

# Other-serving vs Self-serving Instructions in US College Commencement Speeches: A Quantitative Study

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## ABSTRACT

**INTRODUCTION:** Research supports that serving others and practicing altruism is beneficial for one's health, wellbeing, and success compared to solely serving oneself. However, it is unclear if this mindset is effectively communicated to young people, particularly college students. My objective was to perform a quantitative analysis of other-serving versus self-serving instructions in commencement speeches at graduation ceremonies of top-ranked U.S. colleges. **METHODS:** I analyzed transcripts of commencement speeches at the 20 "Best Colleges" according to U.S. News and World Report rankings. Two trained independent raters coded each sentence of the speeches as either containing instruction (i.e., imperative/command sentence) versus no instruction. Next, the two raters classified each instruction as either (1) other-serving, (2) self-serving, or (3) neutral (serving neither). I tested inter-rater agreement using Cohen's kappa coefficient ( $\kappa$ ), and resolved any disagreement by consensus with a third rater. I pooled the data and performed descriptive statistics with sensitivity analyses to ensure that a small proportion of speeches were not skewing results. **RESULTS:** Inter-rater agreement was very good ( $\kappa \geq 0.85$ ). Of 305 total instructions (mean 15/speech, range 2-44/speech), 148 were neutral. Of the 157 non-neutral instructions, 71 (45%) were other-serving and 86 (55%) were self-serving. Within individual speeches, there was wide variation in the proportion of other-serving versus self-serving instructions (range 0-100%); however, sensitivity analyses did not substantially affect results. **CONCLUSION:** I found that other-serving and self-serving instructions were balanced in commencement speeches at top-ranked U.S. colleges. Additional research is needed to test the impact of these different messages on students.

## Introduction

Robust scientific evidence supports that serving others (altruistic behavior) has distinct and measurable benefits for the one who serves (Konrath, 2016). If sustained over time, these benefits include better physical and mental health, enhanced wellbeing and greater career success. For example, research shows that serving others (e.g., volunteering) is associated with longevity and good health and physical functioning later in life (Anderson, 2014; Okun, 2013). This is achieved through multiple mechanisms including the buffering of stress-mediated disease and the inhibition of chronic systemic inflammation (Nelson-Coffey, 2017; Poulin, 2013). Other-serving behavior also activates pathways in the brain that produce positive emotions and can reduce depression, anxiety and burnout (Padilla-Walker, 2020). Numerous studies have shown that serving others is linked with a strong sense of purpose in life, which brings personal fulfillment and joy (Konrath, 2016). Being a giving, other-focused person has been found to predict strong personal and professional relationships, as well as success with career advancements including higher income (Vergunst, 2019). In contrast, ample research also supports that predominantly self-serving, self-focused behavior, if sustained over time, is associated with worse outcomes in all of these domains: health, wellbeing, relationships, and career (Anderson, 2020; Mor, 2002; Nelson, 2016).

These data pose important questions for institutions of higher learning, i.e., colleges and universities. What should colleges be teaching young adults about how to lead their lives? Should the guidance be “Think beyond yourself,” or some version of “You do *you*”? Despite the scientific evidence outlined above, young people often hear the message in popular culture that relentlessly pursuing their own “passion” is the best way to get ahead in life and find “success” (Galloway, 2019). Similarly, they often hear the message that a journey inward, i.e., spending more “*me* time,” is the best way to achieve and maintain health and wellbeing (Clarke, 2015). Although serving yourself may bring temporary pleasure or relaxation, the effects are often fleeting. Instead, science supports that becoming a giving and other-focused person leads to an overall happier and healthier life. This advice could be especially advantageous for young people (e.g., newly minted college graduates) who have their whole careers ahead of them.

In the current study, my objective was to perform a quantitative analysis of other-serving versus self-serving instructions in commencement speeches at graduation ceremonies of top-ranked colleges and universities in the United States. Specifically, I analyzed the proportions of commencement speech instructions with other-focused versus self-focused language. Prior to conducting this research, my hypothesis was that college commencement speeches would contain predominantly self-serving instructions.

## Methods

This research did not enroll any human subjects, and all of the data used in this study were available in the public domain (e.g., YouTube); therefore, this study met criteria for exemption from Institutional Review Board (IRB) review at the project mentor’s institution.

