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## The Spiritual Questing of Professional Career Aspirants

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Jennifer A. Lindholm,<sup>1</sup> Richard Goldberg,<sup>2</sup>  
Shannon Calderone<sup>3</sup>

### I. THE SPIRITUAL QUEST OF PROFESSIONAL CAREER ASPIRANTS

How college students come to grapple with issues of spirituality and the balance between their “interior” and “exterior” selves has been a subject conspicuously absent from widespread higher education discourse until only recently. In the wake of perceived declines in the quality of undergraduate education, and in the midst of rapidly changing societal contexts, there has been a renewed call for returning to higher education’s historically liberal traditions by focusing upon ways to cultivate student development more holistically.<sup>4</sup> Toward this end, recent scholarship has centered on finding measurable ways by which to understand how college students come to find meaning and purpose in their lives.<sup>5</sup>

Among the many dimensions of spirituality and religiousness, spiritual quest serves as a particularly important construct for gaining insight into the ways in which college students contend with important existential questions. How students perceive their position in the world, develop a sense of meaning and purpose in life, and seek inner harmony and self-awareness are all critical components of healthy identity development and mature psychological well-being.<sup>6</sup> Towards this end, spiritual quest is understood to reflect a form of existential engagement that emphasizes individual purpose and meaning-making within the world.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, this process of introspection arguably contributes to a more informed, socially just, and ethically responsible individual.<sup>8</sup> Understanding the spiritual questing of undergraduates and subsequently considering how colleges and universities can honor and support this dimension of student development is

important not only for the personal growth of individuals but also for the well-being of our society as a whole. Within today's cohort of undergraduates are the country's future lawyers, doctors, business executives, engineers, and thousands of others whose personal and professional pursuits will influence the nature and quality of our society for many years to come.

According to the American Bar Association (ABA), over 145,000 individuals sat for the Law School Aptitude Test (LSAT) in 2004–05.<sup>9</sup> The expansion of the legal profession, which included increasing numbers of women (67,438) and minorities (10,694) in 2004–05, speaks to the continued popularity of legal careers among today's college graduates.<sup>10</sup> A fair amount has been written about the college-going motivations of young adults who aspire to professional careers;<sup>11</sup> the general characteristics of law aspirants within the collegiate ranks;<sup>12</sup> and the values, moral dilemmas, and ethical predispositions of law students.<sup>13</sup> However, there is no prior study that has focused upon the ways in which law aspirants negotiate issues of meaning and purpose through spiritual questing.

The present study addresses this gap in the literature by exploring the spiritual quest inclinations of selected subsets of currently enrolled undergraduate students at colleges and universities across the United States. Based upon quantitative data generated as part of a national study on college students' spiritual beliefs and values, our primary focus is on spiritual questing among pre-law students (i.e. those self-reporting that they aspire to become lawyers).<sup>14</sup> In addition, we contextualize these findings more broadly by comparing the spiritual quest inclinations of those who intend to become lawyers with other professional career aspirants; namely, those planning careers in business (as executives), medicine (as physicians), and engineering. Through this study, we sought to identify the unique and common characteristics of spiritual questing among men and women legal career aspirants relative to their peers who aspire to pursue other professional career paths. Our analyses reveal that there are, indeed, some

characteristics that commonly relate to spiritual questing for entering college freshmen who aspire to pursue professional careers. However, there are also some uniquely defining characteristics for men and women legal career aspirants. The findings detailed here provide insights to guide future research and practice.

## II. DEFINING SPIRITUAL QUEST

Defining spiritual quest as a measurable construct has been a somewhat elusive task for scholars. Researchers within the psychology of religion have sought to meaningfully quantify the ways in which individuals negotiate existential questioning as a process of defining their interior and exterior selves.<sup>15</sup> In 1967, Allport & Ross developed the *Religious Orientation Scale (ROS)* which represents the first effort to establish a link between religious orientation, sociability, and well-being through a concept they entitled, “Intrinsic versus Extrinsic religiosity.”<sup>16</sup> Intrinsic religiosity describes an approach toward religion that is internally motivated, sincere, and expressed via a strongly held commitment to living by one’s religious beliefs, regardless of consequences.<sup>17</sup> Extrinsic religiosity, on the other hand, reflects a less mature orientation toward religious commitment, circumscribed by external motivations such as obtaining status, security, and sociability.<sup>18</sup> Through use of the ROS, researchers have shown that people who score high on the instrument’s Intrinsic scale tend to be better equipped to handle life’s challenges than those who score relatively high on the Extrinsic scale.<sup>19</sup> In general, studies have found that the psychological and emotional well-being of individuals can be indirectly linked to their Intrinsic or Extrinsic placement on the ROS.<sup>20</sup>

Building upon this work, Batson and his colleagues argued that the ROS fails to adequately address important features of mature religious faith.<sup>21</sup> Among the purportedly omitted measures was what Batson termed “spiritual quest,” a feature of mature religious motivation defined as an individual orientation that “involves honestly facing existential questions in

all their complexity, while at the same time resisting clear-cut answers.”<sup>22</sup> In effect, spiritual quest is conceived as the means by which individuals tackle transcendent questions of self and other through what Batson later described as openness to the following: (1) existential questioning, (2) religious doubt, and (3) opportunities for change.<sup>23</sup> In contrast to Allport and Ross’ 1967 Intrinsic and Extrinsic religiosity construct, Batson and his colleagues define quest as an open-ended existential pursuit that offers possibilities for both acceptance or rejection of religiously-based answers.

Subsequent research has addressed the multidimensionality of both spiritual quest and religiosity,<sup>24</sup> the idiosyncratic nature of existential engagement,<sup>25</sup> and the impact that existential pursuits provide by way of healthy and mature identity development.<sup>26</sup> Of particular note, Klassen and McDonald found evidence that the intensity with which individuals pursue answers to existential questions could be directly linked to overall mental and emotional health.<sup>27</sup> Those marginally engaged in spiritual quest tended to be hampered by associated “disorientation and distress” resulting from locus of control-related issues.<sup>28</sup> Conversely, Klassen and McDonald found that those engaged intensively in spiritual quest went through a period of discord that could be subsequently resolved by achieving satisfactory degrees of personal meaning in one’s life.<sup>29</sup> Importantly, individual pathways toward existential meaning making, while perhaps contributing to internal discord and distress, should not be understood as intimately linked to identity development.<sup>30</sup> Rather, these pathways should be conceived as important, separate processes that ultimately support mature identity formation over one’s lifetime.<sup>31</sup>

In summary, spiritual quest reflects an active disposition toward existential engagement that includes openness to tackling the perplexing issues that many individuals face when trying to find themselves in the world. While religiosity may play a key role in the process by which individuals formulate responses to core questions of meaning and purpose, resolution of these concerns may result in a deepening of religiosity, or

perhaps, a rejection of it. Ultimately, it is the resolution of internal insights coupled with one's subjectivity in the world that represents the core feature of spiritual quest.

Current scholarship on issues of spiritual quest has emphasized the highly variegated ways in which individuals grapple with existential issues and the multi-dimensional ways in which questing is enacted. While the tendency is to affiliate spiritual quest with religiosity, and more specifically organized religion, such affiliation may in fact be less a product of religious commitment than a clear venue by which to attenuate the personal discord and distress that such engagements tend to produce. What is clear, however, is that the intensity with which individuals proceed on a spiritual quest contributes significantly to healthy mental and emotional well-being as well as positive identity development across the lifespan.

### III. THE COLLEGIATE EXPERIENCE & SPIRITUALITY

Recent research indicates that nearly half of all entering freshman in U.S. colleges and universities believe that spiritual questing is either "essential" or "very important" in their lives.<sup>32</sup> Within this same cohort, nearly three-fourths indicated that they were currently on a search for greater meaning and purpose.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, for many, the college experience represents what can be considered a luminal moment in which tremendous opportunities exist for exploring all facets of the human experience. That students' religiosity generally tends to decline during the undergraduate years has been well documented empirically.<sup>34</sup> However, some researchers have found that commitment to spiritual growth among traditionally aged students may actually increase during college.<sup>35</sup> Existing research indicates that developing people's abilities to access, nurture, and give expression to the spiritual dimension of their lives impacts how they engage with the world and fosters within them a more meaningful sense of connectedness that promotes altruism, social justice, and individual passion.<sup>36</sup> Although there has recently been an increased interest in issues of meaning, purpose,

authenticity, and spirituality within higher education, relatively little empirical work has been conducted on these issues.<sup>37</sup>

*A. Law and Pre-Law Students*

While recent research has facilitated the development of a fairly general portrait of the spiritual inclinations of entering college students, and to a lesser extent the spiritual questing patterns of entering college students, very little has been written about the spiritual proclivities of undergraduates who aspire to enter the legal profession. Hedegard's 1979 examination of first year law students' interests, attitudes, and personality traits offers the most significant insights into the spiritual lives of this group.<sup>38</sup> Based upon his early assessments, law students tend to perceive and evaluate the world from a political, economic, and social perspective over a theoretical or religious one.<sup>39</sup> While this has implications for the overall religiosity of incoming law students, Hedegard also suggests that entering law students express strong altruistic proclivities as well as a definite commitment to social justice.<sup>40</sup>

While prior research has provided relatively little insight into the spiritual inclinations of law students and undergraduate law aspirants, what we do know is that undergraduates who identify as "pre-law" tend to differ in important ways from their fellow undergraduates. Overall, law aspirants (with African Americans as an important exception) tend to come from affluent families and perform well academically during secondary school.<sup>41</sup> In general, they are also politically aware and maintain fairly conservative positions on most political issues, but express liberal views on selected social issues.<sup>42</sup> Over time, they have also been found to be increasingly oriented toward accumulating material wealth and becoming authorities in their respective fields.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, Stevens' 1973 comparative study of incoming law student cohort found that most law students are drawn to the profession because of an interest in issues of justice, as well as a desire for intellectual growth.<sup>44</sup> Interestingly, those who choose legal careers

primarily for purposes of material gain and prestige tend also to be the least motivated by intellectual aspects of the work.<sup>45</sup>

Distinct gender and racial differences are also found among pre-law students, with women tending toward more liberal political positions than men.<sup>46</sup> Likewise, women legal career aspirants are generally less materialistic or prestige oriented, favoring instead a commitment to public service.<sup>47</sup> Research has also indicated that, while law students overall tend to experience excessive stress due to high levels of competition and subsequent feelings of alienation in law school, the resulting loss in self-esteem and significant shifts in career goals and motivations has been known to affect women and minorities more dramatically.<sup>48</sup>

Studies conducted on legal career aspirants have also looked at gender differences in moral reasoning. For example, Taber's 1988 study found that female law students tend to weigh contextual factors such as relationships, care, and communication in moral decision-making.<sup>49</sup> Conversely, in the same types of deliberations, male law students were found to place more emphasis on abstract concepts such as rights and notions of justice.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, Janoff's 1989 study found that the majority of female pre-law students reported demonstrably high levels of ethical caring as opposed to their male counterparts' rights orientation.<sup>51</sup> This "ethic of care" included equal emphasis on personal relationships and a sensitivity to the needs of others, while men's proclivities toward a rights orientation focused upon objectivity, principles, personal beliefs, and freedom of expression.<sup>52</sup> Janoff also noted significant decreases in female law students' ethic of care as they progressed through law school, suggesting that the law school socialization process may, in fact, be highly gendered and heavily skewed toward a male rights orientation.<sup>53</sup>

Overall, the existing research literature on entering law students and undergraduate legal career aspirants offers a rather positive perspective on motivations, values, and ethical behaviors. Studies of first year law students have, for the most part, substantiated the claim that students enter



law school with altruistic aspirations geared toward public service.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, women and minorities are more inclined toward a social justice orientation, with women possessing the greatest propensity towards a strong ethic of care.<sup>55</sup>

*B. Comparisons across Pre-Professional Career Categories*

Comparing entering law students' career motivations, values, and ethical behavior with those of other pre-professional categories yields several important findings regarding differences in intrinsic versus extrinsic motivations related to career selection. Notable differences in psychological dispositions, specifically as related to goal orientation, are also evident.<sup>56</sup> While no study has specifically addressed differences across law, business, medicine, and engineering fields in totality, a few studies have attempted to compare pre-professional sub-groupings in terms of motivational factors contributing to career decision-making and group ethics.

