

Education

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Barriers to Women's Leadership in the Academy The Contours of Free Expression on Campus How the Obsession with Smartness Shortchanges Students Assessing Students' Global Experiences New Data on Incoming Transgender College Students Promoting the Success of Students of Color by Promoting the Success of Faculty of Color

Rebuilding Public Trust in an Age of Anti-Intellectualism

SOCIOBIOLOGIST E. O. WILSON'S COGENT OBSERVATION that contemporary society is "drowning in information, while starving for wisdom" is accompanied by his prediction that "the world henceforth will be run by synthesizers, people able to put together the right information at the right time, think critically about it, and make important choices wisely."¹ Wilson's comments highlight both the value of a liberal education and the ideal of an educated citizenry in an age when the democratization of information through the Internet has given rise to a new wave of anti-intellectualism—one grounded in the denial of reason and the distrust and disdain of experts. The result has been an increasing polarization of American society and an entrenched refusal to countenance opposing points of view, contributing to a marketplace of ideas at risk of falling

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

prey to those who have the resources to control the shaping of public opinion and policies. In this arena, asserted claims be-

come orthodoxy despite the absence of evidence and in the face of enduring questions. Indeed, nearly a century and a half after her death, there is an ostensibly burgeoning allegiance to the advice given by the poet Emily Dickinson: "Tell all the Truth but tell it slant—/Success in Circuit lies."²

During the opening plenary of AAC&U's 2017 annual meeting, "Rebuilding Public Trust in the Promise of Liberal Education and Inclusive Excellence," I argued that leaders in the academy must reaffirm and demonstrate the critical role that liberal education plays in discerning the truth. At the same time, if we are to counter the widespread perception that colleges and universities are out of touch with mainstream America, we must interrogate the extent to which existing institutional structures, policies, and practices have perpetuated this misconception. It is a point echoed by Catherine Liu, author of *The American Idyll: Academic Anti-Elitism as Cultural Critique*. In an interview with Saffron Huang, Liu notes that the current anti-intellectualism is, in part, "a reaction against an increasingly organized educational institution that was once supposed to democratize knowledge, but is now becoming more like a cartel." As Huang observes, the fact that many of the most high-profile educational institutions "operate on the basis of exclusion, by test scores or family income," has led to a growing sense of resentment and suspicion by those denied access to the halls of academia.³

Beyond the destructive, disparate impact on underserved students of a national obsession with standardized tests and the persistent myth of meritocracy, structural impediments continue to marginalize the crucial work of faculty dedicated to providing the broadest access to excellence in higher education through humanistic practice. Such practice reaches beyond the gates, recognizing the value of connecting with those beyond the narrow confines of the ivory tower, and refuses to exalt knowledge disseminated in peer-reviewed journal articles above all else. It contravenes the assumptions underlying this moment in the history of the academy when the professional structures of academic scholarship, with its tendency to neglect teaching excellence, outreach, civic engagement, and public intellectualism, are alienated from a more widespread humanistic comportment to life. These barriers fuel the prevailing rhetoric that reduces the value of higher education solely to job training and positions liberal education not only as a self-indulgent luxury, reserved for the privileged elite, but also as stigmatizing those who question its worth. If American colleges and universities are to make progress in redressing the growing economic segregation in higher education that threatens to destabilize our democracy, we need to expand our modes of engagement to connect the work being done on our campuses with people's everyday lives.

Restoring public trust in higher education and destabilizing the cultural attitudes at the basis of proposals that devalue liberal education will require demonstrating in a more compelling way the extent to which we actually are teaching students twenty-first-century skills, preparing them to solve our most pressing global, national, and local problems within the context of the workforce, not apart from it. But to do so, our institutions of higher education must come together to engage in an honest assessment of our effectiveness and undertake a collaborative exchange of best practices. Indeed, this was one of the primary purposes of our annual meeting. For those of us who believe that higher education is inextricably linked to our nation's historic mission of educating for democracy, it served as a collective call to action to contest accusations of irrelevancy and illegitimacy leveled against higher education.