### Deriving the Sample

I analyzed 2019 keynote commencement speeches at the 20 “Best Colleges” according to the 2019 U.S. News and World Report Rankings (U.S. News and World Report, New York, NY). I used 2019 data with the rationale that the content of 2020 and 2021 commencement speeches could be dominated by COVID-19 related topics. The 2019 commencement speeches were the most recent pre-pandemic sample.

### Data Acquisition

Generally, transcripts of the commencement speeches were available from the Universities’ websites; however, when unavailable, speeches were transcribed from video recordings of commencement ceremonies on Universities’ websites or YouTube. I compiled all of the speech transcripts into a single database for analyses.

### Data Classification

#### *Identification of Instructions and Inter-Rater Agreement*

Two independent raters (Principal Investigator and the project mentor) read each speech transcript and coded each sentence of the speeches as either containing instruction (i.e., imperative/command sentence in which the graduates are understood to be the subject of the sentence) versus no instruction. I tested inter-rater agreement for this coding using Cohen’s kappa coefficient ( $\kappa$ ) for two categories. Cohen’s  $\kappa$  is a statistic used to assess inter-rater agreement for categorical items. It is considered more robust than simple percent agreement, because  $\kappa$  takes into account the possibility of agreement occurring by chance. Stata 16 (StataCorp, College Station, TX) was used for  $\kappa$  calculations. I used the following previously published  $\kappa$  value ranges for classifying the degree of inter-rater agreement: excellent ( $\geq 0.93$ ); very good (0.81-0.92); good (0.61-0.80); fair (0.41-0.60); poor ( $\leq 0.40$ ) (Byrt, 1996). To be conservative, I

used the lower limit of the 95% confidence interval (CI) around the  $\kappa$  value for this classification. I resolved any disagreement in the coding by consensus with a third rater if necessary.

### *Classification of Instructions and Inter-Rater Agreement*

Next, two independent raters (again, Principal Investigator and the project mentor) analyzed the instructions to graduates identified by the methodology above, and classified each instruction into one of three categories (other-serving, self-serving, or neutral [serving neither]) using the following three-step methodology on which the raters were trained prior to the start of the study:

Step 1: Is there a distinct person (or group of persons) who is the beneficiary of the instruction (yes/no)? If yes, go to Step 2. If no, classify as *neutral* (i.e., neither other-serving or self-serving).

Step 2: Is the beneficiary of the instruction the graduates in the audience themselves (yes/no)? If yes, classify as *self-serving*. If no, go to Step 3.

Step 3: Is the beneficiary of the instruction a person (or group of persons) distinct from the graduates in the audience (yes/no)? If yes, classify as *other-serving*. If no, go back to Step 1 and repeat the methodology until the instruction can be adjudicated into one of the three classifications.

Again, I tested inter-rater agreement for this classification using Cohen's  $\kappa$  for three categories as described above. I resolved any disagreement in the classification by consensus with a third rater as needed.

### Data Analyses

I pooled the data and performed descriptive statistics – including means, ranges, proportions, and 95% CIs – as appropriate. I also performed descriptive statistics on each individual speech, to assess variation between speeches in the sample.

*Results Interpretation:* To test the hypothesis stated above (i.e., self-serving instructions predominate over other-serving instructions), I used an *a priori*-defined criterion of a 2:1 (or greater) ratio among non-neutral instructions in pooled analysis. For example, if (among non-neutral instructions) self-serving instructions comprised 66% (or greater) and other-serving instructions comprised 33% (or less), I would conclude that self-serving instructions were predominant in the sample. On the contrary, if (among non-neutral instructions) self-serving instructions comprised 33% (or less) and other-serving instructions comprised 66% (or greater), I would conclude that other-serving instructions were predominant in the sample. If both other-serving and self-serving instructions comprised between 34-65% of the sample in pooled analysis, i.e., less than a 2:1 ratio for both, I would conclude that other-serving and self-serving instructions were *balanced*.

I performed multiple sensitivity analyses to make sure that a small number of studies did not skew the results. Specifically, I re-analyzed the pooled data after restricting the sample to exclude individual speeches that had 0% or 100% other-serving or self-serving instructions, i.e., may have represented “outliers” in the data.

## Results

Table 1 displays the 20 schools in the sample, and the commencement speakers' names and backgrounds. Eight (40%) of the speakers were female. Fourteen (70%) speakers were white, non-Hispanic, four (20%) were Black/African American, one (5%) was Asian American, and one (5%) was Hispanic/Latinx. The mean age of the speakers was 61 (95% CI 56-67) years at the time the speech was delivered. Nine (45%) of the commencement speakers were alumni of the schools at which they were speaking.