Bohn's 1971 study reported on the psychological needs of pre-law students relative to all undergraduates as well as to pre-medicine and engineering majors.<sup>57</sup> Pre-law students demonstrated strong proclivities toward both leadership orientation and resisting subordinate roles.<sup>58</sup> By comparison, pre-medicine and engineering majors were found to be less motivated by the need for prestige, more deferential in social settings, and more apt to take a supportive role in group settings.<sup>59</sup>

In terms of personality traits, Solkoff found that law students were significantly more extrinsically motivated (i.e., extroverted, highly sociable, and less humanitarian) than their medical school counterparts.<sup>60</sup> By comparison, medical students tended to be more intrinsically motivated, exhibiting patterns of introversion and introspectiveness, demonstrating high degrees of idealism, and placing greater emphasis on the importance of interpersonal relations.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, Solkoff suggested that, overall, medical students tended to demonstrate greater levels of humanitarianism

than law students.<sup>62</sup> Notably, law students with the greatest propensity toward a humanitarian orientation were also the most vulnerable to dropping out of law school early.<sup>63</sup>

A great deal of research has also focused upon the extrinsic orientation of undergraduate business majors. In general, this population is motivated in large part by an interest in future financial well-being at the expense of more altruistic emphases such as knowledge and understanding, economic and racial justice, and developing a meaningful philosophy of life.<sup>64</sup> Undergraduate business students are understood within the research literature to be highly pragmatic, self-efficacious, and goal-oriented.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, research has indicated that undergraduate business students are particularly deficient in the area of ethics.<sup>66</sup> In two separate studies on business students' resolution of ethical dilemmas, McCabe and his colleagues found students to be and motivated in large part by personal interest.<sup>67</sup> McCabe and Trevino also found that undergraduate business majors self-report a greater frequency of cheating in college than their counterparts in other majors.<sup>68</sup> Despite these rather dismal findings, McCabe, Dukerich, and Dutton's 1991 research suggests that the ethical behavior of business students improves more generally over the lifespan, with enhanced ethical decision-making ability occurring specifically with increased maturity.<sup>69</sup>

A somewhat similar response has been found in studies comparing the ethical values of business students with those of engineering students. O'Clock and Okleshen, for example, report that both business and engineering majors tend to individually perceive themselves as more ethically minded than others within their disciplinary group.<sup>70</sup> Such discrepancies reflect an inconsistency in students' perceptions of normative ethical standards among their disciplinary peers.<sup>71</sup> Harris's study of firm-wide values among engineers, found differences in values between those trained in business versus engineering as undergraduates.<sup>72</sup> While Harris' findings indicated that differences on ethical measures between the two

groups were statistically insignificant overall, business trained students scored slightly lower on ethical values than their engineering counterparts.<sup>73</sup> More specifically, business trained employees appeared to exhibit higher levels of tolerance for unethical acts than those trained as engineers.<sup>74</sup>

Existing research comparing pre-professional groups on a variety of dispositional traits, extrinsic and intrinsic orientations, and ethical valuations provides a useful, yet somewhat limited, picture of the tendencies of these groups specifically with respect to spiritual issues.

Likewise, the limited scope of analysis on the basis of race and gender within these sub-groupings provides little precedent by which to evaluate differential perceptions among professional career aspirants. Given the relative dearth of information on the spiritual inclinations of undergraduate law aspirants within U.S. colleges and universities, this study was designed to respond to the following research questions:

- What are the common correlates of spiritual questing across professional career aspirant groups?
- How do men and women who aspire to careers in the legal field compare with respect to spiritual questing?
- How do the relative gender differences in spiritual questing among legal career aspirants compare with those found in other professional career aspirant groups?
- How do the spiritual quest inclinations of men and women who enter college planning a career in law compare with those of their same gender peers in other professional career aspirant groups?

In addressing these questions, we hope to contribute to the development of a more complete picture of the spiritual quest inclinations of this important subsection of undergraduates enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities.

#### IV. METHODOLOGY

The data for this study was drawn from the College Students' Beliefs and Values (CSBV)<sup>75</sup> survey which was administered as a two-page supplement to the annual four-page Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP)<sup>76</sup> Freshman Survey in the fall of 2004. A total of 112,232 first-time full-time college freshman at 236 four-year colleges and universities completed the survey instrument. The sample contained responses from 45,573 men and 66,659 women. Student responses were weighted using a multistage procedure based on gender and institutional type to reflect a national population of approximately 1.3 million full-time freshmen who are first-time college enrollees.

##### *A. Variables*

The dependent variable for the study, "spiritual quest," is comprised of 10 items included on the 2004 CIRP/CSBV Freshman Survey questionnaire that was derived through principal components analysis with Varimax rotation.<sup>77,78</sup> The items include measures of students' personal goals, student engagement in spiritual exploration, and whether the students' close friends were searching for meaning and purpose in life.<sup>79,80</sup> To study the possible relationship between selected variables and spiritual quest inclination, and in light of our review of the related extant literature, we organized the variables included in our statistical model into groups, or "blocks."<sup>81</sup> In total, eight blocks of independent variables were included in the regression model: demographics, religious characteristics, academic performance, emotional health, reasons and motivations for attending college, personal values, college expectations, and institutional features.<sup>82</sup>

##### *B. Analyses*

Four major subsets of pre-professional students were identified based on the respondent's self-reported intended career field: law, medicine, business, and engineering. Students who did not specify a pre-professional

career field were not included in the analysis. Within each subset, students were further separated by gender to create a total of eight different subsets. To compare the measures that are similarly and differentially equated with spiritual questing for men and women aspiring to careers in law and, subsequently, to examine these measures relative to those of their counterparts aspiring to careers in medicine, business, and engineering, separate ordinary-least-squares (OLS) regression analyses<sup>83</sup> were conducted on the eight gender by field subsets in a two-step process.

First, the spiritual quest variable was regressed on the eight blocks of independent variables.<sup>84</sup> Then, a second set of regressions was conducted in which variables that remained statistically significant in any of the final solutions for the first set were force-entered one at a time. These regressions, where all variables were identical per group, enabled direct comparisons between groups. For both sets of regressions, missing cases were eliminated using listwise deletion.<sup>85</sup> All of the regressions were weighted in an effort to correct for a potential bias in the sample. The weights were calculated using a multistage procedure that accounted for both gender and institutional-type response bias.<sup>86</sup> Standardized beta-coefficients (beta weights) were compared to determine the most important contributors to spiritual questing for men and women within each career aspirant group. Additionally, to examine whether differences between genders both within and across career aspirant groups were statistically significant, t-tests were conducted comparing the unstandardized regression coefficients (“b” weights). T-tests were considered significant at the  $p < .05$  level.<sup>87</sup>

## V. FINDINGS

The data from this study is organized in the four tables following this article. Tables 1 and 2 compare the spiritual questing inclinations of legal and other professional career aspirants. Table 3 shows the standardized beta coefficients for men and women in each of the four career groups. Table 4

shows unstandardized b-coefficients for men and women in addition to t-values.

The percentages of college freshman focused or not focused on spiritual questing among the professional career aspirants were roughly equal to the percentages in the broader population of college freshman. Across professional career aspirant groups, 24 percent of entering college freshmen scored high on spiritual quest and 25 percent scored low.<sup>88</sup> This compares with 25 percent of the broader population of traditionally-aged entering college freshmen who scored high on spiritual quest and 23 percent who scored low.<sup>89</sup> Within the overall population of professional career aspirants, those planning careers in medicine were most likely to score high on spiritual quest (30 percent), followed by those intending careers in law (29 percent), business (21 percent), and engineering (17 percent).

Women in the professional career aspirant groups appeared to be more inclined toward spiritual questing than men. This is consistent with our expectations and findings from Astin, Astin, Lindholm, and Bryant's 2005 research on a broader sample of respondents to the 2004 CIRP/CSBV Freshman Survey that included students who aspired to pursue a wide range of careers; women across the professional career aspirant groups were more inclined toward spiritual questing than men.<sup>90</sup> In total, 27 percent of women who aspired to careers in these four fields scored high on spiritual quest, while only 21 percent of men scored high. However, there are notable between-field variations. For example, gender differences with respect to strong inclinations for spiritual questing are more pronounced in law (31 percent of women are high scorers compared to 26 percent of men) and business (24 percent of women compared to 19 percent of men) than in medicine (31 percent of women compared to 28 percent of men) and engineering (19 percent of women compared to 17 percent of men). When it comes to *disinclination* toward spiritual questing, the largest gender gap was evident among engineering aspirants (22 percent of women were low scorers compared to 36 percent of men). Overall, well over half of the

entering college freshmen who aspired to pursue professional careers rated at least moderate scorers on spiritual quest. The greatest representation of low scorers was evident among engineering career aspirants (33 percent). Medical career aspirants, on the other hand, were the least likely to score low on spiritual questing (16 percent).

In order to better understand the unique and common correlates of spiritual questing for men and women students both within and across these four intended career fields, we ran a series of regression analyses that served to highlight the various contributors to these similarities and differences. The results of this analysis are reflected in Table 3 and Table 4.<sup>91</sup>

The following section highlights the common correlates of spiritual questing across professional career aspirant groups. After that section, the focus is primarily on legal career aspirants, with an emphasis on how the spiritual questing inclinations of men and women within that anticipated career group are (a) similar to (and different from) each other and (b) how they compare with their peers who aspire to careers in medicine, business, and engineering.

#### *A. Common Correlates of Spiritual Questing*

We conducted separate regression analyses for men and women within each of the four career groups. The variables included in these analyses accounted for between 57 percent (female medical career aspirants) and 64 percent (male legal career aspirants) of the variance in spiritual questing. Seven positive spiritual questing correlates<sup>92</sup> that were common for men and women across all professional career aspirant groups were revealed.

Two of the positive spiritual questing correlates relate directly to religion. First, students who entered college intending to strengthen their religious commitment were more inclined to exhibit high levels of spiritual questing. This is not especially surprising given that, for many students, religious faith and spiritual growth are tightly intertwined. Second, students who

were experiencing religious struggle (e.g., those who indicated that they had questioned their religious beliefs, reported feeling unsettled about spiritual and religious matters, and said that they felt disillusioned with their religious upbringing) were more attuned to the types of goals and activities that encompass spiritual questing.

The remaining five variables that equate positively with spiritual questing for men and women across all career aspirant groups reflect perspectives that are not necessarily linked with religious faith. For example, students who indicated that “finding purpose in life” is a compelling reason for them to attend college and who place high value on the importance of their college experience enhancing their self-understanding were inclined toward spiritual questing regardless of their intended career. Similarly, students who scored high on equanimity (e.g., those who felt good about the direction their life was headed, those who were thankful for all that has happened to them, and those who could find meaning in times of hardship) universally tended to indicate a proclivity toward spiritual questing. Finally, students who exhibited a high ethic of caring (e.g., those students who evidenced a commitment to values such as helping others in difficulty, reducing pain and suffering in the world, and making the world a better place) and who espoused a strong ecumenical world view (e.g., those students who evidenced a reflected interest in different religious traditions, seeking to understand other countries and cultures, and believing that love is at the root of all the great religions) also tended to be notably more inclined toward spiritual questing, irrespective of their gender or professional aspirations.

While no universally negative correlates of spiritual questing emerged, five variables were found to have generally negative effects on spiritual questing across *most* career aspirant groups: expressing religious skepticism, being of Protestant or Catholic faith, intending to participate in clubs/groups while in college, and planning to engage in community service. For example, religious skepticism (e.g., believing that the universe



arose by chance and that, in the future, science will be able to explain everything) was negatively correlated with spiritual questing for all professional career aspirant groups except for women studying engineering. Being of Protestant or Catholic faith was also negatively equated with spiritual questing for all groups, except for men who aspire to legal careers.