The articles in this issue, drawn from presentations at the annual meeting, allow us to take stock of the many ways in which our colleagues across the country have taken up this charge. Just days after the inauguration of President Trump and the Women's March of 2017, and amidst reaction by leaders of higher education to the first executive travel ban, escalating controversy around the limits of free expression on college campuses, and unprecedented levels of bias-related incidents being reported by the Southern Poverty Law Center, AAC&U members confronted headon the most pressing issues of the day. In every case, the authors illuminate why our organization's mission of making liberal education and inclusive excellence the foundation of institutional purpose and educational practice is more crucial than ever. And while Wilson posits that "the real problem of humanity is the following: we have paleolithic emotions; medieval institutions; and god-like technology," he also reminds us that we can solve the crisis of the next hundred years if we are "honest and smart."⁴ —LYNN PASQUERELLA

NOTES

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^{1.} Edward O. Wilson, Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge (New York: Vintage, 1998), 294.

^{2.} Emily Dickinson, "Tell all the Truth but tell it slant," The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson, ed. Thomas H. Johnson (New York: Little, Brown, 1961), 506.

^{3.} Saffron Huang, "A Departure from Truth," *Harvard Political Review*, October 9, 2016, http:// harvardpolitics.com/world/anti-intellectualism.

^{4. &}quot;An Intellectual Entente," *Harvard Magazine*, September 10, 2009, http://harvardmagazine.com/ breaking-news/james-watson-edward-o-wilson-intellectual-entente.

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Recently, while browsing back issues of *Liberal Education*, I was struck (and amused) by how often my predecessor, Bridget Puzon, and I have alluded in this space to the difficulty of the task we both have had to face in editing issues focused on the annual meeting. In 2003, for example, Bridget observed wistfully that "the photographs and the articles are only a sample, captured to fit within the covers of the journal" and, in 2004, that, of the various and vital sessions, "(regrettably) only a few can be represented here." In 1996, Paula Brownlee even began her spring President's Message by acknowledging that, "From the rich array of presentations . . . it was no easy task for our editor to select articles for this issue of *Liberal Education*." Yet, what also struck me was the enduring value of maintaining even a (necessarily) partial record of the proceedings.

FROM THE EDITOR

I hope you will agree after reading this year's selection.

It occurs to me that the annual

meeting issues are not so exceptional, really. Every issue offers a window on the work of a remarkably passionate and committed community of educators; one of the benefits of editing this journal is getting to take in a far wider view—reading the manuscripts that cannot be fit into just four issues per year, learning about the innovations we do not have the space here to highlight. Editing *Liberal Education* is itself a liberal education.

So it is with deep gratitude and an abiding admiration for the work of our members that, with this issue, I conclude just over a dozen years as editor of *Liberal Education*. It has been my great pleasure and privilege to assist, learn from, and collaborate with authors across higher education and so many wonderful colleagues at AAC&U. In preparing next year's annual meeting issue, a new editor will have to face what I described in 2006 as "the unhappy task of selecting for publication a mere handful from among a superabundance of presentations deserving of a wider audience." I look forward to reading it.—DAVID TRITELLI

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A SPECIAL REPORT

Scholarship Reconsidered

PRIORITIES OF THE PROFESSORIATE

ERNEST L. BOYER



THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING

CHAPTER 2

Enlarging the Perspective

S INCE COLONIAL TIMES, the American professoriate has responded to mandates both from within the academy and beyond. First came teaching, then service, and finally, the challenge of research. In more recent years, faculty have been asked to blend these three traditions, but despite this idealized expectation, a wide gap now exists between the myth and the reality of academic life. Almost all colleges pay lip service to the trilogy of teaching, research, and service, but when it comes to making judgments about professional performance, the three rarely are assigned equal merit.

