed a free college education as a result of the GI bills. By 1960, approximately 18 percent of college-educated males in the United States had their college education financed by the GI Bill subsidy.⁴⁹⁶ As a result of these millions of new students, the American higher education system was inundated with students rather quickly.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁶ Marcus Stanley. "College Education and the Midcentury GI Bills." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 118, no. 2 (2003): 671-708. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25053917>.

⁴⁹⁷ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 260.

Further, as a result of the GI Bill and the influx of new students, in faculty authority came as a result of the growing resources and significance of research in higher education which tended to follow the trajectory of professionalization and the involvement of government and private money in American higher education. During this period, both the research and teaching capacities of American higher education expanded quickly.⁴⁹⁸ Under World War II, legislation 2,232,000 veterans attended college at the cost of 5.5 billion dollars.⁴⁹⁹ As a result of the GI Bill, post-war prosperity, and the rise of the American middle class, American higher education saw unprecedented expansion.

As significant as the GI Bill in spurring the expansion of American higher education, the period also saw the beginning of the Cold War, which spurred a significant increase in funded scientific research on university campuses. Billions of private, and federal grant dollars, facilitated the emergence of "Big Science" and STEM-related fields.⁵⁰⁰ This expansion of STEM made colleges and universities the center of military research and development through much of the Cold War period.⁵⁰¹ The emergence of Big Science allowed the United States the space to focus on scientific innovation which pushed the technological innovation forward.

The emergence of government and private industry funding called into question the mission of higher education. Since the beginning, the mission of higher education was to provide for the benefit of the common good. However, the emergence of Big Science and outside funding sources the mission of the University was changing, making the university more geared toward the private good. Higher education was no longer geared toward making people better

⁴⁹⁸ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 260-280.

⁴⁹⁹ Keith W. Olson. "The G. I. Bill and Higher Education: Success and Surprise." *American Quarterly* 25, no. 5 (1973): 596-610. doi:10.2307/2711698.

⁵⁰⁰ Alvin M. Weinberg. "The Federal Laboratories and Science Education." *Science* 136, no. 3510 (1962): 27-30. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1708778>.

⁵⁰¹ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 280.

civic and religious leaders, but instead to create better things via research and manufacturing.⁵⁰² Professional academics boosted by public and private funds argued that academia was for the creation of new knowledge via research. The American taxpayer, on the other hand, saw academics as purveyors of academic knowledge to students. Administrators, needing to fund their institutions, wanted to have teachers in the classroom teaching students.⁵⁰³ Three different groups all arguing that the method of achieving value from higher education in the United States was different. All of these competing ideas created a great deal of ambiguity in the mission of higher education in the United States.

The mid-twentieth century's Modernization saw several changes in the American system of higher education; however, the modernization was not without its issues. Millions of Americans were given access to higher education, and new sources of investment bolstered STEM fields. All of these factors took hold in a short amount of time, and the existing higher education institutions were ill-equipped to handle this influx of students. Despite the booming post-World War II economy, the American higher education system expanded faster than they could create resources. The American higher education system proliferated, and universities were unable to accommodate the influx of students. For many universities, resources like housing, classroom space, and other essential services were in short supply. The University of North Dakota, for example, was forced to house students in train cars until permanent student quarters could be built.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰² Dorn, *For the Common Good*: 45

⁵⁰³ Dunham, E. Alden. "Rx for Higher Education: The Doctor of Arts Degree." *The Journal of Higher Education* 41, no. 7 (1970): 505-15.

⁵⁰⁴ Lewis Geiger. *University of the Northern Plains: A History of the University of North Dakota, 1883-1958*. (Grand Forks ND: University of North Dakota Press, 1958.)

One of the most significant impacts of the modernization of higher education was the creation of additional graduate programs at universities around the United States, and the following definition of curriculum in those programs. The influx of students as a result of the GI Bill, colleges and universities had trouble producing enough teachers and instructors to cover the classes and labs required under the increasingly professional curriculum.⁵⁰⁵ In order to combat this, universities compensated by expanding graduate programs across the nation to create more faculty members.⁵⁰⁶ New graduate degree types, like the Doctorate of Arts, or the Doctor of Education, were created during this period. These new degrees allowed universities to produce qualified college faculty more quickly and with a more significant professional focus on teaching, rather than research, to fulfill the need of institutions for qualified, doctoral-level instructors.⁵⁰⁷ It was near the end of this period, in 1969, that the University of North Dakota founded its Doctor of Arts Degree in the history department. The founders of this degree found, “They understood the D.A. to be a response to the increasingly narrow scope of specialization that had come to characterize the Ph.D. degree.”⁵⁰⁸ These doctorate degrees were built in order to assist the institutions with their faculty shortages and survived well into the late 20th century.