**Table 1.** Schools included in the sample and their selected commencement speakers (2019).

School	Speaker	Speaker Background
Brown University	John Krasinski	Actor
California Institute of Technology	France Cordova	Scientist
Columbia University	Lee Bollinger	University President
Cornell University	Bill Nye	Scientist
Dartmouth College	Yo-Yo Ma	Musician
Duke University	Lisa Borders	Nonprofit CEO
Harvard University	Angela Merkel	Politician
Johns Hopkins University	Jeffrey Goldberg	Journalist
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Michael Bloomberg	Entrepreneur
Northwestern University	Lonnie Bunch	Historian
Princeton University <sup>1</sup>	Ellie Kemper	Actress
Rice University	Annis Parker	Politician
Stanford University	Tim Cook	CEO
University of California, Los Angeles	Anna Lee Fisher	Astronaut
University of Chicago	Luigi Zingales	Business Professor
University of Notre Dame	Peggy Noonan	Journalist
University of Pennsylvania	Bryan Stevenson	Human rights attorney
Vanderbilt University	Nicholas Zeppos	University Chancellor
Washington University in Saint Louis	Michael Bloomberg	Entrepreneur
Yale University <sup>1</sup>	Chimamanda Adichie	Writer

<sup>1</sup> Speech delivered in "Class Day" ceremony

The length of the commencement speeches had substantial variation. The mean word count was 2691 (95% CI 2239-3143) words, with a range of 1191 to 5362 words. Similarly, the mean number of sentences was 183 (95% CI 150-216), with a range of 150 to 401 sentences.

Inter-rater agreement for the identification of instruction/command sentences (versus sentences without instructions/commands) was very good (Cohen's kappa=0.92 [95% CI 0.89-0.94]). The raw data for this kappa calculation are shown in the data supplement (Table S1). There were 305 instructions in total across all 20 speeches, with substantial variation between speeches (mean 15 [95% CI 10-20] instructions per speech), with a range of 2 to 44 instructions per speech.

Inter-rater agreement for the classification of other-serving instructions, self-serving instructions, or neutral instructions (serving neither) was very good (Cohen's kappa=0.90 [95% CI 0.85-0.94]). The raw data for this kappa calculation are shown in the data supplement (Table S2). Of the 305 total instructions, 148 (49%) were neutral (i.e., neither other-serving nor self-serving). The 148 neutral instructions are shown in the data supplement (Table S3).

Of the 157 (51%) non-neutral instructions, 71 (45%) instructions were other-serving and 86 (55%) instructions were self-serving. Table 2 and Table 3 below display all of the other-serving and self-serving instructions, respectfully.

Common themes in the other-serving instructions were: kindness, taking care of loved ones, and having a positive impact on the world. Representative examples of other-serving instructions included: *“Be kind to one another”*, *“Remember that there is a greater good that transcends individual gain or personal achievement”*, *“Remember that people will hardly ever forget small acts of kindness”*, *“Serve something that is greater than you are”*, and *“Think beyond yourself.”*

Common themes in the self-serving instructions were: ambition, success, and enjoyment. Representative examples of self-serving instructions included: *“Be ambitious in every facet of your life”*, *“Decide what is best for you”*, *“Go forth and conquer”*, *“Live the life you want to live”*, and *“Seek to be successful.”*

**Table 2.** Other-serving instructions (n=71).

Instruction
Always point yourselves in the direction where you can do good.
Assuage the discomfort of others so you can lead an informed and compassionate life.
Be kind and respectful to one another.
Be kind to one another.
Be nice to one another.
Become one of those voices, a voice for justice and for hope.
Change the world.
Change the world.
Do everything humanly possible to truly master the challenge (of climate change) to humankind.
Do it (repair the world) for (my son).
Do it (repair the world) for my son.
Do not ask what companies should do to change; ask what you can do to change them.
Don't let (people) get away with (false narratives about immigrants).
Don't put up with (discrimination).
Don't tolerate (attacks on minority groups).
Don't worry about not having answers when you go into poor communities.
Find ways to get proximate to people who are suffering.
Find your service (to others), and give it your passion.
Give (the honorary degree recipients) some love.
Give the dads, in particular, a round of applause.
Go anywhere in the world where there is oppression.
Go to parts of South Africa where you see exploitation.
Go to parts of the world where there is abuse of ethnic minorities.
Go to the Congo where millions are being mistreated.
Have onsite daycare.
Join me, and many of the people on this platform, in changing the world.
Let those debates (about improving America) commence and continue.
Let's just try to help (immigrants) a little bit more.
Let's try to solve (the mental health crisis).
Let's all take care of (the Earth) and each other.
Listen to the voices crying in the wilderness.