Two college related expectations were also found to have generally broad negative ramifications for spiritual questing: Intended participation in clubs/groups (for all but female engineering career aspirants) and planned engagement in community service (for all but male legal career aspirants). In general, entering college students who intended to engage in community service or who planned to participate in clubs/groups while in college scored higher on spiritual quest than other students for whom these pursuits were not a high priority.<sup>93</sup> That said, for students in most career aspirant groups, the impact of these anticipated activities, in and of themselves, was actually much *lower* than would be expected once the effect of other individual characteristics was taken into account.

#### *B. Men and Women Legal Career Aspirants*

For both men and women who aspired to have a career in law, religious and emotional health variables had the greatest predictive power on spiritual quest inclinations.<sup>94</sup> While emotional health effects were largely the same for both sexes, religious variables carried more weight for women than men. College-going motivations and personal values held similar predictive power for both genders.

Taking a closer look at the comparative spiritual questing inclinations of men and women legal career aspirants based on their demographic characteristics, we found that, relative to their peers of other races/ethnicities, African American men and women who intended to pursue legal careers had higher spiritual quest scores. This effect, however, was more pronounced for men than women. In addition, while the effect of being Asian on spiritual quest inclinations was negligible for men who

aspire to legal careers, Asian women who had the same career interests were relatively more inclined toward spiritual questing. Finally, liberal political orientation had negative implications for spiritual questing for both men and women equally.

Three religious variables in our model were also found to have specifically differential effects for male and female legal career aspirants. First, women in the major Christian religions (those who identified themselves as Catholic, Protestant, or Evangelical) were more likely to score significantly lower on spiritual quest. Men, on the other hand, were more likely to score higher on spiritual quest if they were Catholic or Protestant, while the effect of being Evangelical was negligible. Second, religious struggle was positive for both groups, but had a slightly larger effect for women. Finally, religious service attendance had a largely negative net effect for men, but not for women.<sup>95</sup>

In terms of emotional health and outlook, women who rated themselves higher on emotional health had lower spiritual quest scores. For men, the effects of self-rated emotional health were negligible. However, men who reported feeling overwhelmed by all they had to do tended to score lower on spiritual quest, while the corresponding effect for women who reported feeling overwhelmed was negligible. Equanimity had a positive effect for both men and women, although it was somewhat stronger for women.

Not surprisingly, the personal values of legal career aspirants also appeared to play a role in spiritual questing. For example, both male and female legal career aspirants who held an ecumenical world view tended to be oriented toward spiritual questing, with a stronger effect evident for men. On the other hand, women's spiritual questing was correlated more strongly with the ethic of caring. The importance that entering college students who aspire to legal careers placed on their college experience enhancing self-development was also positively associated with spiritual quest inclinations for both men and women.

Men's aspirations for attending college to become a more cultured person were positively correlated with higher spiritual quest scores; however, there was no correlation for women. Similar male-only effects were evident with respect to intentions to participate in protests/demonstrations while in college. Curiously, planning to study abroad was found to have opposite effects on spiritual questing for men (negative) and women (positive). Further, women who expected to participate in community service while in college tended to have lower spiritual quest scores, but the effect of anticipated community service engagement had only a negligible effect for men. Both men and women who planned to seek counseling while in college tended to have higher spiritual questing scores, with a stronger effect evident for women. Finally, both men and women who planned to get a job to help pay for college expenses had lower spiritual quest scores, though the relative effect is larger among men.

### *C. Gender Differences Across Career Aspirant Groups*

Two points warrant mention here. First, there were more common variables relevant to spiritual questing for men and women legal career aspirants (22) than there were for men and women in medical (19) or engineering (13) career aspirants. That said, the greatest gender similarities were evident among those who aspired to business careers (23). Also noteworthy is that, relative to other professional career aspirants, we find fewer opposite correlates (6) to spiritual questing between men and women in law than in business (8), medicine (13), or engineering (14). The opposite correlates for men and women law aspirants were: being Asian and intending to study abroad (both of which negatively correlated with spiritual quest for men, but positively correlated for women) and being of Protestant or Catholic religious faiths, having good self-rated emotional health, and intending to participate in protests/demonstrations while in college (all of which correlated negatively for women, but positively for men).

Overall, we found that for students who aspired to careers in law or medicine, religious affiliation and related perspectives tended to play a more prominent role in spiritual questing than for those who aspired to business and engineering careers. Also interesting is that for law and medical career aspirants, there were no measurable gender differences in spiritual quest orientation related to the type of institution one is attending. However, there were evident differential effects associated with institutional type for students who aspired to business and engineering careers. Further, relative to their peers in other professional career aspirant groups, there were also fewer gender-based differences in college attendance motives for legal career aspirants. On the other hand, there were more gender-related differences in spiritual questing associated with college *expectations* for legal career aspirants than for those in other professional career aspirant groups.

Comparing men and women who enter college planning a career in law to their same gender peers in other professional career aspirant groups, we found fewer common correlates of spiritual questing for men than women. For men, ten variables included in the regression equation had similar effects on spiritual quest across pre-professional career aspirant groups. Of these, eight were consistently positive correlates: being of American Indian descent; placing high value on attending college to find one's purpose in life; placing strong emphasis on the importance of one's college providing opportunities to enhance self understanding and develop critical thinking ability; having a strong ethic of caring; holding an ecumenical worldview; and expecting to strengthen one's religious commitment while in college. Two characteristics—religious skepticism and feeling frequently overwhelmed—had consistently negative effects on spiritual questing for men across professional career aspirant groups. Eight independent variables included in the regression equation were found to have unique, positive effects for men in the legal career aspirant group: being of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or “other” religious faith; having good self-

rated emotional health; placing high value on attending college to be able to make more money; having selected one's undergraduate institution based, at least in substantial part, on the fact that its graduates get good jobs; and intending to participate in community service while in college.

For women, seventeen variables had common effects on spiritual quest across professional career aspirant groups. Of these, eleven were found to be consistently positive correlates: the experience of a religious struggle; a high rating on equanimity; the placement of a high value on attending college; earn more money; gain a general education and appreciation of ideas, and find one's purpose in life; belief that it is important that one's college experience enhances self-understanding; have a high self-rated drive to achieve; have a strong ethic of caring; hold an ecumenical worldview; and plan to seek counseling while in college.

In addition, six items had consistently negative effects on spiritual questing for women across professional career aspirant groups: being Latino; being of Protestant or Catholic religious faith; placing high value on attending college to get a better job; intending to participate in community service while in college; and intending to participate in clubs/groups while in college. Just two variables uniquely distinguished inclinations toward spiritual questing for women in law relative to their same gender peers who aspired to careers in medicine, business, or engineering: being Asian had a uniquely positive effect while parental income had a uniquely negative effect.

## VI. DISCUSSION

The findings from this study shed light on a previously unexamined topic: spiritual questing among first-year undergraduate students who aspire to careers in law, medicine, business, and engineering. In examining the spiritual questing inclinations of men and women undergraduate students who aspire to legal careers, and in comparing their proclivities within this realm with those of their peers who aspire to medical, business, and

engineering careers, we found several noteworthy similarities and distinctions. Additionally, within the group of legal career aspirants, we found that although there are a number of shared correlates, selected personal characteristics and perspectives do appear to direct spiritual questing for men and women. The following discussion highlights three themes that emerged from the study and identifies associated implications for research and practice. In short, the themes relate to the potentially mediating effects of (1) demographic and religious characteristics; (2) emotional health; and (3) personal values and expectations for college on spiritual questing.

First, across professional career aspirant groups, inclinations toward spiritual questing are mediated both by students' demographic and religious characteristics. Consistent with earlier findings on the larger population of college undergraduates within the United States,<sup>96</sup> African American students who aspire to legal careers tend to be more oriented toward spiritual questing than their peers. Interestingly, however, this pattern does not hold consistently across professional career aspirant groups. African American men who intended to pursue legal careers were the most likely to be engaged in spiritual questing, while those who planned on medical careers had similarly positive, albeit notably less pronounced, spiritual quest inclinations. Our findings also show, however, that being African American tends to equate negatively with spiritual questing for men and women who aspire to careers as business executives, as well as for African American women intending medical careers and men planning careers in engineering. Marked contrasts in the spiritual quest orientations of Asian and Latino men and women were also evident within some career aspirant groups. Being Asian, for example, was a positive indicator of spiritual questing for women, but negative for men. On the other hand, being Latina correlated negatively with spiritual questing among those who aspired to law and business careers but being Latino correlated positively.

Given these findings, it would be informative for future studies to examine in greater depth how the career motivations of men and women of various racial/ethnic groups may vary characteristically and how different aspects of students' spirituality, including quest, play into those career choices. For example, are African American men who are drawn to careers in law driven to pursue that path for characteristically different reasons than their peers of other races/ethnicities? Are they motivated by differentially perceived career benefits or projected societal contributions through their work? Similarly, why does being African American appear to differentially mediate the spiritual quest inclinations of men and women who aspire to medical careers? The answers to these and related questions that may be uniquely germane for other groups hold potentially important implications for why individuals of various races/ethnicities may be attracted to, or repelled by, particular career paths, as well as how they may differentially conceive of their work and its significance. Considered within the context of spiritual quest inclinations, such inquiry may also shed light on how one's search for answers to existential questions, including the search for meaning and purpose in life, may interface with vocational choice.

Similar sets of questions arise when considering why students of particular religious faiths who aspire to pursue legal—and other—professional careers may be characteristically more or less inclined toward spiritual questing. Of particular interest is exploring in greater depth the interface between gender and religious faith on career aspirations.

Our findings show, for example, that women first-year college students who were Catholic, Protestant, or Evangelical and who were interested in legal careers tended to score lower on spiritual quest. In contrast, Catholic and Protestant men scored higher on spiritual quest, while being Evangelical was negligibly correlated. Equally intriguing patterns for men and women of these and different faiths were evident within other career aspirant groups and warrant further consideration through additional quantitative and qualitative studies. One plausible hypothesis is that, within

the context of various religious traditions, the faith experiences and related developmental paths of men and women may serve to differentially strengthen or impede their felt need for spiritual quest. This relationship may be especially salient in cases where traditionally aged college students are simultaneously highly religiously engaged *and* strongly committed to the tenets of their particular faith.

Importantly, we also found that regardless of their intended career, traditionally aged students who began their undergraduate career expecting to strengthen their religious commitment were likely to prioritize personal goals and engage in activities that were consistent with spiritual questing. In addition, men and women across career aspirant groups who reported that they were experiencing religious struggle were also highly likely to be questing. The only variable that relates negatively with spiritual questing for nearly all professional career aspirant groups is religious skepticism. In accordance with Batson and Schoenrades' earlier work,<sup>97</sup> these findings collectively offer support for the notion that professional career aspirants who are actively wrestling with existential questions may or may not be seeking religiously based answers to their spiritual growth. On the whole, our findings on the interrelationships between religious struggle, religious skepticism, and spiritual quest for men and women who aspire to law and other professional careers underscore the various ways in which students' religious characteristics, in combination with other personal factors, may mediate spiritual questing. To be sure, the juxtaposition of faith, gender, and vocation within young adult development remains largely unexplored territory, and it promises potentially valuable insights with regard to understanding the contextual complexities of both career choice and spiritual quest.

Second, our findings point to the value of looking more closely at how self-rated emotional health is linked with spiritual questing both within the population of legal career aspirants and across other professional career aspirant groups. As noted earlier, there is evidence that actively pursuing



answers to existential questions may be linked to overall mental and emotional health.<sup>98</sup> Still, there is much to learn about the individual and environmental circumstances that may predispose individuals to spiritual questing. Are there, for example, starkly different—yet perhaps equally compelling—psychological profiles that can help predict within the young adult population who is likely to engage most intensively in spiritual questing?