Like all transformative periods, the modernization of Higher education tapered off in the 1970s. This period in American higher education witnessed a slowdown in growth, a steep rise in tuition and university budgets, pedagogical and technological innovations, new institutional types, and a reorganization of higher education’s institutional organization. These ideas continue

⁵⁰⁵ Cassuto, *The Graduate School Mess.*, 105.

⁵⁰⁶ Joe Gowaskie. "The Teaching of World History: A Status Report." *The History Teacher* 18, no. 3 (1985): 365-75.

⁵⁰⁷ Labaree, *A Perfect Mess.*, 75.

⁵⁰⁸ William R Caraher. “History at the University of North Dakota, 1885-1970.” Unpublished Document, 2009. 66

to dominate higher education today, leaving the future of higher education in a state of uncertainty.

Late 20th and Early 21st Century

Modern American higher education began in the 1970s, which was marked by a slowdown in the growth of the American university system. Thematically, the modern period is characterized by many different funding solutions for the new institutions, and the creation of new or resurgence of institutional types. The United States during the 1970s and 1980s was still growing economically, and so was the American system of higher education. The explosion of growth from the late 1940s to the late 1960s, as a result of the GI Bill and the peculiar circumstances that produced the post-war economic boom. The rate of growth dropped significantly in American higher education during the 1970s.⁵⁰⁹ It was during this period of slowdown that witnessed another moment of adaptation in American higher education. By the 1970s, higher education in the U.S. consisted of approximately 2500 loosely affiliated institutions, with little internal unity. Also, after the growth of the post-war years, the budgets of these universities were often overextended and were often created. The federal GI Bill dollars were beginning to taper off as the influx of students after the end of Vietnam drew down, and the states were unable to keep up with the institutional need. Internal studies found that universities were poorly equipped for long term slowdowns in funding, and new funding models were forced into place.⁵¹⁰

Funding models changed significantly in the late 20th century. The modernization of American higher education allowed institutions to expand quickly, and the federal grants and

⁵⁰⁹ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 318-320.

⁵¹⁰ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 318.

state governments were able to keep up; however, the 1970s saw a drawdown in government and state funding, leading to budget shortages at institutions around the nation.⁵¹¹ The early 21st century saw a significant recession, that saw economic hardship spread across the United States. American universities, after decades of institutional expansion, over-extension, and deferred maintenance, colleges and universities could no longer cover costs with state funding, grant dollars, and private donations.

As a result of these funding shortages, institutions around the United States were forced to raise tuition costs to offset the funding shortages. Increases in student tuition increased the price tag for a college education and lowered the accessibility of higher education in America.⁵¹² Since 1970, the average cost of tuition has risen by over a thousand percent in the United States.⁵¹³ The rising costs of education at large state and smaller private institutions created a demand for smaller regional institutions, like community colleges, or small four-year colleges.⁵¹⁴

The tuition hikes of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries assisted in the revitalization of small regional institutions and community colleges. Cost and accessibility pushed some of the demand for higher education away from the larger institutions. Accessibility and the desire for higher education also assisted in the propagation of community colleges, and the re-emergence of small junior colleges. These alternative institutions allowed lower-income students access to higher education at a lower cost.⁵¹⁵ These institutions tend to focus on vocational abilities, and community needs. Community and Junior Colleges, often to offer job

⁵¹¹ Christopher Newfield. *The Great Mistake: How We Wrecked Public Universities and How We Can Fix Them*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016.) 131-135.

⁵¹² Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 351.

⁵¹³ Newfield, *The Great Mistake*: 134.

⁵¹⁴ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 332.

