DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 060 790 HE 002 890

TITLE	Report of Lutheran Committee on Public Policy and Church-Related Higher Education.
INSTITUTION	Wagner Coll., Staten Island, N. Y.
PUB DATE	Jan 72
NOTE	65p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	*Church Related Colleges; Educational Finance; *Federal Aid; *Financial Support; *Higher Education; Private Colleges; *Public Policy

ABSTRACT

This document contains 2 papers prepared by the Lutheran Committee on Public Policy and Church-Related Higher Education relevant to the topic of church-related colleges. The first paper, entitled "Public Policy and Church-Related Higher Education," is a position paper that identifies the considerations pertinent to public policy decisions. The first paper also states certain affirmations that the authors believe the church would want to make concerning the institutions and programs in which it is most directly involved. The second paper is a study document entitled "Public Funds and Church-Related Colleges." This paper may be regarded as a compendium of data and reflections on the problems and issues of financing educational institutions. Also included is a 7-point statement by 1 member of the Committee that summarizes his views on both subjects. The major points made in this statement are that church-related colleges can make a significant contribution to society providing the necessary assistance is made available. However, he feels that his assistance should not be accepted if it is given in such a manner that it would cause the colleges to compromise their situations. He calls for church members to involve themselves with the issues and to support uncompromising government programs and the colleges themselves.

ED 060790

REPORT OF

LUTHERAN COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC POLICY

AND CHURCH-RELATED HIGHER EDUCATION

January, 1972

DEC 27 1971

WAGNER COLLEGE

STATEN ISLAND, NEW YORK 10301

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 17, 1971

Board of College Education and Church Vocations
Lutheran Church in America
c/o Dr. Louis Almen
231 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Sirs:

In behalf of the Lutheran Committee on Public Policy and Church-Related Higher Education, I am pleased herewith to submit two documents which are considered to discharge the responsibility assigned to it.

The first is a "position paper," entitled "Public Policy and Church-Related Higher Education" which identifies the considerations which we believe are pertinent to public policy decisions and the affirmations which we believe the church would want to make concerning the institutions and programs in which it is most directly involved. The churches or their appropriate agencies may wish to embody the conclusions to which the Committee has come in appropriate resolutions or actions.

The second is a "study document" which carries the title "Public Funds and Church-Related Colleges." It has been prepared under the auspices of the Committee and its contents reviewed by its members but it is the product of its author, Dr. Edgar M. Carlson. It contains a great deal of information which will be useful to all persons who are concerned with the issues discussed. It may be regarded as a sort of "compendium" of data and reflections on problems and issues. The Committee has reviewed the conclusions contained in Chapter IX and made certain changes in the interests of concensus. To that extent the study document is the responsibility of the Committee.

There is also included a statement by one member of the Committee, the Honorable Harold LeVander, which states his views more explicitly than either the "position paper" or the conclusions in the "study document."

The Committee was greatly aided in its work by a grant of $10,000. from the Lutheran Brotherhood Insurance Company and by strong staff support from the participating Lutheran boards. It now respectfully requests its discharge.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur O. Davidson
Chairman

AOD/kmc

DEC 27 1971

SUMMARY POLICY STATEMENT ON CHURCH RELATED HIGHER EDUCATION AS SUGGESTED BY HAROLD LeVANDER

1. The church-related college can make a unique contribution to higher education and thereby render a service to society.

2. Church-related colleges are facing severe financial stress.

3. Whether they should ease this stress by accepting government funds depends on whether they can do so without compromising their unique mission. Some help does not require compromise and can be accepted. Some help does require compromise and therefore should not be accepted. A very careful scrutiny should be made to determine in which category the help falls.

4. If they can only survive by obtaining government funds which requires them to become the same as a public college or university, they should cease being church-related schools and become public tax supported institutions.

5. If the church wants a church-related college and wants it to perform a unique mission, it must be ready to more adequately provide financial support.

6. Church members as Christians and citizens should concern themselves with the kind of government programs that are proposed for the support of higher education to the end that the aid recommended be in such areas as grants to students, tax adjustment, and other methods that do not require compromise of the church's purpose.

7. The church should be more adequately informed of the challenge to survive and the choices that it must make.

FINAL DRAFT

DEC 27 1971

PUBLIC POLICY AND CHURCH-RELATED HIGHER EDUCATION

PREAMBLE

All private colleges are engaged in providing important public services.

All private colleges are affected by public policies in such matters as:

- the degree to which public funds are channeled to institutions or to students,
- the degree to which the student's financial needs are met by public programs of student assistance,
- the extent to which the differential in costs to students is increased by public subsidy of public institutions, and
- the inclusion or exclusion of private colleges in special programs of various kinds.

What is true of private colleges generally is equally true of church-related colleges and universities. They are therefore subject to influences and forces which are outside their control as colleges and outside the jurisdiction of the churches to which they are related.

Members of churches are also citizens and as citizens share responsibility for the making of public policies, in education as elsewhere. They should be prepared to exercise this right and to discharge their responsibility with regard to these public policies. The following statement is submitted in the interests of fostering such good and enlightened citizenship.

INTRODUCTION

Higher education in the United States and Canada has developed under the auspices of churches, government and civic-minded groups. Today the American system includes a variety of institutions under both public and private auspices. The public and private institutions complement one another, each making its contribution toward meeting the educational needs of youth. Church-related colleges have been particularly effective in general education programs in science and the liberal arts, but have also provided strong pre-professional and professional programs in a number of fields. The Christian perspective which has characterized these institutions has given them a distinctive character and has helped them to develop graduates who have become leaders with strong moral purposes and constructive social concerns.

The dominance which private colleges and universities once enjoyed as the major providers of higher education no longer prevails. Although they are continuing to grow modestly, the shift toward public institutions is proceeding at an accelerated rate and is one of the most significant facts of our time. Nevertheless, the educational programs of church-related and other private colleges and universities remain highly significant. Governments of both countries encourage private colleges and their citizens benefit from their existence by reason of the educational services which they render and the tax economies which they effect.

In view of the rapidly changing conditions in the field of higher education, the Lutheran churches must review their role as sponsors of colleges and universities. Church leaders and church members need to be award of the way their own programs are affected by public policies.

PERTINENT CONSIDERATIONS

1. Both public interest and social justice require equal educational opportunities for citizens at all levels. It is the responsibility of government to use its resources and to set its priorities so as to make the maximum progress toward that goal consistent with its overall responsibility for the public welfare.

2. The comprehensive system of post-secondary education characteristic of the United States and Canada includes both publicly and privately controlled institutions. Together they offer great strength and diversity. Therefore, it is sound public policy to preserve and strengthen the private sector. Both students and faculty members should have a choice between publicly and privately sponsored institutions. The freedom to learn and to teach is enhanced by the public-private system of providing educational services.

3. Education has always been a substantially subsidized activity with students carrying only a portion of the costs. In public institutions the major portion has been carried by tax funds. In private institutions the major portion has been carried by the student. The two-price system has thus become a traditional part of the educational system in the United States, and to a lesser degree in Canada.

4. The public service rendered by church-related colleges has long been acknowledged by government through tax exemption and tax deductions for contributions given in support of church-related colleges, and more recently through grants and loans provided for construction, equipment and facilities. Following World War II far-reaching programs of assistance were launched in the United States. These included war surplus programs, the GI Bill for veterans, housing loans, and massive programs of student loans and grants that for many have been the means of opening doors to higher education.

5. Recognition of the contributions of private colleges and universities, including church-related institutions, and concern for their ability to continue to render that service, have led some states and provinces to provide public funds for current operating expenses of private institutions. Contractual arrangements have also been used to provide public funding for specialized academic programs.

6. An increasing number of state and provincial scholarship, grant and student loan programs are being provided to assist students to continue their education, thereby enabling them to select colleges on the basis of educational offerings rather [than] the costs. This policy parallels state and federal assistance in the health

and welfare field. Welfare payments, social security payments, Medicare and most other health and welfare programs have principally taken the form of aid to individuals.

7. The constitutionality of federal grants to church-related institutions for academic facilities, subject to certain conditions, has been established by the Supreme Court, in Tilton v. Richardson, June, 1971. The conditions emphasized by the Court do not call for dissociation from the church, nor the conditions or the decision assure favorable action on new legislative programs.

8. The financial plight of private colleges and universities in the United States and Canada is due chiefly to increased costs, including the cost of greatly increased financial aid to their students. College income has increased but not as rapidly as their costs. The conclusion to which studies of private colleges have come, with monotonous regularity, is that most colleges will not long be able to serve higher education and the nation unless help comes soon.

9. Increased costs have been met principally out of increased tuitions and fees at private institutions and from tax revenues in public institutions. The gap in the two-price system has thus grown steadily wider. Concurrently with increased charges the ratio of enrollment in the private sector of higher education has drastically and progressively decreased in relation to the public sector, even though private enrollments have continued to grow.

10. Although education in the liberal arts as offered in church-related colleges and universities is uniquely suited to provide broadly educated leaders orianted toward serving fellowmen and prepared to cope with a society characterized by rapid social, technological and economic change, the growing disparity between educational costs assigned to students at institutions in the private sector as compared with those in the public sector is removing from most students the option of choosing such a college.

11. The financial plight of private institutions has been complicated by a pervasive identity crisis in all of higher education, both public and private. In the public eye, recent developments on American college and university campuses have called into question the objectives, methodology, and goals of higher education. Concurrently, the present phenomenon of an over-abundance of educated men and women, in terms of the employment situation, has prompted students and parents to reflect seriously on alternative post-secondary opportunities.

AFFIRMATIONS

1. Lutherans sponsor colleges and universities because they believe that the educational programs of these institutions are a proper and important expression of their commitment to the gospel.

2. The colleges and universities sponsored by the churches should be effective institutions of higher education and should comply with the standards of accreditation set by government, the academic community, and the Lutheran boards of higher education.

3. The Lutheran concern for the education of youth should be expressed by the continued development of church-related colleges and universities and generous support of them; by constructive interest in and support of public institutions of post-secondary education; and by assisting in the development of public policy which will provide maximum opportunity for youth. None of these programs is an end in itself, but all are important parts of the total engagement of the church in higher education.

4. Lutherans should be alert to the extent and manner in which the crucial need for higher education is being met in the United States and Canada and the different role played by government. Whenever public policy or practice are a cause for injustice to qualified students of any race, religion, sex, social or economic class, or create conditions under which sound educational programs suffer whether public or private, the church and its members should strive to change that situation.

5. Church-related institutions of higher education may properly enter into such agreements with federal, state and provincial governments to receive payment for services rendered for the public good, and to accept on a non-preferential basis, such grants and long-term loans as do not compromise their institutional integrity.

6. Any institution to qualify for direct public support must comply with constitutional conditions imposed on the expenditure of public funds. Church-related institutions which elect to accept such funds must be prepared to undergo such examination and render such accountability in their use of public funds as may be required of any other institution of higher education.

7. Federal and state governments should give high priority to programs of financial assistance to qualified and needy students, through grants and loans, and should take account of the difference in cost resulting from the general subsidy for all students at public institutions. The churches and their members should support programs which will have the effect of reducing the disparity in costs to students and their families, without reducing the availability of educational opportunities.

8. Public policies may have far-reaching effects on church-related colleges and universities. Church members should follow proposals for government support of higher education and seek to apply their best judgment as citizens and as Christians, bearing in mind the effect of such policies on the freedom and effectiveness of all colleges and universities.

CONCLUSION

In the years immediately ahead the church and the nation will make decisions concerning higher education with which we shall need to live for at least two decades. Plans are now being made for peak enrollments at the end of this decade, which may not be reached again until the mid 90's.

At this crucial time the Lutheran churches, discerning that the dual system of higher education in the United States and Canada may be at stake, reaffirm the values inherent in church-related colleges and universities and their desire that these institutions continue to perform a public service of large dimensions

The Lutheran churches believe that now is the time for careful review of existing and pending government policies, at federal and state levels, to determine the effectiveness of these policies in making educational opportunities equally available to all qualified students and the impact of these policies upon the pluralistic pattern of higher education which has been intrinsic to our national educational achievement.

It is no criticism of the public sector in the United States and Canada to say that we believe the freedom which church-related and other private institutions possess to define their goals and purposes, to reflect the rich variety of North America's cultural traditions, values and ideals, and the flexibility which they enjoy in choosing the means by which these purposes are achieved, add great strength to the programs of higher education and consequently to the public good.

All of education will be enriched as church-related and other private institutions are assisted to bring their significant resources to the immense educational task that faces society and are encouraged to make their maximum contribution toward meeting present and future needs in higher education.