Within the population of legal career aspirants, we found some evidence to support this possibility. For instance, women who rated themselves as more emotionally healthy than their peers were *less* inclined toward spiritual questing, implying that relative freedom from emotional turmoil could mediate against engaging in existential seeking and questioning. For men, the influence of self-rated emotional health was negligible, yet men who reported feeling frequently overwhelmed by all they had to do were disinclined toward spiritual questing. Somewhat surprisingly, however, no similar relationship was evident for women. Both men and women who intended to seek counseling while in college, however, were more likely to be questing, with a relatively stronger relationship evident for women.

Additionally, as highlighted earlier, one variable—equanimity—correlates positively with spiritual questing for men and women across all career aspirant groups. Indeed, there may well be a variety of positive and/or negative life conditions and perspectives that trigger young adults to actively engage (or disengage) in spiritual questing. Understandably, as students transition from high school to college and confront a wide range of career and life course questions, they may struggle to make sense of the world around them and their role within it. Earlier findings show that spirituality and religion can positively impact students' well-being.<sup>99</sup> Understandably, however, as students work through the inherent discord that can be associated with serious reflection on “big questions,” they may sacrifice short term psychological and emotional wellbeing for long term maturational gains. Future research that examines these relationships and

related contingencies could potentially contribute a great deal to understanding the causes and consequences of spiritual questing among undergraduate students.

Third, findings from this study raise interesting questions about how students' values and associated expectations for college may mediate spiritual questing for undergraduates within and across professional career aspirant groups. Not unexpectedly, irrespective of their particular career interests, men and women who entered college intent on finding their purpose in life and who emphasized the importance of the college experience enhancing their self understanding were more likely to be questing. College expectations were found to be more strongly associated with spiritual questing for men and women legal career aspirants than for those planning other careers. Most significantly, students who scored high on ethic of caring and who espoused a strong ecumenical worldview—again, regardless of their gender or intended career field—were inclined toward spiritual questing. Specifically among those intending legal careers, ethic of caring was a more compelling factor in promoting women's spiritual questing while, for men, holding an ecumenical worldview was comparatively more influential.

Building on these findings, one valuable direction for future research relates to how students who enter college with values and expectations that predispose them to questing grow during their undergraduate experience relative to their peers who have fundamentally different orientations. Moreover, earlier research<sup>100</sup> has shown that the care orientation of female law school students tends to decrease during their graduate school years. Are there similar tendencies among female undergraduates who attend college and universities where the campus climate does not necessarily foster this perspective? If so, how might women's spiritual questing and related developmental trajectories be affected? Similarly, how might students' world views (ecumenical or otherwise) evolve during the

undergraduate years and what might be the resulting implications for personal growth, educational achievement, and career decision-making?

Taken together, our findings offer some preliminary context for understanding the personal characteristics, perspectives, motivations, and expectations that correspond positively and negatively with spiritual questing for entering college students who aspire to become lawyers, physicians, business executives, and engineers. In developing the model used as the basis for this inquiry, we set a relatively liberal standard<sup>101</sup> for determining the statistical significance of variables included in each analysis. As such, and especially given the large weighted samples, it is important to interpret these findings with an eye on distinguishing the variables that correlate *most* strongly with spiritual questing. Within that frame, the results have implications not just for future research, as described above, but also for educational practice.

Certainly, as elaborated in prior studies,<sup>102</sup> the undergraduate years encompass an intensive period of cognitive, social, and affective development for traditionally aged college students. As young adults refine their identities, formulate life goals and career paths, test their emerging sense of self authority and interdependence, and make decisions that will significantly impact their own and others' lives, they often grapple with issues of meaning, purpose, authenticity, and spirituality. Within American society, however, the spiritual dimension of our lives has been traditionally regarded as one that lies outside the realm of appropriate concern or discussion within professional and nonsectarian academic contexts. In recent years, though, there has been growing recognition of the seemingly inherent disconnect between the dominant values of contemporary American society and the perspectives and practices that will enable us to respond effectively not only to our own individual needs, but also to local, national, international, and global challenges.<sup>103</sup>

While many of the core literary and philosophical traditions that comprise the liberal education curriculum are grounded in the maxim,

“know thyself,” there is generally little attention paid in today’s secular colleges and universities to facilitating student development in the inner realm of self-understanding.<sup>104</sup> Whereas spiritual aspects of student development were cornerstones of early American college curricula, Enlightenment ideals, positivistic modes of thinking, and scientific worldviews that began to exert a powerful influence on American thought in the late nineteenth century have continued to dominate societal values and individual goal orientations.<sup>105</sup> Rather than providing a developmental context characterized by self-reflection, open dialogue, and thoughtful analysis of alternative perspectives, many of today’s college and university environments instead mirror the strong societal emphasis on individual achievement, competitiveness, materialism, and objective knowing.

Given the broad formative roles that colleges and universities play in our society, higher education represents a critical focal point for responding to the question of how we can balance the “exterior” and “interior” aspects of our lives more effectively. How might today’s undergraduate institutions best respond to students’ developmental needs? What curricular and co-curricular experiences might facilitate students’ spiritual growth? What roles can, and should, faculty, administrators, and other campus personnel play within this realm? To date, there are no definitive, universally applicable answers to these questions. We can, however, glean some fundamental insights based on existing research and writing that can help guide the higher education community and individual institutions and practitioners therein when considering various action-oriented paths that are aimed at creating and sustaining educational environments that maximize the personal and professional potential of students and faculty.

First, at the heart of higher education’s capacity to change are faculty, who play a central role in shaping both the culture and climate of their institutions. As Astin and Twede have suggested, the values and beliefs of college and university faculty represent the fundamental standards by which institutional decisions are made and priorities are set.<sup>106</sup> Consequently, for

spirituality to become an integral part of higher education, faculty support is of paramount importance. Moreover, apart from their roles as key levers for institutional change, we know that the actions of faculty both within and outside the classroom impact tremendously the academic and personal development of their students.<sup>107</sup> Interpersonal interaction with faculty enhances a wide variety of student outcomes and, as Terenzini, Pascarella, and Blimling<sup>108</sup> have shown, is one of the most influential sources of undergraduate student learning.

As the primary adult agents of socialization within the college environment, faculty members also have the ability to impact student experiences and outcomes both positively and negatively.<sup>109</sup> Beyond influencing students' intellectual and career development, interacting with faculty has been shown to enhance students' personal identity awareness and moral development.<sup>110</sup> In addition, research on student outcomes shows that informal (i.e., out-of-class) interaction between students and faculty increases faculty influence on undergraduate students' values, beliefs, and behaviors<sup>111</sup> and positively affects students' intellectual curiosity, interpersonal skills, and maturational development.<sup>112</sup> Faculty mentoring has also been positively associated with student inclinations toward humanitarian behavior.<sup>113</sup>

Most content areas that comprise the core undergraduate curriculum do indeed have potential for helping students address issues related to spiritual questing and, by extension, prompt reflection on related constructs such as altruism and social justice. Such engagement potentially benefits all students, not just those aspiring to selected careers. As Chickering, Dalton, and Stamm have highlighted, integrating pertinent pedagogy, experiential learning, and human interactions are essential for realizing the potential of any given content area as it relates to fostering students' spiritual growth and development.<sup>114</sup>

Service-learning is one curricular approach that holds particular promise for enabling students to engage in activities that promote both self-

reflection and a sense of connectedness, and that results in associated benefits for academic, personal, and moral development.<sup>115</sup> Importantly, as Bennett notes, apart from the actual content of what they teach or the specific pedagogical practices they employ, faculty members' own spiritual inclinations, whether articulated explicitly or not, inescapably impact their students, colleagues, and the institutions where they work.<sup>116</sup> In particular, Bennett advocates that faculty develop habits of openness, courage, and self-reflection to help enable them to create learning environments where they can truly educate, rather than simply instruct.<sup>117</sup> To be sure, a successful outcome related to calls for faculty, staff, and administrators to engage with students and each other in new and sometimes unfamiliar ways is dependent, at least in part, on the availability of salient institutionally, and disciplinary, based professional development programs.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly—especially at the outset of campus conversations related to issues of spiritual questing and associated initiatives to support student and faculty development within that dimension—it is important to recognize that *how* one conceptualizes his or her spirituality is fundamentally less critical than acknowledging that the spiritual aspects of our lives cannot be partitioned out of educational contexts or viewed as inconsequential to vocational or more general human development. To ignore the role of spirituality in personal development and professional behavior is to overlook a potentially powerful avenue through which people construct meaning and knowledge.<sup>118</sup> Indeed, as Zohar and Marshall have underscored, it is the spiritual component of human beings that gives rise to questions about why we do what we do, pushes us to seek fundamentally better ways of doing it, and propels us to make a difference in the world.<sup>119</sup> These are the questions and conditions that challenge us to consider how the educational experiences of our students—whatever their particular career aspirations may be—can be enhanced by acknowledging, valuing, nurturing, and celebrating the interior dimensions of human growth and development.

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 Appendix A: Variable Definitions and Coding Schemes
 

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*Dependent Variable*


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‘Spiritual Quest’                      Ten-item<sup>120</sup> factor scale ( $\alpha=.85$ )

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*Independent Variables*


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Race:<sup>121</sup> African American              Dichotomous variable: 1=*no*, 2=*yes*

Race: Latino/a                              Dichotomous variable: 1=*no*, 2=*yes*

Race: Asian American                    Dichotomous variable: 1=*no*, 2=*yes*

Race: American Indian                  Dichotomous variable: 1=*no*, 2=*yes*

Race: Native Hawaiian                  Dichotomous variable: 1=*no*, 2=*yes*

Parental Income                          14-point scale  
 1=*\$10,000 or less*  
 14=*\$250,000 or more*

Average Parental Education            16-point scale 1=*both parents,*  
*grammar or less;*  
 8=*both parents, grad degree*

Political Orientation                      5-point scale: 1=*Far Right,*  
 5=*Far Left*

Religion: Protestant<sup>122</sup>                  Dichotomous variable: 1=*no*, 2=*yes*

Religion: <sup>123</sup> Catholic	Dichotomous variable: 1= <i>no</i> , 2= <i>yes</i>
Religion: Jewish	Dichotomous variable: 1= <i>no</i> , 2= <i>yes</i>
Religion: Islamic	Dichotomous variable: 1= <i>no</i> , 2= <i>yes</i>
Religion: Evangelical <sup>124</sup>	Dichotomous variable: 1= <i>no</i> , 2= <i>yes</i>
Religion: Other Religion <sup>125</sup>	Dichotomous variable: 1= <i>no</i> , 2= <i>yes</i>
Church Attendance (Frequency)	3-point scale: 1= <i>not at all</i> , 3= <i>frequently</i>
‘Religious Struggle’	Seven-item <sup>126</sup> factor scale ( $\alpha=.75$ )
‘Skepticism’	Nine-item <sup>127</sup> factor scale ( $\alpha=.83$ )
High School GPA	8-point scale: 1= <i>D</i> , 8= <i>A+</i>
Self-rating: Emotional Health	5-point scale: 1= <i>lowest 10%</i> , 5= <i>highest 10%</i>
Felt depressed	3-point scale: 1= <i>not at all</i> , 3= <i>frequently</i>
Felt overwhelmed by all I had to do	3-point scale: 1= <i>not at all</i> , 3= <i>frequently</i>
‘Equanimity’	Six-item <sup>128</sup> factor scale ( $\alpha=.76$ )
Reason for attending: To be able to	3-point scale: 1= <i>not important</i> ,



make more money	3= <i>very important</i>
Reason for attending: To be able to get a better job	3-point scale: 1= <i>not important</i> , 3= <i>very important</i>
Reason for attending: To gain a general education and appreciation of ideas	3-point scale: 1= <i>not important</i> , 3= <i>very important</i>
Reason for attending: To make me a more cultured person	3-point scale: 1= <i>not important</i> , 3= <i>very important</i>
Reason for attending: To learn more about things that interest me	3-point scale: 1= <i>not important</i> , 3= <i>very important</i>
Reason for attending: To find my purpose in life	3-point scale: 1= <i>not important</i> , 3= <i>very important</i>
Reason for attending: This college's graduates get good jobs	3-point scale: 1= <i>not important</i> , 3= <i>very important</i>
College Importance: Prepares you for employment after college	4-point scale: 1= <i>not important</i> , 4= <i>essential</i>
College Importance: Enhances your self-understanding	4-point scale: 1= <i>not important</i> , 4= <i>essential</i>
College Importance: Helps you develop your ability to think critically	4-point scale: 1= <i>not important</i> , 4= <i>essential</i>

