DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 131 775 HE 008 391

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TITLE Goals for a Changing University.
INSTITUTION Boston Coll., Chestnut Hill, Mass.
PUB DATE Jun 75
NOTE 132p.; Papers presented at the Conference in Higher Education, The Colonnade (June 1975, Boston, Massachusetts)
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EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$7.35 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Changing Attitudes; College Deans; College Faculty; College Students; Department Directors (School); *Educational Change; Educational Economics; Educational Finance; *Educational Objectives; *Evaluation Criteria; *Governance; *Higher Education; Liberal Arts; Presidents
IDENTIFIERS Department Chairpersons

ABSTRACT

Today's college executive is forced to deal with conflict that is built into the system because of the different goals, values, and priorities expressed by the constituent bodies both on and off the campus. How does a president, dean, or department head under pressure to change focus on new targets decide what targets to focus on? What kind of information should be gathered to make policy? What specific steps should be taken to make needed changes in admission, curriculum, community relations, faculty-student participation in governance? What programs should be cut back? What do we teach our students? How do you change behavior, values, attitudes of board members, faculty, and staff? How can we make necessary evaluations and changes? This conference attempted to answer these and other questions. Reports presented are: (1) "The Pauper Who Lives in the Palace"; (2) "Liberal Education and Educated Liberty"; (3) "Changing Youth Values and Their Implication for Education" (4) "For the Governing Board -- What's Left"; (5) "The Economics Facts of Life: Living on Less"; (6) "Elitism, Culture and the University". (Author/KE)

GOALS FOR A CHANGING UNIVERSITY

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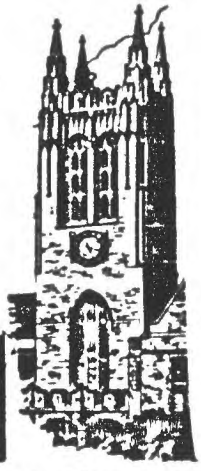

HIGHER EDUCATION
BOSTON COLLEGE

CONFERENCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION
June 2-3, 1975
The Colonnade Hotel
Boston, Massachusetts

Goals For a Changing University

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C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION

If you visit colleges and universities these days you hear a great deal of talk about goals, new priorities, about clear mission statements, policy analysis, and management objectives.

Institutions of higher learning are grappling with philosophical statements of aims and purposes, writing rational guidelines to justify their existence, struggling with ways to conserve their dwindling resources and ways to generally improve their health.

No matter how skilled the administration and faculty are in stating goals, it is a difficult process to decide what those goals should be, especially when the institution is striving to reach agreement among the disparate groups that make up the academic community.

Generally, colleges and universities function according to established policy....policy which is the result of a conscious effort of the administration, trustees, and faculty-student planning committees.

Today's college executive is in a precarious situation. While functioning under established policy, numerous informal decisions are forced upon him, or her, sometimes negating policy previously made. He or she is forced to deal with conflict which is built into the system because of the different goals, values, and priorities expressed by the constituent bodies both on and off the campus.

Under these conditions some decisions are made which are more injurious to the college than those previously in operation. To give in to all forms of community pressure, a college loses sight of its original

purpose; to develop flexible programs that are career-oriented, an institution may lose control over its liberal and general education emphasis; to abide by open access norms, a college may lose its best faculty.

Are the right questions these:

How does a president, dean, or department head under pressure to change focus on new targets or decide what targets to focus on?

What kind of information should be gathered to make policy?

What specific steps should be taken to make needed changes in admission, curriculum, community relations, faculty-student participation in governance?

What programs should be cut back--general, professional, career?

What do we teach our students that will have a lasting value in a changing world?

How do you change behavior, values, attitudes of board members, faculty, and staff?

How can we make the necessary evaluations and changes without seriously disrupting the academy and impeding the work of the scholar and the student?

What should be the goals of a changing university?

The Roman scholar and political martyr, Seneca, said, "If you know not to what port you are heading, no wind is right."

Boston College
June, 1975

Michael Anello, Director
Division of Higher Education

THE PAUPER WHO LIVES IN THE PALACE

Warren G. Bennis

What I would like to do this morning is to apply some background, some historical perspective to where we've come from in higher education; to say something about some current dilemmas and finally some words at the end, not enough, and not nearly answering some of the questions that Dr. Anello raised about some recommendations for leadership of our institution of higher learning.

There's been no doubt about it, these have been hard times, times of doubt and cynicism, bitterness, hurt, and a good deal of mistrust. In education, as in the country at large, there are intimations of a paradise lost. The prevailing attitude in the academy, in the words of Clark Kerr, is "More to look back with longing than to look ahead with hope." And, according to Fred Heckinger of the New York Times, "The mood of the academy," he writes, "is not being appreciated, wanted, supported." A traumatic loss of a sense of assured progress. There is, to be sure, plenty to be depressed about and the latest Carnegie study, More Than Survival, still another doomsday book, the author points to a museum of a thousand spectres awaiting all of us.

And yet, when all is said, this is strangely at an angle with these new horsemen of the Apocalypse, the doomsday militants and the Readers Digest pop writers like Caroline Bird, who seems to base most of her case against colleges on a survey of students that reveal that 25% of them reportedly get more turned on by the Grateful Dead than by their

professors. I went out to all these disembodied critics and experts who seem to derive enormous gratification from predicting our demise through dark and dismal warnings about a parallel, often referred to as a chilling parallel between the railroad industry and universities. They wonder and, I suspect, almost look forward to the day when the university like the railroads will founder on the face of a new competition in public tastes at which time our defeatist attitudes, anemic ways and light-eyed mentality will do us all in. Somehow I just don't believe all that. My own reaction to professional purveyors of existential despair--that's a phrase with a low bow to Mr. Agnew--is pretty similar to Mark Twain's attitude toward the music of Richard Wagner. When he was in Germany listening to Wagner for the very first time, he remarked, "You know, Wagner's music isn't nearly as bad as it sounds."

Well, Twain leads me to my title and to my address, "The Pauper Who Lives in the Palace". You will recognize that for one of his most famous stories. The one his daughters liked best of all, the story of the young prince who just before his coronation as Edward VI, swapped lives with a pauper who looked just like him. So the prince went to live in the slums and the pauper lived in the palace. In this case, there is no such switch. The prince and the pauper are one--the prince is higher education--excuse my sexism but the story title must remain--higher education as it was enlarged, aggrandized and, indeed, ennobled in the 35 years since World War II began. The palace is the incredibly huge, incredibly costly house that we have reared around it. The pauper is the erstwhile prince who suddenly has found his allowance cut short and, to put it bluntly, who can no longer pay the rent. Make no mistake,

the world has never seen so grand a palace and so noble an idea. We became the world's first society to dedicate itself to giving every person a chance of higher education and that decision was not the university's alone. It was that of society itself.

And now the historical background. History will take us back to 1940--really our last year of peace. Most colleges were still quite small. There were only two in the country at that time with more than 20,000 students. Can you imagine; now, we have about seventy with that dubious distintinction. They were still largely the preserve of the rich or the prosperous, upper middle class. Many were of the Oxbridge model, sheltered, cut off from the real world and from real problems. Their faculties dedicated to learning as an end in itself. Oxbridge, small, uninvolved, self-supporting, unconcerned, the best claret in the land. Rich from centuries of compound interests on endowments and exquisite art collections, quite lovely. Surrounded by a stable, predictable, classic, really sweet environment.

To take my own university as a case in point, you can look at it through the eyes possibly of our present chairperson--Jane Early--who first joined the board in 1941. We used to have about 10,000 students in the University of Cincinnati--the budget was a little over three million. Today we have 37,000 students. The budget is about 140 million. In the 60's alone, our student body increased 75%, faculty 96%, space 300%. The only thing it seems not to have expanded in size are parking spaces.

And everywhere across the land the story is much the same. Between 1945-1970, the number enrolled in higher education has just more than

quadrupled. In 1945, there were 200,000 faculty members, today there are well over a million. And never has any government poured such ever rising largesse into the unprecedented goal of educating an entire people. By 1945, federal spending in higher education had risen to 400 million. By 1970, to 4.8 billion; and with it rose our palace. New colleges, new campuses sprang up like dandelions in May. In the 1960's, every week saw two new community colleges open. In my own state, in Cleveland, a small downtown high school and an equally obscure Y.M.C.A. institution became nucleii for a whole new state university. Everywhere, the pattern was repeated. In a way, none of this was of education's own seeking. It was, as I have said, society's own decision. Education was as unprepared, as bewildered, as Alice eating the wafer that suddenly made her shoot up ten feet tall. All the new pressures, new challenges, new demands were pressed upon the university by external pressures, new challenges, new demands were pressed upon the university by external forces.

What were they? Perhaps the most important in the long view of history was that 100-word letter that Albert Einstein wrote to President Roosevelt in 1940 suggesting that recent discoveries in atomic fission could lead to a weapon of unimaginable magnitude. President Roosevelt had two possible responses he could have made to that proposal. One would have been to create a wholly new federal research institute or institutes and concentrate in it all the nuclear physicists and theorists and related disciplines who might be able to devise this weapon. The other choice was to make use of all the great research centers already in existence--Berkeley, Chicago, Harvard, M.I.T.--surround them in total

secrecy and direct towards them hundreds of billions of dollars of federal funds to unlock the atom before German scientists could enable Hitler to make good his threat to leave the world in ruins if he could not rule it. As we know, the race was won at what then seemed the incredible cost of 2 billion dollars. Remember, the entire federal budget was only 5 billion in Hoover's time. The dramatic moment came when beneath the football field at the University of Chicago, from his improvised laboratory, the Italian refugee, Enrico Fermi, sent his prearranged cryptic message, "The immigrant has landed and the natives are friendly." He had created the first controlled fission reaction in the atomic pile which was reaching the critical, that is, the explosive mass, when he shoved in the cadmium rods to stop it. That was the beginning, just 2 billion dollars of what in the next 30 years would be countless, untold billions of public money, financing, poured into all the universities--the new ones, the old ones, the great ones and the not-so-great ones--basic and applied research being applied over new weapons, new technologies to keep our weapons systems and, of course, our science, second to none.

I give you one example which I think will suffice. At M.I.T., my own alma mater where I spent 15 years of my life. In 1939, its total budget was little over 2 million dollars. Its only federal grant was a quaint $25,000 grant for meteorology. When I left in 1967, M.I.T.'s total budget was about $210 million and its federal grants were over $100 million dollars of that. So what followed from Einstein's letter--written actually by Celard--was the first great transformation, a great new challenge of pressure, and it won the war.

And then we had ten million servicemen and women coming home. To a nation quivering in fear of a terrible post-war depression which all economists were then predicting, doubting its ability to meet what seemed a Quixotic goal of 60 million jobs. And as it turned out, we did meet it and more. Despite that, the nation was determined that every veteran would have a chance to get an education if he or she wished it. So we had the G.I. Bill. No college, no university anywhere was geared to meet the tremendous, new influx of students this brought. Each institution had to begin building new facilities to handle it. Every small campus mushroomed out of cow pastures, vacant lots. The use of army barracks in many cases was used to house new students. At the University of Cincinnati, the central facility, old MacMackin Hall, soon was dwarfed and overshadowed by the great new structures, the towering high-rise dorms around it, and so it was everywhere. That sort of growth preceded a pace right through the fifties. The zooming population growth set off by the wartime baby boom put new pressures on facilities, even as almost unfversal prospertiy in an age of affluence, enabled every American family to expect and demand college for its children.

And then in October, 1957 came the second great external pressure on the universities. Into the heavens, above Siberia, shot the Soviet Sputnik, the first manmade moon to visibly travel the heavens, while thousands of Americans gathered on hills with new-bought telescopes to watch its passage. It was both a giant step forward for man--our scientists cabled their admiring congratulations to their Soviet opposite numbers--and an equally great humiliation for our vaunted world supremacy in science and technology. What followed was a national

uproar which even Van Cliburn's victory in Moscow couldn't overcome. Being beaten into space by the Soviets was interpreted erroneously, as it turned out, as threatening in this isle gap as endangering the national security. It was interpreted more accurately as the price we were paying for making scientists second class citizens ever since the unjust persecution of Oppenheimer to forestall the theatrical McCarthy. The McCarthy raid on his familiar dossier. Sputnit was interpreted as revealing fundamental neglect of education particularly in science. When nobel laureat I. I. Rabi rebuked Eisenhower for having no science advisor, the president promptly named M.I.T.'s president Killian to such a position.

Well, the upshot was an enormous increase in federal funds poured into research. M.I.T.'s grants in 57 were 45 million, by 1970, they were 170 million. A crash national effort was launched to revise the curriculum in teaching methods in secondary schools. Committees of scholars worked furiously revising textbooks in science and math, producing such curiosities as the new math which began baffling parents trying to help their youngsters with their homework. As for the university, the tremendous growth begun by the G.I. Bill was now compounded and accelerated by this new stimulus from outside, this new external challenge and demand. Since easy grants could be found for exploring everything from psychedelic mushrooms to the number seven plus or minus two. Doctoral programs were added right and left and numerous small colleges suddenly became universities. It was growth--it was really growth, all right. But an unplanned growth by addition. Of something

of anything was good. More of anything was better. The important thing to remember, however, was that the universities and their leaders were not planning their own destiny, debating their own purposes, determining their own proper goals. They were more, to use Devlin's term, "captains of erudition", checking their growth, building empires, citadels, cathedrals, master plans of learning. This was an era of the builders.

The 60's brought the greatest external pressure of all, it was the time when the children of World War II's baby boom came of age and surged into college, virtually bursting even the expanded facilities and forcing the biggest cycle of growth by addition. It was a time as well when numerous minorities, not only blacks, women, Chicanos, homosexuals, began pressing for their new rights and freedoms. We saw blacks chaining themselves to construction projects, the civil rights marches on Washington and Selma, the Klan's execution of three northern youngsters in Mississippi and, finally, in 1965, the apocalyptic fires in Watts and the threat of national disintegration.

With the bombing of North Vietnam in 1965 began a five-year period when a whole generation of youth would be increasingly alienated from the nation's leaders, institutions and assumed values. The Berkeley writers proclaimed, "I am a person. Do not fold staple or mutilate." Campus sit-ins followed teach-ins, riot followed riot, Detroit, Newark and then Washington itself burned in the night. Two successive presidents became afraid to venture among the people and, in May, 1970, Jackson State and Kent State--and those two tragedies.

And that, as we began to get out of Vietnam, as it turned out, marked the end of the period of violence. And among incoming freshmen, a new mood of quietism, if not conformity and possibly a new grim professionalism. In the meantime, education's cornucopia of federal largesse had already begun to dwindle. Johnson, finding scientists, intellectuals, educators among the sharpest critics of his war policies, cut back sharply on grants, blue pencilling specific items from universities which had indeed been against his policies. Mr. Carey who is now the executor of Triple A and then director of the Bureau of Budgets, talks about this in an article in Science Magazine several years ago.

President Nixon, with the same visceral hostility, cut them still sharper, fired his science advisor and even abolished the White House Office of Science and Technology. Happily, President Ford is now showing signs of restoring it. As a tight fist, the Nixon austerity clamped down on education's revenues, an ever-deepening recession struck the economy even as inflation surged and then ran wild. Universities which had already raised their tuition charges to levels almost unbearable by average families found their fixed costs mounting. Our utility costs last year increased 65%. That may be even lower than some of the universities represented in this room. Even as the value and yields of their endowment are going down to bear up the bear market.

Well, that brings me to today's supreme challenge for higher education. At one level of survival for many, to be or not to be. Many private colleges already have been forced to close their doors. Many more had to dessimate their faculties and staffs. Schools of education were graduating teachers for whom no jobs were waiting. The city of Cincinnati had to lay off one-fourth of its teachers to raise the pay

of those remaining this last year. Physics, the magic word of the Sputnik era, is having its problems. And hundreds of Ph.D.s going begging for assistant instructorships. So much for the historic background.

I'd like to paint for you in quick broad strokes a reenaction painting of education's present environment. It is turbulent, tumultous, chaotic, a blooming, buzzing confusion that often seems unmanageable. First and foremost, in my own view, the most dangerous is the increasing loss of autonomy. The increasing inability for institutions to be inner-directed. In his 41 years as president of Columbia, Nicholas Murray Butler could propose and dispose. Like a Ford or a Carnegie, he could decide, period. Now, his successors' hands are tied, as mine often are, by numerous bonds, by governmental requirements, by litigation, by the moral and sometimes legal pressures of organized parents, consumers, environmentalists and so forth. I must say whenever I watch our university's man cutting the lawn, riding his power lawn mower, cutting figure 8's, in complete control of his machine, the total arbiter of which swath to cut when and where, I envy his superior autonomy. I wish I had his power. As a matter of fact, he does see me on occasion observing him and as he observes me, I believe he shows off more, making fancier figures and so on.

Next in importance is the external environment. In vital decisions, I must not only consider our students, our faculty, our administrators, I must consider being city-supported, still one of the remaining two in the country. I also say, the city council, the people, the state legislators, the city manager, the governor, the government, the federal government, as well as, of course, alumni and parents. The university is a

brilliant example of an institution that has blunted and diffused its main purposes through a proliferation of dependents, on external patronage structure. Its autonomy has declined to the point where its boundary system is something like Swiss cheese. The modern president has to be not only a chief executor but also, as it were, a secretary of foreign affairs. This is literally true--the idea of an executive team is misplaced unless you realize that my executive team lies outside of the formal boundaries of what is called the University of Cincinnati.

As for the internal environment, we face a new movement of populism, fragmentation and caulkisization--it's not an easy word to pronounce, it's not a very pleasant word to hear-- the caulkisization of constituencies. On our campus, we have more than 500 different kinds of governance, interest, pressure groups, several women's groups. All these are on your campus, too, I shouldn't be repeating them. All sorts of organizations. We have a Faculty Council on Jewish Affairs. What we basically see, however, is a loss of consensus of community. It was Lyndon Johnson's tragedy to plead, "Come, let us reason together" at a time when all those fragments scarcely wanted to be together, much less reason together. That's difficult for anybo y with a liberal imagination who feels he can bring people together. That's difficult for anybody with a liberal imagination who feels he can bring people together. Because it is the end of consensus, it is the end of that liberal imagination which had that desire for a time being. It is an increasingly litiginous environment. I now have some forty suits pending against the university naming me as the defendant. My mother--I was talking about this recently, when I had a 3 million dollar suit against me--referred to me as "My son, the defendant."

I can no longer make a trivial decision without consulting our lawyers. For one who did not work out in an administrative role, it is now suting me as, in effect, both a white racist and a male chauvinist. I cannot either reply except in court, say the lawyers; or sue for libel since the Supreme Court has already held that public officials like myself cannot be libeled. With a neo-populism comes something as described as "arrivismo", a very convenient Peruvian term which means the unbridled desire to rise. The French say "arrivise" and the Italians say "arrivismo", both being a kind of pushiness. But arrivismo means something more. Our former distinguishes all those Americans of different groups trying to find their identities like race, sex, age, veterans, handicapped; and all are in different stages of their social identity and their economic and political power. Sometimes it involves what might be called the psychology of entitlement. A psychology of entitlement based on the fact that groups have been deprived, depressed and let down and not free to take and seize the normal opportunities. All these pressure groups are not united, they're fragmented. They go their separate, often conflicting ways. Moynahan and Glazer thought we were, in their book, Beyond the Melting Pot. But, in many cases, these groups have never been beyond it, they've been behind it. And the old dream of assimilation does not work. They tell us, "Nuts to the American dream, become part of the mainstream of America." They say, "We don't want to be part of the mainstream of America. We want to be us." Whether they're blacks, Chicanos, women, the Third Sex, or Menominee Indians seizing an empty Catholic monastery. And along with everything else in this post-Watergate morality, where often necessary confidentiality is confused for conspiratorial secrecy, we, like all organizations

must increasingly operate in a gold fish bowl. The Buckley amendment making records available to students and parents is only one example. It obviously changes every aspect of information-sharing in the way recommendations are written down. So much for the environment and its blooming, buzzing confusion.

