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ABSTRACT

A study was made of the campus governance experience at the University of California at Berkeley during the turbulent decade of 1966 through 1975. In addition to an overview of Berkeley's institutional mission and its structure of governance, the study considered the matters of: (1) whether dual jurisdiction (one for faculty and one for administrators) or a single jurisdiction (with shared faculty-administrative authority) exists in the university, and the role of the regents; (2) internal and external obstacles to change in the structure of governance; (3) institutional renewal; and (4) the primacy of faculty interests in the decisionmaking process. (MSE)

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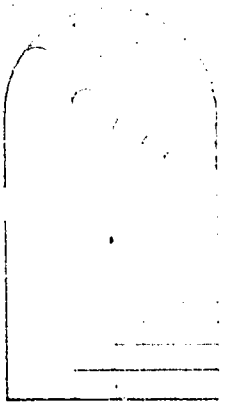

Campus Governance at Berkeley: A Study in Jurisdictions

CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

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Foreword

In 1975 the Lilly Endowment made a grant to the Academy for Educational Development to undertake a study of campuswide governance as this structure developed within American colleges and universities in the decade from 1966 through 1975. One of the remarkable responses of many campuses to the student revolution of the 1960s was the development of new structures for campuswide governance. For a number of reasons, I was eager to obtain some evaluation of this experience.

The technique of analysis was one of obtaining 30 case studies of campus experience with governance arrangements in this particular and critical decade of American higher education. Our sample was equally divided between colleges and universities of public and independent sponsorship, and was further stratified into groupings of leading research universities, comprehensive universities, and general baccalaureate colleges. Six leading research universities were included in the sample: Columbia, Cornell, and Stanford; the University of Texas at Austin, The University of Wisconsin at Madison, and the University of California at Berkeley.

I considered myself especially fortunate to have persuaded Dr. T. R. McConnell to undertake this study of campus governance experience at Berkeley during this decade of turbulence. The qualifications of Dr. McConnell to make such a study need no elaboration here. As an academic dean, as a university president, and as first director of the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education at Berkeley, Dr. McConnell's is a name

widely known and uniformly respected by all conversant with the study of higher education in the United States. In this present inquiry, Dr. McConnell has had the assistance of Mr. Stewart Edelstein.

In due course I hope to complete for publication a volume which will bring together the results of all 30 case studies. This volume will include a summary of the report prepared by Dr. McConnell and Mr. Edelstein. But such a summary cannot possibly do justice to the more complete account prepared by each of the case authors. I wish it were possible to obtain publication of all 30 case studies, and I am pleased that at least in this instance the opportunity for publication of an entire case study has presented itself.

Perhaps a few words are in order here by way of definition. Insofar as I am aware, the term "governance" obtained widespread currency in discussions about higher education organization with the appearance of a little volume by John J. Corson on this subject in 1960. Corson defined governance as the decisionmaking process on a campus, and he devised a theory of organizational dualism to explain the somewhat different structure and process for deciding academic affairs and administrative affairs. I countered the Corson thesis with another little book published in 1962 entitled "The Academic Community." Here I propounded the concept of community as an alternative to organizational dualism. Dr. McConnell pointed out at the time that my idea of community was lacking in specific structural arrangements to make community an organizational reality.

Interestingly enough, the student disruption and even violence of the years from 1964 to 1970 did encourage many campuses to undertake to develop a structure and process of community governance, or of campuswide governance. Campuswide governance in practice meant three major changes in past academic practice. First, academic affairs and administrative affairs were merged into a common procedure of decisionmaking. Secondly, the decisionmaking structure and process became more highly centralized,

especially in the area of academic affairs. And thirdly, community governance sought to bring together in a common structure representatives of at least three academic constituencies: faculty, students, and administrative officers. The full extent and implication of these changes was not fully understood on most campuses. Perhaps not surprisingly, the faculties in the leading research universities were most resistant to these changes.

But elaboration of this and other conclusions belongs elsewhere rather than in this Foreward. In the meantime, all of us interested in governance structures and processes in American higher education will have the benefit of reading this account of the particular experience at Berkeley. The reading will provide its own intrinsic rewards.

John D. Millett
Senior Vice President
Academy for Educational
Development
Chancellor Emeritus,
Ohio Board of Regents

Washington, D. C.
February 1977

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I.