Goal: Be very well off financially	4-point scale: 1= <i>not important</i> , 4= <i>essential</i>
Self-rating: Drive to achieve	5-point scale: 1= <i>lowest 10%</i> , 5= <i>highest 10%</i>
‘Ethic of Caring’	Nine-item <sup>129</sup> factor scale ( $\alpha=.79$ )
‘Ecumenical World View’	Twelve-item <sup>130</sup> factor scale ( $\alpha=.70$ )
Expectation: Participate in community service	4-point scale: 1= <i>no chance</i> , 4= <i>very good chance</i>
Expectation: Strengthen religious convictions	4-point scale: 1= <i>no chance</i> , 4= <i>very good chance</i>
Expectation: Study abroad	4-point scale: 1= <i>no chance</i> , 4= <i>very good chance</i>
Expectation: Participate in clubs/groups	4-point scale: 1= <i>no chance</i> , 4= <i>very good chance</i>
Expectation: Participate in protests/demonstrations	4-point scale: 1= <i>no chance</i> , 4= <i>very good chance</i>
Expectation: Work full-time	4-point scale: 1= <i>no chance</i> , 4= <i>very good chance</i>
Expectation: Get a job to pay for expenses	4-point scale: 1= <i>no chance</i> , 4= <i>very good chance</i>

Expectation: Plan to seek counseling      4-point scale: 1=*no chance*, 4=*very good chance*

Institutional type: Public institution      Dichotomous variable: 1=*no*, 2=*yes*

Institutional type: University<sup>131</sup>      Dichotomous variable: 1=*no*, 2=*yes*

Appendix B. Statistical Significance Tests for Male Respondents<sup>1,2</sup>

Variable	Law v. Med	Law v. Bus	Law v. Eng	Med v. Bus	Med v. Eng	Bus v. Eng
Black	X	X	X	X	X	X
Asian	-	-	X	-	X	X
Latino	X	-	X	X	-	X
American Indian	X	X	X	-	X	X
Native Hawaiian	-	-	X	X	X	X
Parental Income	X	X	X	X	X	X
Average Parental Education	X	-	-	X	X	-
Political Orientation	-	X	-	X	-	X
Protestant	X	X	X	X	X	X
Catholic	X	X	X	X	-	X
Jewish	X	X	X	-	X	X
Islamic	X	X	X	X	X	-
Evangelical	X	-	X	X	-	X

Other Religion	X	X	X	X	X	-
Church attendance (frequency)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Religious struggle	-	-	X	-	X	X
Skepticism	-	X	X	X	X	-
High school GPA	-	X	-	X	-	X
Self-rating: emotional health	X	X	X	X	X	X
Felt depressed	X	-	X	X	-	X
Felt overwhelmed by all I had to do	-	X	X	X	X	-
Equanimity	-	-	-	X	X	X
To be able to make more money	-	-	-	-	-	-
To be able to get a better job	X	X	X	X	-	X
To gain a general education and appreciation of ideas	X	X	-	X	X	X
To make me a more cultured	X	X	X	X	X	X

person						
To learn more about things that interest me	X	X	-	X	X	X
To find my purpose in life	X	X	-	-	X	X
This college's graduates get good jobs	X	X	X	X	X	X
How important: Prepares you for employment after college	X	X	X	-	X	X
How important: Enhances your self-understanding	X	X	-	X	X	X
How important: Helps you develop your ability to think critically	-	-	-	X	-	X
Goal: Be very well off financially	X	X	X	X	X	X
Self-rating: Drive to Achieve	X	X	X	-	X	X
Factor: Ethic of Caring	X	X	X	X	X	X

Factor:						
Ecumenical World View	X	-	X	X	X	X
Participate in Community Service	X	X	X	-	-	X
Strengthen Religious Convictions	-	X	X	-	X	X
Study Abroad	X	X	-	-	X	X
Participate in Clubs/Groups	X	-	X	-	X	X
Participate in Protests/ Demonstrations	X	X	X	-	-	X
Work Full-Time	X	X	X	X	X	X
Get a Job to Pay for Expenses	-	X	X	X	X	-
Plan to Seek Counseling	X	X	X	X	X	-
Public Institution	X	-	X	X	X	X
University	X	-	X	-	X	X

<sup>1</sup> p<.05

<sup>2</sup> "X" indicates significant between-group differences

Appendix C. Statistical Significance Tests for Female Respondents<sup>1,2</sup>

Variables	Law v. Med	Law v. Bus	Law v. Eng	Med v. Bus	Med v. Eng	Bus v. Eng
Black	X	X	-	-	X	X

Asian	X	X	X	-	-	-
Latino	-	-	X	-	-	X
American Indian	X	X	-	X	X	X
Native Hawaiian	X	X	-	-	X	X
Parental Income	X	X	-	-	-	-
Average Parental Education	X	X	-	X	X	X
Political Orientation	-	X	X	X	X	X
Protestant	X	X	X	-	-	-
Catholic	X	-	X	X	X	X
Jewish	-	X	X	X	X	-
Islamic	X	X	-	X	X	-
Evangelical	X	X	X	X	X	X
Other Religion	X	-	X	X	X	X
Church Attendance (Frequency)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Factor: Religious Struggle	X	X	X	X	X	X
Factor: Skepticism	X	X	X	-	X	X
High School GPA	X	X	X	X	X	X
Self-rating: Emotional	X	-	X	X	X	X

Health						
Felt Depressed	-	-	X	-	X	X
Felt Overwhelmed by all I had to do	X	-	X	X	X	X
Equanimity	-	-	X	-	X	X
To be able to make more money	X	X	-	-	X	X
To be able to get a better job	X	X	-	-	-	-
To gain a general education and appreciation of ideas	X	-	X	X	X	X
To make me a more cultured person	-	-	X	X	X	X
To learn more about things that interest me	X	X	-	X	X	X
To find my purpose in life	X	X	X	X	-	X
This college's graduates get good jobs	-	-	X	X	X	X
How important: Prepares you for	X	X	X	X	X	X



employment after college						
How important: Enhances your self- understanding	X	X	X	X	-	-
How important: Helps you develop your ability to think critically	-	X	X	X	X	X
Goal: Be very well off financially	X	-	X	X	-	X
Self-rating: Drive to Achieve	-	-	X	-	X	X
Factor: Ethic of Caring	-	X	X	X	X	X
Factor: Ecumenical World View	X	X	X	-	-	-
Participate in Community Service	-	X	-	X	-	X
Strengthen Religious Convictions	-	X	-	X	-	X
Study Abroad	X	-	-	X	X	-
Participate in	-	-	-	-	-	-

Clubs/Groups						
Participate in Protests/ Demonstrations	X	X	X	-	X	X
Work Full-Time	X	-	-	X	X	X
Get a Job to Pay for Expenses	X	X	X	X	X	X
Plan to Seek Counseling	X	X	X	X	-	-
Public Institution	-	X	X	X	X	X
University	X	-	X	X	X	X

<sup>1</sup> p<.05

<sup>2</sup>“X” indicates significant between-group differences

**Table 1. Spiritual Questing for All Respondents (Weighted Percentages)**

	Law	Medicine	Business	Engineering
Low	20.9	16.3	26.4	33.4
Medium	50.2	53.9	52.8	49.5
High	28.9	29.8	20.8	17.1
Total N	41244	75692	133007	65601

**Table 2. Spiritual Questing for Men and Women Respondents (Percentages)**

	Law		Medicine		Business	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Low	25.7	17.3	19.5	14.2	29.0	22.9
Medium	48.2	51.7	52.3	55.0	52.2	53.6
High	26.1	31.0	28.2	30.8	18.8	23.5
Total N	17,887	23,357	29,409	46,283	75,161	57,847

	Engineering	
	Men	Women
Low	35.5	22.4
Medium	47.6	59.4
High	16.9	18.2
Total N	55,152	10,449

**Table 3 – Standardized Betas**  
**Factors Affecting Spiritual Quest (By Career Field and Gender)**

	Law		Medicine		Business		Engineering	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<b>Demographics</b>								
Black	0.04†	0.04†	0.01†	-0.03†	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.01†	0.01†
Asian	0.0†	0.03†	0.01†	-0.01†	0.0	0.0	-0.02*	-0.02
Latino	0.0†	-0.02†	-0.05†	-0.03†	0.01†	-0.02†	-0.03*	-0.04*
American Indian	0.04*	0.04*	0.01†	0.0†	0.03†	-0.01†	0.0†	0.04†
Native Hawaiian	0.0†	-0.02†	0.0†	0.01†	-0.01†	0.0†	0.08†	-0.02†
Parental Income	-0.04†	-0.02†	0.0	0.01	0.03†	0.02†	-0.01†	0.01†
Average Parental Education	0.0†	0.03†	0.03†	-0.05†	0.0†	-0.03†	0.0†	0.03†
Political Orientation	-0.02*	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.02*	0.01*	0.01*	-0.02†	0.05†
<b>Religious Characteristics</b>								
Protestant	0.03†	-0.09†	-0.09†	-0.03†	-0.04*	-0.03*	-0.05*	-0.04*
Catholic	0.03†	-0.04†	-0.09†	-0.01†	-0.06†	-0.03†	-0.09*	-0.08*
Jewish	0.04†	0.01†	-0.04†	0.0†	-0.03*	-0.02*	-0.01*	-0.02*
Islamic	-0.02*	-0.01*	-0.06†	0.03†	0.0†	-0.03†	0.0†	-0.02†
Evangelical	-0.01†	-0.08†	-0.08†	-0.01†	0.0†	-0.03†	-0.06†	0.05†
Other Religion	0.05†	0.01†	-0.05†	0.04†	0.0	0.0	-0.01†	0.12†
Church Attendance (Frequency)	-0.08†	0.0†	0.0†	-0.02†	-0.02*	-0.03*	-0.05†	0.09†
Factor: Religious Struggle	0.11†	0.16†	0.11†	0.13†	0.11*	0.11*	0.12†	0.26†
Factor: Skepticism	-0.11*	-0.12*	-0.09*	-0.1*	-0.05†	-0.08†	-0.05†	0.03†
<b>Academic Performance</b>								
High School GPA	0.04*	0.05*	0.04†	-0.01†	0.02†	0.01†	0.03†	0.07†
<b>Emotional Health</b>								
Self-rating: Emotional Health	0.0†	-0.03†	-0.07†	-0.01†	-0.03*	-0.02*	-0.02†	0.08†
Felt Depressed	0.01	0.01	0.04†	0.01†	0.0	0.01	0.03†	-0.03†
Felt Overwhelmed by all I had to do	-0.05†	0.0†	-0.05†	0.03†	0.0	0.01	-0.01†	0.05†
Equanimity	0.14†	0.18†	0.16*	0.17*	0.13†	0.17†	0.15†	0.07†
<b>Reasons and Motivations</b>								
To be able to make more money	0.01	0.01	0.0†	0.05†	0.0†	0.04†	0.0	0.02
To be able to get a better job	-0.02*	-0.01*	0.04†	-0.04†	0.0†	-0.04†	0.03†	-0.02†
To gain a general education and appreciation of ideas	0.01*	0.01*	0.04*	0.05*	-0.01†	0.0†	0.01†	0.12†
To make me a more cultured person	0.05†	0.0†	0.02†	-0.01†	-0.02†	0.02†	-0.04*	-0.06*
To learn more about things that interest me	-0.01	0.0	0.05†	-0.04†	0.01†	-0.03†	0.0	0.02
To find my purpose in life	0.1†	0.16†	0.09†	0.1†	0.09†	0.12†	0.12†	0.09†
This college's graduates get good jobs	0.02†	0.0†	-0.03†	0.0†	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.04†	0.04†
<b>Personal Values</b>								
How important: Prepares you for employment after college	-0.03*	-0.02*	0.02†	-0.01†	0.02†	0.0†	-0.01†	-0.07†
How important: Enhances your self-understanding	0.11†	0.14†	0.09†	0.2†	0.13†	0.18†	0.12†	0.22†
How important: Helps you develop your ability to think critically	0.07*	0.07*	0.09†	0.07†	0.07†	0.03†	0.08†	-0.08†
Goal: Be very well off financially	0.05†	0.0†	0.03*	0.02*	-0.02*	-0.01	0.0†	0.04†
Self-rating: Drive to Achieve	0.05†	0.02†	-0.01†	0.02†	-0.02†	0.02†	0.01†	0.09†
Factor: Ethic of Caring	0.23†	0.3†	0.37†	0.3†	0.33*	0.32*	0.3†	0.25†
Factor: Ecumenical World View	0.22†	0.14†	0.17*	0.18*	0.22†	0.17†	0.26†	0.21†
<b>College Expectations</b>								