Today, when we speak of being "scholarly," it usually means having academic rank in a college or university and being engaged in research and publication. But we should remind ourselves just how recently the word "research" actually entered the vocabulary of higher education. The term was first used in England in the 1870s by reformers who wished to make Cambridge and Oxford "not only a place of teaching, but a place of learning," and it was later introduced to American higher education in 1906 by Daniel Coit Gilman.¹ But scholarship in earlier times referred to a variety of creative work carried on in a variety of places, and its integrity was measured by the ability to think, communicate, and learn.

What we now have is a more restricted view of scholarship, one that limits it to a hierarchy of functions. Basic research has come to be viewed as the first and most essential form of scholarly activity, with other functions flowing from it. Scholars are academics who conduct research, publish, and then perhaps convey their knowledge to students or apply what they have learned. The latter functions grow *out of* scholarship, they are not to be considered a part of it. But knowledge is not necessarily developed in such a linear manner. The arrow of causality can, and frequently does, point in *both* directions. Theory surely leads to practice. But practice also leads to theory. And teaching, at its best, shapes both research and practice. Viewed from this perspective, a more comprehensive, more dynamic understanding of scholarship can be considered, one in which the rigid categories of teaching, research, and service are broadened and more flexibly defined.

There is a readiness, we believe, to rethink what it means to be a scholar. Richard I. Miller, professor of higher education at Ohio University, recently surveyed academic vice presidents and deans at more than eight hundred colleges and universities to get their opinion about faculty functions. These administrators were asked if they thought it would be a good idea to view scholarship as more than research. The responses were overwhelmingly supportive of this proposition.² The need to reconsider scholarship surely goes beyond opinion polls, but campus debates, news stories, and the themes of national conventions suggest that administrative leaders are rethinking the definitions of academic life. Moreover, faculty, themselves, appear to be increasingly dissatisfied with conflicting priorities on the campus.

How then should we proceed? Is it possible to define the work of faculty in ways that reflect more realistically the full range of academic and civic mandates? We believe the time has come to move beyond the tired old "teaching versus research" debate and give the familiar and honorable term "scholarship" a broader, more capacious meaning, one that brings legitimacy to the full scope of academic work. Surely, scholarship means engaging in original research. But the work of the scholar also means stepping back from one's investigation, looking for connections, building bridges between theory and practice, and communicating one's knowledge effectively to students. Specifically, we conclude that the work of the profesoriate might be thought of as having four separate, yet overlapping, functions. These are: the scholarship of discovery; the scholarship of *teaching*.

THE SCHOLARSHIP OF DISCOVERY

The first and most familiar element in our model, the *scholarship* of discovery, comes closest to what is meant when academics speak of "research." No tenets in the academy are held in higher regard than the commitment to knowledge for its own sake, to freedom of inquiry and to following, in a disciplined fashion, an investigation wherever it may lead. Research is central to the work of higher learning, but our study here, which inquires into the meaning of scholarship, is rooted in the conviction that disciplined, investigative efforts within the academy should be strengthened, not diminished.

The scholarship of discovery, at its best, contributes not only to the stock of human knowledge but also to the intellectual climate of a college or university. Not just the outcomes, but the process, and especially the passion, give meaning to the effort. The advancement of knowledge can generate an almost palpable excitement in the life of an educational institution. As William Bowen, former president of Princeton University, said, scholarly research "reflects our pressing, irrepressible need as human beings to confront the unknown and to seek understanding for its own sake. It is tied inextricably to the freedom to think freshly, to see propositions of every kind in everchanging light. And it celebrates the special exhilaration that comes from a new idea."³

The list of distinguished researchers who have added luster to the nation's intellectual life would surely include heroic figures of earlier days—Yale chemist Benjamin Silliman; Harvard naturalist Louis Agassiz; astronomer William Cranch Bond; and Columbia anthropologist Franz Boas. It would also include giants of our time—James Watson, who helped unlock the genetic code; political philosopher Hannah Arendt; anthropologist Ruth Benedict; historian John Hope Franklin; geneticist Barbara McClintock; and Noam Chomsky, who transformed the field of linguistics; among others.