Berkeley's Mission [1]

Berkeley is the oldest, the "flagship campus," of the nine campuses of the University of California. As such, its standards and values have infused the entire University. The special ethos of Berkeley and the University of California has been stated again and again, most recently in the report of the Joint Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education of the California legislature: The University is the primary state-supported academic agency for research, and has the sole responsibility in public higher education to award the doctoral degree. The University's commitment to research is basic to its standing in the world of scholarship. The belief that engaging in research is essential to good teaching is widely held in the faculties. Speaking before the University Board of Regents, President David Saxon recently declared that he regarded teaching and research, often thought of as incompatible activities, to be essential and complementary components of the system. He went on:

> Teaching is an indispensable part of the research function. Research in a university is an indispensable part of the teaching function. It is the combination of students and teachers, teaching and research, which makes the university vital and which has kept it alive for such long periods of time, in some instances for many centuries. *[2]*

The first draft of Berkeley's academic plan for 1974-1979, written in January 1975, reiterated Berkeley's devotion to research and high scholarship as its primary mission. It went on to declare that graduate and undergraduate education reinforce each other.

> Berkeley's approach to undergraduate education is founded on that principle . . . and its undergraduate programs are organized in accordance with it--to make possible and effective the student's progress from a general education in the liberal arts and sciences to the specialized, theoretical, and professional studies that are the vehicles of advanced learning. *[3]*

Another passage of the draft plan observes that a research and graduate faculty "works most effectively with a special sort of student: One who is more interested in learning than in being taught; one that recognizes his own or her own active interests, so that he or she enjoys lectures from leading scholars, apprentice work with teachers, independent study, and collaboration in research." But apparently Berkeley draws fewer such students than might be anticipated. A recent study of the characteristics of Berkeley undergraduates through the 1960s summarized their scores on an index of intellectual disposition that embodies an intrinsic interest in ideas, tolerance of complexity, and enough freedom from traditional patterns of thought to release imaginative and creative responses. The authors of the report observed that "brilliance and intense intellectuality . . . are *included* in this student population, but are by no means typical or highly characteristic." *[4]*

The draft of the Berkeley plan concedes that many students lack these characteristics, and that they may require assistance in adapting to the requirements of independent and self-motivated study. Apparently, if Berkeley is to exemplify the intellectual concordance of research and instruction, it needs to attract more students who are interested in ideas, intellectually

independent, and creatively disposed. No suggestions were made in the plan to attempt to recruit a much larger number of such students. Although an experimental college, freshman seminars and other special programs have been designed to stimulate the interests of scholars in embryo, there is no evidence that a large proportion of Berkeley's ideal "types" has been reached. Until still larger numbers of intellectually oriented undergraduates are attracted to the campus and seriously engaged in intellectual pursuits, it will be difficult for Berkeley to give reality to its academic doctrine. This is not to say that other students who meet the requirements for admission are unacceptable or that they are not well served.

II.

Structure of Governance

GOVERNING BOARD

A recently adopted amendment to the section of the state constitution which provides for the governance of the University of California specifies a Board of Regents which includes 18 members appointed by the governor for 12-year terms, and six members ex officio: the governor, the lieutenant governor, the speaker of the Assembly, the superintendent of public instruction, the president of the Alumni Association, and the president of the University. The amendment also provides that the Board may add one student and one faculty representative as voting members. A student member has been appointed but the Academic Senate has declined faculty representation on the grounds that the Board should not include representatives of special interest groups, and that the faculty constitutes such a group; that faculty membership would compromise the authority of the Senate to speak for the faculty; and that the Senate has adequate input to the deliberations of the Regents through procedures which allow broad consultation via well-established Senate mechanisms. In addition, as a two-year experiment, the Regents agreed that the chairperson of the Academic Council of the Senate should serve as a faculty representative to the Board and should be seated at the Regents' table with full rights of participation in the discussions.

UNIVERSITYWIDE ADMINISTRATION

The administrative apex of the University is the president who, according to the By-laws and Standing

Orders of the Regents, is "the executive head of the University and shall have full authority and responsibility over the administration of all affairs and operations of the University" (with certain specified exceptions). The By-laws also provide that the president "shall recommend to the Board appointments, promotions, demotions, and dismissal of officers, faculty members, and other employees of the University" (with certain exceptions), after consulation with the appropriate chancellors who, in turn, shall consult with properly constituted advisory committees of the Academic Senate. The By-laws also require the president to consult with the chancellors and the Academic Senate regarding the University's educational and research policies, and to present to the Board his recommendations concerning the academic plans of the University and its several campuses. The president discharges these duties with the assistance of six vice presidents and a provost, lesser administrative officers, and staff, altogether comprising a large bureaucracy of something like 1250 persons*--a considerable expansion even from the period of accelerated growth in the '60s when President Kerr was in the process of decentralizing the administration of the University by shifting personnel and delegating greater authority from Universitywide offices to the campuses. *[5]*