Participate in Community Service	0.0†	-0.04*†	-0.05†	-0.03*†	-0.04*†	-0.1*†	-0.06*†	-0.04*†
Strengthen Religious Convictions	0.08*	0.07*	0.1*†	0.07*†	0.1*†	0.13*†	0.13*†	0.06†
Study Abroad	-0.03†	0.02†	0.01†	-0.06†	0.02*	0.02*	-0.04†	0.02†
Participate in Clubs/Groups	-0.01†	-0.05†	-0.04*	-0.04*	-0.03†	-0.04*†	0.01†	-0.04†
Participate in Protests/Demonstrations	0.09†	-0.01†	0.01†	0.02*†	0.02†	0.03*†	0.0†	-0.04*†
Work Full-Time	0.0	-0.01	0.07†	0.01†	0.02†	-0.01†	-0.02*	-0.03*
Get a Job to Pay for Expenses	-0.06†	-0.02†	-0.06†	0.0†	0.01†	0.03†	0.0†	0.07†
Plan to Seek Counseling	0.08*†	0.11*†	-0.01†	0.02†	0.02†	0.05†	0.02*	0.03*
<b>Institutional Features</b>								
Public Institution	0.04*†	0.02*†	-0.01†	0.01†	0.03†	0.0†	0.01†	-0.05†
University	0.01*	0.01	0.0	-0.01*	0.01	0.01*	-0.02†	0.03*†
R-squared	0.639	0.621	0.621	0.569	0.616	0.596	0.596	0.596
Number of Cases**	12,907	16,408	21,525	33,510	52,660	39,021	38,472	7,378
(†) Coefficient is significant the .05 level (‡) Coefficients for males and females within a given career fields are significantly different at the .05 level (**) Represents weighted number of cases								

	Law		Medicine		Business		Engineering	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<b>Demographics</b>								
Black	1.21*†	0.56*†	0.27*†	-0.43*†	-0.59*	-0.58*	-0.32*†	0.28†
Asian	-0.12†	0.51*†	0.11†	-0.11*†	-0.06	-0.06	-0.45*	-0.26
Latino	0.01†	-0.41*†	-1.08*†	-0.62*†	0.19*†	-0.51*†	-0.88*	-0.89*
American Indian	1.69*	1.22*	0.75*†	0.12†	1.14*†	-0.44*†	0.11†	2.1*†
Native Hawaiian	0.21†	-1.02*†	-0.07†	0.51*†	-0.75*†	0.03†	2.83*†	-1.21*†
Parental Income	-0.07*†	-0.02*†	0.0	0.01	0.06*†	0.03*†	-0.03*†	0.01†
Average Parental Education	-0.02†	0.09*†	0.09*†	-0.14*†	0.01†	-0.09*†	0.01†	0.09*†
Political Orientation	-0.14*	-0.19*	-0.2*	-0.13*	0.06*	0.06*	-0.16*†	0.3*†
<b>Religious Characteristics</b>								
Protestant	0.43*†	-1.19*†	-1.27*†	-0.4*†	-0.46*	-0.45*	-0.69*	-0.45*
Catholic	0.35*†	-0.49*†	-0.99*†	-0.09†	-0.72*†	-0.34*†	-1.14*	-0.87*
Jewish	1.11*†	0.35*†	-1.29*†	0.16†	-1.01*	-1.04*	-0.35*	-1.19*
Islamic	-0.86*	-0.89*	-1.69*†	0.89*†	0.05†	-1.99*†	0.15†	-3.44*†
Evangelical	-0.08†	-1.06*†	-1.06*†	-0.09†	0.05†	-0.38*†	-0.86*†	0.56*†
Other Religion	1.66*†	0.24†	-1.09*†	0.69*†	-0.12	-0.07	-0.24*†	2.44*†
Church Attendance (Frequency)	-0.65*†	-0.01†	0.01†	-0.15*†	-0.17*	-0.25*	-0.34*†	0.58*†
Factor: Religious Struggle	0.2*†	0.28*†	0.19*†	0.23*†	0.21*	0.21*	0.25*†	0.43*†
Factor: Skepticism	-0.11*	-0.13*	-0.09*	-0.1*	-0.06*†	-0.09*†	-0.05*†	0.03*†
<b>Academic Performance</b>								
High School GPA	0.17*	0.18*	0.16*†	-0.04*†	0.06*†	0.03†	0.13*†	0.32*†
<b>Emotional Health</b>								
Self-rating: Emotional Health	0.02†	-0.18*†	-0.41*†	-0.07*†	-0.16*	-0.15*	-0.1*†	0.45*†
Felt Depressed	0.07	0.09	0.34*†	0.08*†	-0.02	0.07	0.28*†	-0.31*†
Felt Overwhelmed by all I had to do	-0.45*†	-0.02†	-0.43*†	0.24*†	-0.02	0.05	-0.07*†	0.43*†
Equanimity	0.32*†	0.39*†	0.35*	0.37*	0.29*†	0.39*†	0.31*†	0.14*†
<b>Reasons and Motivations</b>								
To be able to make more money	0.11	0.06	-0.04†	0.38*†	-0.03†	0.4*†	-0.03	0.15
To be able to get a better job	-0.18*	-0.09*	0.27*†	-0.29*†	0.03†	-0.3*†	0.32*†	-0.17*†
To gain a general education and appreciation of ideas	0.13*	0.14*	0.38*	0.46*	-0.08*†	0.02†	0.1*†	1.04*†
To make me a more cultured person	0.39*†	0.01†	0.15*†	-0.11*†	-0.12*†	0.12*†	-0.33*	-0.38*
To learn more about things that interest me	-0.07	-0.01	0.56*†	-0.51*†	0.11*†	-0.3*†	-0.01	0.19
To find my purpose in life	0.8*†	1.21*†	0.66*†	0.77*†	0.63*†	0.88*†	0.88*†	0.66*†
This college's graduates get good jobs	0.13*†	-0.01†	-0.23*†	0.03†	-0.1*	-0.11*	-0.34*†	0.34*†
<b>Personal Values</b>								
How important: Prepares you for employment after college	-0.22*	-0.23*	0.18*†	-0.08*†	0.18*†	0.04†	-0.08*†	-0.67*†

How important: Enhances your self-understanding	0.72*†	0.87*†	0.55*†	1.25*†	0.84*†	1.14*†	0.75*†	1.22*†
How important: Helps you develop your ability to think critically	0.56*	0.57*	0.69*†	0.57*†	0.47*†	0.2*	0.63*†	-0.55*†
Goal: Be very well off financially	0.34*†	0.01†	0.17*	0.15*	-0.12*	-0.05	0†	0.23*†
Self-rating: Drive to Achieve	0.34*†	0.13*†	-0.04†	0.12*†	-0.11*†	0.12*†	0.08*†	0.56*†
Factor: Ethic of Caring	0.28*†	0.36*†	0.47*†	0.38*†	0.42*	0.41*	0.4*†	0.33*†
Factor: Ecumenical World View	0.28*†	0.18*†	0.22*	0.23*	0.28*†	0.22*†	0.32*†	0.23*†
<b>College Expectations</b>								
Participate in Community Service	0.03†	-0.25*†	-0.31*†	-0.2*†	-0.25*†	-0.61*†	-0.37*†	-0.21*†
Strengthen Religious Convictions	0.44*	0.38*	0.5*†	0.37*†	0.57*†	0.72*†	0.69*†	0.28*†
Study Abroad	-0.15*†	0.08*†	0.08*†	-0.28*†	0.13*	0.09*	-0.23*†	0.12*†
Participate in Clubs/Groups	-0.1*†	-0.34*†	-0.24*	-0.25*	-0.18*†	-0.25*†	0.07†	-0.27*†
Participate in Protests/Demonstrations	0.6*†	-0.06†	0.05†	0.15*†	0.13*†	0.22*†	-0.02†	-0.22*†
Work Full-Time	-0.02	-0.03	0.47*†	0.05*†	0.11*†	-0.03†	-0.13*	-0.17*
Get a Job to Pay for Expenses	-0.35*†	-0.11*†	-0.33*†	0.03†	0.03†	0.15*†	0.02†	0.33*†
Plan to Seek Counseling	0.54*†	0.7*†	-0.04†	0.13*†	0.16*†	0.3*†	0.16*	0.21*
<b>Institutional Features</b>								
Public Institution	0.43*†	0.21*†	-0.06†	0.14*†	0.36*†	0.03†	0.09†	-0.56*†
University	0.15*	0.08	-0.05	-0.15*	0.06	0.13*	-0.3*†	0.32*†
Constant	-3.49*	-2.74*	-3.56*†	-1.86*†	-3.88*†	-2.3*†	-4.17*†	-10.18*†
R-squared	0.639	0.621	0.621	0.569	0.616	0.586	0.598	0.586
Number of Cases**	12,907	16,408	21,525	33,510	52,660	39,021	38,472	7,378
(*) Coefficient is significant the .05 level								
(†) Coefficients for males and females within a given career field are significantly different from each other at the .05 level								
(**) Represents weighted number of cases								

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<sup>4</sup> See LARRY A. BRASKAMP ET. AL., PUTTING STUDENTS FIRST: HOW COLLEGES DEVELOP STUDENTS PURPOSEFULLY (2006); Alexander W. Astin, *Why Spirituality Deserves a Central Place in Liberal Education*, 90 LIBERAL EDUC. 34, 34-41 (2004) [hereinafter Astin, *Spirituality Deserves*]; ARTHUR W. CHICKERING ET.AL., ENCOURAGING AUTHENTICITY AND SPIRITUALITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION (2006) [hereinafter CHICKERING ET. AL., ENCOURAGING AUTHENTICITY]; THE HEART OF LEARNING: SPIRITUALITY IN EDUCATION (Steven Glazer ed., 1999).