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PUBLIC FUNDS

and

CHURCH-RELATED COLLEGES

A Study Document

Prepared by Edgar M. Carlson

For

The Lutheran Committee on Public Policy

and Church-Related Higher Education

December 1971

INTRODUCTION

What follows is intended to contribute toward an understanding of the importance of public policy decisions in the field of higher education as they affect private colleges and universities, with particular reference to those which are related to a church body.

It owes its origin to a resolution adopted by the Lutheran Church in America at its 1970 convention, calling upon the Board of College Education and Church Vocations to establish a study committee "to explore present trends, problems and possibilities, including programs already developed in some states and others being considered at the state and national levels", specifying that the membership should include "persons with experience in the various sectors of higher education as well as other representatives of the church's interest", and calling for a report to the 1972 convention. That report was to be such that "our members may be fully informed concerning the effect of public policies on their institutions and the possibility of exercising their influence as citizens in ways which will allow maximum use of the institutions related to the church in meeting the educational needs of both society and the church."

The Board of College Education and Church Vocations felt that such a study would be strengthened if it were broadly representative of all Lutheran bodies and consulted with the appropriate representatives of the American Lutheran Church and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, as well as with the Division of Educational Services of the Lutheran Council in the U.S.A. All of these agencies were represented in the committee, either as members or as staff.

The members of the Committee were: 13

Dr. Arthur Ole Davidson, President, Wagner College, Staten Island, New York (LCA), Chairman
The Honorable Harold LeVander, Governor of Minnesota (1966-70), St. Paul, Minnesota (LCA
Dr. Edgar M. Carlson, Executive Director, Minnesota Private College Council, St. Paul, Minnesota (LCA)
Dr. Edward Lindell, Dean, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado (LCA)
Rev. Robert Gronlund, Vice President for Development and Public Relations, The University of Tampa, Tampa, Florida (ALC)

Dr. Leonard Haas, President, Wisconsin State University, Eau Claire Wisconsin (ALC)
Dr. Paul Kauper, Professor, University of Michigan Law School, Ann Arbor, Michigan (ALC)
Dr. Eugene Wiegman, President, Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, Washington (ALC)

Staff persons on the Committee were:

Dr. Arthur Ahlschwede, Executive Director, Board of Higher Education, St. Louis, Missouri (LC-MS)
Dr. Louis Almen, Executive Secretary, Board of College Education and Church Vocations, New York (LCA)
Mr. Norman Fintel, Executive Director, Board of College Education, Minneapolis (ALC)
Mr. Howard Holcomb, Associate Executive Secretary, Division of Educational Services (LCUSA) now Executive Associate for Federal Relations, Association of American Colleges, Washington D.C.
Dr. Richard J. Petersen, Associate Executive Secretary for College Education, Board of College Education, (LCA)
Dr. William Villaume, Pastor, Emmanuel Lutheran Church, Fitchburg, Massachusetts (LCA)

All of the members of the Committee participated actively in the discussions and in the development of the brief position statement but the study document is the responsibility of its author.

In preparing this longer analysis he has been aware that by the extensive use of concrete data he was running the risk of inviting debate on the accuracy of statistics and the validity of their interpretations, as well as of "dating" the discussion in a manner which would contribute to its obsolescence. On the other hand, discussions of theory and principle run the risk of being heartily ignored. It is hoped that at least some of the specific contents will be hard to overlook.

If members of the church take seriously the assignment to help shape public policy in higher education they may find it quite useful. If they are content to leave things as they are, the whole matter will be a bore.

Chapter I QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Most people have opinions about higher education. They reflect diverse experiences and impressions and often are in conflict with one another. There is too much education, it is too expensive, it is out of touch with reality. There are too many people who cannot take advantage of what is offered, admissions standards are too high, and not enough is required by way of performance. College graduates are not well-equipped for the responsibilities which are about to be thrust upon them. Educational facilities are over-expanded, too plush, not efficiently used. The colleges need to be freed from faculty domination and given back to the people. There is a limit to the taxes that can be imposed for education. Why should people who cannot afford to go to college pay taxes for those who could afford to pay their own way? Besides, we are over-supplied with highly trained professionals and need to focus attention on practical job-training.

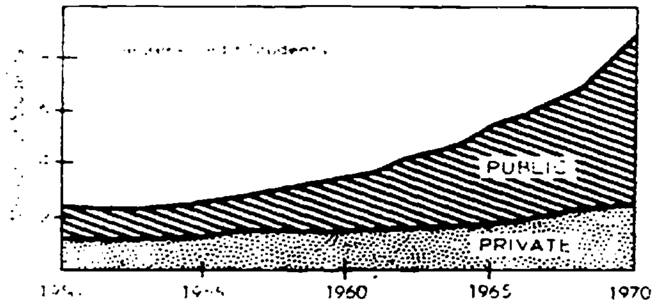
And many people have opinions about private colleges. They are for the well-to-do, and perhaps for the very poor who can qualify for grant money. They are beyond the reach of most of the people who support them, especially those who are average church members. Some of them probably should not survive. Education has become a costly business and may have to be left to the big and efficient universities. College buildings are too plush; their laboratories and computer facilities are not comparable to those at the state college. Even the suburban high school has a computer, and some private colleges do not. If they did not try to operate with so much "class" they would not be in financial difficulty. If they had the same student-teacher ratio as the community college they would not be running deficits. Before they ask for public funds they ought to put their houses in order. They could profit from some sound business practises.

And many people have opinions about church-related colleges. Some regard them as "sectarian" schools at the college level, which inevitably subordinate their educational function to a religious mission. Others consider them to be no different from a public college, except that they are much more expensive. They have ardent defenders among their graduates, the parents of their students and others; and are passively accepted by many who are not convinced that it matters a great deal whether they survive or not. Although the disaffection in recent years toward education generally has been focussed rather more on the public domain than the private, there are not many who regard public higher education as expendable; people are not all that sure about the private sector, especially the church-related part of it.

In this document we shall deal with a substantial number of these questions, in one form or another. The answers given will often reflect a set of personal judgments with which the reader may not agree. More often there will be no answer -- we are seeking answers and solutions which have not yet appeared.

What is asserted with confidence is that representatives of the church and of its colleges need to have a part in the search for answers and solutions. There needs to be an "input" from the private sector -- including the church-related part of it -- into discussions of public policy and the decision-making which attaches to it. What is contained in the following pages is intended to contribute to such a purpose.

TABLE I



OPENING FALL ENROLLMENT

ALL STUDENTS

ALL INSTITUTIONS,

CONTROL OF INSTITUTION,
1950–1970

Year	Opening Fall Enrollment in All Institutions in the U.S. & Outlying Parts[a]				
	Number			Percent Distribution	
	Total	Public	Private	Public	Private
			DEGREE-CREDIT STUDENTS		
1950	2,296,592	1,154,456	1,142,136	50%	50%
1951	2,116,440	1,051,990	1,064,450	50	50
1952	2,148,284	1,113,700	1,034,584	52	48
1953	2,250,701	1,203,558	1,047,143	53	47
1954[b]	2,468,596	1,372,937	1,095,659	56	44
1955[b]	2,678,623	1,498,510	1,180,113	56	44
1956	2,946,985	1,681,671	1,265,314	57	43
1957	3,068,417	1,780,280	1,288,137	58	42
1958	3,258,556	1,912,232	1,346,324	59	41
1959	3,402,297	2,002,868	1,399,429	59	41
1960	3,610,007	2,135,690	1,474,317	59	41
1961	3,891,230	2,351,719	1,539,511	60	40
1962	4,206,672	2,596,904	1,609,768	62	38
1963	4,528,516	2,872,823	1,655,693	63	37
1964	4,987,867	3,205,783	1,782,084	64	36
1965	5,570,271	3,654,578	1,915,693	66	34
1966[c]	5,928,000	3,940,000	1,988,000	66	34
1967[c]	6,406,000	4,360,000	2,046,000	68	32
1968	6,983,093	4,928,320	2,054,773	71	29
1969[c]	7,299,000	5,260,000	2,040,000	72	28
1970[c]	7,608,000	5,542,000	2,067,000	73	27
			DEGREE-CREDIT AND NON-DEGREE-CREDIT STUDENTS		
1965	5,967,411	3,999,940	1,967,471	67	33
1966	6,438,477	4,381,086	2,057,391	68	32
1967	6,963,687	4,850,330	2,113,357	70	30
1968	7,571,636	5,469,472	2,102,164	72	28
1969	7,978,408	5,882,294	2,096,114	74	26
1970	8,566,333	6,418,563	2,147,770	75	25

See footnotes on opposite page.

Sources: 1) USOE, *Opening Fall Enrollment in Higher Education, 1967* [illegible] GPO, 1967), p. 10.
2) USOE, *Opening Fall Enrollment in Higher Education* (Washington: GPO) 1964, [illegible] 1965, [illegible] p. 6, 1967, p. 6, 1968, [illegible] 1969, [illegible] 1970 preliminary data.
3) USOE data to be published in *Projections of Educational Statistics to 1979* [illegible]

Chapter II WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

I. WHAT ARE THE FACTS — About Enrollment?

The rate of growth in private colleges has been declining and is now virtually static. The proportion of students in private colleges and universities has been decreasing since about 1952. The actual number enrolled has continued to increase.

The proportion of students in private colleges and universities actually increased during the decade 1939-49, from 47% to just over 50%. It was not until 1952 that the balance shifted back to the side of the public institutions. In the decade 1939-49 enrollment in private institutions increased by 98% while public enrollment increased by 67%; the private sector added over 600,000 students while the public sector added 492,015.[1] It may properly be asserted, therefore, that the private sector carried a major portion of the vastly increased educational assignment induced by WW II. The reason is not far to seek. The original GI Bill provided for the payment of tuition up to $500 (the tuition at Harvard) plus a monthly subsistence allowance for the veteran. His costs were thus "equalized" and he was given an entirely free choice of institutions. The shift toward the public sector coincides with the shift in the manner in which federal funds were allocated to veterans. The Korean GI Bill, which went into effect in 1952, provided the veteran with a single monthly stipend for all purposes. Since he was generally married and on his own the choice of low-cost institutions was to be expected.

What has happened since 1950 is documented in Table 1. It will be noted that in the five years 1955-59 the proportions shifted by 3 percentage points, from 1960-64, 5 percentage points, from 1965-69, 6 percentage points. However, since 1950 the enrollment in the private sector has increased by nearly one million - a percentage increase of just over 80%.

If one seeks to understand and interpret this shift from the private to the public sector he must take into account the matter of cost -- the cost of education and the portion of that cost assigned to students.

II. WHAT ARE THE FACTS -- About the Cost of Education

The U.S. Office of Education gives the following analysis of "financial trends in education 1959-60 to 1979-80".[2]

Total expenditures by regular educational institutions	(unadjusted $) 1959-60	1969-70	(constant 1969-70 $) 1979-80
		Billions of dollars	
All levels	$24.6	$70.3	$97.4
Public	19.6	57.1	78.4
Nonpublic	5.0	13.2	19.0
Elementary and Secondary	17.9	45.4	55.2
Public	15.8	40.8	49.7
Nonpublic	2.1	4.6	5.5
Institutions of higher education	6.7	24.9	42.2
Public	3.8	16.3	28.7
Nonpublic	2.9	8.6	13.5
Per student expenditure (public-elementary - secondary)	$375	$783	$986

The Carnegie Commission (Quality and Equality, December 1968)[3] reports that we were spending somewhat more than 2% of the Gross National Product for higher education in 1967, from all sources and for all purposes, which was up from about 1% in 1957 and moving toward an anticipated 3% in 1976-77. Although using a slightly different base figure the Carnegie study and the USOE study come to very similar conclusions with regard to anticipated increases. Using the Carnegie figure of $17.2 billion in 1967-68 and its enrollment estimate for that year of "almost 6 million students on a full-time equivalent basis", the per student expenditure is about $2860. The projected expenditure of $41 billion in 1976-77 for a projected enrollment of 9 million (FTE) gives us a projected per student cost of $4555. By contrast the

$5.2 billion expended in 1956-57 for just under 3 million students provides an average per student cost of $1730.

Clearly educational costs have risen sharply and at a rate substantially higher than the general cost of living index. Using 1955 as a base the Carnegie Report found that expenditures per student had risen from 100 to 160 over those years, compared with just under 120 for the consumer price index.