Although the governor, the state finance department, and the legislature have various direct means of influencing or controlling the University and/or its individual campuses, these agencies tend to use the Universitywide administration in effecting changes in the system and its constituent campuses. The central University administration may dictate specific campus action as a result of pressure from the state. At Berkeley, for example, the Chancellor, responding to a directive of the vice president of the University who apparently was reacting to

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*No small number of these people are made necessary by the vast amount of reporting required by state and federal governments and other agencies.

pressure from the state, issued a directive establishing minimum norms for class size of 12 in lower division, 8 in upper division, and 4 at graduate level. At least partially under influence from the state, significant restraints have been placed on campus development. For example, the University, responding to reduced enrollment projections and the failure of the state to provide requested funds, revised its growth estimates downward, set lower enrollment ceilings for some campuses, and began the policy of distributing some specialized curricula among the campuses instead of attempting to make all of them into comprehensive institutions as had once been anticipated. By eliminating a summer quarter and by other adjustments, the University administration in 1971 transferred 110 full-time-equivalent faculty positions from Berkeley to the newer campuses to aid in their development.

The Berkeley campus receives its budget from the statewide administration in lump-sum allocations to some ten budget categories. Budgetary flexibility is limited by the chancellor's lack of authority to reallocate resources among the major categories. For example, it is not possible to move funds allocated to the vice chancellor for administration (covering a wide range of activities in business affairs, employee relations, and other nonacademic operations) to the budget for instruction and research.

Fear of increasing control by the Universitywide administration has made some members of the faculties more resistive to intervention by the president's office than to the authority of their own campus administration. It is surprising, therefore, that a Special Committee on Long-Range Educational Objectives and Academic Planning of the Assembly of the Universitywide Academic Senate recently proposed a more highly integrated University. This committee declared that "if the University is to obtain the maximum level of quality during the next decade we believe it will be necessary to insure that procedures of planning and priority control are directed toward operation of the University *as a system*." The committee went on to say:

> We do not propose a return to the days when only the President was an effective decision-maker in the University, but rather we suggest that the President's Office should in the future exert more leadership over the educational policy and academic aspects of the University than has been the case in the recent past. *[6]*

Perhaps the committee took the view that different times require different kinds and styles of central leadership. The committee may also have believed that a new president of the University should be an educational leader as well as a competent system manager. The report went on to say that since many aspects of educational policy are delegated to the Academic Senate, its coordinating role should also be strengthened.

The report of this special committee nevertheless provoked opposition on all of the campuses, which are jealous of their autonomy and suspicious of any developments which would unduly enhance the power of the president and his statewide administrative staff. After all, the Academic Senate only a short time before had succeeded in attaining greater participation in the activities of the president's Academic Planning and Program Review Board, which is concerned with systemwide academic planning and the coordination of campus and universitywide projections.

BERKELEY ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The By-laws of the Board of Regents define the chancellor's responsibility and authority as follows:

> The Chancellor of each campus shall be the chief campus officer thereof, and shall be executive head of all activities on that campus, except as herein otherwise provided . . ; he shall have administrative authority within the budgeted items for the campus and in accordance with policies for the University

> as determined by the President . . ; his decisions made in accordance with the provisions of the budget and with policies established by the Board or the President of the University shall be final . . ; he shall nominate Officers, faculty members, and other employees on the campus under his jurisdiction in accordance with the provisions of these Standing Orders.