I want to turn now to a third pressure, a third force, perhaps the most complicated. It certainly complicates today's university and the life and work of its leadership. That is the times of almost irreconcilable divergences in the goals. The expectations imposed upon a university by its varying and often conflicting constituencies. I want to say quite a bit about this goal because it leads to some consequences that I think we should all be aware of. The university is in a sense today an anvil on which the hammer of fragmented society pounds away. The anvil, of course, is a dissonance, not a harmony. The classicist, Andre Maurois observed in his book on The History of Education in Antiquity the following. He said, "Education is not an element that can be detached by one civilization and borrowed by another. It is the concentrated epitome of a culture and, as such, is inseparable from the form of that culture and perishes with it." In other words, antiquity was capable of formulating an admirable educational ideal because its culture had achieved a high degree of coherence. I have to ask whether the culture of the United States or, indeed, of the world, is sufficiently coherent or stabilized to permit the formulation of a single educational ideal or model. I have to ask whether it is likely to do so. And, indeed, the hardest question of all, whether we as a people really want to do so, have the will to do so. Because we have

inherited too much in too many directions. So many contrary claims. We have no classics because, as Alfred North Whitehead said, "The American idea is its own classic." And so it was as long as there was a consensus behind that idea.

Now I pose the question in its darkest form, "How can we in the university, bring into focus and into the university that culture which Joyce once described as the scattered debris in the field of Waterloo? Unlike antiquity, which had the practical advantage of knowing culture, not cultures, we have not as yet learned to orchestrate our diverse trends and discordant voices. So there are now many ideas, many claims, many divergent demands on many universities. I'll just take two short examples. Education and jobs--one. We get a lot of angry letters from parents as well as some recently graduated students, complaining that the education we provided was simply not helpful for them in getting jobs. They feel there was an implicit contract that a degree would get them jobs. Two of them are suing the university. The Board of Regents is thinking of setting up a consumers protection agency for education. Let's take a deeper one, a more important one--mass education and open admission. The real part of present social contract is to take all comers, including the semi-illiterate products of high schools who may still be reading at the fifth grade level. Their illiteracy is a disgrace to all of us and our school of education won't be worth its salt until we can find techniques to teach virtually everybody to read. But admitting poor learners with the good makes it almost impossible to determine just what our students need, or should have, or what is our true responsibility to them. One Appalachian poor white summed it up to his humanities professor.

He said, "Sure, I'll be glad to read Dante with you as soon as everybody in my family has shoes." There are castes and social abrasions between the two-year and the four-year colleges, exaggerated polarities of elitism and populism. And there is a public uneasiness often expressed in cold phrases such as "lowering of the academic standards" or "cheapening the degree" or bleak ways of expressing a foreboding of mass education and its concommitant inequalities. We have one group terribly unhappy with equal opportunities attempted but another, an increasingly vocal group, unhappy with our progress. Many are more equal than others here, and one thinks that we're trying too much, and the other that we're accomplishing too little. In each case, the university is in the middle and neither side is happy with it or us. Thus, the clangor of the anvil chorus, singing in many voices and in many keys these discordant themes, "Yes, provide a broad liberal arts, humanistic education"; "No, teach people practical things so as to guarantee them jobs"; "Yes, focus on research and education for the elite"; "No, train dental technicians, hotel managers, accountants, but also provide professional education for lawyers, doctors, and engineers"; "Yes, stop lowering academic standards but be sure also to enroll more minorities and the poor so that we can create a more egalitarian society"; "And also, while your're at it, provide compensatory education for those victimized educationally by inadequate public schools"; "Provide opportunities for part-time students, especially for women caught in the homemaker's trap"; "Provide continuing education for job enrichment for workers as well as executives"; "And by the way, become the vehicle through which income redistribution can be achieved."

Obviously, we do not possess the resources to achieve all of these

aims successfully. The interesting thing is that we couldn't, even if we wanted to, even if we had the will, even if we had the resources and the will. It could not be done; because, by providing a complete menu for every taste, we would inevitably and quickly alienate one or another of the public who would feel disaffected or threatened by one or another academic program and would actively or passively turn off their support. I must remind you that the university, though it controls and manages enormous resources, is not self-supporting. It is not like IBM or the AFL-CIO. Our fiscal viability depends on this external patronage, structure I mentioned earlier, a variety, depending upon the university, whether it's rich alumni, or donors, or city councils, or legislators, alumni, parents, foundations and so forth. We have the size and scope of the big business with few, if any, of its opportunities to increase our productivity. I must say I'm really tired and bothered by this whole productivity pitch. It will make some savings, but the problem is not productivity. The problem basically is on the income side. People often expect us to behave and be like the Metropolitan Insurance Company when the university should be more like the Metropolitan Opera Company. It is just plain silly to go too far on the productivity side. I'm not saying we shouldn't husband our resources carefully. The fact of the matter is that it took a quintet to play Shubert's Tra Quintet a hundred years ago 58 minutes to finish it. Today it will still take 58 minutes, plus or minus a couple of minutes, unless you decide to take out a cello or the piano and use a M009 synthesizer in order to replace all five. Then you won't be having the Shubert Tra Quintet, or probably music, or education.

Now, I am going to summarize where I've been thus far by putting it in the following way. We're not self-supporting. The extent to which we are depends on our patronage structure and how they feel towards us. Third, what makes things difficult is the values of the public and the values of the academy are always at an angle which even in earlier days created a tension, a goal divergence that is consequential. An enraged or alienated public is not apt to be so generous as one that values and respects our educational ideal. Now, there are several interesting consequences here if this analysis is correct. First and foremost is the realization that, as we become more dependent on external agencies for our survival, our institutional autonomy will erode as it has been and will continue to be. It is at times an imperceptible erosion but it is daily, like a small island that is slowly sinking into the sea. It may take a while to be observable but it is there and happening, as inevitable as death and taxes. Claude Bernard, the great physiologist, once remarked on the delicate balance, the perfect organism, every organization requires for it to survive. He was referring to what you call the "milieu interior" and the "milieu exterior". Every organ's system, in order to maintain its health, requires some nourishment from and exchange with its environment. Without it, the system will suffer, atrophy and ultimately decay due to declining energy. With too much input from the environment, with too many interventions from external forces, the organism weakens, loses its capacity for self-determination and dies. Dies from a form of smothering. The walls, the boundary system of an institution, have to retain that delicate balance. Enough permeability, but not too much. In pre-World War II days, with Oxbridge and the Ivy League colleges, most universities

have been too insulated, too cut off from what Matthew Arnold in his Oxford valedictory called the mundane, the merely practical. Today, my suspicion is that our walls are too porous, we are too dependent, too reliant on other voices in other rooms for our own good. Institutional autonomy which we not only treasure but require in our academic work was, I think, the major attraction why many of us came into the academy. Its erosion may lead to an untenable position which ultimately, if not checked, can refer all too many crucial decisions to those individuals shouting a perverse and unfriendly Jericho. At the same time, those of us living in the university must understand that not only our financial viability but our ties with our community, our region, our nation would be imperiled when we become a protected enclave. Somehow or other we have to be self-conscious and exercise far more choice than we have in the past so that we can reach that delicate balance, the balance that provides sufficient institutional inner directiveness along with a true interdependence along with our various sponsors.

I'd like to conclude with some general remarks about what I think must be done. I'm going to just focus on one aspect in broad terms--and on to questions on leadership, educational leadership, at all levels. Because I fear that both my own experience and the landscape of leadership in our society, not just education, is characterless and flat, as has been remarked on by many, I've just finished a paper entitled "Where Have All The Leaders Gone?" which basically deals with what I consider to be wrong, especially in education where there has been a tradition of speaking out, a failure of nerve. People with wet palms and short of breath and somehow unwilling to talk like educators. In fact, I hear,

when I go to the monthly meetings in Columbus and meet with my other 11 presidents of the other 11 public state universities--I think I have a fantasy that we're all in the Sala Nomes of Zurich--talking like cost accountants, using a new lingua franca that we think will please, somehow, the legislators or businessmen. Actually, that's not what they want or expect. I've learned that we're playing into a game that other people know better and is not the function of educational leaders. I believe that unless this changes we will be really on the road to serious problems, because we must speak out in ways that we somehow or other have not been doing. I was reading a column not long ago in the New York Times by President Haverford referring to presidents as "Little men on campus".

So, a few recommendations. I believe that academic leadership must develop the vision and strength to call the shots and to tell the people what higher education plans to do for them. There are risks in taking the initiative. A far greater risk is to wait for orders. That means pro active leaders with initiative and the ability to express it. Second, colleges have to recognize that they need leadership in a president. Actually, I recall when I was visiting the University of Cincinatti in my search--one of my two search visits--and I was told somehow by one of the members of the search committee that what they really want is an education leader, that they didn't feel that the present incumbent was really providing the education leadership that they hoped they would get from Mr. Right. And I said to them then a word of wisdom,which I didn't realize how smart it was at the time, "There's one thing worse than not having an education leader as your president and that is having one." And that turns out to be the case; because, at the very least, constituents of the president and other leaders, deans as well as department heads, are ambivalent.

And what I think is that we must think clearly as leaders and administrators--I do like to make a distinction between leading and managing, which perhaps in the question period you can ask me about--but we have to indicate that their need, colleges' need, is vision rather than appearance. They will have to try to find someone who is more than a persuasive front man or woman, someone who genuinely has vision and energy, drive and the capacity to lead. To demand all these talents, the institution will have to demonstrate that it is willing and able to be managed and respect all these good human qualities in a president. It will have to demonstrate that it knows how to treat its leaders humanely; that is, its faculty, students, trustees, alumni should have a modicum of that sensitivity, openness and understanding that they're demanding of their president or their new president.

Third, we have to recognize that the troubles of the university are very much a part of the broader malaise of the whole of society and that they cannot be dealt with without ultimately addressing ourselves to the general social condition. Education, as well as most of the other institutions in society, including businesses, are struggling to stay upright on the same kind of slippery slope. What we can do, I believe, is shockingly simplistic. Our greatest need as a society is to capture or recapture some new sense of purpose, of value and meaning in our personal lives and in our society. The greatest need of education is to reassert a central role, a search for and a definition of values and meaning, because this is what a liberal education is all about. We need some bold new concepts, a dramatic and inspiring rescue for higher education, something other than the whining I detected in this month's Atlantic Monthly by President John Silber.

Something having to do with ideas and imagination about what higher education could do. Now, a little example, one that we're working on right now, is some kind of replacement for the urban inst. of what Senator Justin Smith Morrill in 1862 provided for the country, an inspired and enriched idea of the Morrill Land Grant Act signed by Lincoln and which gave birth to many of today's most eminent state universities, including Ohio's own. The need then, in 1862, was to prepare a largely rural population for the new technologies of the emerging industrial age. The need now is for a comparable urban grant act to enable the deprived and dispossessed of our great metropolitan centers to rescue their own lives from despair and to help save the cities themselves from decaying disintegration. Some 19 presidents of our largest multi-universities are now organizing to pursue that ideal, including University of Massachusetts in Boston, and I'll be glad to expand upon it.

Five, we have survived many adversities and frustrations. The perios ahead promises to be a happier, if not easier, one. What we need now is what Keats called negative capability. Roughly paraphrased, it means to hang loose amid serious uncertainties. He said it was Shakespeare's greatest virtue and maybe it can be ours too. Hanging loose. I think it was Lincoln who said that we either hand together or hand separately. That's good advice if we want to go on living.

And then, in conclusion, what seems most apt and eloquent in describing the last say five years of experience in higher education, that is, the hard times, comes out of a passage from Murder in a Cathedral: "There has been oppression and luxury; there has been poverty and license; there has been minor injustices; yet we have gone on living, living and partly living."

We have gone on living and partly living in higher education. Whatever optimism I retain is nourished on the belief that the future may bring about less poverty, license and injustice, so that we can go on living more fully, living with each other. Thank you.

LIBERAL EDUCATION AND EDUCATED LIBERTY

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It has been almost a decade since Daniel Bell wrote his landmark summary of the recent history of Liberal Education in America, and provided what he hoped would be a blueprint for the re-formation of programs to revitalize the liberally educative mission of undergraduate colleges and universities. His historical reading of the lofty intentions and ambitious curricula that had characterized the University of Chicago, Columbia and Harvard, found each of these programs, by 1966, "reduced to a junkyard of unrelated fragments."

The pressures that had weakened the vitality of Liberal Education in these institutions, we are all familiar with: pressures upward from the high schools and downward from the graduate faculties; pressures from a growingly professionalized and differentiated society in which specialized skills are a condition of entrance and mobility; and within the undergraduate college itself, the increasing specialization, departmentalization and consequent isolation of faculty members and their offerings. Under the centrifugal pressure of departmental specializations, coherence and unity in programs of Liberal Education broke down, and perhaps the best that remained, was a distribution requirement to guarantee at least a certain breadth to a young man or woman's education, as counterweight to the increasing depth of his or her specialization.

Bell proposed his own remedies for what he considered a sorry situation. And since he wrote in 1966, literally shelves of literature have appeared on

the goals and means of communicating Liberal Education. Almost every article on the subject, however, begins as does my own, with the rueful observation that the state of Liberal Education is indeed in disarray. Ingenious individuals create immensely profitable courses; and by dint of extraordinary effort, professors from differing departments succeed in forging illuminating interdisciplinary courses. But the colleges themselves, as colleges, remain virtually speechless in articulating any coherent rationale identifying the purpose of their Liberal Education. Even if successful in articulating a collegiate purpose that is more than artful language, most major colleges must acknowledge in honesty that this philosophic unity dissolves in the hard-headed task of creating curricular programs to guarantee its achievement.

I would like to affirm more, however, than the fact that American colleges have difficulty in articulating a unified rationale for Liberal Education, and in planning curricula to carry it into practice. I suggest that American higher education proceeds from a presupposition that makes such difficulty inevitable -- and, as long as the same presupposite remains at work, inescapable.

This presupposite, quite simply, is that Liberal Education is directed almost exclusively at the intellects of students; that it is the communication of truths and skills and habits and qualities of intellect -- as though keenness and method in knowing and voluminousness in one's learning constitutes one liberally educated. The apparent audacity of challenging this "evidence" of our culture as a presupposition, reveals just how pervasive a presupposition it is. But so long as "knowledge" remains the exclusive focus of Liberal Education, and so long as fields of knowledge continue to differentiate and expand in specialized refinement, the more impossible will it

become to select content and methods that provide a coherently liberalized curriculum. If specialization, even within the humanities, creates more highly refined knowledge, our problem can only become increasingly insoluble, our selection of curricula more arbitrary.

What is sorely needed to break out of this vicious circle is to establish a reference point outside of knowledge itself, to serve as magnetic "north" in defining Liberal Education's purpose, and in setting guidelines for the curriculum to achieve it.

But to set the purpose of education outside of knowledge, would we not be abandoning an insight shared by all of western culture since Aristotle -- that knowledge is a good in itself, worth pursuing for its own sake? Would we not be abandoning the intellectualist view of man that came from Aristotle through Aquinas, to shape centuries of intellectualist humanism: that the highest good for man is truthful knowledge because, as Aristotle put it, "Man is nous -- man is mind."

Implicitly at least, every educator believes that he or she is contributing to the good life of young men and women. To that extent, every educational philosophy depends upon a philosophy of a human person. Indeed, the liberal educator differs from the vocationalist precisely because he or she believes that human fulfillment is not exhausted by one's business or professional career, and that Liberal Education should speak to that surplus of human potential.

What has been the prevailing philosophic conception of the human person that has shaped the goals of American Liberal Education? Without going into a technically detailed philosophic analysis, I submit that the prevailing conception has been an intellectualist one: that the good life for a man or a woman is a life of mind; that the highest good for the human person is

the contemplation of truth. If that is once agreed upon or presupposed, the liberal educator need say no more about the human person to be educated. His problem about the goals and curriculum of Liberal Education shift to the universe of knowledge itself, within which he attempts to select methodology and fields that will best sharpen and expand mind in the little time available. (This is not to deny that teaching of literature and the arts has not always attempted to cultivate sensitive appreciation of their worth as art forms, but the cumulative weight of emphasis in the liberal curriculum has unmistakably fallen on understanding, because in the last analysis, understanding is a good in itself, and indeed the highest of all human activities.)

Influential as this intellectualist conception of the human person has been in our cultures, I do not expect that upon examination any one of us fully believes it. It does not express the Jewish or Christian biblical view of human fulfillment. It is too narrow to embrace the insights of continental philosophies of the person, and of action, that have radically transformed our philosophic view of ourselves in the last one hundred years.

I do not feel I need belabor the point that in the Jewish and Christian biblical tradition, the measure of a man or a woman was never to be found in the magnitude of one's intellectual attainments. That measure was to be found rather in how sensitively, how responsively, one exercised his or her freedom. The great Commandment is: Thou shall love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart and mind and soul, and thy neighbor as thyself.

Though the accents of love wax and wane, parallel emphasis on the exercise of freedom as the touch-stone of human fulfillment runs from Marx to Marcel, from Blondel to Ricoeur. Granted the radical differences among each of these thinkers, the measure of personal authenticity for all, is to

be found in action, in the quality of one's choices, the exercise of one's properly understood "liberty." Contemporary man's philosophic view of himself has shifted from that of thinker to that of free and responsible source of initiative and of action. I believe it is time our philosophy of Liberal Education reflected the shift.

I would assert quite simply that the final test of the civilizing process that is Liberal Education is to be found more accurately in the quality of choices one makes during life than in evidence of purely intellectual attainments. The specific purpose of such a liberal education should be to enable persons, to the extent that formal education can do so, to make sound human decisions affecting both personal lives and social policies.

To cast the same thought in another frame, Gabriel Marcel says that the basic problem of reality is not that of being and nothingness -- but of the empty and the full, of richness and impoverishment. The critical test of human fulfillment and of Liberal Education is of the same order: it is no mere question of speculative knowing or not knowing; it is a question of richness or emptiness of life that are the direct fruits of free decisions more than of our knowledge.

I want, however, to correct immediately a misunderstanding that my words could easily generate. In making certain types of choice, the goal and hopefully end-result of Liberal Education, I am not recommending voluntarism over against intellectualism. Still less am I embracing some form of anti-intellectualism, or sacrificing education to pietistic or unenlightened social activism. My point rather is that the university, in its efforts at Liberal Education, has a responsibility toward both intellect and liberty, and that the development of each, even for the 18 year old, is relevant to the other.

Since this point is important, I would like to elaborate on it briefly, and in the process, indicate how an emphasis on choice and decision-making could supply an organizing principle for a variety of curricula.

Sound decision-making, choice that enriches life when methodically made, does not spring out of thin air. It depends on at least four distinct elements, three of which are frankly intellectual.

(1) It depends upon the best specialized, most penetrating knowledge of relevant subject matter one can command. The best of intentions will not point the way to effective social and economic policies to alleviate poverty in the world. A sophisticated understanding of the play of economic and sociological and psychological forces is absolutely necessary, if one's choice of means is not to further aggravate suffering rather than minister to it. I believe the sometimes destructive and often ineffectual results of the flight from learning to engage in direct social action of the late 60s, were ample lesson to old and young that an option either for learning or for action is no option at all. Appropriate choice of actions with beneficial consequences makes learning all the more necessary.

If one is so much an academic purist, therefore, as to question whether some knowledge of natural sciences and their methodology, of economics or of group dynamics have a place in Liberal Education, the response from my definition has to be a resounding "yes." Not that any student's program can embrace all subjects. But the overriding concerns to prepare students for constructive choice will provide a rational principle for course selection and, even within necessary limits of time, can convey a respect for the importance of learning and method in every subject matter appropriate to the decision facing one.

Secondly, sound decision-making and the practical judgment necessary to foresee its consequences, depend in a special way upon both

experience and imagination. Aristotle was the first to emphasize the necessity of age and experience to become familiar with the logic of events that ties ineluctable consequences to their causes. Such familiarity is a pre-condition to foresee the outcome of alternative choices. Obviously, we have in history a record of the accumulated experience of productive and unproductive human decisions and their consequences -- as a fund of vicarious experience for our young adults.