There are reasons for this acceleration in costs per student. It is much more difficult to increase productivity in the field of services than it is in the production of goods. A comparison with medical and health services comes readily to mind. But those involved in providing educational services need to guard against assuming too readily that such acceleration is inevitable or that it is tolerable over an indefinite period. The problem of costs will surface repeatedly in this study, but at this point it is sufficient to have established that education is indeed becoming a high cost activity. Some policies and practises which were acceptable when education was not costly may not be acceptable now.

III. WHAT ARE THE FACTS -- About the Costs to the Student

The USOE Report referred to above gives the following averages:

	1959-60	1969-70	1979-80
Tuition and fees			
Public	202	320	392
Private	804	1517	2038
Board			
Public	413	511	511
Private	461	563	563
Dormitory rooms			
Public	207	367	464
Private	263	440	561

In the decade between 1959-60 and 69-70 enrollment at public institutions increased by 165% while enrollment at private institutions increased by 45%. The same analysis anticipates that in the next decade public enrollments will increase by 65% and private enrollments by 18%.

While there may be other factors that have affected enrollment trends, it hardly needs to be argued that a difference in tuition and fees of $1200 in 1969-70 constituted more of a barrier to the choice of a private college than did a difference of $600 ten years ago, or that an anticipated difference of more than $1600 a decade hence can only have the effect of further restricting the possibility of choosing a private college.

Comparison of total costs to the student at 20 large public universities [4] with comparable costs at 16 private colleges in Minnesota over a span of years shows the following spread in annual costs to the student:

1947-48 -- $166 more at the private college
1959-60 -- $263 more at the private college
1967-68 -- $799 more at the private college
1970-71 - $1223 more at the private college

Whereas persons who wanted to attend a private college and get a degree in 1947-48 could do so for a difference of about $650 for the four years, the person who wishes to make that decision now must be prepared to spend $4000 more. Since our comparison relates to large public universities -- the most expensive of the public institutions -- the differential if other public institutions are chosen as the alternative would be even higher.

However, these costs would make a college education beyond the reach of most families. Without programs of financial aid for students only the very wealthiest can exercise their option of attending a private college, and many of them will of course find it prudent to attend an institution where public subsidies pay for a major portion of the costs. Consequently, increasingly heavy demands have been made upon institutional budgets in the category of student financial assistance. In the Minnesota situation referred to above sixteen private colleges involved in the cost comparison were distributing more than $11 million in financial aid, of which more than $4½ million came from college budgets -- money which could otherwise have been used for other purposes, or toward reducing the spread in tuitions by approximately $200. Fourteen of the sixteen institutions ran deficits that year, but in no case was the deficit as much as one-half the institutional funds spent for student aid.

We shall have occasion later to examine public programs designed to alleviate this unique disability under which the private sector in higher education operates. There is no other dispenser of public services which must assume the financial problems of its clients or operate under a two-price system; to have to do both is to attempt the impossible.

IV. WHAT ARE THE FACTS -- About Costs to the Citizen

There are differing opinions as to what constitutes the cost of attending a college or university, as well as the cost of the education offered. Some would argue that costs in both cases should include the costs of living while getting an education and possibly also the income which is being sacrificed. If one includes the cost of living or the lost income, the portion of the total cost carried by the student is proportionately larger. Others would argue that the cost of education should be defined more narrowly to include those costs which relate specifically to the educational function and which would not be incurred except for the enrollment of the student in an educational program. While we shall follow this narrower and more common definition, we should not overlook the additional costs which are involved in the decision to continue one's education and the obstacles which those other costs may present to the student and his family.

Whereas private college educational costs are carried principally by students, public higher education costs are carried principally by tax-payers. While educational statistics are at least as tricky as those in any other field, there is probably no one that would argue that undergraduate students at public institutions pay over 30% of their cost of education and 20-25% is generally regarded as a more accurate estimate. In graduate programs the proportion carried by the public would be higher.

State legislatures appropriated $7,003,797,000 for the operation of public institutions for 1970-71, which is an average for the total population of $34.98 per capita.[5] The cost per capita varies between the states from a low of $15.13 in New Hampshire to a high of $73.70 in Hawaii (or $56.94 in Washington for mainland U.S.).

While a number of factors affect the per capita cost (such as the proportion of students going to college, density of population, quality of education, etc.) it is more than a coincidence that many of the states with low per capita costs have a relatively high proportion of students in private institutions. Thus, Massachusetts which pays only $20.62 per capita has approximately 70% of its enrollment in the private sector while Arizona which pays $47.57 per capita has 2% in the private sector. Washington, with the highest per capita expenditure on the U.S. mainland ($56.94) has 17% in private institutions while Pennsylvania with 56% in the private sector pays $30.25, Ohio with 32% in the private sector pays $24.73 per capita and New Hampshire with 51% in private institutions has a per capita cost of only $15.13, the lowest in the nation.

V. WHAT ARE THE FACTS -- About the Financial Problems of Private Colleges and Universities.

It is entirely possible that private colleges will cease to exist, unless there are some rather fundamental changes made in public policy with regard to the funding of higher education. In the long run it is no more realistic to expect private colleges (even when sponsored by the church) to survive a wide disparity in costs than it would be to expect private hospitals to maintain themselves under policies which would require them to charge four or five times as much as public hospitals, or to expect private utilities to survive under a two-price system with public power being offered at one-fourth the cost. The truth is that the two-price system is no longer in effect, outside of education.

The facts are what we would expect under these circumstances. In the most recent report released by the Association of American Colleges (Sept. 23, 1971) we are told that "200 institutions will be exhausting their liquid assets within a year", about 358 "may be ready to close their doors by 1981 unless immediate aid is forthcoming", and that the condition is "gravely worse" than a year ago when the basic study was made. At that time, Dr. William Jellema, who conducted the study, reported that by June 1970 the "average institution" in every region of the country was "firmly in the red," -- "the deficit club was complete."

As this is being written another Carnegie Commission Report is announced which concludes that 494 small, little known colleges with "relaxed admissions policies" may become extinct. The schools covered in the study are mostly less than 1000 in enrollment, are relatively non-selective in their admissions policies, and offer a very important service to the average ability student. Their demise would be a great loss, say the authors, A. W. Astin and Calvin B. T. Lee.[6]

For the most part, Lutheran colleges are in less severe financial straits than are those referred to above. They are generally well-established institutions with good to excellent facilities and with fairly stable support from church, alumni, and friends. While this will enable them to hold out longer, in most instances, there is no good reason for believing that more than a handful of them could continue indefinitely under present operating conditions.

Chapter III THE MATTER HAS A HISTORY --

It is no news to anyone, surely, that the church is the original sponsor of higher education in the United States. Harvard in 1636 adopted as its mottoes "Christo et Ecclesiae" and "In Christi Gloriam" and its establishment was motivated in part by the fear of leaving an "illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust." In the next 134 years nine other colleges were founded, all of them "strongly religious in tone and curriculum, although not all were sponsored by individual denominations".[7] A number of them had ecumenical boards, including several that had ties with state governments or offices. By the time of the Civil War, 516 colleges had been founded, nearly all of them with church sponsorship.

When state universities were first established in the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century they followed the general pattern that had been set up in the private sector, being of liberal arts character, frequently having ministers as presidents and in almost all cases requiring courses in religion and attendance at chapel.

The changes which came into higher education between the Civil War and World War I were varied and complex. In part it was a shift away from the "classic" liberal arts program, in which church-related institutions had rendered a very acceptable account,[8] to the "practical" branches of knowledge which were more directly related to the building of the economic and technical resources of the young nation. In part, and perhaps as a direct consequence, it was a shift from private to public sponsorship, and from the education of a selected minority to the education of large numbers of people for a wide variety of tasks. It was a shift in prestige from instruction to research and the development of great institutions patterned after the German universities rather than the English college. It was a shift from a unified, comprehensive and coherent curriculum to a dispersed and unrelated curriculum with student programs emerging from student choices and interests rather than from institutional requirements. It was a time of high mortality among privately sponsored and church-related institutions. The mortality rate among colleges founded prior to the Civil War is said to have been about 80%. About eight hundred of the colleges now in operation were founded between the Civil War and WW I; we have no adequate record of the mortality of institutions during these years but it is estimated that these eight hundred are the survivors of about two thousand institutions founded during that interval. Since WW I relatively few private institutions have been founded and these have been principally sponsored by Roman Catholic orders or congregations.

Historians of education find considerable difficulty in classifying schools as public or private in the colonial period. It is said that "the very idea of a clean line of separation between 'private' and 'public' was unknown before the end of the eighteenth century."[9] Harvard received funds from both public and private sources. The matter of public support for church-related education was no problem when religion was officially sponsored by the government as it was in a number of the colonies. Even in 1787, the Northwest Ordinance declared that "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Several of the early state constitutions included similar assertions and early legislation provided for grants of land both for schools and for religious purposes. In New York City denominational schools shared in public educational funds. A study of 19th century college financing reveals that many colleges received rather large injections of state funds and those injections played a crucial role in the life of the college. Among the recipients of 19th century grants were Bowdoin, Columbia, Dickinson, Hamilton, Harvard, Union, Williams and Yale. There is also some evidence that loans by state governments to church related colleges made it possible for many of those colleges to survive in the 1840's and 1850's.[10]

It is undoubtedly true that the changes in public policy which took place after the middle of the nineteenth century were in part motivated by fear of the growth of Roman Catholic education, especially at the elementary and secondary level. It was also motivated by a growing awareness of religious diversity in what had been a predominatly Protestant nation and culture. The issue was hotly contested in New York State and resulted in the adoption of a restrictive amendment which forbad public funds in any form for schools with denominational connections. Many states, particularly those which adopted constitutions after the middle of the century, followed the example set by New York. The termination of support for denominationally sponsored schools did not prevent states from requiring Bible reading and prayer in the public schools. This requirement, combined with laws mandating attendance at some school for a given number of years, undoubtedly contributed to the growth of denominational schools, especially among Roman Catholics. By the middle of the nineteenth century most public schools had dropped all other religious elements from their programs, even though the general effect of education was expected to be supportive of the Christian view and ethic.

What has been said above relates most obviously to elementary and secondary education and underscores the fact that the constitutional limitation is most directly focussed at that level. Indeed, higher education has been at best a secondary consideration in the historical struggle, and has been included by implication rather than by specific designation. The major court decision directly involving private colleges, was the Dartmouth case in 1819 which assured private colleges of freedom from state interference, thus clearly establishing their independent identity. It is only in quite recent times that colleges have become the focus of court decisions related to the separation of church and state.

Another factor of substantial importance in the development of public policies related to higher education was the fact that the states were assigned principal responsibility for the development of public institutions. While the Morrill Act of 1862 established and endowed land-grant colleges it gave great impetus to the development of state universities, many of which assumed the agricultural and mechanical education assignment contained in that Act. Moreover, it established a form of subsidy which centered on institutions, rather than on students. Thus, it put in motion a vastly expanded program of higher education which was to become almost entirely a state burden. Since the form of support which became standard was institutional support, the constitutional restrictions were most potent. It is significant that when, at a later time, the federal government became involved in the support of higher education the tendency was to provide support for the student rather than the institution. Thus, there developed student aid (NYA program) during the thirties, the tremendously important GI Bill after WW II, the NDEA provisions for student assistance and student loans, and more recently the Education Opportunity Grants and Work-Study Programs.

The concept of publicly-supported public schools and colleges and privately-supported denominational schools which shaped public policy in the middle of the 19th century is now being reviewed. It is claimed that the difference between public and private support is no longer a fact; public institutions are drawing vast amounts of private support and private institutions are benefiting -- directly or indirectly -- from federal and state programs. It is claimed that today's church-related college is performing as public a service as is the public institution. For instance, is a state-supported institute of technology training engineers for industry engaged in a public service while a private institution preparing teachers for the public schools is not?

Public institutions are establishing departments of religion and offering majors in religious studies. Is the study of religion an acceptable expenditure of state funds when pursued on a public campus but not when pursued on a private campus?

Beyond these questions of theory there is, of course, the immensely practical question of the effect of these decisions and judgments on the survival prospects of private colleges and universities. Before letting five hundred private colleges close down (as the most recent Carnegie Commission predicts will happen) and replacing them with public facilities we ought to be sure that the policy which precludes the government from assisting these institutions is sound.

It is time to take a contemporary view of the contemporary situation.