It has been said that Berkeley now has its first full-time chancellor. (The early chancellors had been faculty members and the office had little authority in those days over the budget or, for that matter, over faculty personnel--an era that ended with the accession of Clark Kerr to the presidency from the chancellorship at Berkeley.) [7] Chancellor Albert H. Bowker's predecessor, also from outside the University, was in a sense full time, but was so preoccupied with student and faculty dissent that he lacked the time to master the administrative functions of the campus, including the budgetary process, which was left largely in the hands of a budget officer. Chancellor Bowker, however, immediately established close relations with this officer and expanded the latter's role to include both budgeting and planning. The Chancellor reserves the right to make the basic budget decisions such as the distribution of resources between the professional schools and the departments in Letters and Science. Although, as one administrator told us, "The Berkeley soil is infertile for the development of distinguished professional schools,"* and although augmenting the relative resources of the professional schools

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*Nevertheless, the College of Engineering, Schools of Library Science and Optometry, and Department of Architecture ranked among the first five in their fields in a national ranking of professional schools (Margulies, R., & Blau, P. America's leading professional schools, *Change*, November 1973, 21-27). A more recent survey ranked Berkeley's College of Engineering second in the country in overall quality (Gill, W. *1975 rankings of graduate engineering*

provokes resistance from faculty members and administrators in the basic disciplines--which in their view are the foundations of Berkeley's academic eminence--the Chancellor nevertheless has acted to strengthen the professional divisions by allocating additional positions to some of them from his discretionary funds. He has also encouraged the professional schools to extend their undergraduate enrollment in order to meet the growing demand of students for vocationally oriented curricula. The Chancellor has used discretionary funds in his office to encourage innovative and experimental programs such as those in Health Sciences and Medical Education. Although, as we shall discuss later, the Chancellor has had to recognize the necessity for faculty consultation in educational affairs, he has influenced the academic development of the campus in significant ways.

Soon after Chancellor Bowker took office he reorganized Berkeley's administrative structure and selected a group of able administrators. On arrival he found separate vice chancellors responsible for research and academic affairs, a division which seemed inconsistent with Berkeley's insistence that teaching and research are intimately related. Bringing the administrative organization into conformity with professed doctrine, the chancellor appointed two provosts, one for the professional schools and colleges and the other for the departments in Letters and Science, for which the present provost is also the dean. The provosts are responsible for both research and instruction, together with the associated problems of emphasis and resources. The chancellor has delegated wide discretion and authority to the provosts. They work closely with their departments, schools, and colleges in constructing

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departments. Buffalo: Engineering and Applied Sciences, State University of New York.)

A national study conducted under the aegis of Berkeley's Academic Senate ranked the Berkeley School of Business first in overall quality, and the Schools of Law and Education second, among the top ten public institutions in the country (The Cartter report on the leading schools of education, law, and business [research report], *Change*, February 1977, 44-48.)

a budget and in preparing recommendations on faculty personnel for submission to the Chancellor and to the Berkeley Senate Committee on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations. In these capacities the provosts are in a position to exercise a high degree of influence on the undergraduate and graduate academic affairs under their jurisdiction. An experienced campus observer whose service has spanned the positions of faculty member, department chairman, and vice chancellor believes that the provosts' strong control over academic programs and faculty personnel has reduced the power of the Graduate Division, whose budgetary resources are minimal but whose stimulatory and supervisory role is of paramount importance in a graduate and research university. We did not explore further the question of the erosion of the Division's influence.

The formal organization chart shows that the provosts and dean of the Graduate division are responsible to The Vice Chancellor--a position redesigned by Chancellor Bowker. The Chancellor keeps in close touch with the provosts and The Vice Chancellor, and significant issues may reach him for decision. For example, although the provosts submit their budget proposals and faculty personnel recommendations through The Vice Chancellor, the Chancellor himself reviews all promotions to tenure. To date, the issue of relative resources between the professional schools and the College of Letters and Science has not been a pressing one, but in the future some reallocation may be necessary --a problem that will ultimately face the chancellor. In considering this problem he may consult his cabinet as he does on other questions. (The cabinet is composed of The Vice Chancellor, the vice chancellor for administration, the provosts, the dean of the graduate division, and the assistant chancellor for budget and planning.) There are those on the campus who think Chancellor Bowker, sometimes characterized as a quiet, almost shy person, has been boxed out by his major administrative officers. We doubt that this is the case. On occasion he has shown clearly that he is capable of exercising the formal authority accorded him by the Board of Regents.

The Vice Chancellor wields a significant degree of informal influence on campus affairs. He meets frequently with the Senate's committees on Educational Policy, Academic Planning, and Budget and Interdepartmental Relations. He attends the monthly meetings the Chancellor holds with chairpersons of the important Senate committees. He may act as mediator between committees with overlapping jurisdictions and helps to reconcile conflicting committee points of view. He chairs the Council on Educational Development, which fosters innovative and experimental programs for which departmental or college support cannot be obtained, and recommends the allocation of resources for these programs. The Vice Chancellor also helps to coordinate the work of the committees on Educational Policy and Special Curricula. In addition to these services he is responsible for a large number of special activities, including the Affirmative Action Program, and is now in charge of the administration of student affairs. Although he has only a small staff, The Vice Chancellor manages these manifold duties effectively because of his long association with the affairs of the Academic Senate and because he displays an administrative style which engenders confidence and wins cooperation. Effective administration is not simply a matter of structure; it is strongly conditioned by the administrator's personality and methods of working with diverse constituencies.