Thirdly, human decision-making, at least in those boundary choices that face every person -- of life and death, of love and hate, of reverence and callousness, of freedom and bondage, of chaos and order -- call upon a dimension of learning that involves a world view, whether it expresses one's technically articulated philosophy, or one's critically understood religious belief, or derives from the great literary expressions of man's struggle to understand his ultimate meaning and that of human life. If educational institutions recognize the validity of man's systematic effort to apply critical intelligence to these questions through what we call philosophy, theology or the more artfully expressed insights of literature, their clear relevance to the most important of human decisions would seem to make them urgent concerns of the liberal educator. But if philosophy and theology are to illuminate, and not merely confuse efforts at crucial decision-making, these disciplines must be communicated as more than catalogs of historically curious opinions. With confidence in the critical power of the human mind, both of students and of faculty, there must be at least the effort to assist students to see what <u>is</u> the meaning of human life. Their most important decisions may depend upon that effort.

Fourthly, and perhaps most importantly of all, human decisions depend upon and reveal, express and make real, a system of values. In the

last analysis, we judge the worth of our decisions not by the level of pressure under which we acted, but by whether they effectively promote or retard authentic human values.

If Liberal Education is concerned with free choice and decision-making, it must make the diplomatic effort to assist its students to become responsively attuned to values that are authentically worthwhile -- aesthetically, morally and, I would add, ontologically.

No where, of course, are the pedagogical pitfalls more threatening than here. The dangers of parochialism and politicization, of attempted indoctrination and propagandizing are real. Clearly, one does not communicate an appreciation of art or of human dignity as one communicates the multiplication tables. Just as clearly, I believe it is possible for institutions to make known their commitment to interracial justice without being called upon to sanction particular means to achieve it; to declare their reverence for life without being called upon to judge the merits of a particular war. The more pressing danger here is that the American college may be so educationally neutral or fragmented in its allegiances, that the institution as an institution, is unable to assert what values, other than truth itself, are worthwhile communicating. But is it not true that such an acknowledgment of neutrality about values, would not escape sending its own message to students about values worthy of definitive, free commitment?

But I have already descended further into particulars of curriculum, than I intended. Fundamentally, my position is a simple one. Liberal Education should aspire, at its deepest level of intention, to educate for the enriching and constructive exercise of liberty. Without predetermining any particular curriculum, such an intention deriving from outside the universe of knowledge, supplies not only a rationale for including certain

disciplines within a curriculum, but a perspective that will lend distinctiveness to each discipline's treatment. This rationale, however, is by no means rigid or inflexible in its adaptability to a wide range of alternative curricula. If it counsels some disciplines as peculiarly relevant to certain types of human choices, it invites an infinite variety of ways of making any of the humanities, the natural or social sciences illuminating for man's task of freedom.

Before closing, I would like to make one brief observation on some recent trends in higher education that, I believe, indicate that collegiate interest in human freedom is just below the surface of the exclusive intellectualism that has framed so much of our educational theory. On every side, one hears and reads and witnesses pledges of institutional interest in values, in interdisciplinary courses, in futurism. Whether or not each institution avowing these interests will have the consensual resources necessary to act effectively upon these pledges, one can only wait and see. But I feel certain that unless they somehow find a footing in the theory of education of institutions, they will prove no more than fads as passing as the "free universities" of the 60s. We are not, after all, very far from the days when some of our most eminent educators could insist that the university is exclusively concerned with the research and communication of truth, and that value considerations must be sought in other agencies of society.

If one affirms, however, that constructive, enriching and responsible exercise of freedom is the goal of Liberal Education, then values enter of necessity and on an equal footing with truth, into the university's province.

Furthermore, when the human person brings knowledge to bear on choices to be made in public policy or private life, insight germane to the decision usually comes from a synthetic interweaving of understanding from different

disciplines. Ethics, economics, psychology, political theory, may all have their contribution to make in the effective resolution of this State's current budgetary crisis. An academic program that looks to choice, therefore, should be naturally inclined to fashion certain interdisciplinary courses that effect a synthesis of learning from diverse academic fields.

Lastly, though deliberation toward human choice profits from historical experience, choice is always a not-yet; deliberation is always future oriented. For the person who would use freedom well, therefore, means should be found to make the horizon of the future as familiar and as real to him as the lessons of the past. And because human decisions, as the goal of Liberal Education are both in the future and are free, liberal educators must remain modest in their aspirations -- aware that the achievement of their goal depends as much on their students as on themselves.

I shall close with a paradox, that in a sense summarizes much of what I have had to say. For any of you who take seriously enough my comments on Liberal Education to attempt them in practice, I urge that you pass the paradox on to your students. It was advice I learned as a young man from perhaps my greatest teacher. He said: If you pursue learning for its practical uses, you will never truly know, nor will your knowledge be genuinely useful; if you pursue learning for its own sake, you will not only come to know, you will find that knowledge eminently practical.

CHANGING YOUTH VALUES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

Ruth Clark

The nation's college age youth are a big question mark to many people today. There are those who claim that the decade of the sixties was an aberration in time, and that the present difficult economy has reversed the trends of the sixties. These people picture youth today as being back to "normal", working hard at their studies, eager for good grades, motivated by the same goals and aspirations of previous generations, eager for success and material gains. They point to the rebirth of fraternity and sorority life, coeds wearing skirts instead of jeans, young men and women dancing cheek to cheek.

Yet there are other people who raise very serious reservations about the "back to old times" theory, and who point instead to what they see around them as signs that the decades of the sixties and early seventies did indeed leave a lasting imprint on the value structure and basic attitudes and outlook not only of college students but of youth in general and the nation as a whole.

Some of the signs of the continuance of what we refer to as "the new values" into the mid-seventies to which the latter people point include:

. . .The growth of new careerism among women

. . .The women's liberation movement

. . .The number of young men and women living together in

informal marriages.

. . . zero population growth and the decision by some young people not to have children as well as the readiness of some young unmarried women to have or adopt children

. . . The stirrings on campus about rising tuition rates, and the demands of minority students for special attention at a time of economic stress

What is really happening among young people? And what does it mean to you who have the special responsibility for educating a new generation of young Americans?

It is in this connection that I would like to review with you today some of our recent studies among young people, to look at the past, and to discuss together some of the implications for the future.

Our organization has been tracking the values, aspirations and attitudes of the country's youth since 1967. While several of the studies focused on college students, in both 1969 and 1973, we also surveyed young people ages 16 to 24 who were not in college--but instead were employed, housewives, high school students, or dropouts from the educational institutions, and in this way from society.

Many of the findings I would like to discuss with you today are based on a major study we conducted in 1973 under the auspices of several foundations--the JDR 3rd, Carnegie, Hazen, Mellon and Clark Foundations. We also, however, have some more up-to-date figures for you based on a 1974-1975 study on student drug use conducted for the Drug Abuse Council in Washington, soon to be released.

The procedure that I would like to suggest that we follow today with your permission is that I quickly give you a birdseye view of what we have found to be happening among college age youth from the mid-sixties to the mid-seventies, the shifts, temporary and more lasting changes, followed by some slides which show you the actual changes in tabular form and in their own way present a more striking and dramatic picture of both change and mood. Then, we can briefly sum up some of the implications for both now and for the future.

Part of the story we will be examining is both the contrast and the similarity of what is occurring among both the nation's college and noncollege youth.

For a while I realize that most of you are particularly concerned with college education, part of the challenge for the future we believe is the ability of education as an institution to service the needs of a broader constituency--including young people who are either unable or unwilling to go on to higher education, college students who are looking for alternatives to present college set-ups, and finally those who are indeed committed to the college route.

To understand the nature of the youth revolt and the changes which have occurred in the value system, it is necessary to take a step back and examine the origins of the student rebellion of the sixties. There are really these basic observations to be noted:

First, that is started out back in California in the early sixties as a benign and peaceful social revolution--not as a political radical movement. Radicalization came later with Vietnam and the draft--and indeed, as we'll see, the political side disintegrated with the end of the war and of the draft.

Second, it was a revolution of the sons and daughters of the well-to-do--of the haves and not the have-nots.

Third, it reflected in an intense if somewhat distorted form something which was happening in the country, especially among their o w n p a r e n t s --the development of a new psychology of affluence stemming from a prosperous economy, increased educational opportunities, advanced technology, and population growth. We are all familiar with some of the manifestations of this psychology--from permissiveness in child rearing to the weakening of the Protestant ethic, a reaction against complexity and the growth of anti-functionalism.

Fourth, it was from the start based on a re-examination of the basic values--in other words, an attempt to redefine the individual's relationships to self and to society.

In 1967 when we carried out our first cross section study of America's young adults (ages 18 to 25) the most disaffected and alienated among them were to be found on the nation's campuses. College students were at that time critical of their education, agitated about the war in Vietnam, and disturbed by the country's mounting social problems. Interest in activism and social reform ran high. The New Left, though not widely embraced, enjoyed great credibility on campus. Students applauded speeches denouncing "the system" and traditional middle class values, and were drawn irresistibly to the counterculture and its twin appeals of radical politics and new life styles. Granny glasses, crunchy granola, communal living, pot smoking, belt making, and protest marches all seemed to go together. To many of these young people, the prospect of a conventional career, as mirrored in their parents'

lives, seemed utterly irreconcilable with their new outlook on life.

By comparison, the noncollege majority of the nation's youth seemed hardly to belong to the same generation. Almost indistinguishable from the rest of the population, the research showed that they supported the government's war policies, they defended America's institutions against the criticisms of college students, and they held fast to traditional beliefs in hard work, patriotism, marriage, and respect for authority. At a time when the nation's attention was riveted on the so-called "generation gap"--the clash of values between youth and their parents--an even bigger gap existed within the generation, sharply dividing those who attended college from their working class noncollege counterparts.

Our most recent studies carried out some six to seven years later reveal a startlingly different picture. The results of the 1973 study are based on a national sampling in 1973 of both college and noncollege youth between the ages of 16 and 25. In the survey, a total of 3,522 personal interviews were conducted, including a number of questions asked on four of our previous youth studies (1967, 1969, 1970, 1971) which help to provide a perspective on present trends. In 1974, we again repeated some of the same question with a sample of 2,180 high school and college students. From the findings of this study, three major trends emerge.

First, the most disaffected group among today's generation of young adults are not college students but the young high school graduates who have ended their formal education and have gone directly to work and/or marriage. The contagion of the new campus bred values have spread from the college minority to the noncollege majority, creating a vast

dissatisfaction. Comparatively speaking, college students are content with their lot.

Second, on campus, student interest has shifted away from social reform and is now heavily focused on self. Today's college youth have little emotional commitment to changing society and instead are preoccupied with their own lives, career plans and personal self-fulfillment.

The third trend is undoubtedly the most exciting for it reflects a merger between the new campus bred values and traditional careers that seemed impossible to bring about a few years ago--but is now being pursued actively and aggressively by increasing numbers of college students.

How can one account for such large shifts in so short a time span? It will undoubtedly be many years before the changes become clear to social historians but at least some of the reasons are suggested by the survey findings we will be looking at shortly. For all three of the trends are directly related to the student transformation of social values--a value system which is now embraced by a majority of college students and which has also by now become widely diffused among the non-college educated youth as well.

Basically, what do these social values involve? First, there is the rejection of the nose to the grindstone outlook on life and a changed definition of success. Young people no longer accept the old belief that hard work pays off. Instead while they are still committed to working hard, they want to know ahead of time what will the payoff be not only in terms of financial rewards but in terms of self-fulfillment, growth and gratification. In a way young people look at their parents

through the eyes of Thoreau who said in his own direct way: "Americans know more about how to make a living than how to live." Well, these young people say--not for us. We are ready to work--but determined to live, and to find satisfaction in self and from one's own personal life.

The search for self-fulfillment, the second category of value change and closely related to changing work criteria, is very much a factor among young people today. The self-fulfillment concept implies a greater preoccupation with self at the expense of sacrificing one's self for family, or commitment to employer, community or country. The third category of value change is related to rejection of authority--or at the very least the questioning of authority--and unwillingness to accept without question such concepts as patriotism, my country right or wrong, as well as the lessening of automatic reliance on church and organized religion as a guidance for moral behavior. Part of this trend, too, is the questioning of institutions, and skepticism about the motives of government, business, church, the courts, etc. (In this connection, you will be pleased to note, I am sure, that universities are no longer a major target of youth criticism.)

The fourth category of value change covers what we refer to as the new morality, beliefs that guide the behavior of people on matters of individual and public morality. The major value changes under this heading are, of course, the more liberal sexual mores and the changing relationships of men and women. It goes further than that, of course, including the right of the individual to decide when wars are or are not justified, or when unacceptable restraints or laws should be ignored, with marijuana and the draft as classic examples.

The fifth category deals with a basic cultural change--a spreading psychology of entitlement, the growth of a broad new agenda of "social rights". This is the psychological process whereby a person's wants or desires become converted into a set of presumed rights.

From, "I would like to have a secure retirement" to "I have the right to a secure retirement."

From, "If I could afford it, I would have the best medical care," to "I have the right to the best medical care whether I can afford it or not."

From, "My job would mean more to me if I had more to say about how things are run," to "I have the right to take part in decisions that affect my job."

From, "I'd like to have a job that gives me pleasure and satisfaction, rather than just something I do to make a living," to "I have a right to work on something that lets me do a good job and gives me pleasure."

From, "I hope we will be able to afford to send our children to college," to "Our children have as much right to a higher education as anybody else."

This process is not new. Indeed, it is a very old trend, long recognized by social scientists as part of a worldwide revolution of rising expectations. In recent years under impetus from young people, it has accelerated and it has assumed new political and institutional forms.

And finally there is the new naturalism. Young people today are urging society and our country to stop what they consider to be our frantic rush to bend nature to the human will and to restore a vital

and a more humble balance with nature.

To be natural in youth lexicon means:

To push the Darwinian version of nature as "survival of the fittest" into the background, and to emphasize instead the interdependence of all things and species in nature.

To place sensory experience ahead of conceptual knowledge.

To live physically close to nature, in the open, off the land.

To reject hypocrisy, "white lies", and other social artifices.

To embrace the existentialist emphasis on <u>being</u> rather than doing or planning.

To look and feel natural, hence rejecting makeup, bras, suits, ties, artificially groomed hairstyles.

To express oneself nonverbally; to avoid literary and stylized forms of expression as artificial and unnatural; to rely on exclamations as well as silences, vibrations, and other nonverbal modes of communication.

To reject mastery over nature.

To embrace self-knowledge, introspection, discovery of one's natural self.

To reject mores and rules that interfere with natural expression and function (e.g., conventional sexual mores).

While all of these value changes have enormous implications for education, I would like to discuss two which perhaps have the most relevance--the new attitudes towards work and what is wanted from work, and the search for self-fulfillment. For these represent the heart of the current contrast between the mood of college youth and working class youth today, and they represent the basic challenge to educators.

In the 1950's many well-educated young people felt they had to split their lives into two distinct and different parts. On the job, the emphasis was on getting ahead, making out, living according to the mores and outlook of the corporate structure. This was the era of the "organization man". The primary motive for a college education was to insure future financial success, security and a prestigious job. This was the work side of life. Holidays, weekends and evenings were reserved for the private side. Then one "retreated" from the real world into one's private and personal world--the pleasant suburbs, home, garden, the car, a large family with many kids. A mental wall separated the world of work from the world of private life.

Today this compartmentalization is no longer operating. Today's college students refuse to be caught up in the same dichotomy between private values and the values of society. And indeed, the society no longer insists on rigid conformity to older moral and social norms.

Thus, in choosing their careers, college students today have come to feel that it is possible to seek and to find self-fulfillment and personal satisfaction in their careers while simultaneously enjoying the kind of financial rewards that will enable them to live full rich lives outside of their work. The "marriage" is dramatically documented in the changing patterns of job criteria--with new emphasis <u>both</u> on challenging work, the ability to express yourself, free time for outside interests, as well as on money, security and the chance to get ahead.

For noncollege youth, the work and/or career situation is far different and more frustrating. Today, many noncollege youth, including

those working in blue collar jobs, have also taken up the quest of their college peers for a new definition of success in which the emphasis is on self-fulfillment and quality of life rather than money and security.

For most young people who do not go to college, the problem is that lack of education is the major and recognized barrier between their desire for interesting work and the kinds of jobs with which they end up--and the recognition of the problem has left them frustrated, angry, demanding and yearning.

Wrap-Up

What do these trends mean for educators?

. . .First, you will be dealing with young people who have a commitment to personal growth--and to education.

. . .Second, you will be dealing with a generation with a dedication to the natural, to the absence of artificial structure, ritual, rules.

. . .Third, you will be working with young students with a respect for self-experience and an unwillingness to accept authority unquestioningly.

But most important, you will be faced with a generation of young people who place their major emphasis on job satisfaction and self-fulfillment and who are growing increasingly restless with the options presently available to them when they graduate from high school--either going to work or continuing on to college.

Indeed for the large majority, there are not even these two choices but often only one practical route. For curiosly, even a majority of college students appear to "drift" on to college rather than to make a deliberate choice:

> . . .Three out of four college students (72%) came from families where it was always taken for granted that they would go on to college.
>
> . . .Two out of three (63%) attended high schools where most of the students went on to college.
>
> . . .Three out of four (72%) felt that they had no other options when they graduated high school other than to go to college or take a job.

For a majority of noncollege youth there is an even more limited choice--getting a job, going into the armed forces, or in the case of the young women, getting married and becoming housewives.

These young people are unlikely to settle for long with the present limited options. Certainly an impressive start has been made with the growth of junior and community colleges--but still other alternatives will also be required--for the demand for alternative options is strongly buttressed by the value structure and emerging cultural patterns of a "new generation" of Americans--who are in many ways the most interesting and exciting generation we have yet encountered.

FOR THE GOVERNING BOARD--WHAT'S LEFT?

Lloyd H. Elliott

In the last quarter century American higher education experienced the period of its greatest growth, survived a seemingly endless era of campus convulsions, and like a ship still under full sail, finds itself now in a calm sea. Some call it a stable state, others suggest the calm is a dead calm without enough force to move the ship in any direction. Unfortunately, the academic ship does not preserve itself well in a dead calm. Rust, barnacles, and other detrioration require a rather high level of maintenance even when the ship is making no progress. While I am neither a skilled nor an enthusiastic sailor, the analogy is hard to drop. Let me pursue it one step further.

In the early period of the fifties when higher education was pushed by the tide generated by a flood of dollars and further helped by the winds of public sentiment, students, faculty, and administrators on campus had few differences with trustees, alumni, and citizens off campus. All signals were go and the fuel supply seemed inexhaustible. That the ship developed internal engine trouble in the sixties and that holes were being torn in the sails by outside forces were developments which brought a disbelievable shock to both the on-campus and off-campus constituencies. Within a very short period, that which was politically unthinkable, namely a slowing or cutting back of financial support for higher education spread across the country as politically defensible. I point to the State of California where a conservative Governor made political hay out of cutting the universities' appropriations but the liberal who followed him seems to be reaping the same harvest.

Lest the dead calm be too literally interpreted, let me simply remind us all that some of the individual ships within the armada of higher education have enough standby generating power and enough reserve fuel to continue some forward movement. Many of these ships, maybe I should say boats, could best be described as swinging at anchor while others are fighting dangerous crosswinds which are pushing them toward the rocks.

As we come through the storm, we lost students, faculty members, and presidents. Some were washed overboard in the emotional binges of confrontation and disruption. Others were lucky enough to reach retirement age or find a haven in the non-academic world. Those who rode out the storm are still working to save the academic ship--searching for more students where only yesterday there were too many, fighting to preserve the tenured positions within the academic department or searching for administrators who hold maps to sunken treasures. (John D. Rockefeller IV became a college president.) The only ones who couldn't change stripes were the alumni. They were permanently branded and could only stand by and wonder if there would come another day when the name of alma mater would be one which could again be spoken with pride.

The general public often accused of having a very short memory proved this time to remember all too vividly the euphoria which surrounded higher education in the late fifties and early sixties. Bolstered by the outpourings of those captains of erudition--the college presidents--the lay citizen turned to the university for wisdom. Surprisingly, he found the learned academicians and the salesmen of rhetoric unable to manage their own affairs, let alone resolve complex and frightening

problems facing society. Having told the world that universities were the depositories of wisdom and knowledge and having said over and over that all society's ills will surrender to solutions if you will but provide the institutions with a little more time and a great deal more money, the resultant failure was a frizzle which echoed around the world. Those of us in the institutions were left without anything resembling a plausible excuse when the tough questions were laid on our doorsteps. A disgusted, frustrated public witnessed as academe burst its own bubble.