Chapter IV THE PRESENT PERSPECTIVE

There are today approximately 2500 institutions of higher education in the United States, of which a little over 1000 are public and just under 1500 are private. Of those which are private about 800 would identify themselves as church-related.[11]

We have already noted that whereas at one time virtually all higher education was "church-related", the private sector now represents approximately one-fourth of the total enrollment. As recently as 1952 it represented one-half. The change has been effected by greatly accelerated growth rates in the public sector, with more modest growth rates in the private sector. Among the reasons for this shift would have to be included:

1. The two-price system with the growing disparity in costs assigned to students at public and private institutions.
2. The rapid development of two and four-year colleges within commuting distance of a large portion of the population.
3. Increasing emphasis on vocational and training programs as compared to general education or liberal arts.
4. Selective admissions policies in the private colleges which have prevented them from opening their institutions to the same degree to many persons in the growing student pool.

The possibility that the private sector may not be able to continue indefinitely is now being recognized, and has been documented by such studies as have been referred to earlier in this document (cf. Willian E. Jellema and Carnegie Commission).

Such a possibility is viewed with alarm among thoughtful educators and legislators as well as among private colleges. They recognize that it is not in the interests of our society to waste the resources of facilities and personnel which the private colleges represent while pouring vast sums of money into new public institutions.[12] Moreover, they believe that the "dual system" of higher education has important values which ought not to be lost. The private sector can reflect a variety of backgrounds and emphases, with distinctive programs which cannot or will not be duplicated in the public sector. Private colleges are generally smaller in size, and provide substantial direct contact between faculty and students in smaller classes; they are frequently more flexible and can innovate more readily than public "systems". Their record in motivating students to high achievement seems to be relatively good, not least in the case of minority and disadvantaged students.

While it is possible to identify educational benefits that tend to be associated with private colleges, and others which may be more characteristic of certain types of public institutions, it should not be assumed that the validity of maintaining the private sector in higher education depends on some distinctive product, over and above what can be found at a public institution. The public-private way of providing public services is a part of the American way of doing things. It could be argued that it comes close to being "the American" way -- the distinctively American contribution to modern society. We do not believe that only those things should be done under private auspices and control which cannot be done under public auspices and control. This is the philosophy of some countries but they are not generally characterized as being "democratic". It is true that the American way does allow for the "distinctive contribution" but this is not to be regarded as a sort of purchase price for right to operate private institutions.

The view which appears to be gaining favor is that there is one program of higher education with a public component and a private component. Both should be be regarded as intrinsic parts of the whole. Allen Cartter, Chancellor of New York University and well-known spokesman for higher education, has said that from now on "states must assume responsibility for planning the future growth of higher education within the context of all existing resources of the state."[13] This is reiterated in approximately a dozen reports of "blue ribbon" committee studies in such states as New York, Illinois, Texas, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Tennessee, North Carolina, Ohio and Missouri.

This comprehensive approach to planning for higher education has become quite widespread. There are 27 states which have state-wide coordinating committees or boards and in many of these private colleges are specifically included in the concerns and powers of the agency.[14] This kind of cooperation is voluntary for the private colleges (except as it involves the expenditure of public funds) but private colleges are generally in favor of such inclusions. In some areas in the United States there is extensive cooperation between public and private colleges or universities on a wide variety of programs. For the most part, however, these programs have been funded from private sources.

When one speaks of the nature of church-related colleges and their relationship to public institutions or units of government one must distinguish between the United States and Canada. Canadian church-related institutions stand in quite a different relationship to both public institutions and their provincial and federal governments. To grant degrees a university must be chartered by the government as a degree-granting university. Other colleges, church-related or otherwise, must be affiliated with such a degree-granting university, which thus assumes responsibility for the academic programs at its affiliated institutions. The only Lutheran degree-granting institution in Canada is Waterloo Lutheran University in Waterloo, Ontario. Other Lutheran institutions in Canada are affiliated with government universities which certify the work of these institutions and are the vehicle for extending a measure of public ...t which is comparable to the support given to students in other parts of the university. In the case of Waterloo a special arrangement allows the institution to receive one-half of the amount per student given to public universities. In the most recent year this amounted to $3,145,000. Camrose Lutheran College, Alberta, last year received $970 per student from the government, and Luther College of Regina received $450 per student. The latter institution is affiliated with the University of Saskatchewan - Regina. It is readily apparent that church-related institutions in Canada cannot be blanketed in with those in the United States. In the discussion which follows attention is particularly directed to the situation in the United States.

Chapter V THE PRINCIPLES AND THE PROBLEMS

What are the issues involved and what are the principles according to which they should be faced? This is the question to which we must now address ourselves. It may be helpful to examine it from three perspectives: 1) the church-related college and the church, 2) the church-related college and government, 3) the church-related college and society in general.

1. The Church-Related College and the Church.

Why is the church in higher education? In part, it is a matter of history. The extent to which churches have felt it essential to their existence and function to found colleges all across the country is one of the amazing facets of church history in our country. It is undoubtedly related to the pioneer situation and the poverty of culture-forming institutions in the wilderness, the demand for trained clergy and teachers and the desire to provide an education for the children of the pioneers which would accord with their needs and with their faith. It is also, in no small part, the product of the constitutional provision for a free -- that is, non-established church. What in their European homelands could be provided through government educational agencies was less available here through such agencies because of the separation of church and state. This was particularly true during the nineteenth century when most of the church-related colleges had their origin. By then the separation principle had been more narrowly construed than in the earlier period. However these circumstances may have conditioned the action of the church in founding colleges, the major motives would [appe]ar to be more positive and enduring. These may be broadly identified as a) concern for Christian nurture and human development, b) concern for Christian service, and c) concern for the world.

a. Concern for Christian Nurture and Human Development

There is no doubt that churches established educational programs and institutions as a part of their concern for the religious and cultural development of their children. Rarely was the inculcation of faith an end in itself. Faith was part of the equipment needed for full personal development and for full involvement in the world's work. This is more than an historical accident. Christianity has always been a religion that laid claims on the mind. It makes "truth-claims" and asserts the relevance of the truth it knows to other truths and to other knowledge. It takes a positive attitude toward the world and urges involvement rather than withdrawal. It believes that people exist for others and that education improves one's capacity to serve others.

b. Concern for Christian Service

Church-related colleges have provided more than their share of graduates who have gone into service-oriented professions and occupations. While the distinction implied in that designation is one which might be challenged on Lutheran premises (we serve God and our neighbor through any profession or vocation worthy of our efforts), it is not strange that these colleges should have appealed in special measure to persons interested in working with and for people. The support of the church has been motivated in part by its desire to equip persons with the needed learning for service to people, whether under its own or other auspices. By providing institutions in which the Christian message could be given free rein and in which the development of Christian faith and Christian dedication could be encouraged through teaching, activities, and the influence of a committed faculty, the church has had reason to believe that it was providing an environment favorable to the development of "Christian servants" who would help the church fulfill its service role in the world.

c. Concern for the World

It is a mistake, however, to interpret the church's concern for education as though it were primarily an instrument for achieving religious ends. If one examines the original charters of institutions founded by the church he may be surprised at the extent to which general educational objectives are included. To quote from one qualified commentator on the history of church-related higher education in this country

> In short, with regrettable lapses into denominational self-pride, the motivations of church-related colleges as put forth by national bodies and by institutional founders have been sufficiently broad to permit a quality education within the framework of liberal arts, growing vocationalism, and church service.[15]

He suggests that there is a parallel between the way in which the Supreme Court has responded to changing needs and demands while governed by an "inner vision" of its function and the way church-related colleges have developed, in response to changing pressures and circumstances while holding on to something which is intrinsic to their character.

If one also observes the actual performance of the church-related institutions he will surely have to acknowledge that many of them have achieved positions of prestige by any standard which is generally considered to signify excellence. There are Lutheran colleges, for instance, with Phi Beta Kappa chapters, ranking at the top in graduates receiving doctorates in scientific fields, in experimental and innovative programs, in international education, in the training of faculty members and in the size and quality of libraries. All of the drives toward learning which characterize the educational enterprise anywhere are evident on the church-related campus, with the exception that there is proportionately more emphasis on instruction than is the case in many research-oriented educational institutions.

The interest of institutions of the church in the world -- things, people, society -- is by no means an extraneous interest. It inheres in the conviction that God is the creator, that the development of human and social potential is in line with his purposes, and that man has positive responsibilities in relation to that development.

The kind of analysis made above of the rationale for the church's involvement in higher education will not be convincing to everyone. Some will say it avoids coming down clearly and squarely on the side of the <u>church</u> - in the "church relation." Church-related colleges should accept their responsibility of producing or preserving "true Christians" (or at least "faithful church members") and if they do not want to do that they should cease to expect any support from the church. Leaving aside for the moment the question whether this is not a rather inverted view of what the church is about, such an expectation overlooks the fact that a church-related college is first a college, just as a church-related hospital is first a hospital. One does not measure the effectiveness of a church-related hospital by the number of its converts but by its adequacy as a hospital. Colleges have a distinctive "calling" which has to do with seeking out the truth, for its own sake, and equipping students to recognize and use it.

From the other side -- the side of those engaged in the academic enterprise -- there are many who feel that there is a tension, if not a conflict, between their responsibilities as representatives of learning in their respective disciplines and the commitment which their institution is presumed to have toward a "Christian" point of view. The Pattillo - Mackenzie report on the Danforth Study of Church Colleges (which included campus interviews with a rather large number of faculty members) published in 1966 said:

> From the faculty point of view, the central problem of Christian higher education is: How can a college do justice to its avowed purpose as a Christian institution, a purpose which carries with it commitment to a set of beliefs, and at the same time maintain the freedom of inquiry which most academic people think is necessary for good education? This is a dilemma that every college, whether religiously oriented or not, ultimately faces. In the case of the Church institution the problem is more obvious. Perhaps what we are saying is that for many academic people religious commitment seems more hampering to freedom of inquiry than other types of commitment because of the teacher's unconscious reservations about theological truth.[16]

There is no doubt that the situation reflected in this observation has contributed to the weakening of the bonds between the church and its colleges.

Again, there are many persons in the church who feel that the church should not itself engage in any form of public service in which the general society is willing to engage. If states will support colleges and universities, these institutions should preempt the field of higher education and the church should make its influence felt within those public programs. Many who are inclined toward this point of view are in other respects social activists who urge the church to become involved in the affairs of the world. Yet they seem to withdraw from that direct involvement with learning which is inevitable when the church is itself engaged in a general educational program. If the church is not to do any part of the world's work in its own name it locks itself in to some narrowly defined spiritual domain and is in danger of becoming introverted. Either that or it loses itself in the secular so that whatever is distinctive about its nature and message disappears. There can be no doubt, for instance, that Christian faith and love ought to motivate us to work for the elimination of poverty, racial understanding and respect, a world at peace, and justice for all men, but if we maintain that this is what Christianity means -- and all that it means -- we make it quite possible for others who have come to these same convictions without benefit of religious faith to conclude that it really means nothing at all.

Theoretical positions with regard to the merits of the church's involvement in higher education programs of its own can hardly be unrelated to practical issues about available resources and priorities with regard to spending them. The high cost of education and the substantial sums required for the church to carry even a very small part of the total cost raises questions in many minds. Champions of other causes view the established patterns of budgetary support as vested interests which inhibit the development of programs addressed to more recent and immediate needs.

These are not very good days for institutions, whether they are church-related, educational, or whatever. The ad hoc committee, the "task force" the "panel", the "co-ordinator" -- these have a more contemporary ring. We are busy "adjusting" and "innovating" and being "relevant." Institutions are not supposed to function well in such a time. Of course, there is a measure of truth in it, although all of those terms have been around college campuses so long they have almost become institutionalized.

To sum up then: The church's own understanding of its mission provides good and sufficient reasons for the church's involvement in programs of higher education. But those good and sufficient reasons are being challenged both from the side of the campus and from the side of the church. Inevitably the issues translate into questions of support, or the lack of it, and where support should come from.

2. The Church-Related College and Government

There has never been a time when private colleges were not involved in some measure with government policy. We have noted the mixed sources of support of early colleges, including government sources, and the inclusion of religious objectives in general government goals, as reflected in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Tax exemption recognizes the validity of the institutions's claim to independence and recognizes the public service performed by it. Tax policies affect private institutions sharply and may be used to encourage gifts to them and to encourage the use of their services. This country has made extensive use of tax incentives for gift support but little or no use of tax incentives to encourage the use of private facilities. The latter could be accomplished by tax credits for tuition payments, for instance. Some states have allowed modest deductions for tuition payments at elementary and secondary schools but no state has such a policy for higher education.