Make (families) a matter of national policy.
Make government more helpful, more pertinent to all of the urgencies around us.
Make paid family leave standard and ordinary.
Never forget that human beings, actual human beings with dreams and hopes and fears, with pride and favorite foods and things they dislike and like, are the focus of your charity.
Please hire women as executives, and not just in human relations.
Pour the blessing of your education into something bigger than yourself.
Practice (the truth of your humanity).
Practice your humanity daily.
Provide clean water to everybody.
Raise the standard of living of girls and women worldwide.
Remember that people will hardly ever forget small acts of kindness.
Remember that there is a greater good that transcends individual gain or personal achievement.
Repair the world that all the old people here and I have destroyed.
Respect other people's views, even if they are very different from your own.
See America's real state and real plight.
Serve something that is greater than you are.
Serve your community.
Serve your country.
Stand up and give your mothers and surrogate mothers some love.
Stand up for your loved ones.
Take joint action in the interest of the moderate lateral global world.
Take pains to reject scapegoating and xenophobia.
Take pains to understand the other side.
Take stock of what is now your deep and experiential knowledge about the nature and role of universities, and with that knowledge reflect on the state of modern societies and the threats that we are now facing to the deepest values that undergird these institutions—to reflect on what is at stake in our own country and for the people of the world.
Tell (the people that you love that you love them) often.
Tell (your parents) what you're thinking, and what you're feeling.
Tell the people you love that you love them.
Thank your parents, and all those who help you throughout your life.
Think beyond yourself.
Think of "We".
Think of "We".
Think of "We".
Think of "We".
Turn fear into excitement and change the world.
Use your knowledge and your abilities to bring out the best in those around you.
Whatever will help (families form, grow and endure), do it.
When it comes to changing the world, don't be scared.
(When you are wrong) just say "I am sorry".
(When you are wrong) please learn to say "I am sorry".
You should never underestimate the power of your witness and (affirming their humanity).

**Table 3.** Self-serving instructions (n=86)

<b>Instruction</b>
Aim for the stars.
Always have a back-up plan.
Ask yourself, what is (your nervousness) based in?
Be a builder.
Be ambitious in every facet of your life.
Be an expert, a true expert in whatever you do.
Be brave.
Be moved more by what you love than what you hate.
Be optimistic.
Be persistent, if you really want something.
Be prepared.
Be who you want to be.
Consider what you've accomplished here and what you'll be able to accomplish on account of your days here.
Continue to think big.
Dance to your own beat.
Decide what is best for you.
Do not be afraid to change directions.
Do not be so focused on the destination or that future goal that you miss all the simple pleasures of life.
Do not ever apologize for existing, or for taking up space in the world, or for having a well-considered opinion.
Do not silence yourself.
Do not throw away your shot.
Don't be afraid to reach out (to friends and professors you met here) in times of need.
Don't try to emulate the people who came before you to the exclusion of everything else, contorting into a shape that doesn't fit.
Don't waste your time living someone else's life.
Don't ever let something stop you because people say it's impossible.
Don't freak out.
Don't give up.
Don't worry.
Don't worry.
Don't worry.
Enjoy the journey.
Enjoy the ride.
Fail big and take chances again.
Fear can stop you cold, but don't let it.
Find courage in the challenge.
Find more of your people.
Find reasons to laugh.
Find that which you are passionate about, and your life will be rich and rewarding.
Find the hope in the unexpected.
Find your vision on the solitary road.
Follow your inner voice.
Forget about the power you might have had here and think instead about the power you will have in the future.