Lest I be misunderstood, let me quickly say that the results of these traumatic events were not all bad. We in the universities made claims which could never be fulfilled and now let us hope that both we and the public have a better understanding of the realities of the academic institution instead of the continued delusion of pipe dreams. Quickly reviewed, I hope we have learned that colleges and universities can teach students who wish to learn, selected yet limited kinds of knowledge and a few carefully chosen skills; that scholars in a university can discover new knowledge while knowing very little about its applications; and that a few reasonably worthwhile services of a public nature can be rendered through a college or university. I believe we learned, too, that a university is a poor institution for the administration of economic, social, or even cultural programs wherein a larger community of consituency is to be the recipient and is to pay the bills. As examples, let me suggest that university medical centers are poor substitutes for public health departments; law schools do not do well as public defenders; and colleges of education have all kinds of trouble

trying to operate a laboratory school.

It's a different answer in 1975 than it was in 1950. At that mid-point of this Century a newly elected or appointed member of the Governing Board had but to step aboard the academic ship to enter immediately into a much sought after and somewhat exclusive club. A new circle of associates, many of whom were identified in the highest circles of business, the professions, and government was added to the trustees' personal relationships. For many institutions, there was little work to be done and much esteem to be enjoyed. We all know institutions, both public and private, where trustees and regents gathered regularly to be fed and feated, to be told again of the great miracles being performed on campus, to be advised of the next monumental steps to be taken by the institution, and above all to be told how wise and farsighted they were in approving that which the President and the faculties with the help of foundation executives and government grants had brought to pass.

As for the trustee, there was a place on campus for his wealth; but there was very little room for his wisdom; and his work in behalf of the institution, if acted at all, had to be of the most delicate nature. Faculties consolidated their control over all matters academic; students were fully occupied with the extracurricular; and Presidents were visiting the state capital, the foundations, Washington, and foreign countries. All major constituencies of the university assumed the millenium had been reached and with minor exceptions the trusteeship had unpleasant responsibilities and a rather long list of fringe benefits.

Trustees and regents, however, often worked hard in the interest of their respective institutions. They appeared in the state capital

to support the President in his request for new and additional dollars for the university. They called on corporate officers, individual alumni, or foundation directors, but it was most frequently for the purpose of espousing the new program which had been handed to them at the previous board meeting.

In the past 25 years, we were all committed to growth and development. The institutions which were wise enough to limit enrollment simply sought more funds for student support, research, library holdings or playing fields. With increases in operating budgets and new plans for capital expenditures as the major items on the agenda of governing boards, it was only natural that trustees would be caught up in the excitement of an expanding institution which was shared by administrators and faculty members. Management of the institution's resources was not a matter of high priority. Mistakes which were made in personnel appointments or capital construction could easily be modified or covered up in the next rounds of a bulging enterprise. In private institutions, there was an ample supply of candidates who were willing to pay the increased tuition costs. Faculty members were pictured as the poor underpaid profession of our society and Presidents carried briefcases stuffed with charts to show legislators and alumni what had to be done if the institution were to recruit and retain its share of able professors.

Within a very few years these same trustees were attacked with charges and criticisms which ran the gamut of political, economic, social and humanitariam prejudices. Governing boards were "out of touch", "rubber stamps", "self-dealing", or "anti-intellectual",

"politicians", "war-mongers". Meetings with govering boards were disrupted. Sit-ins and other confrontations were accompanied by demands that seats be provided on the board for students and faculty members. It was argued that those who are undergoing the educational experience, namely students, are in the best position of all to assess the relevance of the education and to make adjustments in accordance with their feelings. Faculty members had the choice of taking part in such campus activities, remaining aloof, or moving to some other institution. In the middle sixties the professor still had freedom of mobility--the option to move from one part of the country to another because supply had not yet caught up with demand in the academic marketplace.

Campuses in the same period which had required very little administration found themselves without decision making machinery when management became necessary. The muddling ambivalence which characterized the American college campus in the late sixties was transmitted daily by the news media to the homes of parents, taxpayers, and other citizens. The shock and dismay which resulted brought forth an avalanche of response. Trustees were caught like the rest of the academic community but without the excuses which others could offer. The public looked all too often at the governing board and said it was they who held the trust. It is you, they said to the trustee, who hold the charter. It is you who are, therefore, responsible. As trustees attempted to answer such criticisms, they had to say all too often: "I didn't know classified research was being conducted on campus; I didn't know Professor X who led the march down Main Street was a Marxist and that he has tenure; and I didn't know a great many things about the

institution which I should have known." Such revelations brought forth an avalanche of suggestions and new demands on governing boards, the most common of which was "give us the power" or at least "share it with us". Alumni, faculty, and students all joined the refrain. It was difficult to resist the pressure, so within a rather brief period we had members of these constituencies holding seats on the boards and we saw the creation of all-university governing bodies as well. While it's too early to get a reading on the effects of such changes, success stories are hard to find. Institution-wide assemblies have proven to be too cumbersome to reach decisions and so bound by red tape as to make even the achievement of a quorum a kind of moral victory when such occurs. The presence of students and faculty members on governing bodies has simply moved critical decisions from the full board into the executive committee.

But the power struggle which has gone on over the past quarter century, has seen the opposing forces weaken an institution by eroding the institution's power to make decisions at other levels, too. I refer to such a pattern as that of the rotating Chairmanship which in a great measure guarantees that the Chairmanship will not become a strong position of educational influence and leadership. The same thing has happened to the Deanshp in many multipurpose universities. All too often we have seen the Deanship whittled down to the point where it has become a ceremonial task of presiding over committees and faculty meetings. Little or no chance is permitted for the Dean to make new friends for the college, to attract new support or to exercise any measure of leadership. It's a kind of internal ritualistic

responsibility guaranteed to perpetuate the status quo. During this same period, the strengthening of the Professorship came too often to mean the further removal of the Professor from teaching and research--the more common professorial responsibilities. Professors in some of America's most pretigious universities followed schedules which permitted only two or three days each week to be spent on campus. The period of the late fifties and early sixties was marked by the achievement of the Professor of a maximum degree of private enterpreneurial freedom. We were all privileged to experience those bargaining sessions with candidates for faculty position where maximum salary and fringe benefits were measured against the lowest possible teaching load, the highest amount of research funds and the greatest degree of freedom to be away from the campus to lecture, to consult, or to perform other services for fees. If we learned anything from the revolt of the late sixties, we should have learned that work on behalf of, interest in, and loyalty to the institution are necessary conditions if Deans, Chairmen, Professors, and Presidents are to give a full measure of service to their respective universities. Foundations were not without blame as their executives insisted upon special conditions being written into the appointments of those tapped to spend foundation grants. If we want strong colleges and universities, we must have governing boards strong enough to withstand the pressures which brought about some of these abuses in the past, but we also must have administrators who are strong enough to insist that the creative energies of all are put to work in behalf of the institution..

This power struggle which has taken place in the universities, and which, of course, continues, ignores a simple truth about higher education. A great college or university is one which has a strong governing board, a strong faculty, and an able student body, an effective administrative team and, perhaps, even a strong President. We may add to this kind of line-up an interested, supportive and enthusiastic alumni body. And if these things be true, I think such an academic institution will find appropriate respect among the citizenry of the country. As I see my colleagues work and worry from day to day, I don't find agreement with such a blueprint. The struggles which characterize all too many campuses suggest that each constituency is in some measure trying to become more powerful at the expense of other constituencies. If we, therefore, are not to end up in the chaos which comes when everyone does everything and no one is responsible, we must respect the differing roles of governing board, administration, faculty, and students. Most of us, I would guess, prefer strawberry shortcake which has the fruit, the cream and the cake still identifiable as separate components. To blend them is to water down the attractiveness of each.

As I indicated earlier, in most colleges and universities the faculties now exercise essentially full control over the academic programs. This is as it should be since it is the faculty which has the academic and intellectual equipment with which to make such decisions. Many institutions now are faced with problems which impinge upon the academic program in such a way as to cause any decision made with regard to the academic program to be reflected directly in the ability of the institution to remain solvent. I refer, of course, to such matters as

faculty-student ratio, kind and extent of library collections, relationship of research funds to departmental budgets and a whole array of related questions. If we were fortunate enough as to be able to follow the laissez faire philosophy of management which prevailed in the early fifties when growth was the most common characteristic of all higher education, we might still enjoy the luxury of making academic decisions without regard to management data. Few institutions today enjoy that luxury and those that do are not likely to be able to hold on to it much longer. Therefore, I feel it is the administrator's responsibility to organize the institution in such a way as to plow up the most critical data in the normal course of the academic year in order that all parties --administrators, faculty, students and governing board--may be well acquainted with the impact of any major academic decision on the long range objective and financial strength of the institution.

While it is certainly a major responsibility of the President and other administrative officers to see that the institution secures the maximum resources with which to pursue its objectives, it is equally important that those resources be managed in such a way as to be stretched as far as possible. The new era of academic activity and of managment responsibility in higher education is one which requires that all constituencies of the university educate themselves to the maximum extent in order that the best possible decisions will be made and that having been made, understanding will be sufficiently broad as to merit full support. The governing board more than any other constituency, therefore, must know more about the institution than was typical in the past. From both the administration and faculty the board ought to have a continuous flow

of pertinent objective information on all facets of the institution's activities.

To use such information to the best advantage of the institution the governing board must be free of all possible conflicts of interest. The President of the construction company doing business with university cannot serve, therefore, on the Board of Trustees. Neither should a member of what I call the on-campus constituencies serve as a member of the governing board. This flies in the face of those who want to put faculty members, students, and administrative officers on boards as active voting members.

As all of us know, a college or university, whether private or public, comes into being because of the public's interest. The governing board of the institution is the one entrusted to look after the public's interest. A self-serving interest on that board whether it be a landlord who leases facilities for institutional use, a faculty member whose salary is paid by the university, or a student whose tuition helps to buy the education which he himself is experiencing represents a conflict of interest. To keep that board of trustees at least one-half step removed in the sense that personal gain or loss never becomes a factor in even the smallest decision is one way of helping to maintain the integrity of the institution for in the final analysis, after all self-interests have been met or denied, it is the governing board which holds the trust.

Zwingle and Mayville in their very helpful paper, "College Trustees: A Question of Legitimacy"[1] point out that a governing board must function in a plurality of roles. They suggest without exhausting the list that

the board may be from time to time the legal corporation, the supreme court, the board of managers, the board of inquiry, the emergency corps, the underwriters, the society of friends, the stabilizers, the directors, and the energizers. If we observe any one college over a long period of time, or a number of colleges within a briefer period, it is easy to see these various roles assumed, played out, undertaken, or saddled by default upon boards of trustees. The authors also make the point that boards do learn how to grapple with all of these decision-making roles when faced with the necessity to do so. From my own experience, I am convinced that institutions of higher learning cannot only attract and hold the attention of capable lay trustees but that such trustees in turn are or will become far more knowledgeable about these institutions than we in the profession are prone to give credit for. The legitimacy of the board, therefore, is to be found in its acceptance of responsibility for the trust which the public has surrendered with the grant of a charter and with the continuing position of the board which I have described as one-half step removed in order that it may maintain reasonable objectivity in its many roles and responsibilities.

Let me pause here to differentiate between governing boards of public and of private institutions. In the former, the tide rolls seemingly onward toward the exercise of more decision-making responsibility over the public institutions by political office holders and professional government bodies. I refer specifically to governors, legislators, and state budget officers. I see no slowing of this trend. In fact we have witnessed the calls of two governors this year for the resignation of the board of regents of their state university systems.

The day may not be far off when the effort will be made to discontinue all boards of public institutions. We now have in the City of Washington a suggestion, seriously made in some quarters, that the Board of Education which has responsibility over the public schools be removed and that the Superintendent of Schools become another department head within city government, answerable to the Mayor and the City Council. As the financial squeeze becomes more strangling in some states and as boards of public institutions find it increasingly necessary to resist the inroads of state government, similar suggestions can be expected with regard to the governance of public colleges and universities.

To a considerable degree, budget control moved from the governing board to the state capital some years ago. Campus and institutional planning accompanied the shift. Now we see decisions on tenure and institutional growth as well as program development being made by politically appointed and elected officials. If accountability is to follow decision-making a case can be made for placing public higher education under a department head who is appointed by the political party in power. I would not like to see such a development, but it may not be far away.

In private institutions, I believe governing boards are showing increasing unhappiness at being responsible for paying the bills without exercising a greater voice in determining the mission of the institution. Private colleges and universities, therefore, have come to the forks of the road. One path leads to greater power on the part

of faculty and students with the institution marching off to a kind of academic Shangri-La which puts itself farther and farther removed from the mainstream of modern society but preserves and perhaps in many cases re-establishes what has been so fondly called a community of scholars. The other road would re-establish the trustees more actively in the on-going affairs of the institution, hopefully create a powerful liaison with the leadership of the greater society and, while permitting both the student and the professor to exercise a full measure of academic freedom, would hold a protective umbrella over the institution, shielding it from unwarranted disruption, protecting its members from individual criticism, while working to make new friends and gain new support. Choosing the latter path seems to me to be the only one which promises the survival of private institutions. Able men and women can be persuaded to do these things in behalf of a private college or university if administrators and faculty members will recognize the responsibility which trustees logically carry and will themselves help to make the trustees' role in practice that which logic and theory suggest. Strong and effective individuals serving as laymen on boards, even boards with large membership, have an opportunity today to give private colleges and universities the kind of strength necessary to preserve them. We in the institutions should be the last to stand in the way of broadening the role of our respective boards. To oppose a stronger role for governing boards is to invite our most capable citizenry to abandon higher education. For most private institutions the results would be another political bureaucracy of the magnitude of the welfare system or the postal service.

It should not be forgotten, even in the calm of today's academic sea that after the student has graduated, transferred, or dropped out, after the faculty member has retired or moved on, or after the President has quit or been fired, it is the governing board which still holds the bag--and the bag, in these critical times, may contain a thriving, inspiring enterprise or flotsam complete with foreclosure, liability and bankruptcy.

In summary, that which is needed is a restoration of confidence in America's institutions of higher education. This will not be achieved by placing students and faculty members or others who have a fundamental conflict of interest on governing boards. To restore confidence means to restore trust and that can be achieved only as men and women who have already demonstrated responsible citizenship in other areas of endeavor are persuaded that higher education, both public and private, is worthy of their best efforts. The university is still one of man's noblest creations, but it is too important to be left to the students, faculty members or Presidents.

Endnotes

[1]J. L. Zwingle and William V. Mayville, College Trustees: A Question of Legitimacy. ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 10, 1974.

THE ECONOMIC FACTS OF LIFE: LIVING ON LESS

Robert L. Randolph

The general economic welfare of higher education is inextricably linked with that of the nation as a whole. Thus, to get an understanding of our short-term future from a resource-availability standpoint, we would need to identify major changes currently taking place in our economy and their implications for collegiate economic life. For purposes of this paper, I will not focus on forecasts of gross national product, personal income, consumer expenditures or any indices from national income accounting, as important as these matters might be. Best known estimates, as they apply to the higher education segment, may be found in the writings of Howard Bowen of the Clarement Colleges and especially those of Carol Van Alstyne, Chief Economist of the Policy Analysis Service of the American Council on Education. Instead, I will focus on the impact of the current economic situation on higher education--and in particular, higher education in New England.

As regards this particular section of the country (New England)--an answer to the question of why the New England economy is doing so poorly has been suggested by Robert Eisenmenger, Senior Vice-President and Director of Research of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. He recently said that many of the growth industries of the sixties have stopped growing. He emphasized the example of higher education. As the student population has leveled off, employment at New England colleges and universities has been declining since 1970. I need not rehash

for such a knowledgeable audience what may seem to most to be a depressing national picture, except to say that most observers see enrollment growth halting entirely by 1980, increased demand being apparent only in vocationally-oriented profcssional schools and community colleges. Our educational plant is probably running at less than 95% of capacity, a serious matter in an industry with high fixed costs that do not drop equally with enrollment declines, an industry that nationally approaches a 40 billion dollar annual budget, employs approximately 1.5 million people and involves over 9 million students. In some cities and states such as Massachusetts, higher education is among the largest employers. Changes in the fortunes of higher educational institutions, therefore, have immediate and pervasive impact on local economic life. If we get a cold, our particular geographical area of employment is likely to need hospital level of service.

In addition to these important observations, one should also point out that the current deplorable general economic health of higher education did not begin with the current inflation and its especially severe shocks. As Roger Heyns, President of the American Council on Education, pointed out in his September, 1974 statement at the White House Conference on inflation, the current inflation follows hard on the heels of a partial recovery from a period of serious financial exigency. He suggests that it is generally agreed that 1968 marked the end of a long period of material expansion in higher education followed by relative and, in some years, absolute declines in Federal and private support for higher education.

From 1968 to 1971, there was a sharp increase in the number of schools with current fund deficits. Heyns observes that the situation had begun to turn around by the years 1971-73. A "fragile stability" had been achieved, not by increases in revenues, but largely by cuts in costs. Thus, current inflationary pressures to cut costs still further came just at the time that colleges and universities had managed to achieve a precarious balance after three years of cost cutting.

What are the economic facts of life that we face in higher education? Currently, we are suffering from severe financial distress, and it is important to analyze some of the basic causes of our economic distress which are not often emphasized. In my judgment, four causes on the cost side of the costs/revenue equation predominate.

First, the extension of collective bargaining to higher education has significantly raised wage and salary costs, and will continue to do so into the foreseeable future. Here we are speaking of all levels of employees--from cafeteria workers to full professors. It is my belief that it would be foolhardy to assume that wage and salary agreements negotiated at organized campuses will not have a direct upward impact on salary costs in all institutions, collectively organized or not. As disorganized and imperfect as our labor markets might be, they do, in rather short time-periods, respond to competitive forces.

In addition, we must keep in mind that we are a labor intensive industry, and 75% of operating budgets in higher education are for wages and salaries. Thus, it is more difficult for higher education to gain productivity increases (and therefore lower costs) than in industries where mechanization is possible.

Observing this fact, advocates for higher tuitions argue that more of the costs of higher education should be shifted to the private beneficiaries (students and their parents). Their analysis generally proceeds on the basis of the following syllogism:

---because of the labor intensity of higher education, there has been very little increase in productivity;

---educators' salaries are going up;

---therefore, the cost of education must go up.

This, the "stagnant productivity" argument, is a ragged and incomplete explanation for the cost-increases in education; increases which are, however, sharper than the rate of inflation in the rest of the economy. A more complete explanation must include other developments that have affected institutional expenditures.

Closely related to the extension of collective bargaining into higher education as a cause of increased costs has been the adoption of more equitable income and social policies by higher education. Institutional objectives have been broadened voluntarily and involuntarily to include social justice and equal access. College employees are now generally covered by minimum wage and unemployment compensation legislation; social security taxes continue to go up; affirmative action programs are integral parts of personnel policy and procedure and occupational safety and health regulations are required of all institutions. Few of these costs were commonly borne by educational institutions until recently.

We applaud these, in many cases overdue, extensions of progressive national social and income policies. Yet, we must also note the significant

and continuing upward impact on wage and salary costs.

My third point is that, like the overall society of which we are a part, higher education in the United States bears an increasingly heavy burden of welfare costs. The last two decades have seen a dramatic increase in student assistance funds provided by institutions. This dramatic decades-long increase in costs is the price to be paid for diversity and for a student body selected for ability rather than for family wealth. For instance, the amounts of student assistance awarded by institutions far exceed the amounts of income channeled through them specifically for this purpose. Since the inception of the major programs of assistance for low-income students in the 1960s, the student aid subsidy gap has amounted to a staggering 2 billion dollars. In 1971-72, the subsidy amounted to more than a half-billion dollars at all institutions and more than a quarter of a billion dollars in private institutions alone. Because of their higher tuitions, private colleges and universities provide a relatively large amount of direct assistance to each low-income student who enrolls. Thus, the aggregate student-aid subsidy gap is higher at private institutions than at public institutions.

The fourth and most obvious cause, the energy crisis, threatens to cast large numbers of schools, both public and private, into financial danger zones with energy costs doubling or more in the last two years.