<sup>5</sup> Alexander W. Astin, et. al., *Spirituality in Higher Education: A National Study of College Students’ Search for Meaning and Purpose*, Summary of Selected Findings (2000-2003) 1 (2004) (unpublished manuscript, available at [http://www.spirituality.ucla.edu/results/Findings\\_Summary\\_00-03.pdf](http://www.spirituality.ucla.edu/results/Findings_Summary_00-03.pdf)) [hereinafter Astin et. al., *Spirituality in Higher Education*]; Alyssa N. Bryant et. al., *Understanding the Religious and Spiritual Dimensions of Students’ Lives in the First Year of College*, 44

J. C. STUDENT DEVELOPMENT 723 (2003); CONRAD CHERRY ET. AL., RELIGION ON CAMPUS (2001).

<sup>6</sup> See generally Gordon W. Allport & J. Michael Ross, *Personal Religious Orientation and Prejudice*, 5 J. PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOL. 432 (1967). See also Derrick W. Klaassen & Marvin J. McDonald, *Quest and Identity Development: Re-Examining Pathways for Existential Search*, 12 INT'L J. PSYCHOL. RELIGION 189, 197-99 (2002). Cf. C. Daniel Batson, *Religion as Prosocial: Agent or Double Agent?*, 15 J. SCI. STUDY RELIGION 29, 31 (1976).

<sup>7</sup> Klaassen & McDonald, *supra* note 6, at 189-91; C. DANIEL BATSON ET. AL., RELIGION AND THE INDIVIDUAL 166 (1993).

<sup>8</sup> Astin et.al., *Spirituality in Higher Educaiton*, *supra* note 5, at 10-11; Marian De Souza, *Contemporary Influences on the Spirituality of Young People: Implications for Education*, 8 INT'L J. OF CHILD. SPIRITUALITY 269, 276-77 (2003). See also MARIA HARRIS & GABRIEL MORAN, *RESHAPING RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: CONVERSATIONS ON CONTEMPORARY PRACTICE* (1998).

<sup>9</sup> American Bar Association, *Legal Education and Bar Admission Statistics, 1963-2005*, [http://www.abanet.org/legaled/statistics/le\\_bastats.html](http://www.abanet.org/legaled/statistics/le_bastats.html). In that same academic year, over 48,000 students entered law school for the first time. *Id.*

<sup>10</sup> Numbers reflect total enrollments among women and minorities within ABA-certified schools. See *id.*

<sup>11</sup> See e.g., James C. Foster, *Legal Education and the Production of Lawyers to (Re)Produce Liberal Capitalism*, 9 LEG. STUD. F. 179 (1985); ROBERT GRANFIELD, *MAKING ELITE LAWYERS: VISIONS OF LAW AT HARVARD AND BEYOND* (1992); RICHARD D. KAHLBERG, *BROKEN CONTRACT: A MEMOIR OF HARVARD LAW SCHOOL* (1992); Debra Schleef, "That's a Good Question!" *Exploring Motivations for Law and Business School Choice*, 73 SOC. OF EDUC. 155 (2000).

<sup>12</sup> See e.g., Alexander W. Astin, *Prelaw Students: A National Profile*, 34 J. OF LEG. EDUC. 73 (1984) [hereinafter Astin, *Prelaw Students*].

<sup>13</sup> See e.g., James M. Hedegard, *The Impact of Legal Education: An In-Depth Examination of Career-relevant Interests, Attitudes, and Personality Traits Among First-Year Law Students*, 1979 AMER. B. FOUND. RES. J. 791 (1979); Donald L. McCabe et.al. *Context, Values, and Moral Dilemmas: Comparing the Choices of Business and Law School Students*, 10 J. OF BUS. ETHICS 951 (1991); Donald L. McCabe et. al., *The Effects of Professional Education on Values and the Resolution of Ethical Dilemmas: Business School vs. Law School Students*, 13 J. OF BUS. ETHICS 693 (1994).

<sup>14</sup> The "Spirituality in Higher Education" study is funded by the John Templeton Foundation. The lead investigators are Alexander W. Astin, Helen S. Astin, and Jennifer A. Lindholm. For more information about this research, please visit the project website: [www.spirituality.ucla.edu](http://www.spirituality.ucla.edu).

<sup>15</sup> See Allport & Ross, *supra* note 6; BATSON ET. AL., RELIGION AND THE INDIVIDUAL, *supra* note 7; C. Daniel Batson & Patricia A. Schoenrade, *Measuring Religion as a Quest: 1) Validity Concerns* 30 J. SCI. STUD. OF RELIG. 416 (1991) [hereinafter Batson & Schoenrade, *1) Validity Concerns*]; C. Daniel Batson & Patricia A. Schoenrade, *Measuring Religion as a Quest: 2) Reliability Concerns* 30 J. SCI. STUD. OF RELIG. 430 (1991) [hereinafter Batson & Schoenrade, *2) Reliability Concerns*]; Richard Beck &

- Ryan K. Jessup, *The Multidimensional Nature of Quest Motivation*, 32 J. OF PSYCHOL. & THEOLOGY 283 (2004); Christopher T. Burris et. al., *Religion as Quest: The Self-Directed Pursuit of Meaning*, 22 PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOL. BULL. 1068 (1996); Klaassen & McDonald, *supra* note 6, at 189-91.
- <sup>16</sup> See Allport & Ross, *supra* note 6, at 434-36.
- <sup>17</sup> See *id.* at 434-35.
- <sup>18</sup> See *id.* at 434.
- <sup>19</sup> See *id.* at 441-42.
- <sup>20</sup> See *id.*
- <sup>21</sup> Batson & Schoenrade, 1) *Validity Concerns*, *supra* note 15, at 417; Batson & Schoenrade, 2) *Reliability Concerns*, *supra* note 15, at 431.
- <sup>22</sup> BATSON ET. AL., RELIGION AND THE INDIVIDUAL, *supra* note 7, at 166.
- <sup>23</sup> Batson & Schoenrade, 2) *reliability Concerns*, *supra* note 15, at 436.
- <sup>24</sup> Beck & Jessup, *supra* note 15.
- <sup>25</sup> Burris et. al., *supra* note 15.
- <sup>26</sup> Klaassen & McDonald, *supra* note 6, at 197-99.
- <sup>27</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>28</sup> *Id.* at 198
- <sup>29</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>30</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>31</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>32</sup> Astin et. al., *Spirituality in Higher Education*, *supra* note 5, at 3.
- <sup>33</sup> *Id.* at 4.
- <sup>34</sup> See, e.g., ALEXANDER W. ASTIN, WHAT MATTERS IN COLLEGE? (1993); ERNEST T. PASCARELLA & PATRICK T. TEREZINI, HOW COLLEGE AFFECTS STUDENTS 280-82 (1991).
- <sup>35</sup> CHERRY ET. AL., *supra* note 5; Jenny J. Lee et. al., *Understanding Students' Religious and Spiritual Pursuits: A Case Study at New York University* (2002) (unpublished manuscript) (manuscript at Executive Summary, on file with the *SJSJ*).
- <sup>36</sup> See Astin et. al., *Spirituality in Higher Education*, *supra* note 5, at 11; DeSouza, *supra* note 8, 270-74; HARRIS & MORAN, *supra* note 8.
- <sup>37</sup> See e.g., Jaqui Bradley & Sandra King Kauanui, *Comparing Spirituality on Three Southern California College Campuses*, 16 J. ORG. CHANGE 448 (2003); Stephen W. Cook et. al., *College Students' Perceptions of Spiritual People and Religious People*, 28 J. PSYCHOL. & THEOLOGY 125 (2000).
- <sup>38</sup> See generally Hedegard, *supra* note 13.
- <sup>39</sup> *Id.* at 798.
- <sup>40</sup> *Id.* at 859-60.
- <sup>41</sup> Astin, *Prelaw Students*, *supra* note 12, at 83.
- <sup>42</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>43</sup> *Id.* at 83-84
- <sup>44</sup> Robert Stevens, *Law Schools and Law Students*, 59 VA. L. REV. 551, 622-23 (1973).
- <sup>45</sup> *Id.* at 620.
- <sup>46</sup> Astin, *Prelaw Students*, *supra* note 12, at 83.
- <sup>47</sup> See *id.*



- <sup>48</sup> See generally LANI GUINIER ET. AL., *BECOMING GENTLEMEN: WOMEN, LAW SCHOOL, AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE* (1997).
- <sup>49</sup> Janet Taber et. al., *Gender, Legal Education, and the Legal Profession: An Empirical Study of Stanford Law Students and Graduates*, 40 STAN. L. REV. 1209, 1227, 1249-51 (1988).
- <sup>50</sup> *Id.* at 1227, 1249-50.
- <sup>51</sup> Sandra Janoff, *The Influence of Legal Education Moral Reasoning*, 76 MINN. L. REV. 193, 237-38 (1991).
- <sup>52</sup> *Id.* at 195.
- <sup>53</sup> *Id.* at 194-96.
- <sup>54</sup> Schleef, *supra* note 11, at 157; cf. Kennon M. Sheldon & Lawrence S. Krieger, *Does Legal Education Have Undermining Effects on Law Students? Evaluating Changes in Motivation, Values, and Well-Being*, 22 BEHAV. SCI. & L. 261 (2004).
- <sup>55</sup> Schleef, *supra* note 11, at 160..
- <sup>56</sup> See generally BATSON, ET. AL., *RELIGION AND THE INDIVIDUAL*, *supra* note 7; Klaassen & McDonald, *supra* note 6.
- <sup>57</sup> Martin J. Bohn, *Psychological Needs of Engineering, Pre-Law, Pre-Med, and Undecided College Freshmen*, 12 J. C. STUDENT PERSONNEL 359 (1971).
- <sup>58</sup> *Id.* at 361.
- <sup>59</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>60</sup> Norman Solkoff & Joan Markowitz, *Personality Characteristics of First-Year Medical and Law Students*, 42 J. MED. EDUC. 195, 198 (1967) [hereinafter Solkoff & Markowitz, *Personality Characteristics*].
- <sup>61</sup> *Id.*; Norman Solkoff, *The Use of Personality and Attitude Tests in Predicting the Academic Success of Medical and Law Students*, 43 J. MED. EDUC. 1250 (1968) [hereinafter Solkoff, *Tests*].
- <sup>62</sup> Solkoff & Markowitz, *Personality Characteristics*, *supra* note 60, at 199; Solkoff, *Tests*, *supra* note 61.
- <sup>63</sup> Solkoff & Markowitz, *Personality Characteristics*, *supra* note 60; Solkoff, *Tests*, *supra* note 61, at 1253.
- <sup>64</sup> McCabe et. al., *Context, Values, and Moral Dilemmas*, *supra* note 13, at 958-59. See also Donald L. McCabe & Linda Klebe Trevino, *Academic Dishonesty: Honor Codes and Other Contextual Influences*, 64 J. HIGHER EDUC. 522 (1993) [hereinafter McCabe & Trevino, *Academic Dishonesty*].
- <sup>65</sup> See McCabe et. al., *Context, Values, and Moral Dilemmas*, *supra* note 13, at 958-59.
- <sup>66</sup> *Id.*; McCabe et. al., *Effects of Professional Education*, *supra* note 13, at 693-94, 699-70.
- <sup>67</sup> McCabe et. al., *Context, Values, and Moral Dilemmas*, *supra* note 13, at 958-59; McCabe et. al., *Effects of Professional Education*, *supra* note 13, 699-70.
- <sup>68</sup> See McCabe & Trevino, *Academic Dishonesty*, *supra* note 64.
- <sup>69</sup> McCabe et. al., *Context, Values, and Moral Dilemmas*, *supra* note 13, at 958.
- <sup>70</sup> Priscilla O'Clock & Marilyn Okleshen, *A Comparison of Ethical Perceptions of Business and Engineering Majors*, 12 J. BUS. ETHICS 677, 680 (1993).
- <sup>71</sup> *Id.*

<sup>72</sup> Cf. James R. Harris, *Ethical Values of Individuals at Different Levels in the Organizational Hierarchy of a Single Firm*, 9 J. BUS. ETHICS 741 (1990).

<sup>73</sup> *Id.*

<sup>74</sup> *Id.*

<sup>75</sup> See Astin et. al., *Spirituality in Higher Education*, *supra* note 5, at 1-2; cf. L.J. SAX ET. AL., *THE AMERICAN FRESHMAN: NATIONAL NORMS FOR FALL 2004* (2005), [www.gseis.ucla.edu/heri/PDFs/04\\_Norms\\_Flyer.pdf](http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/heri/PDFs/04_Norms_Flyer.pdf).