Go forth and conquer.
(Go) forth and prosper.
Gravitate towards people with whom you never feel that pressure to perform or to be what you are not.
Have fun.
Have one last drink.
Hold onto (your vision of yourself and the big ideas that motivated you).
Identify the things that make you hopeless and fight against them.
If you want to take credit, first learn to take responsibility.
Keep in mind that there are hollows that success cannot fill.
Keep in mind: I hope these (lessons) can serve as a simple guide for you in times of challenge, joy, change and growth.
Keep in mind: In the good days, and the challenging days, you will be surprised how often they guide you to be a better person and a better leader.
Keep learning.
Know your subject matter cold.
Learn from (your missteps and disappointments).
Learn from these mistakes.
Let (naysayers) inspire you.
Let (others) bring out the best in you.
Let (this school's legacy) help you invent your future.
Let (your education) whet your appetite for more knowledge, and even more deeper understanding.
Let nothing stop you.
Live the life you want to live.
Meet that challenge head-on.
Nurture the friendships that you've made here, because they will sustain you for a lifetime.
Nurture your ambitions.
Open your own doors.
Own what's yours.
Practice gratitude and wear sunscreen and don't iron your clothes while you're wearing them.
Remember fondly the discomfort you felt when you were asked to push yourself farther than you were ever pushed (before).
Search for environments that may give you grief, but that may also help you to grow.
Seek to be successful.
Stay hopeful.
Surprise yourself with what is possible.
Take a deep breath.
Take chances.
Take pains not to fall for easy answers.
Tomorrow start working on the mission that, if you succeed, will lead the whole world to call you the greatest generation.
Turn (your fear) into excitement.
Turn any concern you have, any time you have it about your future, turn that concern into excitement.
Use newfound knowledge (from missteps and disappointments) to continue to pursue your dreams.
Use that knowledge (of failure) to create success.
When you get knocked down, you've got to get back up and you've got to keep trying.

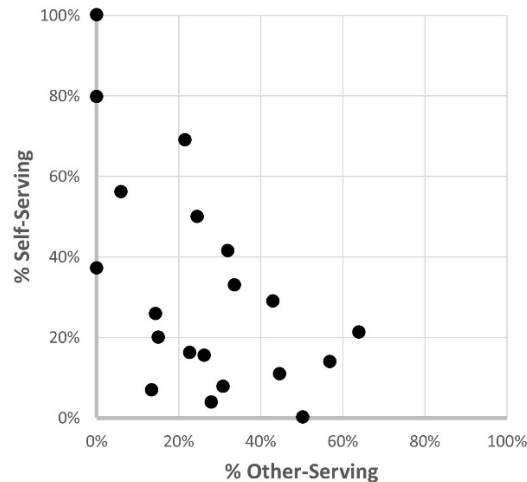


Wherever you go, remember what brought you here.
While you are young, do not be afraid to take risks.
Your time is limited, so don't waste it living someone else's life.

Analyses of the content of individual speeches showed substantial variation in types of instructions. Individual speeches had a mean of 7 (95% CI 4-11, range 0-27) neutral instructions, a mean of 4 (95% CI 2-5, range 0-10) other-serving instructions, and a mean of 4 (95% CI 2-6, range 0-16) self-serving instructions.

As a proportion of total instructions in each individual speech, neutral instructions comprised a mean of 42 (95% CI 31-52, range 0-80) percent of total instructions. Other-serving instructions comprised a mean of 26 (95% CI 18-35, range 0-64) percent of total instructions, and self-serving instructions comprised a mean of 32 (95% CI 19-45, range 0-100) percent of total instructions.

Below (Figure 1) is a scatter plot of the proportion of total instructions (i.e., including neutral) that were other-serving versus self-serving in each individual commencement speech. The figure shows that one speech had identical proportions (33%) of other-serving and self-serving instructions, ten speeches had a higher proportion of other-serving instructions, and nine speeches had a higher proportion of self-serving instructions.



**Figure:** Scatter plot of the proportion of total instructions (including neutral) that were other-serving versus self-serving in each individual commencement speech (n=20). [Note: the proportion of instructions that were neutral (serving neither) in each speech is not represented in this figure, so the sum of proportions of other-serving and self-serving instructions for each speech may not equal 100%]

As a proportion of non-neutral instructions in each individual speech, other-serving instructions comprised a mean of 50 (95% CI 35-64, range 0-100) percent of instructions, and self-serving instructions comprised a mean of 50 (95% CI 36-64, range 0-100) percent of instructions.

None of the sensitivity analyses of the pooled data (i.e., restriction of the sample to exclude extremes of proportions) resulted in a substantial imbalance between other-serving versus self-serving instructions, according to the *a priori*-defined criteria above (i.e., 2:1 ratio).