In summary, higher education costs over the past decade have risen twice as fast as the consumer price index. The rapid increases in higher education costs should be seen, leaving aside the obvious effects of stagflation and enrollment problems of whatever cause, at least in part as the results of the adoption by higher education of more equitable income

and social policies, and the direct and indirect results of collective bargaining, and not exclusively as the consequence of low productivity.

Indeed, were we to admit to the limited view of low productivity in education, we would have a strange paradox to explain: quantitative increases in labor and capital do not, by themselves, account for the high long-term rate of economic growth in this country. There is a vast residual growth, usually explained by improvements in technology in education. We have a situation where productivity in higher education is said to have increased very little; but at the same time, higher education is used to explain a substantial amount of the increase in productivity in the national economy as a whole, either directly or indirectly through improvements in technology.

The revenue side of the cost/revenue equation must also be examined. Funds flow into higher education through complex channels; from students and their parents, state and local (and now even foreign) governments and private philanthropy. The flow of Federal support is particularly intricate: grants, loans, general support, categorical support, R & D contracts, tax exemptions and even revenue sharing.

In this period of rising costs, college and universities have tended to place greater and greater emphasis on tuition income. In the last decade, tuition increases have averaged 5% a year in public institutions and 7.5% a year in private ones, by no means enough to offset the rise in costs. On balance, undergraduate tuition and fee charges tend to cover 35% of instructional costs at public institutions and 75% at private institutions. It must be kept in mind that students today are being asked to pay almost twice as much for a college education as they did a decade ago. Given that

magnitude of cost increase, a level about half again greater than prices in general, it is amazing that enrollments have not, in fact, declined, for demand for education is not absolute, but is a function of the price. We need to pay more attention to possible economic explanations of enrollment trends.

Unless there are major changes in our economy, it seems to me that rates of increase of private college tuition cannot be maintained. Indeed, I suspect maximum levels in terms of parental ability to pay may have been reached in many instances. We may expect a continuation of the rate of increase of public institutional tuition, especially in those states, such as Massachusetts, that are lower than the national average for public institutions. However these increases will be, I predict, modest and will not approach equalizing the tuition rates between public and private institutions.

One problem with national policy proposals recently presented by the Carnegie Commision on Higher Education and the Committee on Economic Development to increase tuitions at public institutions is that their proposals do not take into careful consideration the Federal nature of higher education in this country. We have, in fact, 50 different state situations. Private enrollments range all the way from approximately 60% in Massachusetts to zero in Wyoming and less than 5% in four other states. Further, private enrollments are highly concentrated geographically. Two states, New York and Massachusetts, presently account for one-fourth of all private enrollments. These two states and four others, Pennsylvania, California, Illinois and Ohio, account for one-half of all private enrollments. From a national standpoint, it does not seem reasonable to raise tuitions in public institutions in Wyoming to help private institutions

in Massachusetts. And, from a state standpoint, it does not seem reasonable to raise tuitions for, say the 85% of the students enrolled in public institutions to help private institutions that enroll 15%.

Time does not permit an exhaustive analysis of the merit of arguments, pro or con, for equalizing tuition between public and private institutions. However, I shall assert that I believe that private institution tuition as a revenue source is not likely to produce more than the current 75% of operating income.

At this point in time, the picture is unclear in the public sector. I expect slow unsteady growth in tuition rates, primarily as the result of three separate factors: inability in some states to expand public subsidy, in other states a political need to reduce subsidy, and in still other states, a reflection of the loss of political attractiveness of higher education in general.

Recent slumps in individual and corporate giving have been attributed to dissatisfaction with higher education on the part of potential donors and to their concern about the ability of institutions to govern themselves. It seems to me more than suggestive that the year-to-year trends in corporate and individual giving follow, with consistent time lags for the process of giving, almost exactly the trends in net corporate profits and the market values of securities, primary sources of income for voluntary contributions. These sources are shaped by general economic forces which are, in my judgment, cyclical in nature. The sharp cyclical upswing of corporate profits in 1972 and 1973 corresponds with marked increases in those years of voluntary support for highter education. Viewing the recent upturns in stock prices and current trends in net corporate profits

as positive factors, I feel optimistic about private giving as a near-term future revenue source.

Foundation support has also been sporadic in recent years. While such support has more than doubled in the last decade--from $200 million to $400 million, it was actually stronger in 1964-65 than in 1970-71. Expansion into new programs of broad social concerns, such as the inner city, had been partially responsible for this drop in foundation support. An upswing in foundation support for higher education is again evident, for in 1972-73 this support increased $50 million over the previous year.

A third unreliable source of support for higher education has been the Federal government. The decrease in Federal funding in the last half of the 1960s and early 1970s followed a period of rapidly expanding support in the early 1960s. Unfortunately, the drop in support during the last half of the 1960s largely served to intensify the beginning of an already critical financial situation for many colleges. It is only in the past year that Federal support for the collegiate sector of post-secondary education has once again begun to show an increase.

In comparison, state and local support for higher education has been generally positive. Since the late 1940s, state and local expenditures in this area have generally moved upward, with only occasional decreases. Moreover, states have begun recently to support higher education at escalating levels.

There have been instances, however, where individual public institutions have received insufficient support. One reason for this has been that these public institutions must now share public monies with a larger number of institutions such as community college and private colleges and

universities. Public institutions and state budgetary agencies often have failed to foresee, plan or budget for sharply rising costs. This has often resulted in the decline of real support per student. It would be a mistake, however, to attribute this decline in student support to active withdrawal of public support for higher education.

Along with increased public funding, institutions of higher education, both public and private, will be subject to growing demands for public accountability. I believe such demands should be seen--not as a punitive measure directed against higher education in general--but as a healthy call for an increased self-awareness on the part of colleges and universities.

The picture for major non-tuition support of higher education looks healthier than many would suggest.

1. The profit picture for large corporations is beginning to improve; this should benefit higher education in the form of both corporate and individual gifts. Recent figures show that foundation support should begin to increase again.
2. Although I must express uncertainty about the immediate future, it appears that Federal support is now increasing at a faster rate than in the last 5 years.
3. State support is also generally increasing, although New England is a dramatic exception.

In summary, the prospects for increased revenues for higher education appear brighter now than some published reports have indicated. It may not be a time for despair, retrenchment and shifting more of the cost of education to the students, but for hope and planning to establish future realities out of present possibilities.

What then are the economic prospects for higher education? As stated earlier, in the last several years a fragile stability in the economic conditions of institutions of higher education has been achieved, not by increasing revenues, but by holding down costs. In the next several years, however, economic conditions are likely to be determined by an opposite set of forces. The prospects for increasing revenues are much brighter now than they have been in the recent past. On the other hand, management cost-cutting by institutions may be approaching a point of negative returns at the same time that inflationary pressures are overwhelming. In short, the near-term economic prospects for colleges depend on either the nation's ability to control inflation or the institution's adaptation to it.

Increased productivity will continually be sought and increasingly achieved. In the face of collective bargaining, average class sizes will increase. Public institutions especially will be unable to withstand public/legislative pressure to eliminate high-cost/low demand programs.

The two-tier price system will, in the large, remain. I see little change in the fact that it costs, in general, about twice as much to attend a private college as a state one. However, serious attention must be paid to developing a national support policy financed out of general revenues to aid low-income students. The cost punishment placed on all, but falling especially hard on private institutions, is basically inequitable and unfair. Colleges have been willing to add the <u>social</u> goal of achieving equal opportunity in this country to their basic <u>educational</u> goal of creating educational services. The social goal is broader, extending far beyond education. The resources needed to achieve

it should come, in my judgment, from national general revenue sources and not be diverted from educational goals or generated by means of a tax on education.

Being an economist still in a state of shock due to wholesale forecasting failures of the profession in recent years, I cannot place much reliability on enrollment predictions and the like, past, let us say, five years. I am, however, realistic as to the implications of various data and trends mentioned in this paper. It seems clear to me that the public will develop mechanisms to support financially the achievement of national social goals as part of the basic thrust of higher education. This support will, I believe, be on higher levels than it has been in the past. I also believe larger amounts of governmental aid to education will, on balance, go for the support of private higher education along with corresponding doses of public accountability demands. However, this trend will be equaled, in effect, by public college and university success in attracting, for general institutional support, the private dollar.

ELITISM, CULTURE AND THE UNIVERSITY

William Arrowsmith

> "The world today speaks for itself: by the evidence of its decay it announces its dissolution. The farmers are vanishing from the countryside, commerce from the sea, soldiers from the camps; all honesty in business, justice in the courts, solidarity in friendship..."
>
> St. Cyprian, Ad Dem. 3

Just fifty years ago, in medieval 1924, there appeared a remarkable essay by the linguist Edward Sapir, one of those penetratingly perceptive and incisive works in which, like Freud's Civilization and its Discontents, the malaise of contemporary life was, brilliantly, with magisterial brevity, illuminated. Its title was "Culture, Genuine and Spurious"; and not the least of its many merits is that it superbly defined, in its warm human sympathy and clarity and control, the true culture (not traditional "high" Western) which it distinguished from a variety of competing shams. Since my remarks here depend upon Sapir's distinction, the reader will perhaps not object to selective quotation (meanwhile bearing in mind that the cogency of Sapir's essay lies not so much in his distinction as the wealth of argument and learning that supports it):

> "A genuine culture is perfectly conceivable in any stage of civilization, in the mold of any American genius... The genuine culture is not of necessity high or low; it is merely inherently harmonious, balanced, self-satisfactory...the expression of a richly varied and yet somehow unified and consistent attitude toward life...a culture in which nothing is spiritually meaningless, in which no important part of the general functioning brings with it a sense of frustration, of misdirected or unsympathetic effort... It carefully refuses to instruct its children in what it knows to be of no use or vitality either to them or its own mature life. Nor does it tolerate a thousand other spiritual maladjustments such as

> are patent in our American life of today... Moreover, a genuine culture refuses to consider the individual as a mere cog, as an entity whose sole raison d'être lies in his subservience to a culture that he is not conscious of or that has only a remote relevancy to his interests and strivings..."

And Sapir then proceeds to contrast life in such a culture with the life of the modern telephone operator, whose life is used for the most part in an efficient technical routine which has no relation to her own spiritual needs. Her existence is in fact an appalling sacrifice to civilization; as a solution to the problem of culture, "she and her society are a dismal failure". We can assess the scale of this failure by contrasting her life with that of an Indian salmon fisher in a culture of markedly inferior sophistication. Indeed, Sapir argues, we must distinguish sharply between culture and what, for want of a better word, he terms civilization. By civilization is meant simply the constantly increasing sophistication of our society and our personal lives. Under civilization in this sense Sapir includes "not merely technical and intellectual advance but most of the tendencies that make for a cleaner and healthier and more humanitarian--but not necessarily more humane--existence."

The beauty of Sapir's account is surely that it detaches culture from its technical means and institutions and calls these, collectively, civilization, which is culturally indifferent. But the distinction goes beyond "material" and "spiritual", and beyond "progress" too, to the centrality in all true culture of human purpose and meaning; the need for men to feel that they are autonomous, not cogs in a routinely aggrandizing "system" that has no relation to their lives or human life generally.

Further, Sapir is clearly aware that ever increasing sophistication of technical means seems frequently to threaten the value and validity of the culture the sophistication presumably serves, defends and diffuses. Modern applications immediately occur; but ancient history also bears him out. Thus, in the 5th century, the Athenians clearly recognized that the exquisite feedback mechanisms of their empire, the remarkable mesh between self-interest and expansion and the impressive social technologies (especially in the lawcourts) involved in empire inevitably seemed to erode the very culture, the paideia, which the empire came into existence to defend. In a few short years, I am saying, Athenian civilization (in Sapir's sense) eroded that Athenian culture which claimed to be, in Pericles' words, "the education of Hellas."

But Athenian civilization was a comparatively modest affair, as was the American world of 1924 which Sapir was describing. Today the roster of instruments of which the civilization disposes are exponential by contrast--viz, the world-wide mesh of international corporations, immense conglomerates devoid of any imperative except safely diversified profit and limited risk, immense data banks of computerized information, vast and ominous accumulations of fiscal and political power, an exploded bureaucracy operating in secret on the basis of low-grade systems theory, hospital cartels linked by television and computers, a vast network of research universities with wholly professionalized faculties (Riesman's "revolutionaries"), agribusiness, managerial elites, comprehensive high schools which obliterate the old communities and their responsibility, huge learning corporations which have devoured the country's publishers,

the emergence of the military as a sixth estate, the syndication of charity (i.e. depersonalization), and of course the relentless and mindless growth of all these things in a world which is correspondingly incapable of offering principled or coherent resistance.

The effect of these changes on the culture is incalculable. But the overwhelming personal fact is the sensation of having fallen irretrievably out of culture into mere fragmentary life and of having lost control--whence the anxiety that comes of impotence and the old habit of meaning which men find it so hard to kick, of feeling responsible even in the face of the civilization's daunting mass and scale. The individual may perhaps combat his conviction of helplessness by directing his energies to the correction of his own situation; but even so, the impotence continues to grow, and with it the susceptibility to evasions and unconscious compensations. Despite the individual's best efforts, the gulf continues to widen between public and private, work and leisure, thought and action, literature and life, self and other. Convinced of his isolation, the individual may turn to institutions, hoping to lose his powerlessness and loneliness in what he imagines is their massive, collective purpose, their undeniable power. And at this point he frequently discovers the intolerable fact that these institutions function blindly and routinely, for very limited and limiting ends, and that these ends seem to have no bearing on his own anxiety, his continuing sense that society is ultimately as aimless and powerless as he is. And it is at this point that somnambulism begins, for the vision is even more intolerable than the world glimpsed by St. Cyprian (see epigraph) which, after all, only proved that there was another, better world.

But here we are. On one side of us are the great engines of civilization with their annihilation and frustration of individual purpose and meaning. On the other is the memory of a lost culture which almost nobody has ever known but which still haunts us like some future utopia or paradise lost. Once he had lost his culture, the Indian, according to Sapir, is indistinguishable from his destroyer:

> "When the political integrity of his tribe is destroyed...and the old cultural values cease to have the atmosphere needed for their continued vitality, the Indian finds himself in a state of bewildered vacuity. Even if he succeeds in making a fairly satisfactory compromise with his new environment, he is apt to retain an uneasy sense of the loss of some vague and great good, some state of mind which he would be hard put to define, but which gave me a courage and joy that latter-day prosperity never quite seems to have regained for him... He has slipped out of the warm embrace of a culture into the cold air of fragmentary existence."

In Christian myth the loss of paradise is explicit; the loss of culture is less explicit, more disturbing if anything, precisely because so rarely recognized as such. Culture, after all, is what we think we still have--the context of our lives, what we are <u>at</u>. But this is an illusion. We have in fact permitted civilization to impose itself in the guise of a culture, which is wholly unsatisfactory and hollow. And so we blame others, or ourselves, or "society". The result is a desperate somnambulism, in that the unconscious need for what has been lost constantly exacts compensatory behavior--mere eroticism, the ceremonial perversion of art as a mere social and cultural bond or even token of recognition, nostalgia, evasion, bad faith, intense efforts to make up a culture out of scraps and pieces, bits of Zen, Lévy-Bruhl, Indian philosophy (mantra after mantra, sutra after sutra), "doing one's thing", the infantilism of flower-children-who-never-grow-old, and all the decorous and organized

pretences of a civilization which provides us with the paraphernalia but not the substance of culture. For education, training; for knowledge, sophistication; for inner necessity, a series of decorative life-styles; for morality, law or equity; for community, "groupiness" and collective isolation; for bread, a stone.

Too apocalyptic? Perhaps. Generalizations about technicians and bureaucrats of the mind trip too easily from the tongue perhaps. The texture of the truth may be more gritty, but it is also more revealing.

Consider, for instance, the academic world. What to my mind is missing from the common accounts of malaise and mindlessness (to borrow Charles Silberman's all to happy unhappy phrase) is a full reckoning of the pervasiveness and range of academic mauvaise foi--its elegantly interlocking mechanisms, the prodigious bureaucratic beauty of its complicating organization, and the ramification of its effects and causes through institutions of higher learning to the national and supra-national grids that rationalize and reinforce the intellectual guilds. The function of this massive apparatus is to protect professions and scholars alike in what they do and do not do, but above all, I think, from the jeopardy of imaginative vision and action and the real risk of freedom. In engineering jargon, mauvaise foi is a form of dysfunction termed "suboptimization", by which is meant a high degree of efficiency in the production of an undesirable or irrelevant output. Its cause is almost always deliberate or careless inattention to any ends which are not either marginal or proximate. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that an intelligent dean, perhaps an educator to boot, asks a chairman to improve his department's performance; the dean is exercised, it seems, about some intangible called excellence. The chairman

and his senior colleagues, faced with this exhilaratingly vague challenge, respond suboptimally--that is, in the ways they see normalized about them everywhere in the institution. They respond, that is, by mindlessly tightening up what they like to call "standards"--the syllabus is tightened up; a few subspecialties are deftly stitched in; dubious junior colleagues and "unstable" graduate students are sent packing; there is a flurry of memoranda on some timid "new" departure; and means of achieving greater "professional visibility" are circulated, and so on. The final illusion is that of a taut little ship, a sound professional hand on the tiller, sprucely sailing along with the favoring tradewinds currently blowing from whatever fashionable quarter, making briskly for nowhere.

In American universities, nowhere is not an unknown destination. It is, in fact, a familiar port-of-call. It is a number whose "worth's unknown although his height be taken". The number sought is a higher grade on the list of the top twenty graduate departments, all rank-ordered, discipline by discipline, in those lustral documents known as the Cartter Report and the Roose-Anderson Report. Published under the auspices of The American Council on Education these documents were originally commissioned by three federal funding agencies: the National Academy of Sciences, the National Institute of Health, and the Office of Education. They purport to represent "expert opinion"--that is, the judgment of the professoriate on its own performance. The rankings probably indicate <u>something</u>, but as an index of quality they are of extremely dubious value. Nonetheless, for obvious reasons, their appeal is immense simply because, in a milieu devoid of goals, they suggest an available target, the <u>illusion</u>

of an end. To unimaginative administrators they are miraculously appealing simply because they assign a quantitative value to quality and indicate models of imitable virtue and the road to preferment. For clearly a high ranking is as good as gold; indeed, it is gold. Even a slow-witted administrator can grasp the import of a high ranking on a rating list funded by those charged with the disbursement of public funds and accountable to unpredictible congressional committees. Even administrators, that is, can grasp, beneath all the plausible talk about the wisdom of having peers judge peers and the value of expert opinion, the profile of still another form of institutionalized bad faith. The responsibility for assigning public funds is a risky business; mistakes can be costly for a man's career. But the responsibility can be shirked by the simple device of summoning "expert opinion" (and since the experts are all anonymous, they cannot be asked to testify). A congressman angrily demanding to know why his university has been consistently scanted by a funding agency can be abruptly silenced by this published consensus of experts. The rankings of course are most warmly defended by those who have been ranked most favorably (and vice versa). But the effect of these reports seems quite clear. They tend, first, to make the rich richer and the poor poorer; second, the example of the highly ranked is clearly a constraint upon the behavior of these institutions lower down the scale; and the effect of such constraints is to reduce diversity, penalize imaginative risk, and reward conformity. There is, I think, an obvious tendency to promote the prevalence of disciplinary dogma--linguistic analysis in philosophy, for instance. All this might be tolerable if the reports were tolerably accurate and judicious; if they genuinely promoted that elitism called "meritocracy"

whose advocates claim it is the evident intellectual reality of our time. But this is precisely what they cannot claim to be.