When the research records of higher learning are compared, the United States is the pacesetter. If we take as our measure of accomplishment the number of Nobel Prizes awarded since 1945, United States scientists received 56 percent of the awards in physics, 42 per-

cent in chemistry, and 60 percent in medicine. Prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, American scientists, including those who fled Hitler's Europe, had received only 18 of the 129 prizes in these three areas.⁴ With regard to physics, for example, a recent report by the National Research Council states: "Before World War II, physics was essentially a European activity, but by the war's end, the center of physics had moved to the United States."⁵ The Council goes on to review the advances in fields ranging from elementary particle physics to cosmology.

The research contribution of universities is particularly evident in medicine. Investigations in the late nineteenth century on bacteria and viruses paid off in the 1930s with the development of immunizations for diphtheria, tetanus, lobar pneumonia, and other bacterial infections. On the basis of painstaking research, a taxonomy of infectious diseases has emerged, making possible streptomycin and other antibiotics. In commenting on these breakthroughs, physician and medical writer Lewis Thomas observes: "It was basic science of a very high order, storing up a great mass of interesting knowledge for its own sake, creating, so to speak, a bank of information, ready for drawing on when the time for intelligent use arrived."⁶

Thus, the probing mind of the researcher is an incalculably vital asset to the academy and the world. Scholarly investigation, in all the disciplines, is at the very heart of academic life, and the pursuit of knowledge must be assiduously cultivated and defended. The intellectual excitement fueled by this quest enlivens faculty and invigorates higher learning institutions, and in our complicated, vulnerable world, the discovery of new knowledge is absolutely crucial.

THE SCHOLARSHIP OF INTEGRATION

In proposing the *scholarship of integration*, we underscore the need for scholars who give meaning to isolated facts, putting them in perspective. By integration, we mean making connections across the disciplines, placing the specialties in larger context, illuminating data in a revealing way, often educating nonspecialists, too. In calling for

a scholarship of integration, we do not suggest returning to the "gentleman scholar" of an earlier time, nor do we have in mind the dilettante. Rather, what we mean is serious, disciplined work that seeks to interpret, draw together, and bring new insight to bear on original research.

This more integrated view of knowledge was expressed eloquently by Mark Van Doren nearly thirty years ago when he wrote: "The connectedness of things is what the educator contemplates to the limit of his capacity. No human capacity is great enough to permit a vision of the world as simple, but if the educator does not aim at the vision no one else will, and the consequences are dire when no one does."⁷ It is through "connectedness" that research ultimately is made authentic.

The scholarship of integration is, of course, closely related to discovery. It involves, first, doing research at the boundaries where fields converge, and it reveals itself in what philosopher-physicist Michael Polanyi calls "overlapping [academic] neighborhoods."^s Such work is, in fact, increasingly important as traditional disciplinary categories prove confining, forcing new topologies of knowledge. Many of today's professors understand this. When we asked faculty to respond to the statement, "Multidisciplinary work is soft and should not be considered scholarship," only 8 percent agreed, 17 percent were neutral, while a striking 75 percent disagreed (table 2). This pattern of opinion, with only slight variation, was true for professors in all disciplines and across all types of institutions.

The scholarship of integration also means interpretation, fitting one's own research—or the research of others—into larger intellectual patterns. Such efforts are increasingly essential since specialization, without broader perspective, risks pedantry. The distinction we are drawing here between "discovery" and "integration" can be best understood, perhaps, by the questions posed. Those engaged in discovery ask, "What is to be known, what is yet to be found?" Those engaged in integration ask, "What do the findings *mean*? Is it possible to interpret what's been discovered in ways that provide a larger, more comprehensive understanding?" Questions such as these call for the

power of critical analysis and interpretation. They have a legitimacy of their own and if carefully pursued can lead the scholar from information to knowledge and even, perhaps, to wisdom.

	Considered Benolaismp			
	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	
All Respondents	8%	17%	75%	
Research	7	9	84	
Doctorate-granting	6	13	80	
Comprehensive	8	14	78	
Liberal Arts	8	16	77	
Two-Year	9	27	63	

Multidisciplinary Work Is Soft and Should Not Be Considered Scholarship

Table 2

SOURCE: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1989 National Survey of Faculty.