The formal organization chart includes a vice chancellor for administration whose territory includes business services, facilities, accounting, administrative information systems, campus police, employee affairs, and intercollegiate athletics. Until recently his province also included student affairs, but this division has recently been transferred to The Vice Chancellor on the principle that there would be closer relationships between student affairs and academic affairs. This reorganization has taken place only recently and it is too soon to know how effectively these relationships will be established.

FACULTY ROLE IN GOVERNANCE

Faculty participation in university affairs at the systemwide level is governed by the By-laws and Standing

Orders of the Board of Regents. These By-laws specify the membership of the universitywide Academic Senate which has created a Representative Assembly and an Academic Council, as well as a roster of committees, to carry on the Senate's normal continuing business. The By-laws of the Board of Regents provide that, subject to the approval of the Board, the Senate shall determine the conditions for admission, for certificates, and for degrees in courses; and that it shall authorize and supervise all courses and curricula except those in professional schools offering work at the graduate level only, or nondegree courses in University Extension, or courses in certain affiliated institutions. The By-laws of the Academic Senate provide for the organization of divisions of the Senate on all nine campuses. (The Berkeley Division has established a Representative Assembly through which the Division's business is ordinarily conducted.) Each Division is authorized to conduct for the campus essentially the same functions undertaken by the universitywide Academic Senate or Assembly for the system. The Senate By-laws also authorize the divisions to establish standing committees covering a wide range of academic activities, including a Committee on Committees and a Committee on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations. The most significent of the Divisions' delegated powers is to advise the chancellor concerning the campus budget and the appointment and promotion of academic personnel. It is probable that the Academic Senate of the University of California is the most powerful such agency in the country.

At Berkeley the provosts work closely with division committees, especially the budget committee. A brief account of faculty-administrative relationships in matters of budget and faculty personnel may be useful. In the mid-'60s the Committee on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations, finding that it could not handle both faculty personnel matters and budgetary affairs efficiently, established a Subcommittee on Budget Policy to serve as the Division's advisory arm and budgetary watchdog. In the early '70s, however, the Division legislated the budget policy subcommittee out of existence and established in its place the Academic Planning Committee to deal with long-range planning and resource utilization. (Incident-

ally, although this committee made a report in 1974 and is now working with volumes of data and a series of position papers from the chancellor's office, it has not issued a comprehensive plan for the next period of campus development.)

During the rapid expansion in the '60s, resources increased enough to permit most units to expect some augmentation of their budgets; at any rate, the problem of allocation was not sufficiently difficult to create acrimonious competition for funds or contentious issues between the faculty and the administration. With the advent of steady state, however, no unit could expect much additional support and, in allocating what resources could be captured for redistribution, greater centralized administrative control could be anticipated. Consequently, through its budget committee the Division moved to exercise much more aggressively and in much greater detail its prerogative of advising the provosts and the Chancellor on the redistribution of faculty positions.

Before discussing this process, however, we should note that Chancellor Bowker and his staff, using a computer-based analysis of historical personnel patterns and a projection of historical trends to 1980, have produced a model of faculty renewal which makes it possible to set target figures for appointment of assistant professors at the entry level and for a small number of distinguished faculty with tenure, without abandoning the long-standing Berkeley policy of promoting to tenure all assistant professors who pass the stringent standards of peer review. *[8]* The model will permit Berkeley to make only about 70 new "ladder" appointments each year; actually, the number has been something like 50 or 60 per year. It should be emphasized that these positions are not new in the sense of being added to the number of FTE positions in place. They are those created by retirement, death, or voluntary withdrawal which then revert to the central administration for redistribution.