Fifty years ago, then, Sapir, a man of genuine culture, warned that culture and civilization were in no sense synonymous; indeed that they might be antagonistic. For Sapir, culture was an unstable and unpredictable variable; civilization was simply a technical means of measuring the conditions for the growth or decay of the culture. Now, in 1975, it is tolerably clear that civilization and culture in Sapir's sense are not only adversaries, but that civilization has almost wholly usurped the very place and functions of culture. Civilization has become culture. The importance of this fact--so disastrous to both individuals and societies--cannot be exaggerated; obviously, it also involves radical simplifications. But no amount of reflection or academic caution deters me from the belief that what we call the mainstream culture cannot in any meaningful sense be called a culture at all. It is rather the means of culture, culture's immense and constantly complicating apparatus, masquerading as culture. The civilization, in short, has effectively obliterated and ursurped the culture it was once designed to mediate. Once upon a time, it could reasonably have been held that civilization propagated culture (examples might be the invention of printing, American plumbing, the electric light, organized Wissenschaft, information-retrieval systems, or comprehensive high schools). Now the medium has wholly, or almost altogether, become the message with a pervasiveness of which even McLuhan could not have dreamed. The apparatus now flourishes, it seems, for its own sake, relentlessly pursuing its own aggrandizing ends, and systematically (or with

the ruthlessness of reflex, it hardly matters) sets about frustrating or exterminating what little survives of genuine culture everywhere in the world. This mindless Faustian gospel is now consciously or unconsciously expounded by multi-national cartels, Brazilian Indian-killers, the publishers and teachers of Dick and Jane, and all the other organized expressions of coercive civilization. In benevolent disguise, it appears as the lunatic consequences of Affirmative Action, or the Buckley Amendment, or the Cartter Report, and similar assaults on quality in the name of statistical science or social equity. It is the impulse behind all efforts at creating the semblance of community and quality--in short, synthetic culture.

But there is perhaps no more articulate expression of it in American history than the gospel preached a hundred years ago by several of Grant's Indian commissioners to groups of Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla Indians:

"We white men have read books and they tell us the history of the red man. From the books we learn truths; they tell us that knowledge is power. The more man can do, the stronger he is; it has always been so, and always will be so. The weak people who have no books have always given way to the stronger who have books. No matter what color they were, what religion, what country.... Where are the Indians now? Their bones are mixed with the ground for three thousand miles. There is no wigwam in all that country... And the white man melts the rock, and makes iron. The canoes have left the river and the white man's steamboats are on it... Do you know why there are so many whites everywhere and why they have so much more power than the Indians? I will tell you. The Indians are gone because they tried to be Indians always. Some of you Indians here are still trying to be Indians.

All such will soon be gone to their fathers; but if the Indians listen to the white man's teaching and become like the white man, instead of getting fewer they will increase like white men...and can make a history for themselves..." Here, unmistakably, we see a genuine culture in the act of being destroyed in the name of a culture whose confidence and missionary zeal conceal the ambitions and hybris of the civilization.

Everywhere, in everything we do, whether as groups or individuals (I refrain from speaking of societies, which imply the solidarity of socii, our associates in culture), the startling emergence of civilization in the borrowed clothes and dignity of culture--the eclipse of culture by its own means--confronts as the prime reality of the age. I offer the following examples of this reality in the knowledge that their very patness will render them suspect, but in the conviction that their pervasiveness and coherence cannot be accidental.

Examples:

1. "Locals" and "cosmopolitans". A minor and familiar but revealing example. Every American campus is still divided between those whose chief loyalty is to the local community--the college and its students--and those whose allegiance belongs to the national guild or profession. The division is seldom absolute. But "locals" generally see teaching as their essential task, whereas "cosmopolitans" like to argue that teaching is a function of research, that research therefore comes first. The rift reveals the failure of the college or university to reconcile its older task--teaching, the "making of men" and the moulding of character--with its newer, secular mission of research; and the conflict of missions, almost invariably resolved in favor of research, in turn reveals how deeply

the cultural ends of education have been eroded by the civilization. Talk about "teacher-scholars" only serves to obscure the fact that institutions have transferred to their faculties the division they cannot resolve. Theoretically, the difference lies between those who see the college as a potential intellectual community--a coherent academic culture--and those whose home is their national guild. Everywhere the "locals" are inferior, in power and prestige and, all too often, in talent, to the "cosmopolitans"; and the chief reason for this is the pervasive operation of a national grid which rationalizes the civilization and administers its rewards with practised discrimination. The successful "cosmopolitan" is visible because of his research; he is mobile because he is visible and desirable; his mobility and visibility combine so that his market-value prevails locally as well as nationally, and this in turn tips the balance even more strongly against the "locals". It is the same with graduate students. Thus we reward the "superior" (translation--a talent for independent research) with fellowships which require no teaching and are exempt from taxation; we recognize the inferiority of the "teaching assistant" (and our own poor opinion of teaching) by giving him sixty or seventy undergraduates to teach and then taxing him on his earnings.

My point is not to rehearse familiar abuses but to emphasize the ways in which the civilization is imposed both nationally and locally; and how very difficult, in such circumstances, it is to build a coherent intellectual milieu or culture. Yet the vivid life of the mind, the crucial openness of intellect and imagination, the escape from professional tunnelvision or the blinkers of disciplinary method, all ultimately depend upon creating

such a ticklish and "difficult" milieu ("Is not Community the dream of Bedlam?" Emerson asked. Men are so discordant and of unequal pulse; and all excellence is inflamed or exalted individualism"). The problem is not really that an increasing number or professors are intellectual gypsies, alienated and mobile carpetbaggers of the mind (I know them," said Nietzsche. "I'm one of them myself"), or that they care too much for money and power and too little for their students. The problem is unfamiliarity and ignorance; most of us have never known anything resembling a true intellectual community and indeed cannot grasp the idea except as a mildly amiable and constructive faculty meeting. The crucial thing is the absence of an enterprise which might liberate, in the effort to create a community or a common culture, the values crucial to it. In their effort to create institutions worthy of their imagination and love and aspirations, men liberate the values they will later house as their joint achievement. But no community or culture can be built which does not take care to defend itself at both local and national levels from the pressures of a civilization whose gridded influence grips even the reformer at his work and subtly bends him to its purpose.... It is productive of purpose to have an antagonist and be required to struggle for a goal, which struggle helps to clarify and define. Arete--"always to be best, and to excel all others"--is inherently competitive and even agonistic. And the culture or paideia founded on such competitive excellence--excellence as varied as the chief human gifts--is a culture that honors competition and holds excellence higher than any individual defeat or loss. In a time when competition has become regarded as a threat to the general complacency of individual and society alike, it is important

to remember that no great human culture has ever been built upon the principle that the loser's loss is more important than the winner's victory. In the great human culture, the individual winner is, in any case, secondary to the achievement, which is always won by Man, by the community or polis.

2. Minority English. No problem is more vexing to minority communities, especially the blacks, and to teachers of English than the kind of English to be taught. We have, in Black English, an amazingly vigorous colloquial English--a valid dialect by any criterion, yet one which condemns its users to severe economic and cultural penalties when they leave the community. On the other side is the great English or Shakespeare ("the language God learned," said Auden, "when he forgot how to speak Greek"). English in this sense is, perhaps at the university level, the language of a functioning culture; but elsewhere in the society it is simply the civilization's lingua franca, a language condemned, like classical Greek in the Hellenistic Age, to increasing vulgarization and indeed barbarization as it becomes the koinē of the government--of business, law, science, the military--and ultimately a kind of world-Chinook. This English is the official language of the civilization, not the culture, and it is, as linguistic fact, even more oppresive than other instruments of coercive civilization. At present, standardization--the victory of koinē English--seems imminent. Minorities, understandably unwilling to be excluded by language disability from the economic advantages of membership in the civilization, have reluctantly acquiesced. At the university level the Mandarins of English have effectively--though not without bitter arguments--persisted in treating the potentially rich

development of minority dialects or languages as a necessary sacrifice to the traditional "high culture" they represent.

The problem--like the civilization itself--is of course not exclusively American. But the willful extinction of human and cultural "otherness", as that "otherness" is conveyed by languages and dialects, is one of the great scandals of a pluralist society. Many, if not most, Italians can, after all, speak both their own native dialect--dialects so distinct that they are mutually almost incomprehensible--and standard Tuscan Italian. Of late, because of the standardization of Tuscan imposed by the mass media and formal schooling (as well as the snobbery that equates high culture with flawless "Tuscan"--la padronanza della lingua), the dialects have begun to disappear just as the incredible regional diversity of old Italy has almost vanished beneath the inroads of civilization and the asphalt imperialism of the Autostrada del sole.

Bilingualism and biculturalism are clearly the answer, the true cultural answer. There is no conceivable reason--and every imaginable advantage--in a citizenry which can pass with ease and without embarrassment, shame, or penalty, from a language like Navaho or Cockaw to a functional koinē English and, beyond that, to the language of Shakespeare and Milton. We cannot culturally preserve genuine openness, unless we are prepared to honor otherness. In this sense the fate of minority dialects and languages are symbolic of our fate as an open and pluralistic culture. Nowhere else does the civilization reveal its inherently mindless mission of reducing the entire habitable world, from old Oraibi to Peshawar to Akenfield to Zakynthos, to the needs of advertizers, computer programmers and the economic purposes behind these things, than in this relentless

emphasis upon assimilation and standardization and extinction of all "otherness." If "otherness" is, as I happen to believe, the heart of all education and the possible future source of morality and compassion, then here, in the apparatus of the civilization is the most anti-educational, the most immoral force the world has yet encoutered--a "shadow" culture which projects, as its final product, a stunted and miserable humanity.

3. A cultural bill of rights. The American Constitution was the product of a coherent culture--coherent at least by the standards of the English Enlightenment. It could therefore afford to leave to family and church, the other institutions of culture (which, among themselves, constituted a real colonial paideia) the effective safeguarding of morality and what was once called "the spirit". Civil rights needed legal definition; the defense of human rights, implied in the arrangements for civil rights, were the province of church and family. The Founding Fathers could not have foreseen the fearful eclipse in our time of church and family any more than they could have predicted the ominous syndicates of power and privilege stronger than almost any state or the eclipse of culture and its replacement by its own means. Successive judicial interpretations have in small part repaired the damage of obsolescence.

No national project seems to me more urgent than a "Cultural Bill of Rights" which will put an end to the long nightmare of assimilation and "melting-pot" ideology. Minorities need protection from economic infringments of their cultural identities, and soon, for these identities are in countless cases, above all in smaller Indian tribes, in desperate peril. The endowments, for instance, might reasonably be explicitly charged to save Indian (and other) literatures and art-forms on the point of

perishing, just as they now attempt to salvage the crafts-tradition of the Appalachians. Even more useful would be the effort to salvage disappearing languages by training the young--still embarrassed by tribal heritage--to speak the language spoken still among the old. The chief disability of illiterate or uneducated minorities in the world of commercial English koinē is the ease with which they can be exploited; and there ought to exist an effective "tribunate" to which minorities might appeal, just as a Roman of the Republic could claim the Tribune's protection against consular abuse. Such institutions could be the institutionalized consequences of a formal preamble to a constitutional document committing the nation--as the first step in protecting cultures from wanton or mindless destruction--to the belief that any reduction in the variety and range of cultural responses is as detrimental to the species as a reduction in the genetic pool.

I do not discount the difficulty of composing such a document or of legislating it. How, for instance, do we assess the right to self-determination of an Indian tribe as opposed to the right of the citizenry of Albany, Georgia to protect themselves and what they regard as their way of life from the invasions of erotic high art or hard pornography. The problems are both moral and political; and their resolution will require no less genius than originally went into the making of the Bill of Rights. But the architectonics of a great pluralistic society, whose supporting arches would be the great international structures of law, science, a common language, etc., is to ask no more of moderns than the Mediterranean received from the men of genius who built the Pax Romana and its enabling institutions: If it is idle and visionary to imagine that such positive

talent should come from universities, given their present economic misery, their torpor of complacency, and professional bad faith, it is surely not impossible that we should charter new institutions designed and empowered to diffuse their findings, to advocate and teach them. So far as culture, an American paideia, is concerned, no value is so much needed as the undeniable evidence of responsibilities assumed and met in the service of an agenda in which our lost culture can be recreated or made anew.

And there is the crucial, but incredibly difficult, task of framing a tenable theory of human rights in a society so liberal or secular, so devoid of a consensus, that no traditional sanction can conceivably prevail. The problem could not be more pressing. We confront an increasingly inhuman world with a doctrine of human rights--our putative resemblance to God--which is no longer valid, no longer generally believed. This means that the problem of establishing philosophically--or rather persuasively in the hearts of men--a new rationale of human rights is the prime, immediate priority; the issue is our own unprotected humanity, our own aggressive and destructive humanity. Despite strong religious stirrings, the only prospect is for a long secular interregnum. And in this difficult interim, our best prospects lie with those whose defence of human rights, however imperfect, does not lie with the idea of a transcendant god. Neither American Indians generally, nor the ancient Greeks, so far as I know, founded their theory and practice of human rights on any fancied resemblance to their gods. The central, governing idea was rather a solidarity of fate--a con-sortium in death and life which made it possible to feel identity as mutuality; my fate--the fact that I am mortal, that I suffer and die--exacts from you

the same compassion, the same dignity of treatment, that your fate requires from me. This, for instance, is surely what Sophocles is saying through the mouth of Odysseus as he looks at the misery of his fallen enemy, Ajax:

> ... I pity
> his wretchedness, though he is my enemy,
> for the terrible yoke of blindness that is on him.
> I think of him, but also of myself,
> for I see the true state of all of us that live--
> we are dim shapes, no more, and weightless shadow.

Similarly, the Blackfoot Indians in their cosmogony stress the way in which death enables compassion--enables it as nothing else could. Thus when they were making man, First Grandmother and First Grandfather disagreed as to whether man should die. First Grandmother, however, insisted on death, for, given death, she said, "men would pity each other. There is no other way."

I repeat, the incontestable fact of common human conduct in the present, in the face of this coercive civilization and its almost autonomous life, is bad faith, mauvaise foi. We characteristically pretend that we are not free; and the aim of our pretence is to deny our freedom and therefore our moral responsibility to think and act. As Sartre knew (and as the Greeks knew long before Sartre), men are condemned to freedom. The human project itself is the openness imposed by the fact that every man is condemned to freedom, his own as it confronts openly that of others. That freedom cannot be burked except at the cost of one's own humanity. To live as a human being means, as Euripides everywhere suggests, accepting tragedy as a generic human fate. Tragedy always implies being

torn to pieces--a spiritual sparagmos, rending--just as it implies freely consenting to this agony of choice. The man who refuses tragedy refuses his choice to be human, chooses unfreedom and conformity. The more turbulent the times, the greater the temptation to bad faith; the more nearly one can claim that he is dwarfed by forces beyond his power to cope with or control, the greater the cogency and appeal of irresponsibility becomes, the more openness disappears, and solidarity in freedom is lost. Bad faith now covers the country, as John Jay Chapman said, like the grease on a Strasbourg pate. It is everywhere--in politics, business, education, and ordinary life--in all of us. You cannot find a man who is not tainted by it. "Even the critic of culture is unhappy with civilization, to which alone he owes his discontent. He speaks as if he represented either pure Nature or a higher historical stage. Yet he is necessarily of the same nature as that to which he imagines himself superior."(Adorno). Who are we, here in Boston, we happy (or unhappy) few?

The complicating mechanisms, the range, power, complexity of civilization, the paralyzing apparatus of suboptimization are enough to "make cowards of us all." This collective cowardice is itself coercive. To be Lear cursing the world, or Oedipus with bloody eyeballs demanding more responsibility than the gods ever gave him, is one thing, quite appealingly and appallingly noble. To be Don Quixote, amiably tetched but lonely, or Chicken Little, is something else again.

What then, dearly beloved? Earlier, I mentioned an enterprise that might liberate, in the very effort to create a common cluture, a responsible community, the values without which such a community could not cohere, act, or endure. The enterprise I have in mind, however is not the direct, doomed frontal effort to create a culture in opposition

to our botched but triumphant civilization, nor even the sane, modest, and perhaps useful efforts to create community schools, or little pockets of cultural resistance, or radical Edens, or Secular monasteries. The effort I have in mind is the effort to reform the civilization, to make the civilization what, in a better world, it might be--the responsive instrument and enabling device of the culture it now threatens. A Quixotic task, perhaps, but less Quixotic in the long run, it seems to me, than the effort to mount rearguard actions, guerilla campaigns, or all-out war; certainly less Quixotic than the effort to save intellectually bankrupt universities from merely fiscal disaster. We meet, I hardly need to say, in the shuddering slack of a bad time; there are no Messiahs in the room or on the cultural and political horizon, and none visibly looming. We are what we are, a group of largely discouraged, decently frightened intellectuals, bureaucrats, administrators, functionaries, modest has-beens and modest will-bes. But the spectacle of modest men and women, immodest enough to assert responsibility in a world of bad faith, may be the only show in town. My example is the bureaucrat Watanabe in Kurosawa's great film Ikiru. Dying of cancer--a cancer which is inside him but also in his contextual world, his society--he succeeds in breaking the chains of his own professional and personal bad faith by claiming the one freedom he has--the freedom to act in the modest parish his bureaucratic post permits. His freedom apparently liberates at least one other and, temporarily, exhilarates all the rest; for, as Kurosawa knows, freedom, like bad faith, is transmitted by example and contagion, not by formal instruction. In the long wake which concludes the film, we see the director's deepest concern--a meditation on freedom through a confrontation with death, freedom enabled by dying,

the possibility, however muted, of a new paideia, a new ethos founded on a great myth of freedom, a true myth.

Brave hopes, an existential art. Examples gross as earth exhort us. Can the civilization be reformed? Perhaps not. Perhaps only by a cultural revolution. But such revolutions can only be provoked by the effort--moral, organizational, political, hortatory, exemplary--to reform and revalue this invasive and suboptimal fraud, this intolerable zero-culture in which we live. Formal education cannot be wholly discounted, but its present seizure by the civilization has rendered it nearly altogether useless for any large or generous human purposes. Even if redeemed and reinvigorated by intelligent leadership and new goals, it is all too vulnerable to countervailing national forces, professional inertia or stupidity, the intolerances of those whose taxes support it and who, because they have not themselves been educated, perceive anything which does not simply replicate the civilization they confound with culture as threatening.

I realize that this must sound apocalyptic, but I have no apology to make. The loss of even the last residue of culture, the experience of being thrown into mere fragmentary life is nothing if not apocalyptic. We are by now prepared to leave paradise, perhaps, but there is little to be said for a world in which we expel both ourselves and others from our common humanity. At the University of Texas where I spent twelve years, I knew the only genuine community--the only true intellectual community--I have ever known. And I saw it utterly and accurately destroyed by the oligarchy of Cro-Magnon thugs who now rule that unhappy state. I have spent more time and energy than I care to think about in efforts to reform institutions, from the University of California

to M.I.T., from high school humanities programs to national professional guilds to paraprofessional training. And I cannot recall a single, even a partial one, that endured. In every case either local resistance or torpor defeated the reform; or the national grid reasserted itself locally, and quietly but effectively reversed the changes. A decade of ferment in education has in fact produced immense changes in colleges and universities, but very little substantive educational reform. Ten years ago, I attacked what I chose to call the "shame of the graduate schools"; ten years later, their shame is, if anything, even more scandalous than before.

Some of you may have been luckier. But I find it hard to be sanguine about educational reform. Byzantium, after all, was not reformed from within, but without; and the reformers were not young Turks, but old and terrible Turks. The internal effort is of course indispensable; nothing worth doing will be done unless we can locate the potential fifth-column in the ranks of the civilization. But there must be <u>someone</u> at the gates. An army seems unlikely, but Homer tells us of a beleaguered town on a windy plain; and a large wooden horse...

The civilization is not of course unique in its claim to <u>be</u> the culture it once served to mediate and diffuse. The country is chock-a-block full of <u>soi-disant</u> cultures which are in no sense cultures at all but rather makeshift shelters designed to protect refugees from, or rebels against, the civilization. Ethnic communities in name only, they are too often marginal, desperate, and deeply unsure of themselves.