## Discussion

In this cross-sectional study of commencement speeches in graduation ceremonies at top-ranked U.S. colleges, I identified all of the instructions (imperative/command sentences) in the speeches and classified them according to whether they encouraged the new graduates to be other-serving, self-serving, or neither. I found that the proportions of other-serving and self-serving instructions were well balanced, meaning that neither type was predominant over the other. Thus my hypothesis that self-serving instructions would be the predominant type of message to graduates was not confirmed. The corollary to this finding, however, is that other-serving instructions were not predominant either, and research shows that these may be the type of messages that college students need to hear the most.

Alarming data support that this topic should be considered high priority for current research. A meta-analytic study found that the empathy displayed by college students has sharply declined from 1979 to 2009 and the speed of the decline was accelerating over time (Konrath, 2011). Research also shows that young people are not effectively receiving the message to serve others in their upbringings at home. For example, the Harvard Graduate School of Education found in a study of ~10,000 American middle school and high school students that 80% of the students believe that their parents would be more proud of their achievements and accolades than their caring actions towards others (Harvard GSE, 2021). Perhaps the most striking data, a 2016 Pew Research Center study reported that one-third of adult Americans do not prioritize compassion and altruism as part of their core values (Pew Research, 2016). Collectively, these data point to an erosion of empathy and compassion in society and a progressive devaluation of other-serving behavior.

These societal trends may also have harmful effects on individuals. Research supports that fixation on self-serving behavior is associated with poor mental and emotional health, lower quality relationships, and career struggles (Anderson, 2020; Mor, 2002; Nelson, 2016). In contrast, investing oneself in the service of others has consistently been associated with benefits in the scientific literature, including better physical and mental health, more happiness and emotional wellbeing, and achievement of long-term professional success (Anderson, 2014; Konrath, 2016; Nelson-Coffey, 2017; Okun, 2013; Padilla-Walker, 2020; Poulin, 2013; Vergunst, 2019). In summary, compared to focusing solely on oneself, science supports that being a giving, other-focused person is a better way to live and can help ensure a more prosperous future. Given the strength of evidence supporting its benefits, the value of serving others should probably be taught to young people long before college.

Although my study has limitations to consider, as described below, I believe there is value and some uniqueness in this report. First, my study expands upon prior research on the extent to which the other-focused mindset is preached to young people (Harvard GSE, 2021). This is an important topic because lessons learned early in life can have a major influence on long-term behavior. Second, I am not aware of any other study that has assessed this topic specifically in the context of college commencement speeches. Third, I approached this assessment of the instructions in commencement speeches with a primarily quantitative methodology rather than qualitative methods (e.g., thematic analyses) alone. Fourth, since this study found that self-serving instructions were at least as common as other-serving instructions, it suggests that educators should give more consideration to incorporating altruistic principles into their curricula. If young people are consistently and effectively taught to embrace an other-serving mindset, social norms will increasingly reflect altruistic values and ultimately more individuals may be able to realize the beneficial effects described above.

Further research on trends in altruism in society are warranted. Future studies should test the effects of other-serving and self-serving messages on the attitudes of young people. Specifically, future studies should test the short- and long-term impact of other-serving messages in higher education on the behavior of college students. While it is important to understand the extent to which altruistic principles are emphasized in higher education, it is equally as important to understand how these messages are understood and internalized by the young people receiving them.

## Conclusion

I found that other-serving and self-serving instructions were balanced in commencement speeches at graduation ceremonies of top-ranked U.S. colleges. Additional research is needed to test the effectiveness of other-serving versus self-serving messages.

## Limitations

This research report has limitations to consider. First, I sampled the commencement speeches of twenty top-ranked colleges in the United States, which may not be representative of all five thousand U.S. colleges. Second, there is no objective test to classify instructions as either other-serving, self-serving, or neutral. However, this study used a predefined three-step classification methodology, and raters were trained on this methodology prior to the start of the study. In addition, this study involved multiple independent raters, and inter-rater agreement (according to the  $\kappa$  statistic) was very good according to predefined criteria. Third, I acknowledge that in this sample there was substantial variance in proportions of other-serving versus self-serving instructions, and variance in a sample can sometimes lower confidence in the results. Nevertheless, this potential concern is attenuated by the fact that the sensitivity analyses that removed extreme values of proportions did not impact the overall results or conclusion. Lastly, I acknowledge that a commencement speech is just a small sample of what college students are taught in their undergraduate careers, and it is not necessarily representative of the teachings they received throughout their college education. That said, the commencement speech is the final message that students receive as they depart from the institution and begin building their lives in the real world. It is generally intended to be a meaningful conclusion to the students' college experiences. In addition, commencement speakers are typically selected because they are thought to reflect the values of the school.

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