Today, more than at any time in recent memory, researchers feel the need to move beyond traditional disciplinary boundaries, communicate with colleagues in other fields, and discover patterns that connect. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz, of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, has gone so far as to describe these shifts as a fundamental "refiguration, . . . a phenomenon general enough and distinctive enough to suggest that what we are seeing is not just another redrawing of the cultural map—the moving of a few disputed borders, the marking of some more picturesque mountain lakes—but an alteration of the principles of mapping. Something is happening," Geertz says, "to the way we think about the way we think."⁹

This is reflected, he observes, in:

... philosophical inquiries looking like literary criticism (think of Stanley Cavell on Beckett or Thoreau, Sartre on Flaubert), scientific discussions looking like belles lettres *morceaux* (Lewis Thomas, Loren Eisley), baroque fantasies presented as deadpan empirical observations (Borges, Barthelme), histories that consist of equations and tables or law court testimony (Fogel and Engerman, Le Roi Ladurie), documentaries that read like true confessions (Mailer), parables posing as ethnographies (Castañeda), theoretical treatises set out as travelogues (Lévi-Strauss), ideological arguments cast as historiographical inquiries (Edward Said), epistemological studies constructed like political tracts (Paul Feyerabend), methodological polemics got up as personal memoirs (James Watson).¹⁰

These examples illustrate a variety of scholarly trends—*interdisciplinary*, *interpretive*, *integrative*. But we present them here as evidence that an intellectual sea change may be occurring, one that is perhaps as momentous as the nineteenth-century shift in the hierarchy of knowledge, when philosophy gave way more firmly to science. Today, interdisciplinary *and* integrative studies, long on the edges of academic life, are moving toward the center, responding both to new intellectual questions and to pressing human problems. As the boundaries of human knowledge are being dramatically reshaped, the academy surely must give increased attention to the scholarship of *integration*.

THE SCHOLARSHIP OF APPLICATION

The first two kinds of scholarship—discovery and integration of knowledge—reflect the investigative and synthesizing traditions of academic life. The third element, the *application* of knowledge, moves toward engagement as the scholar asks, "How can knowledge be responsibly applied to consequential problems? How can it be helpful to individuals as well as institutions?" And further, "Can so-cial problems *themselves* define an agenda for scholarly investigation?"

Reflecting the Zeitgeist of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, not only the land-grant colleges, but also institutions such as Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and the University of Chicago were founded on the principle that higher education must serve the interests of the larger community. In 1906, an editor celebrating the leadership of William Rainey Harper at the new University of Chicago defined what he believed to be the essential character of the American scholar. Scholarship, he observed, was regarded by the British as "a means and measure of self-development," by the Germans as "an end in itself," but by Americans as "equipment for service."¹¹ Self-serving though it may have been, this analysis had more than a grain of truth.

Given this tradition, one is struck by the gap between values in the academy and the needs of the larger world. Service is routinely praised, but accorded little attention—even in programs where it is most appropriate. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, for example, have pointed out that when free-standing professional schools affiliated with universities, they lessened their commitment to applied work even though the original purpose of such schools was to connect theory and practice. Professional schools, they concluded, have oddly enough fostered "a more academic and less practical view of what their students need to know."¹²

Colleges and universities have recently rejected service as serious scholarship, partly because its meaning is so vague and often disconnected from serious intellectual work. As used today, service in the academy covers an almost endless number of campus activities—sitting on committees, advising student clubs, or performing departmental chores. The definition blurs still more as activities beyond the campus are included—participation in town councils, youth clubs, and the like. It is not unusual for almost any worthy project to be dumped into the amorphous category called "service."

Clearly, a sharp distinction must be drawn between *citizenship* activities and projects that relate to scholarship itself. To be sure, there are meritorious social and civic functions to be performed, and faculty should be appropriately recognized for such work. But all too frequently, service means not doing scholarship but doing good. To be considered *scholarship*, service activities must be tied directly to one's special field of knowledge and relate to, and flow directly out of, this professional activity. Such service is serious, demanding work, requiring the rigor—and the accountability—traditionally associated with research activities.