There have long been some programs supported by public funds for which students at private colleges are also eligible. The financial aid program of the National Youth Administration in the thirties gave students without resources an opportunity to work and be compensated for it through the college. New York State has a state scholarship program that goes back to 1913, long before there was such a thing as a State University of New York. The massive GI Bill after World War II was available for students at private colleges no less than at public colleges. War surplus facilities were made available and many private institutions were enabled to expand quickly to meet the needs of returning veterans. Constitutional issues were never raised in those days, partly because of the great need to mobilize all resources and partly because these benefits were regarded as "back-pay" for the veterans who had served in the armed forces.

The provisions in the Federal Constitution which bear upon the problem relate specifically to religious rather than to educational or private considerations. Primarily at issue is the interpretation of the First Amendment which reads:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of people peacably to assemble and to petition the Government for redress of grievances.

The relation of this provision to certain federal and state programs of support for education will be examined at a later point.

State constitutions are generally more restrictive. The New York State Constitution (Art. XI, Sec. 3) reads as follows:

> "Neither the state nor any subdivision thereof shall use its property or credit or any public money, or authorize or permit either to be used, directly or indirectly, in aid or maintenance, other than for examination or inspection, of any school or institution of learning wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet or doctrine is taught, but the legislature may provide for the transportation of children to and from any school or institution of learning."

Many states modelled their constitution along the lines of this so-called "Blaine Amendment."[17] In some states the language is even more explicit, and in others more general. The Minnesota provision reads thus:

> But in no case shall the moneys derived as aforesaid, or any portion thereof, or any public moneys or property, be appropriated or used for the support of schools wherein the distinctive doctrines, creeds or tenets of any particular Christian or other religious sect are promulgated or taught.

For many years constitutional provisions of this sort were interpreted to prohibit the teaching of religion in any form and in any way at tax-supported institutions. A "Commission on Studies in Religion in the Curriculum of the University of Michigan", in 1964 observed:

> It is a curious fact ... that it is easier at this university to obtain an understanding of Islam or of primitive religions and their associated phenomena than of either Christianity or Judaism. Although primary sources of most of the world's religions are being studied here, neither the Talmud nor the New Testament is dealt with except in the most cursory fashion. Neither Jewish thought nor Christian theologies -- historical or contemporary -- receive systematic scholarly study. This inverted provincialism severely limits the University's capacity to provide for its students an understanding of the course of their own civilization.[18]

During the past decade or two this has changed drastically and departments of religion, or "religious studies", have been established in more than 150 public universities and colleges. There are indeed, schools of religion at several public universities. The "Religious Studies Committee" of the University of Minnesota (August, 1971) lists more than two hundred courses, all offered during the academic year 1971-72, from which students may construct, with the aid of a counsellor, a "major in Religious Studies." The list includes such titles as the following: Beginnings of Christianity, Roman Religion and the Expansion of Christianity in the Roman Empire, Biblical Archaeology, Greek Religious Texts, Latin Religious Texts, Emergence of Classical Judaism, Ancient Israel, The King James Bible as Literature, Rabbinical Texts, Midrash in Translation, Survey of Biblical Literature, Problems in Biblical studies, History of Church Music, Hymnology, Religions of the Twentieth Century World, Religion as a Social Institution, Religion and Culture, Anthropology of Religion and Folklore, Islamic Religion, and Islamic Mysticism. Other departments of religion or schools of religion, such as that at the University of Iowa, offer more specific and identifiable courses in religion including graduate study. Many of these courses involve the study of "distinctive doctrines, creeds and tenets." How would one study or teach the "Emergence of Classical Judaism" without considering the doctrines, creeds or tenets that were characteristic of classical Judaism? The same would be true of Islam or the "Beginnings of Christianity." Surely they would not be adequately treated without exposure to books or teachers who understand those teachings and have some degree of empathy for them.

The point of the above comments is to illustrate that the issue cannot any longer be whether courses in religion are taught, or whether they include instruction in distinctive doctrines, creeds and tenets, but the manner in which the subject matter is taught. If it is taught as an academic discipline, which most church colleges would claim is the case, there would not appear to be any constitutional issue involved. It is now possible to reach either of two conclusions, both of which appear to have considerable logic on their side. 1) If public institutions can offer courses in religion covering the same content and taught in the same way, what remains distinctive about ~~ch~~-related colleges? 2) If the teaching of religion is not inconsistent with public support in the public institution, why is it a barrier to support of the private college from public funds? Is it the requirement of such study that is prohibited? But to argue that one may offer courses in religion, because religion is a subject like other academic subjects, but one may not require competence in it, as he can in other academic fields, seems inconsistent. The argument against requiring courses in the field of religion as a part of the equipment of the educated man assumes that religion is taught for the purpose of making converts and not according to the academic requirements of the subject matter and in accord with proper professional standards. This is not a correct assumption.

3. Church-Related Colleges and Society in General

Are the church-related colleges an important national resource, or are they a vestigial remnant from the past with only a limited future? If it is the judgment of most people that their disappearance would be no great loss they will in all probability disappear.

There is, to my knowledge, no serious question raised about the quality of education offered by the vast majority of church-related colleges. On the contrary, there is some uneasiness among their constituents, and in some cases even among their exponents, that they have raised their standards of admission and performance to a point where they serve too limited a portion of the ability spectrum. There is also some uneasiness among representatives of the public sector in higher education that measures directed toward equalizing costs will drain away the better student to the private institutions. No point need be made of this except to make clear that we are not talking about institutions, by and large, which do not "deserve" to survive (to apply a questionable moral judgment to a corporate entity). Moreover, the current Carnegie Commission Report on "invisible colleges" strongly suggests that even those who may not get top rating by strict academic standards may be exceptionally important resources because they provide good learning environments for the average student.

The social waste of discarding the private sector in higher education must be apparent to all, especially in a time when enrollment is projected to increase over the next decade by more than 50%. Even if one were to contemplate the shift of these facilities to the public sector and their operation as public institutions the cost would be very great. It may be illustrated by the case of the University of Chatanooga which transferred from the private to the public domain in 1969 and received an appropriation of $3,052,000 to educate the 2500 students who the year previous had been educated at no cost to the tax-payer.[19]

But beyond the additional costs to society which would be occasioned by their disappearance or transfer to public sponsorship are other costs. There are values that inhere in pluralism that would be lost. The dual system of providing public services is a unique element in American society. It is virtually the hallmark of our kind of democracy. Even if the private and public components of the modern higher education program were not demonstrably different the public-private provision for higher education would be a good thing. In fact, however, the freedom which private institutions have to define their purposes and goals, to choose the means by which they achieve them and to reflect the rich variety of our cultural traditions, values and ideals constitute differences which are meaningful and which enrich the entire field of higher education in our land. Their concern for general education, their modest size and their freedom to take independent action give them great flexibility in changing times.

As effective instruments of education they can help society to relieve those problems and disabilities which stem from under-developed human and social resources. Problems of poverty and related issues of race and personal opportunity and growth resolve themselves in large measure into problems of education. It would be unrealistic if not deceptive, to argue that these kinds of colleges can provide for all those kinds of needs, but they can and do contribute very significantly. For instance, they are making disproportionately large contributions to the education of minorities. A study of 129 colleges and universities, public and private, conducted by the College Entrance Examination Board in 1969 found that in that year minority students represented 5.6% of entering freshmen in private liberal arts colleges, whereas they represented 3.7% of public non-selective institutions and 4.3% of public selective institutions.[20] In Minnesota in 1970 private college enrollment was about 21% of the total statewide enrollment, but 41.3% of the undergraduate minority enrollment was in the private colleges.

The opportunity for students to choose between a variety of institutions is one which should be protected and encouraged. It is unfortunate that many students are having to make choices on the basis of cost rather than on the basis of educational programs.

Several recent studies such as "The Newman Report",[21] point to the need for new types of educational programs and lament the "homogenization" of education. New programs going far beyond the campus are coming into being -- the "Open University", the "External Degree", "Voucher Plans" and many others. They offer new and exciting possibilities to private colleges which should be particularly well-suited for innovation and experimentation. They have indeed accomplished not a little in this regard, though they are often "invisible" in this respect to the larger world. But since most experimentation.costs more, rather than less, their capacity to respond to these possibilities may depend on changes in policies relating to the funding of higher education.

Chapter VI THE CHURCH - STATE ISSUE

Assuming that the public is willing to include the private sector in its funding programs, how far may it go in contributing to church-related colleges and what adjustments may church-related colleges need to anticipate in order to qualify for participating in such funding arrangements? Is there a conflict in principle from the side of the church or from the side of government and how do these affect the church-related colleges.

Since church and state have existed under various arrangements of dependence and independence -- ranging from persecution, to the church-state, through the state-church, to a free church, to an out-lawed church again -- it would appear that the church's existence is not solely dependent on its having legal status, or that any particular kind of legal relationship is dictated by the nature of the church. To put it more simply the "separation of church and state" is not the product of a theological principle which is inherent in the nature of the church but of a political principle which derives from our form of government. To the extent that the political instruments in which this principle is imbedded are subject to the will of the majority, it is at least theoretically possible that it could be changed if the will to do so were present.

1. Institutional Separation and Functional Interaction

It must be asserted that the church has a distinctive function which it alone can perform and which it must be free to perform. The state cannot assume that function and must not infringe on that freedom. The state, too, has its distinctive function and is entitled to those conditions which make its performance in fulfillment of that function possible. Institutional separation is necessary to safeguard the freedom of each to exist and to ensure the conditions which enable it to perform its respective functions. But when these functions are examined more carefully it is readily observed that each is led to be active in many of the same fields. Thus, church and state meet on the question of human rights, social welfare, education, religious liberty, justice and order, and many others. In a world in which there were no state the church would still be motivated to concern itself with these matters, and if there were no church the state would still be pushed into working with them. Since both church and state do exist they must find ways of functioning together in those fields in which they have an inherent interest and concern.

Thus, while the independence of each must be asserted, the relations are more often supportive than competitive. The church offers prayers for the state, encourages responsible citizenship and government service, contributes to the common judgment concerning what values and ideals should be reflected in public policies, champions civil and human rights and generally stands guard against any invasion of human dignity and worth. The state protects and ensures religious liberty, assumes an attitude of "wholesome neutrality" as between religious bodies, acknowledges that persons have rights which the state does not create but which inhere in their being persons, and provides "incidental benefits on a non-preferential basis in recognition of the church's civil services which are also of secular benefit to the community."[22] These kinds of functional interaction are consistently supported by decisions of the Supreme Court. They may, and often do, involve financial aid on a non-preferential basis to church agencies engaged in performing social services which are also of secular benefit to the community.

We must now address ourselves to the implications and applications of this relationship. To give it perspective we shall need to explore briefly the ways in which public funds may be channeled into the support of a public service because it has a bearing on the extent to which the constitutional issue will be involved.

2. Consumer and Provider Subsidies

When any society determines that it is in the public interest to provide any set of services for all or many of its citizens, it characteristically demonstrates and implements that judgment by providing a public subsidy. It may subsidize the provider of the service so that costs to the consumer are held to a minimum, or it may subsidize the consumer so that he is able to buy the service at cost, or it may use a combination of provider and consumer subsidies.

Where there is principal reliance on consumer subsidies private agencies are at no substantial disadvantage compared with public providers since both public and private agencies make approximately the same charges for their services and consumers are free to choose where they will spend the funds made available to them. Where there is principal reliance on provider subsidies private agencies are severely disadvantaged inasmuch as they have not generally been eligible for such subsidies. They must, therefore, either require substantially larger payments from the users of their services than would be required of the same users at a public agency, or they must be able to effectively substitute a private subsidy from gifts or endowment equal to that which is provided the public agency by taxes.

The above distinction and its effects can be readily illustrated by comparing health and welfare subsidies on the one hand with education subsidies on the other. Medicare guarantees the recipient "free choice of vendor." If a county attempts to require welfare patients receiving Medicare to use public facilities the federal government will sue to enforce the "free choice of vendor" provision, and has done so in a number of instances. Welfare recipients are not required to use their payments for public housing or at public commissaries. One-third of the welfare patients receiving nursing care in a metropolitan county are in church-related nursing homes. Many of the "day care centers" are in churches. Church institutions caring for emotionally disturbed and mentally retarded are being maintained principally by payments from public agencies based on the services rendered to a given number of persons. Such agencies in the various states as Lutheran Social Service contract for services to counties and municipalities in a wide range of fields. National boards, or their affiliates created for that purpose, hold contracts with federal agencies in a number of welfare areas, both in domestic and foreign programs. Significantly there appears to be no constitutional problem in these relationships because the payments are made through, or in behalf of, consumers, for services performed.