<sup>76</sup> The Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) is a national longitudinal study of the American higher education system. Established in 1966 by Alexander W. Astin, the CIRP is now the nation's largest and oldest empirical study of higher education, involving data on more than 1,800 institutions and 11 million students. The annual CIRP freshman and college student surveys are administered by the Higher Education Research Institute, which is housed within the Graduate School of Education & Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles.

<sup>77</sup> See Astin et. al., *Spirituality in Higher Education*, *supra* note 5, at 1-2, 8, 12.

<sup>78</sup> Principal components analysis is a method for transforming large sets of correlated variables into a smaller group of uncorrelated variables to help eliminate problems of multicollinearity when conducting regression analyses. Multicollinearity occurs when two or more variables that are used to explain the value of another variable are highly correlated (i.e., related). Multicollinearity is problematic because it makes it impossible to determine the separate effects of these explanatory variables on the outcome measure of interest, in this case "spiritual quest." "Varimax" rotation is widely used in factor analysis to minimize the variances of the factors. W. PAUL VOGT, *DICTIONARY OF STATISTICS AND METHODOLOGY: A NONTECHNICAL GUIDE FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES* 304 (1999).

<sup>79</sup> Values of the "spiritual quest" index range from 10 to 38 with a mean of 25.4 and a standard deviation of 5.5.

<sup>80</sup> The scale reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) for the "spiritual quest" index is .85. Cronbach's alpha is a measure of the internal reliability, or consistency, of items in an index. Cronbach's alpha ranges from 0 to 1.0. Scores toward the high end of the range (e.g., above .70) suggest that the items in an index are measuring the same thing. *Id.* at 6.

<sup>81</sup> This approach enables us to determine the unique contributions that certain types of variables have on a selected outcome measure (in this case "spiritual quest") once the effects of other types of variables have been taken into account.

<sup>82</sup> A complete list of variables and coding is provided in Appendix A.

<sup>83</sup> Ordinary Least Squares is a statistical method of determining the equation that best represents the relationship among variables included in a regression analysis. *Id.* at 202.

<sup>84</sup> In other words, we tried to explain differences in "spiritual quest" based on differences in the variables included within the eight blocks.

<sup>85</sup> Listwise deletion refers to the process of retaining only the cases within a given data set that have no missing data on any of the variables included in the analysis. *Id.* at 162, 173.

<sup>86</sup> Due to the large number of independent variables included in the analysis and the possibility of confounding between them, a diagnostic analysis was performed to ensure

that none of the variables included in the analysis were too highly correlated with one another (i.e., that excessive multicollinearity was not present).

<sup>87</sup> The expression “ $p < .05$ ” means the probability (p) that this result could have been produced either by chance or by random error is less than (<) 5 percent (.05). *Id.* at 204.

<sup>88</sup> “High” and “Low” scorers were determined based on response patterns to individual items included within the spiritual quest factor.

<sup>89</sup> See Astin et. al., *Spirituality in Higher Education*, *supra* note 5, at 7.

<sup>90</sup> *Id.* at 13-14.

<sup>91</sup> Table 3 shows the standardized beta coefficients for men and women in each of the four career groups. Unstandardized b-coefficients for men and women in addition to t-values are shown in Table 4. Positive coefficients indicate variables that enhance students’ inclination toward spiritual questing while negative coefficients identify variables that detract from spiritual questing. The results of statistical significance tests comparing differences between men and women across career aspirant groups are shown in Appendix B and C, respectively.

<sup>92</sup> The term “correlate” is used to refer to variables that were found to retain a statistically significant relationship (positive or negative) with spiritual questing in the final solution to the regression equation.

<sup>93</sup> For both of these variables, the simple correlation (r) with spiritual quest was positive. However, for most groups, once demographic and background characteristics, college-going motivations, and personal values were taken into account, the net effect of each of these variables became negative.

<sup>94</sup> In total, variables included in the regression equations accounted for 64 percent of the variance among men and 62 percent of the variance among women who aspire to legal careers.

<sup>95</sup> For men, the positive correlation between religious service attendance and spiritual questing changes dramatically once religious skepticism and religious struggle are controlled for within the regression equation. In other words, while men who frequently attend religious services are more inclined toward spiritual questing than their non-church going peers, the positive effect of that particular behavior on spiritual questing is lower than would be expected once the more powerful effects of religious skepticism and religious struggle are accounted for.

<sup>96</sup> *Cf.* Astin et. al., *Spirituality in Higher Education*, *supra* note 5.

<sup>97</sup> See Batson & Schoenrade, 1) *Validity Concerns*, *supra* note 15; Batson & Schoenrade, 2) *Reliability Concerns*, *supra* note 15.

<sup>98</sup> See e.g., Klaassen & McDonald, *supra* note 6, 197-99.

<sup>99</sup> See Astin et. al., *Spirituality in Higher Education*, *supra* note 5, at 10-12.

<sup>100</sup> See generally Janoff, *supra* note 51.

<sup>101</sup> ( $p < .05$ ).

<sup>102</sup> See ARTHUR W. CHICKERING & LINDA REISSER, *EDUCATION AND IDENTITY* 188-94 (2nd Ed. 1993); Patrick Love & Donna Talbot, *Defining Spiritual Development: A Missing Consideration for Student Affairs*, 37 *NASPA J.* 361, 363 (1999).

<sup>103</sup> See DAVID G. MYERS, *THE AMERICAN PARADOX: SPIRITUAL HUNGER IN AN AGE OF PLENTY* 161-94 (2000).

<sup>104</sup> Astin, *Spirituality Deserves*, *supra* note 4, at 34.

<sup>105</sup> See e.g., GEORGE M. MARSDEN, *THE SOUL OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY* (1994); ARTHUR M. COHEN, *THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION* 12-16, 129, 369, 446 (1998).

<sup>106</sup> Helen S. Astin & Karen Twede, *Institutional and Personal Correlates of Shared Values in Academe* (1989) (unpublished manuscript, on file with the *SJSJ*).

<sup>107</sup> See e.g., Braskamp et. al., *supra* note 4.

<sup>108</sup> Patrick T. Terenzini et. al., *Students' Out-of-Class Experiences and Their Influence on Learning and Cognitive Development: A Literature Review*, 37 *J. C. STUDENT DEVELOPMENT* 149, 155 (1996).

<sup>109</sup> See e.g., ARTHUR W. CHICKERING, *EDUCATION AND IDENTITY* 232-52 (1972); Patrick T. Terenzini et. al., *Influences on Students' Perceptions of Their Academic Skill Development During College*, 55 *J. HIGHER EDUC.* 621 (1984).

<sup>110</sup> See e.g., HOWARD R. BOWEN, *INVESTMENT IN LEARNING* 113 (1978).

<sup>111</sup> See e.g., PASCARELLA & TERENZINI, *supra* note 34, at 313.

<sup>112</sup> See e.g. ASTIN, *WHAT MATTERS IN COLLEGE?*, *supra* note 34, at 382-84; Patrick T. Terenzini & Ernest Pascarella, *Living With Myths: Undergraduate Education in America*, *CHANGE: THE MAGAZINE OF HIGHER LEARNING*, Jan.-Feb. 1994, at 31.

<sup>113</sup> See George D. Kuh, *The Other Curriculum*, 66 *J. HIGHER EDUC.* 123, 129-31 (1995).

<sup>114</sup> CHICKERING ET. AL., *ENCOURAGING AUTHENTICITY*, *supra* note 4.

<sup>115</sup> Astin, *Spirituality Deserves*, *supra* note 4, at 40; cf. ALEXANDER W. ASTIN ET. AL., *EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: HOW SERVICE LEARNING AFFECTS STUDENTS* (2000) [www.gseis.ucla.edu/heri/PDFs/rhowas.pdf](http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/heri/PDFs/rhowas.pdf).

<sup>116</sup> JOHN B. BENNETT, *ACADEMIC LIFE: HOSPITALITY, ETHICS, AND SPIRITUALITY* (2003).

<sup>117</sup> *Id.*

<sup>118</sup> See e.g., Elizabeth J. Tisdell, *Spirituality in Adult and Higher Education*, ED459370 (2001) (ERIC Digest, available at <http://www.eric.ed.gov>).

<sup>119</sup> DANAH ZOHAR & IAN MARSHALL, *SPIRITUAL CAPITAL: WEALTH WE CAN LIVE BY* 64 (2004).

<sup>120</sup> Factor includes: Personal Goals: 'Finding answers to the mysteries in life', 'Attaining inner harmony', 'attaining wisdom', 'Seeking beauty in my life', 'Developing a meaningful philosophy of life', 'Becoming a more loving person', 'Improving the human condition'; Engaged in: 'Searching for meaning/purpose in my life', 'Having discussions about the meaning of life with my friends'; Close friends: 'Are searching for meaning/purpose in life'.

<sup>121</sup> Race: White is reference group.

<sup>122</sup> 'Protestant' group includes students who identified as Lutheran, Episcopalian, Methodist, United Church of Christ, Quaker, and Seventh-Day Adventist.

<sup>123</sup> Religion: "None" is reference group.

<sup>124</sup> 'Evangelical' group is comprised of students who identified as Baptist and Other Christian.

<sup>125</sup> 'Other Religion' group includes students who identified as Buddhist, Hindu, Mormon, Unitarian, and Other.

<sup>126</sup> Factor includes: Experiences: 'Questioned your religious/spiritual beliefs', 'Struggled to understand evil, suffering, and death', 'Felt angry with God', 'Felt distance from God',

‘Disagreed with your family about religious matters’; Self-descriptions: ‘Feeling unsettled about spiritual and religious matters’, ‘Feeling disillusioned with my religious upbringing’.

<sup>127</sup> Factor includes: Beliefs: ‘While science can provide important information about the physical universe, only religion can truly explain existence’ (reverse coded), ‘It doesn’t matter what I believe as long as I lead a moral life’, ‘What happens in my life is determined by forces larger than myself’ (reverse coded), ‘Whether or not there is a Supreme Being doesn’t matter to me’, ‘I have never felt a sense of sacredness’, ‘The universe arose by chance’, ‘In the future, science will be able to explain everything’; Self-description: ‘Believing in life after death’ (reverse coded); Relationship between science and religions: ‘Conflict, I consider myself to be on the side of science’.

<sup>128</sup> Factor includes: Self-description: ‘Feeling good about the direction in which my life is headed’, ‘Being thankful for all that has happened to me’, ‘Seeing each day, good or bad, as a gift’, ‘Feeling a strong connection to all humanity’; Experience: ‘Felt at peace/centered’, ‘Being able to find meaning in times of hardship’.

<sup>129</sup> Factor includes: Personal goals: ‘Becoming involved in programs to clean up the environment’, ‘Reducing pain and suffering in the world’, ‘Influencing the political structure’, ‘Influencing social values’, ‘Helping others who are in difficulty’, ‘Helping to promote racial understanding’, ‘Becoming a community leader’; Engaged in: ‘Trying to change things that are unfair in the world’; Ultimate spiritual quest: ‘To make the world a better place’.

<sup>130</sup> Factor includes: Beliefs: ‘All life is interconnected’, ‘Love is at the root of all the great religions’, ‘Non-religious people can lead lives that are just as moral as those of religious believers’, ‘Most people can grow spiritually without being religious’; Self-descriptions: ‘Having an interest in different religious traditions’, ‘Believing in the goodness of all people’; Engaged in: ‘Accepting others as they are’; Self-rating: ‘Understanding of others’; Personal goal: ‘Improving my understanding of other countries and cultures’; Important that this college: ‘Respect diverse perspectives’; Reason for attending: ‘To make me a more cultured person’; Experience: ‘Socialized with someone of another racial/ethnic group’.

<sup>131</sup> ‘Universities’ are defined by the Higher Education Research Institute as those institutions that grant doctoral degrees in a minimum of five disciplines. *See supra* note 14.