The scholarship of application, as we define it here, is not a oneway street. Indeed, the term itself may be misleading if it suggests that knowledge is first "discovered" and then "applied." The process we have in mind is far more dynamic. New intellectual understandings can arise out of the very act of application—whether in medical diagnosis, serving clients in psychotherapy, shaping public policy, creating an architectural design, or working with the public schools. In activities such as these, theory and practice vitally interact, and one renews the other.

Such a view of scholarly service—one that both applies and contributes to human knowledge—is particularly needed in a world in which huge, almost intractable problems call for the skills and insights only the academy can provide. As Oscar Handlin observed, our troubled planet "can no longer afford the luxury of pursuits confined to an ivory tower. . . . [S]cholarship has to prove its worth not on its own terms but by service to the nation and the world."¹³

THE SCHOLARSHIP OF TEACHING

Finally, we come to the *scholarship of teaching*. The work of the professor becomes consequential only as it is understood by others. Yet, today, teaching is often viewed as a routine function, tacked on, something almost anyone can do. When defined as *scholarship*, however, teaching both educates and entices future scholars. Indeed, as Aristotle said, "Teaching is the highest form of understanding."

As a scholarly enterprise, teaching begins with what the teacher knows. Those who teach must, above all, be well informed, and steeped in the knowledge of their fields. Teaching can be well regarded only as professors are widely read and intellectually engaged. One reason legislators, trustees, and the general public often fail to understand why ten or twelve hours in the classroom each week can be a heavy load is their lack of awareness of the hard work and the serious study that undergirds good teaching.

Teaching is also a dynamic endeavor involving all the analogies, metaphors, and images that build bridges between the teacher's understanding and the student's learning. Pedagogical procedures must be

carefully planned, continuously examined, and relate directly to the subject taught. Educator Parker Palmer strikes precisely the right note when he says knowing and learning are communal acts.¹⁴ With this vision, great teachers create a common ground of intellectual commitment. They stimulate active, not passive, learning and encourage students to be critical, creative thinkers, with the capacity to go on learning after their college days are over.

Further, good teaching means that faculty, as scholars, are also learners. All too often, teachers transmit information that students are expected to memorize and then, perhaps, recall. While well-prepared lectures surely have a place, teaching, at its best, means not only transmitting knowledge, but *transforming* and *extending* it as well. Through reading, through classroom discussion, and surely through comments and questions posed by students, professors themselves will be pushed in creative new directions.

In the end, inspired teaching keeps the flame of scholarship alive. Almost all successful academics give credit to creative teachers—those mentors who defined their work so compellingly that it became, for them, a lifetime challenge. Without the teaching function, the continuity of knowledge will be broken and the store of human knowledge dangerously diminished.

Physicist Robert Oppenheimer, in a lecture at the 200th anniversary of Columbia University in 1954, spoke elegantly of the teacher as mentor and placed teaching at the very heart of the scholarly endeavor: "The specialization of science is an inevitable accompaniment of progress; yet it is full of dangers, and it is cruelly wasteful, since so much that is beautiful and enlightening is cut off from most of the world. Thus it is proper to the role of the scientist that he not merely find the truth and communicate it to his fellows, but that he teach, that he try to bring the most honest and most intelligible account of new knowledge to all who will try to learn."

Here, then, is our conclusion. What we urgently need today is a more inclusive view of what it means to be a scholar—a recognition that knowledge is acquired through research, through synthesis, through practice, and through teaching.¹⁶ We acknowledge that these

four categories—the scholarship of discovery, of integration, of application, and of teaching—divide intellectual functions that are tied inseparably to each other. Still, there is value, we believe, in analyzing the various kinds of academic work, while also acknowledging that they dynamically interact, forming an interdependent whole. Such avision of scholarship, one that recognizes the great diversity of talent within the professoriate, also may prove especially useful to faculty as they reflect on the meaning and direction of their professional lives.