In education the situation is vastly different. Here subsidies have traditionally been given to providers. The tradition goes back at least to the middle of the 19th century and has reflected not only concern about the relation between church and state but also about preferential treatment for churches conducting educational programs.over those not conducting such programs. It is significant that the question of public support arose much earlier in the field of education than it did in the field of welfare. Most public welfare programs were not an issue when state constitutions were adopted and hence have been largely immune from such restrictions. Education for all at some minimum level has been a long-standing goal of American society and the public school seemed the logical way of providing it to most American citizens. As the minimum level which could be expected of all was raised the public provision for education for all moved up from elementary to secondary and into higher education. The dominance of private higher education in the middle of the present century is partly

ted to the fact that education was totally elective with the student at that level.

Why provider subsidies should have so completely dominated the field in education until very recent years in almost every state is an interesting question. There is no doubt that the Morrill Act of 1862 which provided land for institutions devoted to agricultural and technical development gave great impetus to the support of educational growth through grants to institutions.

At the level of education at which universal attendance was mandated it could be assumed that costs would be distributed at the same ratio as benefits, but at the level of higher education where a very small proportion of taxpayers were recipients of direct benefits that assumption is open to challenge. A number of recent studies cast serious doubt on the validity of the cost-benefit parallel. The question of "equity" is now being raised alongside the question of "equal opportunity."[23]

There is no inherent reason why one method of providing subsidies is superior to the other; one is not more "American" or more "Christian" or more "democratic" than the other. Whether public services are supported through grants to providers or to consumers seems to be a completely practical question to be answered in the light of circumstances. It may be worth observing that most public services began with the subsidized institution. The "county poor farm" took care of those who needed public assistance, the "county hospital" provided for them when they were sick, the mentally ill were shut up in institutions and the orphaned were in "orphanages." In each of these areas we have long since moved toward principal reliance on consumer subsidies with a wide variety of public and private suppliers.

When education is financed through welfare funds the constitutional issue does not readily come to the fore. For instance, state welfare departments have received funds for up-grading their staff through further study, and payments have been made directly to church-related institutions to cover those costs, without question. Federally funded day-care centers require that preference be given to proposals that include educational components as against those which provide only custodial care, and this does not exclude the church-related group from being the contracting party for pro-
ing such services.

The question of how subsidies are provided becomes increasingly serious as the cost of a service rises. When hospital care was relatively inexpensive a "charity bed fund" could care for those unable to pay, the physician's generosity in billing could care for the doctor's bill, various private fund-raising efforts could take care of the unfortunates of the community. As costs increased it became necessary to provide public funds through taxation. When only a small percentage of the population was going to college or some form of post-secondary education the cost could be distributed over large numbers of people, either through taxes or through contributions, and the burden not seem unduly heavy. When "universal higher education" in some form is the announced goal,[24] and when educational costs are accelerating faster than the general economy, the situation is much more serious, both for the provider and the consumer. However, when the provider is a public institution it has access to tax resources which absorb the major portion of the accelerating costs. When the provider is a private institution it not only does not have access to such funds and hence must rely principally on student income, but it also finds it necessary to assist the student in meeting those charges if he is really to have the option to choose the private college. The rapid increase in financial aid budgets in all private institutions is a major element in the current "crisis" in private higher education.[25]

In recent years (principally since 1958) federal and state programs of student assistance have developed and appear to signal a change toward greater emphasis upon support of the consumer. Federal funds for student aid for 1971-72 total $578,000,000[26] and 22 states have appropriated a total of $279,338,882 for state scholarship and grant programs in the year 1971-72.[27] While this is a significant amount it should be compared with well over $7 billion appropriated by states to run public institutions (1970-71). State governments spent over $11 billion on all aspects of higher education in fiscal 1970.[28] Since institutional subsidies have increased by 38.5% in the past two years on the average, the student aid programs at the state level must be regarded as additional to the subsidies being provided for institutions rather than a shift from one to the other. While institutional subsidies increased from $25.56 per capita in 1968 to $34.98 1970, financial aid programs in the latter year for students in the 22 states which had such programs averaged $1.76 and hence were not a very significant factor in increases even in those states.

Although proposals have been made for shifting major support of higher education from institutions to students and charging the student the cost of education,[29] after the pattern of welfare funding, it does not seem realistic to anticipate so drastic a change in the near future. What is more probable is that increased amounts of aid to students, awarded on the basis of need, will be made available through both federal and state appropriations. While this will enable many students with very limited resources to attend some kind of institution, and perhaps to attend a private institution if they wish to do so, it will not affect the basic problem which inheres in the two-price system. It will still mean that students with ability to pay will receive subsidies whether or not they need them if they attend public institutions, whereas if they attend private institutions they will receive such a subsidy only if they can establish need. It is widely felt that tuitions at private colleges and universities are already at a level where such colleges are not regarded as a serious option by the vast majority of families in our country. If the rising costs must be borne principally by the student this will be increasingly true.

The alternative then is to find ways through which private colleges and universities, including those that are church-related, can be made eligible for some form of support from public funds. Therefore the constitutional issue becomes acute. There does not appear to be any constitutional question about aid to students from public funds so long as they are not engaged in specific preparation for a religious vocation. Some state constitutions may offer hurdles but the observation would hold almost universally also with regard to state programs. Institutional grants constitute a different problem, which we must now explore.

3. Government Aid for Church-Related Institutions

On June 28, 1971, the United States Supreme Court handed down its first specific ruling on the validity of federal grants to church-related institutions of higher education. The challenge was directed to the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 and involved four Roman Catholic-affiliated institutions in Connecticut. The absence of earlier reviews by the Court is partly to be explained by an earlier position of the Supreme Court holding that federal taxpayers could not be plaintiffs in a suit against federal spending programs unless they could prove substantial damage resulting from such programs. In 1968, the court ruled that individual taxpayers could challenge federal spending programs on the grounds that they violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. This suit was filed only three months later.

As indicated earlier, the federal government made extensive gifts of property after World War II in its disposal of surplus equipment and buildings but no constitutional challenge was offered. The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 provided grants and loans to public and private institutions for academic facilities but with the specific restriction that such facilities were not to be used for religious purposes or for the teaching of religion. In the years since its enactment more than $1,600,000,000 in grants have been awarded, of which a substantial portion have gone to private institutions, many of whom have been church-related. Almost all colleges have profited from these provisions. Grants have been in the amount of one-third the cost, with loans bringing the total covered by government financing to three-fourths of cost.

4. Tilton v. Richardson

A detailed analysis of that decision and its implications as viewed by one of the participating attorneys for the defense, Charles H. Wilson, Jr., under the title Tilton v. Richardson - The Search for Sectarianism in Education, is available from the Association of American Colleges. What follows is the briefest possible summary of that analysis.

Prior to this decision, the Supreme Court had developed an interpretation of the Establishment Clause around these criteria: 1) the child-benefit concept (Everson - payments for busing - 1947), 2) the preservation of government neutrality in matters touching religion (Schempp - Bible reading and prayer in public schools, 1963)

3) a clear "secular legislative purpose and primary effect" (Schempp, 1963), 4) the separability of religious and secular processes (Allen, 1968 - secular textbooks for parochial children), 5) the degree of government entanglement (Walz, 1970 - tax exempt property). The third and fourth criteria had been interpreted by many to have cleared the way for programs of public support for the secular functions of education at all levels - as distinquished from the religious functions - providing that it could be established that both the legislative purpose and the primary effect were secular. The Connecticut College case was heard with two cases dealing with elementary and secondary education, one from Pennsylvania and the other from Rhode Island. In the former (Lemon v. Kurtzman) the state reimbursed nonpublic schools for the cost of providing their students with secular education in mathematics, physical sciences, modern foreign languages and physical education, and specifically excluding "any subject matter expressing religious teaching, or the morals or forms of worship of any sect." In Rhode Island (DiCenso v. Robinson) the program provided for 15% supplementary payments to teachers in nonpublic schools, teaching courses being taught in the public schools, using materials in use in the public schools, and providing the per pupil costs for secular education did not equal or exceed the per pupil costs at public schools.

The Court, with only one justice dissenting, held the Rhode Island and Pennsylvania cases unconstitutional in their application to parochial schools. The majority opinion, written by the Chief Justice, focusses on three tests that must be applied: "First, the statute must have a secular legislative purpose; second, its principal or primary effect must be one that neither advances nor inhibits religion...; finally, the statute must not foster an excessive government entanglement with religion." (p. 22) The Court agreed that the legislature had a secular purpose but found it unnecessary to decide whether the primary effect was secular or not, since the legislation clearly involved "excessive government entanglements." Thus the "entanglement" concept is moved to the center of the argument and becomes a crucial consideration for the future.

The introduction of this concept and its elevation to a position of central significance has far-reaching implications for future legislation. The Court's objective in using the criterion is "to prevent, as far as possible, the intrusion of either (government or religion) into the precincts of the other." (p. 23) Total separation of the two is not possible -- "the line of separation, far from being a 'wall', is a blurred, indistinct and variable barrier depending on all the circumstances of a particular relationship." Three factors are identified as useful in evaluating whether excessive entanglement is involved; "the character and purposes of the institutions which are benefited, the nature of the aid that the State provides, and the resulting relationship between the government and religious authority." When these tests were applied to the Rhode Island and the Pennsylvania programs they were given much greater specificity. For instance, the presence of religious pictures and symbols in the school, the staffing by religious orders wearing religious garb, the necessity for legislated restrictions regarding what the teacher could and could not teach, and the continuing administrative relationships that would be required for supervision and control are all regarded as indications of the sort of entanglements which are in conflict with the First Amendment. Moreover, the Chief Justice saw the probable development of divisive political trends associated with the enlargement of program and the increase in appropriations.

Applying the same three tests developed in the other two cases to the four colleges in Connecticut, the Court by the narrow margin of 5-4 upheld the constitutionality of grants made under the Higher Education Facilities Act to the four colleges. The Chief Justice rejected the "simplistic argument that every form of financial assistance to church-sponsored activity violates the Religion Clauses." It is interesting that he pointed to an 1899 decision (Bradfield v. Roberts) upholding a federal construction grant to a hospital operated by a religious order, thus supporting in some degree the parallel between education and welfare which has been drawn in this analysis of issues. The question was not, then, whether there was some incidental benefit to religion but whether there was the necessary "primary secular effect." He found there was because the legislation had been carefully drawn to exclude facilities for religious instruction or worship, and the institutions had adhered to this limitation. He pointed to evidence that courses at the colleges were "taught according to the academic requirements intrinsic to the subject matter and the individual teacher's concept of professional standards", that all of the colleges had officially adopted the 1940 statement on academic freedom adopted by the American Association of University Professors and the Association of American Colleges, and that "the schools were characterized by an atmosphere of academic freedom rather than religious indoctrination." Therefore, he concluded that the challenged statute had the required primary secular effect. The provision in the Act which limited the government's stake in the facilities to 20 years was declared unconstitutional, since if at the end of that time the facilities were used for religious instruction or worship they would have "the effect of advancing religion." The "excessive entanglement" question became the crucial one. This was the ground on which the two programs for elementary and secondary nonpublic schools had been struck down. The Chief Justice drew a distinction between higher education and the lower levels arguing that religious indoctrination and "sectarian influences" play a lesser role in college, that the college student is less impressionable, and the learning atmosphere is characterized by considerable freedom. It is significant that these were institutions "governed by Catholic religious organizations", with predominantly Catholic faculties and student bodies and which "require their students to take theology courses." Nonetheless, because it appeared that the courses were taught "according to the academic requirements of the subject matter and the teacher's concept of professional standards" the requirements were not objectionable. He also found that the type of aid granted (a one-time grant for a building) meant that the administrative and supervisory relations between the government and the institution were minimal.

The conclusion is stated thus: "no one of these three factors (character and purposes of recipient institutions, type of aid provided, resulting administrative relationships) standing alone is necessarily controlling; cumulatively all of them shape a narrow and limited relationship with government which involves fewer and less significant contacts" than was the case in the two programs overthrown. Hence, the constitutionality of the program was sustained.

From the point of view of the church-related college seeking to retain a place in the contemporary world, that decision was immeasurably better than the contrary decision would have been. It now seems to be established that it is constitutional to make grants to church-related institutions, under some circumstances. Whether right or wrong, it distinguished between higher education and elementary and secondary education. It acknowledged the objectivity of religious instruction and the validity of religion as an academic discipline. It did not mandate the separation of colleges from religious bodies or forbid requirements of courses in religion.