⁵¹⁵ Arthur M. Cohen. "The Case for the Community College." *American Journal of Education* 98, no. 4 (1990): 426-42. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1085325>.

training and certification in job skills. Administrators lobbied for funds for occupational programs, built corporate connections, and worked to gain non-traditional students.⁵¹⁶

Tech and community colleges helped satisfy market demand from lower-income Americans. They continue to provide access to job training in fields like nursing, auto repair, and other jobs that serve a community need. States and even federal programs have supported the development of community and junior colleges to support vocational training. Further, community colleges allowed lower-income students an avenue to take their general education classes at a lower tuition institution before transferring into a more traditional university for their specialized departmental education while pursuing a four-year degree.⁵¹⁷ Today, nearly half of all undergraduates first attend a community or junior colleges, and these institutions are one of the first steps in upward social mobility.⁵¹⁸ Taking general education courses at a community or junior colleges has not always produced the same educational outcomes as taking these courses at four-year schools.

Another new institutional type rose out of this period as well. For-profit colleges arose in the late 20th and early 21st century. For-profit colleges are degree-granting institutions that are established as a business. These for-profit institutions are also a reaction to the job market, and how the need for a higher education degree is deemed nearly essential in the United States. These institutions provide accessible education for many that cannot attend in-person classes and have helped lead higher education technologically.⁵¹⁹ For all the good that for-profit institutions provide for their students, they are often predatory, and their purpose is to turn a profit. For-

⁵¹⁶ Cohen, "The Case for the Community College."

⁵¹⁷ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 332-335.

⁵¹⁸ Patrick M. Callan. "Stewards of Opportunity: America's Public Community Colleges." *Daedalus* 126, no. 4 (1997): 95-112. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20027460>.

⁵¹⁹ Ann I. Morey. "Globalization and the Emergence of For-Profit Higher Education." *Higher Education* 48, no. 1 (2004): 131-50. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4151533>.

profit institutions provide education to students in a convenient fashion, but often the education that is received from these institutions is sub-par. Many of the programs that are offered at these institutions are not federally recognized. Many of these institutions in the last several years have been investigated, and even shut down for their predatory business practices, and not providing the advertised level of education to their students.⁵²⁰

The modern university has also been changed by technology and academic research. The advent of the internet and other technological advances forever changed the delivery of higher education. Pedagogical research is conducted in departments around the United States, that are studying technology's impact on learning and in turn, are revising teaching practices. Curriculum and methodologies change every semester based on new research on the impacts of technology on pedagogy.⁵²¹ Internet-based learning took on a huge role in American higher education and allowed students the freedom to take classes from institutions anywhere in the country, breaking down some of the traditional regional importance of the university.⁵²² Internet-based teaching aids like Blackboard, or Desire 2 Learn, have recently challenged the traditional prevalence of the lecture-based classroom, particularly at larger public and state universities.⁵²³ Changes to technology in American higher education have drastically changed the way that students experience learning in American classrooms, but also the way that instructors interact with their students.

The late 20th and early 21st century was a period of self-evaluation and uncertainty for American higher education. In the same way that it was for the United States as a whole. The

⁵²⁰ Stephanie Riegg Cellini. "FOR-PROFIT HIGHER EDUCATION: AN ASSESSMENT OF COSTS AND BENEFITS." *National Tax Journal* 65, no. 1 (2012): 153-79. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41791117>.

⁵²¹ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 366-367.

⁵²² Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*. 368-370.

⁵²³ Lin, Canchu, and Louisa Ha. "Subcultures and Use of Communication Information Technology in Higher Education Institutions." *The Journal of Higher Education* 80, no. 5 (2009): 564-90. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27750745>.

uncertainty of the Cold War ended, and economic prosperity returned. The mid-2000s saw an economic downturn, and waves of budget cuts swept through American institutions. The late 20th and early 21st centuries were a period where American higher education identified several weaknesses. It remains to be seen how, or when these weaknesses will be solved, but academics are working on ways to solve these issues even now.

What the future holds for American higher education is uncertain, but what is certain is that the four themes of change that have been present through the history of higher education in America (curriculum changes, accessibility issues, changing funding standards, and new institutional models) will doubtless play an essential role in American higher education for years to come.

The four themes of American higher education were present throughout American history. From the foundation of the earliest institutions in the 17th century to the most extensive university system on earth that is still growing to this day, the system of American higher education has experienced cycles of growth and change. It also experienced funding changes and implemented solutions, created innovative institutional types to provide access for underrepresented groups, and refined the curriculum offered at the institutions to provide the best education that can be provided. All of these themes are seen throughout American history; some periods saw a more significant representation of some. The history of higher education in the United States closely mirrors that of the history of the United States. When the United States saw prosperity, so did higher education, when there was a hardship, higher education saw similar hardships. When considering the history of higher education in the United States, it is vital to keep in mind the greater history of America.

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