Suffering and oppression make for solidarity, it is true, but the solidarity of oppression simulates the warm embrace of culture without the substance; and once the oppression ends, the old fragmentation reappears. True, a few Indian tribes have with some degree of success (usually modest and temporary) resisted the civilization; and even the old European ethnic minorities have retained a vestige of their heritage. But these minorities are in no sense unmeltable; the melting-pot claims them even in their frantic efforts to avoid it in their struggles to retain symbolic and often token differentiation. As for youth-cultures and counter-cultures, they are transparently middle-class inversions of the civilization; and they are dying daily. Still, it is impossible not to feel sympathy for their efforts to resist; and I wish them well. What they cannot command are precisely the cultural skills they tend to dismiss as irrelevant--applied intelligence; moral understanding; the expertises of the learned professions; in sum, the skills still deployed aimlessly in the civilization. And while it is certainly important that minorities and cultural refugees should feel, in contrast to consenting adherents of the civilization, that they control their own destinies, it is doubtful that cultural identity is so easily achieved; expelled by the front door, the civilization returns by the window. To take the most casual example, it is, I think, worth asking whether the Navaho Community College is not in fact simply a more subtle--because Navaho-controlled--instrument of assimilation designed to produce a Navaho who can transfer without penalty to the universities of Arizona and New Mexico and then, presumably, return to the reservation as an unconscious agent of the civilization which has

educated him largely against his own culture. Which is not, of course, to claim that civilization is a white conspiracy or anything of the kind. Minorities, I fear, all too rarely understand that white culture, Wasp culture, genteel middle-class or "mainstream culture" are all, like minority cultures, the prisoners of a civilization which is too vast, too autonomous and bureaucratically impersonal in its dynamic to be actively racist or sexist (which requires some degree of discrimination), or anything but indiscriminately, universally omnivorous in their assimilation.

Civilization in this dimension is a vast, self-perpetuating, self-diffusing mechanism, our own contemporary version of Shakespeare's "appetite, an universal wolf" which devours everything and, finally, itself, the same wolf which the Greeks knew as the pith and spirit of imperialism and called pleonexia, and which Nietzsche splendidly translated as Mehr-haben-und-mehr-haben-wollen: "If a man's desires are boundless," wrote the Renaissance theologian Alberico Gentili, "and there is sufficient glory and power to satisfy them, that is not a law of nature, but a defect"--a defect in man, one hastens to add, or rather, a defect in culture, in paideia, synonymous with universal license in our late civilization.

For the foreseeable future, culture--the residue of true culture--will tend to inhabit these isolated efforts by groups and individuals to resist, in their different ways, the emptiness and pain and life-in-death of mere fragmentary existence. And it is, surely, the task of any elite that aims at something more than status and power, to identify these groups, to help them articulate in thought and action an integrated and harmonious culture and to assist them in the strategies of intelligent

resistance to civilization. Concerted, responsible, intelligent action--the very action which might create or liberate the values of a culture in the act of resisting the shams that have taken on the claims of authentic culture. Such action necessarily supposes an elite, a new elite--an elite which derives its title to lead from its accurate sense of the crisis, its outrageous and unheard-of assertion of responsibility, and its ability to elicit assent in those it would lead.

Praise of elites in these days of "participatory democracy" is unfashionable and perhaps dangerous, for obvious reasons. The old governing elite which identified itself and its WASP culture with the civilization has disgraced itself as surely as the Italian bourgeoisie disgraced itself in Mussolini's shoddy Roma Rinnovata. But we cannot do without elites; no great society or true culture has ever come into being without the active maieutic work of an elite; and the very great human cultures have been the creation of elites which actively accepted competitive excellence--Greek arete--as their cardinal principle and value. The greatest present obstacle to the appearance of an American elite is the synthetic elitism fostered by the civilization--the elitism of what is sometimes called the "Establishment" or, more deceptive but no more honorably, "meritocracy." It is this elite which now manages the civilization, which has effectively imposed upon the university and society its own "meritocratic" goals. Ultimately, advocates of "meritocracy" rest their case upon the argument that a managerial elite can be educated by professional skills which, in their random juxtaposition or sequence, are supposed to confer a collective impress dubbed, for no good reason, "education". And in support of this theory which rationalizes actual

practice (one of the commoner forms of bad faith), candidates for meritocratic consideration are screened by testing procedures which test only their professional aptitudes. The bad faith involved could hardly be greater. But upon these proceedings rests the whole superstructure of meritocratic machinery--the monstrous statistical apparatus of the Cartter Report, the Welch Report, the G.R.E., college boards, and other quantified caricatures of quality. Behind the scientistic front of "objective measurement" lies the sorry, shabby-genteel reality--an old-boy network in disrepute and disrepair but still functioning, the wreckage of an old privileged elite still established in the universities, foundations, and corporate boards, desperately attempting to rationalize the whole vast suboptimal system as an emergent social reality and also to suggest the noble aura--in fact, quite appallingly absent--of old arete, professional service and compassion, human wisdom, long view, the risk of freedom, and high imaginative enterprise. Of nobless oblige you will not hear a word. The inventors of meritocracy, like Ortega y Gasset's spoiled and childish mass-man, are eager to inherit the privileges but not the responsibilities of the hereditary elite they claim to replace. That this tawdry but cagey Establishment--which stands to a true elite as civilization stands to culture--should lead to distrust of all elites is not surprising; but the disenchantment is costly, since it works to the general disrepute of genuine leadership. Obviously leaders are unlikely to appear when leadership itself is in question; and high abilities are grounds, not for admiration, but envy and distrust. Any true leader must of course have real rapport with those he leads; he must know their minds, in Machiavelli's sense, and

elicit their assent by anticipation of their noblest aspiration. Their noblest aspiration--Machiavelli's prince can lead not because he is democratically affable or expert-certified, but because he literally crystallizes, like Stendhal's lover, the best aspirations of those he leads, those who love him; his power is precisely this power to crystallize aspiration, the kind of charisma or grace that Plato saw as the divinity of those we love, those teachers who crystallize our highest love, who teach us how to approach the god to whom we are indentured, and whom we hope, on tiptoes, to touch and be.

Leadership is in bad odor because it is disgraced by its own bad faith. Yet the prevalent popular distrust of all leadership and authority is, I think, a symptom of equally bad faith in the led. Commitment is refused because it spares us responsibility and risk. It is all the more important, then, that fraudulent leadership and synthetic elitism should be exposed for the shams they are. In education, as in every other field of organized intellect, there is an effective national grid of restraints and attitudes which reinforce the general suboptimization. And this grid is vulnerable, morally and intellectually. The Archimedean point, therefore, at which all our energies should be directed is the bad faith which governs the civilization; unless attention is directed there, the fifth column of culture is doomed to useless sacrifice inside the walls, like a child's sandcastle threatened by the incoming tide. The tide is the thing; whatever the folly of Canute, what is called for is the capacity, by courage and skill, to turn that tide.

It was that tide I had in mind a few years ago when I seriously

proposed what I then called a "university of the public interest." I was probably wrong in supposing that a university could conceivably become a true custodian of the culture or act as a wise and effective tribune of the public interest. But I believed then, as I still do, that liberal learning--reformed, lively, humane, and intelligent--is indispensable to any form of cultural or social action that is not simply suboptimal. True learning liberates; it also suggest the significant, optimal, the best, use of freedom. The weakness of all liberation movements is that they suggest no significant use of freedom; it is their striving that makes them interesting, not their achievements. Freedom itself, I mean, is a problematic solution. Even in its present form, the university is the only available shelter for liberal learning. It is the university that now trains, and that might educate, professionals. The tasks I once proposed for my tribune-university are, after all, professional, requiring knowledge; those tasks are still undone, unrecognized, unclaimed. Sternly revised, sparingly planned (I have no illusions about federal benevolence or foundation courage), the idea is still practicable. More practicable, I think, than the piecemeal effort to reform crippled universities--in the teeth of bankruptcy or insolvency, against the ruthlessly suboptima. assault of Affirmative Action, the Cartter Report, and the Buckley Amendment; against the wishes of a timid and apprehensive professoriate supported nationally by the shabby-genteel syndicalism of the new, less-than-admirable A.A.U.P.; against all the instruments of the nationally gridded civilization.

The name of the reform hardly matters; but interprises of such aim and nature are one of the few institutional reforms, short of revolution, by which those who possess knowledge can apply it to correct our common ills,

and perhaps, by so doing, to reform the institutions themselves or the disciplines themselves, now so obviously in such bad faith with the culture they are meant to mediate in the work of education. Only by using what we know in tasks whose complexity mocks even our pooled skills, let alone our conventional specialisms, can be create a true intellectual community, which is to say a model of the common culture we no longer have. If we are to have paideia, then we shall have to improvise an energizing arete, and a new elite whose principle is service, not privilege or a "meritocratic" surrogate.

Improvised arete--the institutionalization of the excellence that must, when culture fails, be reinvented and reenergized, in significant striving and purpose. The age is wretched and nearly desperate; and it suffers from knowledge which has been deformed and barbarized, or is, in many cases, cancerous, an explosion of invasive and alien excess. And though the traditional custodians may suppose the problem is the barbarians outside, howling down all merit and standards, the real danger is bad faith at the top and the massive degradation of the professions. Those who have knowledge in a world controlled by deformities of knowledge cannot morally evade the responsibility for humane and concerted action. "I cannot praise," wrote John Milton in one of the great classics of human openness and active freedom, "a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world; we bring impurity much rather; that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue, therefore, which is but a youngling in the contemplation of

evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness..."

Discussion Groups

Monday June 2 2:30

FORUM I: Colonnade West

"Higher Education Under the Microscope"

Chairman: William A. Miller, Jr., Associate Editor, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*

Consultant: George Bonham, Editor, *Change*

Recorder: James Broschart, Doctoral Candidate, Higher Education, Boston College

FORUM II: Colonnade East

"Non-Traditional Programs and Adult Learning"

Chairman: Eugene E. DuBois, Specialist in Adult Education, American Association of Community and Junior Colleges

Consultant: John Valley, Director, Office of New Degree Programs, Educational Testing Service, New Jersey

Recorder: James Cornelison, Doctoral Candidate, Higher Education, Boston College

FORUM III: Huntington Foyer

"Education for the Professions: Present and Future"

Chairman Everett C. Hughes, Professor of Sociology, Boston College

Consultant: Seymour Martin Lipset, George Markham Professor of Government and Sociology, Harvard University

Recorder Martha D. Jones, Doctoral Candidate, Higher Education, Boston College

FORUM IV: Lobby Salon

"Changing Youth Values"

Chairman William Crawley, Dean of Students, Fordham University

Consultant Kathy Kelly, President, United States National Student Association, Washington, D.C.

Recorder. Caroline Richardson, Doctoral Candidate, Higher Education, Boston College

Tuesday June 3 2:30

FORUM V: Colonnade West

"Generating Financial Resources"

Chairman: Addison L. Winship II, Director of Development, Dartmouth College

Consultant: Bayley F. Mason, Vice President for Resources, Boston University

Recorder: Frank Delaney, Doctoral Candidate, Higher Education, Boston College

FORUM VI: Colonnade East

"Can University Administrators Effect Change?"

Chairman. Edgar F. Huse, Professor of Organizational Development, Boston College

Consultant. Norman Coates, Professor of Management and Industrial Relations, University of Rhode Island

Recorder Carol A. Smith, Doctoral Candidate, Higher Education, Boston College

FORUM VII: Huntington Foyer

"Changing Town-Gown Relationships"

Chairman. Thomas F. O'Connell, President, Berkshire Community College

Consultant: Carlo Golino, Chancellor, University of Massachusetts, Boston

Recorder: Robert Villiard, Doctoral Candidate, Higher Education, Boston College

FORUM VIII: Lobby Salon

"University Governance: Ideal and Reality"

Chairman Robert Leestamper, President-elect, Southeast Missouri State University

Consultant. Joseph Duffey, Executive Director, American Association of University Professors, Washington, D.C.

Recorder: Yolanda Mamone, Doctoral Candidate, Higher Education, Boston College

FORUM I - HIGHER EDUCATION UNDER THE MICROSCOPE

George Bonham, editor-in-chief of Change, and William A. Miller, Jr., associate editor of The Chronicle of Higher Education, scrutinized the present and essayed to foresee the probable future of American higher education. From their unique vantage point gained through years of analysis and reportage of the changing face of American social and political institutions, they were able to place contemporary post-secondary education into a frame of reference which gave their comments immediacy and impact.

Mr. Miller, as forum chairperson, emphasized the need for a critical examination of several major and connected issues confronting higher education today. We have moved from a set of political concerns, he noted, into a focus on the worth of education itself. This means not only the financial problems facing nearly everyone in higher education of how to maintain solvency in an era of inflation and the steady state conditions of no-growth, but also the concomitant pressures to demonstrate worth in terms of educational value. This issue of demonstrating value faces not only admissions officers in their attempts to recruit students, it also is demanded of total institutional administrations. Monday and "value-received" questions have in fact become central political and social policy issues. Both educational costs and cost-accounting have become primary topics of concern at every level, ranging from client and community to government agencies, statehouses, and the floor of the Congress. This focus on financial survival for higher education becomes even more starkly illuminated as we observe the marked drop in public confidence in our educational institutions and programs. Mr. Miller concluded his presentation by observing that the dimension of the problem of financing higher education can be most fully appreciated if we note that by projecting comtemporary rates of tuition increase into the future, today's five-year-old faces costs of $43,000 for four years of college in the private sector and costs of $30,000 for a public college education when that youngster reaches college age.

Responding to Mr. Miller's view of the financial crisis in higher education, Mr. George Bonham developed an even bleaker panorama of American social ills as a backdrop against which the problems besetting higher education stood gaunt and barren. He identified as a larger problem what he called the "failing American spirit" which has become cumulative in its effect upon our society over the past two decades. He doubts that colleges and universities can turn this tide, and described a piling up, a log-jam, of national and international concerns, issues, and crises creating an almost overwhelming complexity of interrelated problems about the future worth of human life. He discerned a tendency toward a general leveling of social aspiration and achievement in this country resulting in the development of a widespread animosity toward higher education as a selection mechanism for merit and the consequent lack of public support for a continuation of such an institutional model.

Mr. Bonham feels that the global issues are pervading and imperative; they must be confronted at national levels of decision-making and policy implementation. Hence, he sees higher education making little significant impact. He faults leaders of educational institutions for being preoccu-

pied with short-term crises and for responding mainly to parochial issues. He see faculties as having little social conscience and less social involvement. He asserts that most publicists for higher education are short-sighted in assessing their institution's potential role in the larger society.

Mr. Bonham concluded by suggesting that higher education would be best advised, given its predispositions, to turn its attention to its local and regional constitutuencies in order to survive. He is gravely concerned that what is missing from higher education in this country is a national level of policy evaluation and discussion.

FORUM II - NON-TRADITIONAL PROGRAMS AND ADULT LEARNING

This session which was entitled "Non-Traditional Programs and Adult Learning" was chaired by Eugene E. DuBois of the American Association of Community Junior Colleges. Dr. DuBois opened the session by making introductions and asking each of the approximately twenty-five participants to introduce themselves. He then introduced John Valley, Director of the Office of New Degree Programs of the Educational Testing Service in New Jersey.

Dr. Valley began his talk by comparing Higher Education with fishermen aroung a lake, each casting a line hoping to entice the adult learners. In conjunction with these recruiting efforts, Dr. Valley noted several trends that are occuring:

1. There are twenty-eight states which have had or have some statewide plan for reaching and education the non-traditional students. All differ in their approach.

2. There is an increasing diversity of organizational structures in this cooperative, not competitive, approach to meet the needs of these students. These include statewide approaches, consortia of private colleges, consortia of public and private colleges, and the establishment of Educational brokers and validations services apart from the established structures.

3. Increased interest in competency-based degree programs.

4. The concept of credit-by-examination is booming.

5. There is an expanding interest in giving credit for out-of-class activities.

6. There is a continuation of experimentation in delivery systems, i.e. newspaper, television, telephone, commuter railroad, buses and trailer vans, libraries and even consideration for using satellites.

7. There is emergences of the concept of fulfilling the requirements of complete degree programs through independent study.

8. There is the emergence of support for facilitating services, i.e. educational informational systems, credit by examination programs, offices for credit of non-college courses, etc.

Along with these trends, Dr. Valley cited several problems areas that exists in Adult Education. These are:

1. The absence of a clear-cut policy regarding life-long learning.

2. Financing this education either individually, or by society.

3. New learning modes require new students of learning and new teaching personnel.

4. There is a lack of student outreach services, i.e. counseling, etc.

5. There should be more program evaluation.

6. There is lack of coordination and linkages within institutions and programs.

Dr. Valley emphasized that colleges and universities need to change the traditional programs to better meet the needs of non-traditional students. The practice has been to offer the traditional programs to adults.

Questions and discussion followed Dr. Valley's presentation with both Dr. Valley and Dr. DuBois responding. Highlights of the points made were as follows:

- Some state plans have not worked because of educational political forces within the state. Higher Education should focus upon those that haven't been successful, because they may be adaptable to another situation. Competition for the educational dollar is making it more difficult for plans to work.

- We must not fall into the practice of categorizing all non-traditional students into one homogenous class with like characteristics. Likewise, a multiciplicity of learning approaches must be used in their education. For instance, it is unrealistic to think that television can be used exclusively. Even the British Open University uses this approach as only one of many.

- There is a tendency, particularly with today's abundance of Ph.D.'s, for community colleges to hire Ph.D.'s who may be more inclined to mold the community college in a conservative fashion like the four-year institutions. To insure continued innovation and creativeness, care must be taken in selecting staff.

- Faculty or community colleges will continue to pursue education. Therefore, universities should develop a Ph.D. program designed to meet their needs.

- A CEU (Continuing Education Unit) is an accounting mechanism for credit activity outside the college. It is an established unit of measurement. Confusion is created by the existence of credit and non-credit work.

- One way of untangling the snarls of evaluation of CEU's is an individual assessment and prescription of education needs for each student. Focus would be on the additional needs of students, not on evaluation of past experiences.

- Credit and non-credit continuing education will increasingly be sought after by adults. Non-traditional approaches can better economically meet these needs.

- New educational programs in addition to flexible deliveries, must be developed. There should be an individualized response to each learner.

- Colleges and universities should design programs to meet the needs of a specific target population. This would make programs more effective.

FORUM III - EDUCATION FOR THE PROFESSIONS: PRESENT AND FUTURE

In order to satisfy basic human needs, people have found appropriate ways to mobilize in a group effort to effectively and efficiently meet end goals. "The professions are," according to Professor Everett C. Hughes, "lines of action developed in response to societal needs." Today, there is a trend toward increasing the number of professions; many occupations are calling themselves professions, but should more appropriately be termed vocations.

By way of definition, Hughes indicated that a profession requires education beyond the high school level. Generally persons entering the professions complete high school requirements, three or four years of college, and then enter a professional school. A basic distinction between a professional school of medicine and a graduate school of science is that a license is required to practice medicine, but not to carry on experimentation.

It generally follows that the longer the period of training, the higher the status of the profession and the higher the life-time earning potential. "There is a definite hierachy of professions," said Hughes. As the profession grows, specialization occurs resulting in a sub-system of activities which are organized by fusion to the main body.

Professor Seymour Martin Lipset stressed three characteristics of professions. First, occupations which refer to themselves as professional require specialized training generally at a post-graduate collegiate level. Second, professions are generally service-oriented. Third, there is a code of ethics which serves as a system of interior control enforced by the members of the profession.

During the past decade many young people have elected to enter professions which afford them the opportunity to be of service to others; to work in ghetto environments with deprived populations, "This phase," said Lipset, "has been modified by the current economic recession. The service-to-all egalitarian ethic has collapsed in practice because only the affluent can afford to be idealistic." The present trend toward individualism is due to economic instability. The relationship between a professional code of ethics and the economy should not be understated.

A question was raised relative to the obligation of the university to educate to meet the changing needs of the professions. Dr. Lipset stressed that there is a need for continuing education throughout life. Hughes suggested that universities should encourage collaboration with other institutions and businesses. The university cannot meet all societal demands and thus must set priorities.

In response to a query concerning the impact of unionization on the academic profession, Lipset noted that there is a need to learn not only subject matter, but also, the accepted methods of operation within the structure of the profession. This must become a part of the preparatory educational experience.

An important issue was raised relative to regulation of entry into the professions. The present job crisis is due, according to Lipset, to the economy and the fact that higher education has expanded more rapidly than

the work opportunities which require higher education background. The birth-rate has also had a substantial impact, particularly upon the teaching profession. Economists have argued that oversupply leads to price reduction and therefore cuts down on the numbers entering the profession. However, as in teaching, it may be difficult to determine exactly what the real demand is. "What is the ideal teacher/student ratio?", asked Lipset. "If we agree that better schools have smaller classes, then the number of teacher positions will increase."