On the other hand, by laying such stress on the matter of "entanglements" and by focussing on at least three variables to be taken into account in each case it introduced additional uncertainties. Since the "character and purposes of recipient institutions" is important it is possible that there can be as many cases as there are colleges, since colleges may have to prove that they are like or unlike other colleges on which the Court has already ruled. How open a college must be to fit within the rule of these cases remains to be determined. The type of aid is also variable, subject to continuing revision, and hence liable to repeated challenge. The amount of administrative relation which passes the permitted boundaries and becomes "excessive entanglement" will be very difficult to predict.

It does seem clear, however, that legislation needs to be carefully drawn to protect the interests of both the church-related college and the government and to avoid the legal hazards that exist. Church-related colleges and the churches to which they are related need to be alert to such hazards and take an active role in designing programs and policies which will stand up against such challenges. It does not appear necessary for the church-related college to deny its character as either an educational or a church-related institution. Indeed, it appears that being able to validate its program on solid educational grounds will permit it to retain a meaningful church relationship.

Chpater VII PUBLIC SERVICE THROUGH PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

The underlying assumption behind all programs of public support for any cause that the cause supported is "in the public interest." Private colleges must justify existing or contemplated public programs in terms of broad educational goals which clearly further the general welfare. A review of the relevant court cases indicates that the positive value of private education has been granted. The debate has centered on effects going beyond the educational program (e.g. to promote religion) or on technical and legal questions about the propriety of certain programs in view of constitutional limitations which have reference to factors other than the educational program as such.

It should not be overlooked that a broad range of federal and state programs of support have escaped any constitutional challenge. This includes financial aid to students under a variety of programs going back about fifteen years, such as National Defense Student Loans (NDSL), Education Opportunity Grants (EOG), Work-Study, Guaranteed Loan Program, Graduate Fellowships, and a number of others. As indicated above, more than half a billion dollars is being expended in these programs during the current year. States also have established financial aid programs. Table 2 summarizes statistical information on the extent of these state programs. While most of these involve both public and private students, six states have comprehensive student aid programs applying only to students at nonpublic colleges. In most cases these are "tuition equalization" programs intended to cover the difference between the cost of tuition at a public institution and the cost at the private institution attended, up to the level of the students need but not more than a fixed maximum (e.g. Iowa maximum is $1000).

Other federal programs have been "categorical" in nature and have provided funds for quite specific purposes. Among the earliest were those of the National Science Foundation, established in 1950. The great leap forward in science education and in the preparation of teachers of science which took place in the fifties and sixties was the product in large degree of initiative and financing provided by the Foundation. It made grants for research, for the expansion of graduate education, for equipment, undergraduate student research, and much else. Many institutions have received so-called COSIP (College Science Improvement Program) grants of several hundred thousand dollars on a matching basis to expand and strengthen science departments. Some of these NSF programs have involved direct contractual relations between the institution and the government and virtually all have implied such a contract. Other categorical aid programs

TABLE II

TOTAL DOLLARS APPROPRIATED BY STATES FOR COMPREHENSIVE UNDERGRADUATE STATE (COMPETITIVE AND NONCOMPETITIVE) PROGRAMS OF FINANCIAL AID BASED UPON NEED FOR RESIDENTS OF THE STATE TO ATTEND EITHER PUBLIC OR NONPUBLIC COLLEGES OR UNIVERSITIES

COMPARATIVE REPORT

For 1969-70, 1970-71 and 1971-72 Academic Years

STATE	TOTAL DOLLARS APPROPRIATED			PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL			AVERAGE AWARD			Ratio of '71-'72 Dollars to 1970 Population	Same Ratio -- Last Year
	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	69-70	70-71	71-72		
California	$ 11,865,143	$ 15,531,750	$ 18,834,525	5.93	6.57	6.74	$808	$861	$758	$ .94	$ .78
Connecticut	906,675	1,570,550	1,329,587	.45	.66	.48	597	669	668	.44	.52
Florida	*	1,520,000	600,000	-	.64	.21	-	691	750	.09	.22
Illinois	26,058,608	33,102,799	39,400,000	13.03	14.01	14.10	681	687	679	3.55	2.98
Indiana	3,080,000	3,140,000	7,357,280	1.54	1.33	2.63	470	435	715	1.42	.60
Iowa	1,762,500	3,262,500	4,290,000	.88	1.38	1.54	652	799	905	1.52	1.15
Kansas	150,000	150,000	150,000	.08	.06	.05	367	500	463	.07	.07
Maryland	2,900,000	2,750,000	3,211,000	1.45	1.16	1.15	400	422	338	.82	.70
Massachusetts	2,000,000	3,500,000	8,000,000	1.00	1.48	2.86	667	538	500	.62	.62
Michigan	12,500,000	12,867,000	13,268,000	6.25	5.45	4.75	520	548	570	1.51	1.45
Minnesota	775,000	1,475,000	2,630,000	.39	.62	.94	599	600	676	.69	.39
New Jersey	11,850,000	18,836,000	21,972,621	5.93	7.97	7.87	445	594	615	3.07	2.63
New York	67,745,320	70,300,000	76,250,000	33.89	29.75	27.30	276	278	254	4.19	3.86
Ohio	*	8,500,000	15,000,000**	-	3.60	5.37	-	567	600	1.41	.80
Oregon	815,400	530,000	1,055,000	.41	.22	.38	117	128	402	.50	.25
Pennsylvania	51,400,000	51,400,000	55,458,000	25.71	21.75	19.85	664	605	596	4.70	4.36
Rhode Island	1,500,000	1,475,700	1,861,000	.75	.62	.67	750	609	748	1.96	1.55
Texas	*	*	1,000,000	-	-	.36	-	-	500	.09	-
Vermont	1,099,255	1,310,000	2,400,000	.55	.55	.86	523	416	632	5.40	2.95
Washington	390,000	1,445,869	1,445,869	.20	.61	.52	465	135	135	.42	.42
West Virginia	175,000	250,000	300,000	.09	.11	.11	280	313	300	.17	.14
Wisconsin	2,950,000	3,363,000	3,526,000	1.48	1.42	1.26	310	389	415	.80	.76
Totals	$199,922,901	$236,280,168	$279,338,882	100.00	100.00	100.00	$425	$442	$437	$1.92	$1.76
Percentage Increase over Previous Year -		UP 18%	UP 18%								

* Program not in existence for year indicated

**Best estimate - appropriation for 1971-72 is pending as of 9/9/71 have assisted libraries, encouraged cooperative relations between stronger institutions and "developing institutions", or stimulated some particular kind of training which was in short supply, such as health workers.

Federal and state agencies have not used the contract vehicle in education in anywhere near the degree to which it is being used in welfare and health. Reference was made earlier to some of the contractual relations which exist at various levels in these areas. It is beginning to be used also in education and may have great potential as an approach which can withstand constitutional strictures. New York State in 1968 provided for payments of $400 for each baccalaureate degree and $2400 for a doctorate at a private college or university and during the present year $26.9 million of public money is going to private colleges to pay for educational services rendered, as certified by the degree granted. However, approximately 20 church-related institutions were declared by the Education Commissioner to be ineligible in the light of the state constitution because of their church ties. Maryland adopted a similar program in 1971, providing for $500 for each B.A. degree and $200 for each A.A. degree. Several states have authorized the appropriate state body to contract with private colleges for the education of students. Oregon in 1971 authorized annual payments of $250 for each 45 quarter hours of instruction (excluding religion). Thus the state will reimburse the college $1000 for each student who remains through to graduation. Minnesota authorized contracts with private colleges to take additional Minnesota students and low-income students and to pay $500 for each such additional student and for each needy student who receives a state grant. Connecticut and North Carolina have somewhat similar programs tied to increased numbers of students but require that the funds received be used for financial aid to other students from the state.[30] In addition there are 34 states which contract for educational services through an association (such as Southern Regional Education Board, or the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education). In these cases payments are made to the institution, whether public or private, for services rendered.

At the federal level both houses of the Congress have passed legislation which provides for direct support of institutions, while continuing and expanding existing programs and adding other highly significant elements. There is a sharp difference in the approach to institutional grants. One approach is to tie the grants to federal financial aid, thus presumably encouraging institutions to seek out the disadvantaged and rewarding them for doing so. The other is to make grants on the basis of enrollment. It is not possible to predict the outcome, or the level of funding, but it does seem certain that some form of institutional aid will be adopted. This will be an improvement over the existing situation and will begin to provide alternate sources of revenue for private colleges which may stop, slow down, or even reverse the increase in student costs. Institutions have a nearly unanimous preference for the enrollment formula since it proposes to compensate them for their educational services as such, rather than for their services to a specific segment of the population. It may be worthy of note that a larger proportion of federal student aid awards are going to students, attending private colleges than would be expected from the distribution of the student population between public and private institutions.[31]

From the above sketch of recent legislative action at state and federal levels it is clear that decisions are being made which may chart new directions. Law-makers are aware of what has been happening and seem to be disposed to make some changes in the "rules of the game" under which we have been operating, in order that the inherently American method of providing public services through both public and private channels may be preserved.

Chapter VIII PENDING QUESTIONS FOR OUR SOCIETY

It is not the function of government to "save" institutions whether they are public or private. It is the function of government to provide those services which are necessary to the common good and to do so as effectively and as efficiently as possible. There are several questions that are particularly pertinent to our time.

1. Are we providing equal educational opportunity?

The Carnegie Commission reported in 1968 that only 7% of the students enrolled in colleges and universities came from the lowest income quartile and nearly 50% came from the upper income quartile. If you are in the top 20% of your high school class and in the top income quartile the chances are 19 out of 20 that you will go on to college, but if you are in the lowest income quartile the chances are only 10 out of 20 that you will go on.[32] In 1968 the U.S. Office of Education found that 10.8% of the entering class came from the lowest income quartile, up from 7.5% two years earlier. They attributed that modest improvement almost solely to improved financial aid for students. A Wisconsin study found that 90% of the most intelligent boys from affluent families were attending college compared to 50% of the boys with the same level of ability from the least affluent families. For at least a hundred years we have thought that we were providing equal educational opportunity because we were providing low-tuition institutions. That is as close as we have come to achieving the goal.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the only deterrent to attending college is the lack of financial resources. Family background, the prevailing climate in the peer group, and lack of strong vocational objectives may also be factors. However, the assumption that those who are not taking advantage of the educational opportunities that exist are exercising a totally free choice ought not to be made until or unless the financial barrier has been removed. Nor should it be assumed that the disadvantaged can be expected to explore all possible avenues for assistance in getting an education. Not knowing those avenues constitute a part of their disadvantage. The relatively greater success of private colleges in attracting and holding minority students referred to earlier suggests that direct grants to students may be more effective in recruiting disadvantaged students than low tuitions.

2. Are we distributing costs for higher education in accord with the benefits?

There is first the question of whether the costs are properly distributed between the general society, in the form of taxes, and the consumer, in the form of cost to the student. In strictly economic terms it has been possible to argue that higher education is a very high-return investment. The Labor Department has calculated that in 1968 the typical male breadwinner between 25 and 34 years old earned $5,611 with a grade school education, $7,533 with a high school diploma and $9,974 with a college degree. Average lifetime earnings for male college graduates was $607,921, for high school graduates $371,094, and for grade school or less $213,505.[33] The average annual student costs for tuition, room and board for college in 1970 were $1198 in public institutions and $2520 in private institutions. A $10,000 investment (using the present costs for private institutions) which yields lifetime returns of about a quarter million dollars, not to speak of a $4800 educational investment in a public institution, would be difficult to match. But even if it can be argued that any good educational experience is worth as much as anyone pays for it, it is difficult to argue that it is an equally "good buy" for the person who pays two-thirds of the cost and the person who pays one-fourth; or that it is as good a bargain for the family which falls farther into debt in order to pay the bill and the family which makes no sacrifice at all -- and perhaps would not even if the total cost were borne by the student. And what about the family whose children cannot afford to go to college at all but must still carry a part of the cost for that highly rewarding experience?