In relation to the increased emphasis on vocational education, Lipset reported that the level of unemployment today is the same as it was in the 1920's; however, we have come to assume a state of full-employment. The demand for security has been lessened by the program benefits of the welfare state. Getting a job is not viewed as an end all. Credentials are becoming more important, however; young people are not work-oriented. Teenagers do not want to work, middle class youth escape to college, and lower class youth do not work. Dr. Lipset questioned whether youth unemployment is really unemployment or a point in a cycle.

Affirmative action legislation has resulted in the recruitment of minority persons for traditional status and prestige positions. The fact remains, however, that many jobs are basically dull. "Who will be the typist or switchboard operator of the future?", asked Lipset. He anticipated less efficient secretaries and suggested a more inegalitarian caste system. "While in the past the female secretary did not find her work demeaning as a person, the current increase in executive opportunities for women has resulted in a lowering of the status of the secretarial position for all persons."

In closing, Dr. Lipset suggested that men and women who hold the same unpleasant, demeaning jobs have many outside, non-work related areas of common mutual interest, such as house hunting. He stressed the importance of outside intrinsic values, "People will take uninteresting, non-professional jobs if their wider life is satisfying. We must make trade-offs," he concluded.

FORUM IV - CHANGING YOUTH VALUES

The session was opened by Chairman William Crawley who commented on the widespread interest currently focused on the values held by youth in our society. He cited the impressive amount of research, discussion, and writing devoted to this topic. Further evidence of this interest is found in the number of credit and non-credit courses, workshops, and group sessions which have been developed in this area. However, he turned to the Consultant, Kathy Kelly, for an authoritative report on contemporary youth values.

Ms. Kelly President of the United States National Student Association responded with an address followed by a discussion period, during which she made several major points. She contends that the students of the Seventies are victims of the myths which persist about the students of the Sixties, that today's students are incorrectly accused of being more self-centered and less socially aware or responsible than their recent counterparts.

The volatile issues of the past decade prompted an indignation which was exhibited in confrontation, militant action, demonstrations, or peaceful resistance. These issues also inspired an altruism which was expressed through volunteering in agencies like Vista and the Peace Corps and through attempts at involvement in governing processes, particularly on college campuses.

Ms. Kelly claims that misperceptions about today's students persist because the techniques of their predecessors made news headlines. The students of the Seventies are equally concerned, but are more sophisticated about the methods they employ. The new arenas for contest are courtrooms, legislatures, and institutions. The issues most frequently addressed are those of economic justice and polit-

ical ethics. In colleges, attention is being focused on the quality of teaching and faculty effectiveness as well as the financial burden of higher education. Students are taking educational opportunities more seriously than ever, partially motivated by self-interest, but also inspired by a desire to make a worthwhile contribution to society.

Ms. Kelly believes that her fellow students have learned how complex social problems are and are employing more sophisticated strategies to solve them.

FORUM V - GENERATING FINANCIAL RESOURCES

Bailey Mason, Vice President for Resources at Boston University, opened the Forum by presenting prepared remarks in which he traced the management and generation of financial resources. In tracing the history of fund development in higher education, Mr. Mason pointed out that colleges; like Pauline, have been perpetually imperiled and always--or nearly always--saved. Taking a historical perspective on development programs, Mr. Mason illustrated that major capital campaigns in higher education in this country began only as late as 1956 with A Program for Harvard College. Prior to this period, fund raising was essentially a function of the college president and the efforts of philanthropists such as Leland Stanford, George Eastman, and John D. Rockefeller. In effect, fund raising was an amateur operation which relied upon the service of volunteers rather than professional fund raisers.

In the post World War II period where the Federal Government became an important partner in sponsored research, faculty members quickly learned to become entrepreneurs and the growth of dependency on Federal dollars for institutes and research projects grew at a fantastic rate. Unfortunately, there was very little coordination between institutional development offices, the Federal Government, the faculty or any other agencies concerned with bringing research or philanthropic dollars into the institutions. There was a great reliance on old boy networks and individual interest in projects when time came to seek out funds to support activities. Rarely was a program coordinated to the point where it might be funded by a variety of sources both public and private.

Lack of coordination and planning has been a typical problem in higher education and is perhaps illustrated rather dramatically by the fact that Oberlin College, which is generously endowed, recently completed a 10.5 million dollar learning center without any operating endowment, and then the institution was startled to discover that financing and operating costs had thrown the annual budget grotesquely out of phase. Mr. Mason pointed out that all too often planning in higher education for capital and then continuing expenses was often very much like the attitude of the delightful Dickens' character Wilkins McCawber who always felt that "something would turn up."

Mr. Mason pointed out that in the past if any projections were done in terms of cost or income, it was simply plotted on a straight line basis to determine whether or not past growth patterns could be continued at any given rate.

As Vice President for Resources at Boston University, Mr. Mason is charged with the responsibility of coordinating all the financial resources which come into the University from outside agencies, including Federal Government, State, Alumni, and Foundations, as well as research grants to faculty, departments and professional schools.

Mr. Mason offered a simple prescription for internal reorganizational activities which he believes must be undertaken prior to the gearing up for any major campaigns to bring funds into the institution.

1. Merge the Development Office with the Grants and Contracts Office, retaining sub-specialities within an overall Resources Office umbrella.

2. Channel all funding requests through one office regardless of the source of support contemplated.

3. Create a formal mechanism involving senior academic officers, budget officers, and resource officers to set institutional goals and funding priorities.

4. Create both a capital budget and an operating budget and insist that income projections be developed with the same attention devoted to expenditure planning, thus ending the present system of throwing in income projections as mere balancing items.

Crisis management had its place in the 1968-70 student disruptions, although some foresight might have averted some of the disasters. Mr. Mason pointed out that we cannot approach the present financial stress as a temporary phenomena, waiting hopefully for a return to the financially lush days of the mid-60's. He stressed that we must maximize income with an organized, consolidated approach to all sources of funds. Without careful analysis of planning of both income resources and expenditures, institutions of higher education are inviting a permanent financial crisis which might be analogous to the Hundred Years War.

A two-hour question and answer period followed Mr. Mason's opening comments, and some of the more interesting and less specifically institutional questions include the following.

Q. Is it sensible to project on a five-year basis?

A. Sidney Tickton uses the five-year plan and it is about the longest limit I would suggest. Indeed, right now, using a one-year projection is hard. For example, the last year's fuel crisis threw off all projections which had been made. I suggest that a five-year plan be used and have it broken down into three, two, and one year components with workups being made on both sides of the income and revenue expected along with the expense side. Revisions should be made on a continuing basis. Questions should be asked like what is coming up? What will we lose? In this way, a constant analysis of income and outlay over a very short term and a longer five year term can be maintained and various activities conducted or restricted according to the varying circumstances and conditions of the time.

Q. What success do you have in soliciting funds from individual donors?

A. The success is dependent upon a commitment which is solicited over a period of time. Variables change projections. It is wrong and completely inappropriate to assume that past performance will continue, for example, if Joe Smith gave $5000 last year, it is inappropriate to assume that he will give $5000 this year unless the commitment has been solicited over a period of time and specified that it would occur that way. As I said before, conditions change rapidly and straight line projections of continued growth are not

compatible with the variable pattern in the economy today.

Q. A very small number of people give the largest amount of money. For example, 85% of the money comes from 15% of the people. How does this affect fund raising?

A. Foundation people want to be aware of the percentage of alumni participation in giving. Some foundations expect a 50% participation level before they will contribute. On the other hand, some do not require such a high level of activity. Obviously, it is well to have as high a level of participation as you can.

Q. How do you find your relationship with the president? Do you tell him the real goals or does he tell you them and then send you out to get the money? How should it be?

A. At B.U. we have not really had a chance to develop a planning environment. We are just running hard to stay afloat. Ideally, it should be a joint enterprise. In the past it was not this way since development people have been given quotas and not asked or told what is going on in the institution. There has been a high turnover of development people in the past due to unrealistic demands given to them by presidents. They must be in on the ground floor in planning in order to know what is realistic and what to be on the lookout for. They must know the university needs in advance as in any corporate marketing plans.

Q. Traditionally, college presidents have been fund raisers. Are you in the front line of bringing money into the institution?

A. More so at Oberlin than now since there was no president at Oberlin during the time that I was there so the burden of raising funds fell on me. Generally, the chief financial officer used to be the fund raiser, but now he is suspect. Another point here is don't let faculty go out seeking funds without a staff member from the development office accompanying them. This is a part of the coordination and centralization of fund raising that I mentioned earlier.

Q. What kind of information do you like to have when a request for money comes in?

A. Everything. We have a proposal format which we use, and it is quite inclusive. We want approval from the dean of the particular school. We then try to develop a working document with as much information as possible in it. Foundations may not need as much or as specific detail, but it is important to have all of the information together in the proposal and then use whatever is needed for the particular donor.

Q. Can you go to a foundation or to governmental agency with only ideas?

A. Yes. Some are quite willing to talk about ideas at the initial stages. This is especially true because at this time you are not looking for money and they would also have a chance to put their own ideas into formulation of the proposal.

Q. Some donors are critical that faculties spend every cent given to them or even more. Should some control be developed internally for funded projects?

A. We control for everything. This runs from keeping the project on schedule to not overspending in a particular area, to hiring, and to meeting timetables established in the proposal. This is done by our internal auditors rather than the development office. But we feel that it is essential to our accountability to maintain both time and financial schedules. Many support agencies also require progress reports, and it is our function to assure that these reports are sent in on time.

Q. Have you had to change your style as you changed from school to school?

A. No. I haven't changed my personal style, but organizationally the approach must be changed for each school and situation that you find yourself involved with. You must also find the correct people needed to get the job done.

Q. Is there a difference in appeal if the institution is experiencing a short fall as compared to a surplus situation?

A. People do not want to buy a ticket for the last cruise of the Andrea Doria. They like to back a winner. So in that sense it's probably easier to raise money for a healthy institution rather than for one which is experiencing a great deal of financial trouble. In the long run, it really comes down to very effective communications with the various constituents, and this includes alumni, the public, the governments, and others.

FORUM VI - CAN UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATORS EFFECT CHANGE?

NOTE: Dr. Huse had just returned from a sabbatical in the Scandinavian Countries, so the group profited throughout the discussion from his experiences.

The discussion was conducted on a seminar level with opening remarks by Doctors Edgar Huse (Boston College) and Norman Coates (University of Rhode Island).

HUSE: The topic for discussion, "Can University Administrators Effect Change?", has several possible focal points. For one, the term "University Administrator" - is he the appropriate person for change? And two, the term, "effect change" - is it beneficial for its own sake? For example, Scandinavian University Presidents are elected not appointed which is one way to bring about change.

COATES: Heisenberg explores the extent that tradition hinders or binds the change process. Can it be possible to isolate the efforts of the university president in promoting change? Is he inheriting historically defined problems?

Talcott Parsons (American University, 1973) sees the University as a sector of societal emergence and development - a culmination of the process of societal change. Parsons goes on to discuss the democratization of the university process.

Some issues to be discussed then, can be primarily, to look at the University in a societal context - as a product of historical evolutionary forces; and secondarily, at the problem of the University responding to external change. The University has always lagged behind.

The following lively discussions ensued between the panel and the audience:

Q. What is the University not doing that other sectors are?

A. Most industrial sectors start out with the belief they are not

democratic while universities think they're democratic.

Q. What specific operations have occurred that can be transferred to the University?

A. The newest operations are those of the organizational development techniques. The OD change agents are looked upon by the clients (in this case the University) as prestigious in status, not being myopic and more objective in nature.

The OD agents are seen as building trust (Argyris) and changes are becoming more and more evident by their influences. At Boston College, for example, the President and Staff are becoming much more visible and familiar to the University members.

Q. The outcomes of the University differ from the outcomes of Industry. (Bennis) When looking at change, are there management skills different within the University than in the profit sector?

A. Laurence and Lorsch have done studies in proactive and reactive environments. The need is for a "framework" to enable the person to get a "handle" on the organization he is working with. Education can become so involved with management jargon without the accompanying expertise, that they lose the leadership and effectability they should have.

Q. What is the difference between external and internal change agents?

A. The concern is the degree of "externalness" necessary to promote change when one operates within the organization. Many colleagues desire to co-op the change agent but he must remain aloof and appear as totally objective and detached.

When using intermittent intervention the OD agent must have a high degree of trust in order to effect valuable feedback. In the start of the trust relationship, it may begin from the board of trustees down to the faculty; this is a slow process of developing trust and very difficult to get.

Q. What are some visible signs that an organization wants to change?

A. Beckard says that nothing can be done with an organization unless it hurts somewhere. The function of change agents is to identify the organizational need from symptoms (making the assumption that change is necessary). It is important to involve the people who must live with the change. (Participative v. Forced Change).

Some visible symptoms are absenteeism, student responsiveness, turnover rate (some manifestations are symptoms and problems).

Q. One major problem as internal change agents is the hostility and faculty resistance - what resolutions are there?

A. First consideration should be to employ an external change agent, if not possible, you must have the <u>trust</u> of the people within, a "credibility image" - you cannot impose but must work with them for change.

<u>Heisenberg's Principle</u>: an organizational system is the same as a physical system, the whole system is affected when you attempt to change any part of it. The system must feel that change is essential and be participatory. "Spontaneous Remission Theory" (based upon the studies of three psychiatrists)

- when studying the principles of problem formation, they found, that it is not pro-

viding solutions to change but it was occurring by some illogical, unexpected counter-paradoxes (first and second order system changes).

The concept of social exchange: uses the power-theory-exercise influence by mutual relationship; you must want to bring about change by allowing yourselves to be changed. Therefore, the ability to listen and hear is essential to administrators - many listen but few hear.

Q. What does an administrator do when he recognizes a need for change?

A. First realizes that the change pace is slow - bring the problem to the faculty and change will occur 60% of the time from within. It should be noted that anyone within the University can be an internal change agent that recognizes a problem and takes action.

Q. Would you comment on change as it relates to interdisciplinary program within the University?

A. Many persons have trouble in understanding the system's complexity. Cohen and March (The American University) call this fluidity or changing-of-boxes concept. Too many times one gets caught up in the technical problems.

(Lively discussion then followed picturing the University Administrator as a "con artist").

Looking at administrators as change agents presents itself with a particular set of problems and various levels of them must be considered. The methodology of action will be dictated by these considerations. Participative management is not always possible e.g., budget changes

may require time and type of decisions that must be made and will not allow time for participation. One never delegates a problem to someone else unless you are willing to live with the decision. A manager deals with decision-making in short term considerations; leadership deals with long term accumulation of decisions; (there is not always that clear a distinction, however). (Huse objects to this distinction, pointing out that this is Bennis' idea and does not "square" with most research.) Crises come up that could have been dealt with prior to its emergency situation; they do not always come about by themselves.

Q. What are some methods to effect change?

A. Change can come about by confrontation, fear, geographical dispersement and in some situations by execution.

You must minimize the human cost - the problem of communication and confusion of semantics with no understanding of terms.

This is sometimes called "strategic myopia" where one becomes so involved that creative problem-solving is impossible.

Q. What are the functions of the Change Agent?

A. Some of them are to perceive the problem, select the receptive persons to effect the necessary change and then to train these persons to carry on the change principles.

Q. What is the future of the OD approach as an administrative tool in the University?

A. OD as an approach is steadily drawing and developing a broader set of tools (e.g., the autonomous work group). You must select the proper tool to accurately diagnose the problem.

It is a given fact that it takes approximately 19 years for technical advancements to become widely accepted and utilized.

OD needs more time to mature.

FORUM VII - CHANGING TOWN-GOWN RELATIONSHIPS

Thomas O'Connell began the discussion by contrasting the town-gown relationship of the modern institution of higher education with that of the medieval university. In contrast to historical roots, today's colleges have permanent buildings of their own. This necessarily "locks" an institution within a community, rendering the relationship between the academy and the community a fixed one. The transition of the "ivory tower" concept of the university as a place for secluded scholarship with minimal contact with students to the current stress on the individual learner was also noted. Throughout its history the town-gown relationship has been marked by periods of violence, which may be a way of life in the academy. Carlo Golino stressed the loss of the "in loco parentis" function of colleges as a contributory factor to the development of a new set of attitudes of citizenry towards campuses, a citizenry which now demands service to the community. Further, the establishment of land-grant colleges and the growth of extension services have solidified the role of higher education vis-a-vis the community.

Reaction to Lloyd Elliott's presentation triggered a discourse bearing on the interplay between a college and its community. Several points emerged from the ensuing discussion. First, the university should not merely reflect needs expressed by members of its immediate milieu; it must be a leader and not solely a good neighbor. Its leadership must be made clear to the community since it must continue to cherish ideals which are not always popular with the community. This sentiment echoed Warren Bennis' concern over the growing loss of institutional autonomy in higher education. According to Golino, involvement of the Boston campus of the University of Massachusetts with the surrounding citizenry has not resulted in a loss of autonomy for that institution. Second, although the academy must assume a leadership role, it must incorporate public service into its functions of scholarship and teaching. In this way the student upon leaving will have something of

substance with which to make decisions. Teaching per se and scholarship per se are meaningless; both must relate to the society in which they are taking place. While acknowledging a possible misinterpretation of his remarks, the participants seemed to attach more importance to community service than Elliott, who gave public service last priority. Nevertheless, it was felt that the public service function must not lower the quality of teaching and of scholarship. Institutions may have to fulfill needs which are not met by other agencies. Mindful again of a possible misinterpretation, Golino believed that Elliott's position on public service is unrealistic in an urban environment. The training of individuals to administer agencies must be kept distinct from the administration of such agencies. Third, institutions must take the initiative in establishing community needs as they relate to the functions of the university. In addition to public relations personnel, administrators and faculty must get involved. Faculty involvement would consist of utilizing interested instructors and a reward system for community service. Administrators should attend community functions and invite community leaders. Finally, local citizens should be given priority when staff positions are being filled. Fourth, a college draws a twofold benefit from the town-gown relationship: financial help from the community, and local alumni who will assist in the support and improvement of the institution. Fifth, determination of how much influence a community should have in establishing goals is a difficult problem and would differ for community colleges and four-year institutions. Sixth, town-gown relations will suffer in times of economic strife because each academic department will suggest to terminate outreach activities. Every effort should be made not to eliminate services which are necessary for the teaching function. The maintainance of a day-care center was given as an example.

Last, the emphasis placed by community colleges on public service may influence four-year institutions.

FORUM VIII - UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE: IDEAL AND REALITY

Discussion in this forum was invited. No paper was presented per se; however, the expertise of the chairman and consultant were shared through an open discussion and exchange of ideas and experiences.

In the area of university governance, William Matthews pointed out that two dominant models exist, both of which are extreme. The two models may be described as the following:

1. The Ideal Administrative Model: administrators would like to make a decision and like to have it stick.
2. The European Model: administrators are a 'necessary evil" whose power is delegated. The administrator executes decision of the faculty. The administrator serves in a managerial and executive capacity.

The American Association of University Professors is suggesting a third model which is more weighted toward the second.

President Leestamper emphasized that the A.A.U.P. is to suggest a set or procedures which will allow for faculty rights. Suggested reference sources include:

1. The A.A.U.P. Red Book
2. Model Contracts - were those developed at Rutgers, Fairleigh Dickinson and The Open University in Rochester, Michigan.
3. The Carnegie Commission

In discussing the current situation in higher education, William Matthews noted that governance issues will become more severe. While governance issues have been traditional, the loss of consensus is perhaps the gravest concern. Dr. Matthews stressed the need for educating faculty towards responsible self-government. In addition, administrators should be aware that faculty members are eager to participate and become members of the elite.

President Leestamper and William Matthews offered several suggestions in the area of faculty participation which included:

1. Faculty members should serve on the governing boards of institutions other than their own.
2. The faculty should be making decision about those matters directly related to the instructional groups. This information should be channeled by deans, etc. to the board of governors.
3. Good faculty representation on governing boards.
4. Tenure and promotion should be a function of the faculty.

Further discussion indicated that it is extremely important for administrators to articulate the mission and goals. The strength of the administrators should be their credibility and declaration of policy.