These are not hypothetical questions but have been documented by disturbing findings in several parts of the country. It should surprise no one that if 7% of the enrollment in higher education comes from the lowest income quartile (who according to their ability carry one-fourth of the tax) and nearly 50% come from the upper income quartile (who according to their ability pay one-fourth of the tax) the poor are carrying a disproportionate share of the cost in relation to the benefits which they receive. What really seems to be happening is not a redistribution of resources from the wealthy to the poor but a redistribution of money and earning capacity from the poor to the more affluent. This is indeed the conclusion to which several recent studies have come. A California study found that in 1964 families without children in public higher education institutions paid an average of $650 in state and local taxes and had average incomes of $7,900. They, of course, received no subsidy in return since they had no children in a public institution. Those who did, had average incomes of $9,560 and received an average subsidy of $140 more than they paid in state and local taxes. Moreover there was a substantial difference in the incomes and the net subsidies between those who attended junior colleges (average income $8,800 and average net subsidy $40), those who attended state colleges (average income $10,000 and average net subsidy $630) and those who attended the University of California (average income $12,000 and average net subsidy

$790). When one takes into account the further fact that most junior college students were receiving the subsidy for only 2 years, most state college students were receiving it for four years, and most university students were receiving it for more than four years, the disparity becomes alarming.[34] The study has not gone unchallenged by persons highly committed to the low-tuition policy as a way of providing educational opportunity.[35]

A Florida study[36] found that families with incomes under $10,000 paid nearly $25 million more in taxes for the support of higher education than students from such families received in benefits, while those with incomes over $10,000 received the same amount of subsidy in excess of taxes paid. A Wisconsin study reported:

> There is a certain amount of injustice in our present system. Many of those who can afford to go on to universities and colleges without a subsidy are nevertheless being subsidized heavily, while those from low income families are often unable to go, even when subsidized at current levels. Since almost everyone pays taxes, many of the low income families are actually helping to support the education of those more fortunate, while their own children are unable to take advantage of this opportunity.[37]

Similar concerns have been expressed by a wide variety of scholars in higher education finance.[38]

If there is any truth in these analyses, and I know of no studies which have produced contrary findings, the situation should be corrected. If the fault is in the taxing system, as some people believe, attention should be given to changing it; if the fault is in the obsolescence of our method of funding higher education new ways should be found which are not open to the same criticism.

3. <u>How much education should be made available and for how many? Is universal higher education a desirable or a realistic goal?</u>

No one would argue that everyone should attend a college or university. Nor would anyone propose that any kind of post secondary education should be a requirement. The question is rather whether the opportunity shall exist for all who wish to continue their education beyond high school to do so. If, as many believe, many educational programs in the future will be recurrent, rather than continuous, we may be talking about educational opportunities throughout a lifetime, rather than for one or more years after high school. Is our system well-suited to this emerging probability? To what degree are various types of education to be subsidized? What priorities will exist? There are hazards involved in these decisions for private colleges and the church should not be unconcerned about the answers which society gives.

4. If education is an investment in the future should its total costs be carried in the present?

There can be no doubt about the social benefits of education. It would be difficult to over-estimate the contribution which higher education has made to our industrial and technological society. There are contributions of leadership and initiative and service as well. A large part of the economic and social disabilities which are a heavy drain on the resources of society can be remedied by providing educational opportunity for the persons involved.

The argument is being made by some economists that the costs of providing that capacity should be carried during the productive years of the person who most directly benefits from it, just as the cost of building a new plant is assessed against the productivity of that new plant during its lifetime. At least two state governors have made serious proposals in the direction of shifting the cost of higher education to the student and assessing it against his lifetime earnings.[39] What the student needs is not a subsidy but credit. This should be provided for him from public sources, in some fashion, but he will be better able to pay from his future resources than are current taxpayers, who now provide the funds.

Less extreme than this are such proposals as the Education Opportunity Bank, which would provide loans to needy students and allow them to pay them off as a percentage of income or percentage of tax during a specified number of years. There have been suggestions of an "educational security plan" which would provide credit in the pre-employable years to equip oneself to participate productively in society (as "social security" provides for minimum needs after the employable years) with both society and the student sharing in the cost. The "deferred tuition" plan which is already in effect in a limited way at three private universities works in much the same way and is being studied by both public and private agencies.

One advantage of shifting major costs for higher education from the time in attendance to the time of earning and relating it to the rewards which it brings is that family resources are less significant. The poor are not prevented because they cannot carry the costs or forego the income. Standard loan programs, however, add to the disabilities of the family and the student if they must be borne out of resources that are already inadequate.

5. What is a reasonable public investment in higher education?

As a proportion of the Gross National Product the 2-3% cost for higher education and 8% for all education seems modest enough, but as a proportion of state and local taxes the share going to education is very substantial. Are there other needs that are going unmet for lack of public funds which now ought to be given higher priority? Many people feel this is true in the church; may it not also be true in the public domain? While education's share of the federal budget is relatively small, increases in federal funding for education must justify themselves in comparison with other great and unmet needs. It is all the more important that state and federal funds be invested in ways which will produce the maximum possible extension of educational opportunity and achievement.

Chapter IX CONCLUSIONS

It has not been the aim of this document to detail or sponsor a specific set of recommendations for the development of policies and programs of public support for private higher education. It has rather been the purpose to focus attention on questions and issues, with the aid of relevant information which will assist the churches and their members to take informed positions with respect to matters in which they have a substantial stake, both as members of churches and as citizens. Positions have been taken or implied on specific issues, to be sure, but these may be regarded as the judgment of one citizen and concerned person, with some encouragement from the committee which shared in the preparation of these materials.

The Committee concurs in the following conclusions:

1. As citizens and as Christians we must be concerned about public policy in the area of higher education and should be alert to changing needs both in education

and in policies related to its support.

2. As members of churches we should be concerned about maintaining the conditions of freedom which enable the institutions of the church to exist and to serve. Public policies that conflict with this purpose are not in the public interest.

3. The pluralistic sponsorship of higher education, including both public and private sectors and a variety of institutions within each of them, is a source of strength for our country. Freedom to choose between them is important to a democracy and should be protected by positive action enabling such choice.

4. As church-related colleges and as churches we should seek to maintain freedom for our institutions to be true to their character both as educational institutions and as institutions desiring to affirm Christian goals and purposes, and should support such public policies as will permit them to do so.

5. We should seek to encourage those kinds of government programs, at state and national levels which are most apt to improve the opportunity of youth to secure an education without regard to race, religion, sex or economic disability and which will enhance their freedom to choose the kind of institution and program which best suit their qualifications and their needs.

6. We should support and encourage those public policies which will safeguard the freedom of the institutions to define their own goals and purposes so long as these clearly serve the public good.

7. Colleges of the church must demonstrate such commitment, concern and competence as will deserve the confidence of the church, government and society for the quality and purpose of their educational programs.

FOOTNOTES

1. A Fact Book on Higher Education (Washington: American Council on Education, 1969) p. 9009

2. Statistics of Trends in Education 1959-60 to 1979-80 (Washington: National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Office of Education March 1971).

3. Quality and Equality : New Levels of Federal Responsibility for Higher Education, Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968) p.6.

4. A Fact Book on Higher Education, 1970, p. 70.154

5. The Chronicle of Higher Education, October 12, 1970.

6. The Chronicle, Nov.8,1971.

7. Manning M. Pattillo, Jr. and Donald M. Mackenzie, Church-Sponsored Higher Education in the United States, Report of the Danforth Commission (Washington: American Council on Education, 1966) pp.2-3.

8. Morison and Commager, The Growth of the American Republic (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950) p.514.

9. Bernard Bailyn , Education in the Forming of American Society (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960) p. 11. cf. pp.107-109.

10. Frederick Rudolph, "Who Paid the Bills? An Inquiry into the Nature of Nineteenth Century College Finance", Harvard Education Review, Spring 1961.

11. The Pattillo-Mackenzie study, sponsored by theDanforth Foundation , identified 817 colleges and universities having "relationships of sufficient significance to be considered church-sponsored institutions" plus 18 without legal relationship but with definite religious orientation. p.19.

12. One state study reports 16,000 vacancies in private colleges and universities at the same time that three new state universities are being built.

13. Allan M. Cartter, "The Responsibility of States for Private Colleges and Universities," The Organization of Higher Education, Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Legislative Work Conference of the Southern Regional Education Board (Atlanta: Southern Regional Education Board,1967), p.71

14. Robert O. Berdahl, Statewide Coordination of Higher Education (Washington: American Council on Education,1971), p. 35. In addition there are 19 states with a "consolidated governing board."

15. Charles E. Peterson,Jr. , "The Church-Related College: Whence Before Whither," The Contribution of the Church-Related College to the Public Good, (Washington: Association of American Colleges, 1970) p. 11.

16. Pattillo and Mackenzie, p.204.

17. For a compendium of information on state constitutions as they relate to questions of church and state in the matter of education see Antieau, Carroll, Burke, Religion Under the State Constitutions, (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute for Church-State Law, Georgetown University, 1965).

18. From an unpublished report of the Commission on Studies in Religion in the Curriculum of the University of Michigan, June 1964.

19. A Study of Private Higher Education in Tennessee, A Joint Study Sponsored by the Tennessee Council of Private Colleges and the Tennessee Higher Education Commission, by John S. Diekhoff and Ida Long Rogers, (Nashville: Tennessee Council of Private Colleges, 1970), p. 15.

20. Warren W. Willingham, Admission of Minority Students in Midwestern Colleges, Report M-1 (Evanston: Midwest Committee for Higher Education Surveys, College Entrance Examination Board, 1970) p. 15. This study also contains data on the relative financial need of minority and other students, comparisons of aid granted and retention experience.

21. Report on Higher Education, Frank Newman Chairman, Task Force, for the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Washington : U.S. Government Printing Office , 1971).

22. Church and State, a Lutheran Perspective (New York: Board of Social Ministry, Lutheran Church in America,1963), p . 45. The preceding paragraphs reflect much of the language and analysis in that document. It was prepared by a special "Commission on Church and State Relations in a Pluralistic Society."

23. Among the studies which may be mentioned are : W.Lee Hansen and Burton A. Weisbrod, Benefits, Costs, and Finance of Public Higher Education (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1969), Douglas Windhan, The Redistributional Effects of Public Higher Education in Florida (Greensboro: The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, September 1969), Universal Higher Education, Costs and Benefits, Background Papers for 54th Annual Meeting of American Council on Education (Washington: American Council on Education, 1971), see especially"Economic Benefits of Universal Higher Education" by W.Lee Hansen and David R.Witmer, "Public Financing of Higher Education" by Selma J. Pushkin.

24. The theme for the American Council on Education annual meeting in 1970 was Higher Education for Everybody? The theme for 1971 assumed an affirmative answer and focussed on Universal Higher Education, Costs and Benefits.

25. William E. Jellema in his study for the Association of American Colleges found that in 1967-68 student aid in private colleges equalled one-fourth of the total amount spent on instruction and departmental research, more than the amount spent on physical plant operation and maintenance, and two and one-half times the amount spent on libraries.He further estimated that in the years since then financial aid had increased at a rate faster than the increase in these same three areas. The Red and the Black, p.15.

26. Higher Education and National Affairs, July 2, 1971 (Washington: American Council on Education),p.2.

27. Joseph D. Boyd, Third Annual Survey , 1971-72 Undergraduate Comprehensive State Scholarship/Grant Programs, Sept. 1971 .

28. Higher Education and National Affairs, July 30, 1971, p.2

29. Governor John J. Gilligan of Ohio proposed a plan whereby a student who enrolled in a four year college would sign an agreement to begin repaying the state subsidy of his education as soon as his salary reached $7000 and on a sliding scale above that amount. This would have the effect of making the student pay the whole cost of his education. A part of the proposal was that a junior college graduate could receive the same kind of loan if he attended a private college. The plan is outlined in The Chronicle , March 22, 1971. A less drastic plan has been proposed by Governor Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania. He proposes the establishment of an Education Trust Fund, comparable to the Highway Trust Fund, which would be replenished by a small continuing surtax after students become wage earners. He makes the pertinent observation that education is an investment

in the future and should not be paid for out of current income. It is like a building which will return the investment made in it during its use. For a statement of this proposal see "An Education Trust Fund", New York Times, Oct. 30, 1971.

30. A comprehensive and current summary of state programs can be secured from the National Council of Independent Colleges and Universities, Suite 770, One Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036.

31. The U.S. Office of Education reports that 40% of the Educational Opportunity Grants (45% of the money) go to students in private colleges(1968-69) although only 28% of the enrollment is in private institutions.

32. Quality and Equality, p.18.

33. Occupational Outlook Quarterly.

34. Hansen and Weisbrod, Benefits, Cost and Finance of Public Higher Education ,p.

35. Joseph A. Peckman, Journal of Human Resources, Summer 1970, pp.1-10.

36. Douglas Windhan, The Redistributional Effects of Public Higher Education in Florida

37. A Forward Look, Final Report of the Governor's Commission on Education,Nov.1970, William R. Kellett, Chairman, p.41.

38. Cf. Selma Mushkin, "Public Financing of Higher Education," Universal Higher Education,Costs and Benefits, p.82 ff.

39. Cf. footnote 29 above.