The model for faculty renewal assumes a continuation of rigorous faculty peer review of recommendations for advancement. In its report to the Division in November

1975 the Committee on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations summarized the procedures for faculty review as follows:

> The Committee on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations represents the Division in all matters relating to appointments and promotions and makes recommendations to the Chancellor on appointments, promotions, and other matters related to the quality of the faculty. In addition, the Committee advises the Provosts and the Chancellor on allocation of budgetary provisions for faculty in the various departments, responds to requests for advice on policy for academic appointments and, through its Chairman, participates in the work of the University Committee on Budget and Interdivisional Relations.
>
> Departmental recommendations for personnel actions are submitted through the Dean to the Provost. If the request involves an appointment, promotion or merit increase for a faculty member in the Professorial series, the matter is referred to the Budget Committee for consideration and recommendation. *Ad hoc* Review Committees are nominated by the Budget Committee and appointed by the Provost in cases of appointment or promotion to tenure rank, or of promotion to the full Professorship. Advice of the Budget Committee is also sought on reappointment of Lecturers, promotion of Lecturers to Security of Employment, and in certain other nonprofessional categories. . . .
>
> When one of the Provosts or the Chancellor disagrees with a recommendation made by the Budget Committee, a conference is always held to review the case, and written reasons for the disagreement are presented. After consideration of the evidence, the Budget Committee then makes its final recommendation.

> In two cases in 1974-75, the final decision by the Chancellor or Provost was in disagreement with the Committee. *[9]*

Although the committee's recommendations must be approved by the chancellor, he is likely to overrule the committee or his provosts only for what he believes are decisive reasons. In faculty personnel matters, then, the faculty has the dominant role.

The Budget Committee explained its action on distribution of faculty positions as follows:

> The Budget Committee recommends on the year-to-year allocation of budgetary provisions to departments for ladder academic positions. Departmental recommendations are received in late September, along with the recommendations of the relevant Deans, for positions vacated by retirement, resignation, or death. . . .
>
> After analysis of the material submitted, the Budget Committee presented an overall recommendation on allocation of budgetary provisions to the Chancellor last year, on October 29, 1974. . . . Where the Provosts differed from the Budget Committee on allocations, conferences were held to resolve the differences, and the Budget Committee recommendations were approved in all but a very few cases. *[9]*

It should be noted that although students have gained membership in some Division committees--with or without vote--students are excluded from the budget committee and there is little likelihood that they will be added in the foreseeable future.

The budget committee is not concerned with a large sum which remains in the hands of the campus central administration. Some 160 FTE positions not committed to

ladder faculty are recaptured and held centrally, and may be allocated through the provosts for appointment to such nonladder positions as instructors, lecturers, visiting professors, etc. The importance of this element of financial flexibility is indicated by the fact that these funds plus other salary savings provide more than 30 percent of the instructional staff of the College of Letters and Science. The central administration may also fund special projects from these recaptured funds, and together these allocations give the chancellor and the provosts a significant element of administrative control.

The organization and operation of the Berkeley Division of the Senate are designed to maintain the integrity of the faculty position in campus affairs. With few exceptions, even in the case of those who are faculty members, administrators are not included in Division committees. One exception is a dean with long service on the Committee on Committees. Another exception, as noted above, is that The Vice Chancellor serves as chairman of the Council on Educational Development. Deans, provosts, and vice chancellors are explicitly excluded from the Senate Policy Committee. One of the most powerful committees in setting the temper of the Berkeley Division is the Committee on Committees, which is elected and which appoints the officers of the Division and, with certain exceptions such as student representatives, the members of all standing and special Division committees.

An earlier study of faculty governance at Berkeley included an analysis of the membership of Senate committees which showed that the most important and powerful ones were characterized by overrepresentation of certain departments of the institution, higher ranks, and older age groups. There was considerable rotation of membership among committees and a small group of ubiquitous committee members could be identified. *[10]* In the present study we have not repeated this analysis of committee membership, but we have no reason to doubt that Berkeley faculty affairs are still governed by an "elite" class composed of faculty members who have devoted a large portion of their time and energy to campus governance. The chairman of one of the most important Division committees observed that there is

a Berkeley oligarchy composed of faculty who might be called professional committee members and political activists. He identified two kinds of oligarchs, a core group, and an extended coterie who are tapped for important committee memberships and some of whom may eventually be co-opted by the inner circle. The presence of oligarchies, it should be noted, is a normal phenomenon in democratic politics, in professional organizations, and in academic institutions. The basis for faculty oligarchies, it has been pointed out, is interest in faculty and institutional problems and the time to devote to them, experience in the processes of faculty government, and skill in working effectively through committees. *[11]* Oligarchies thus play an important role in conducting the affairs of large organizations, and they often do so with a deep sense of commitment. For example, a member of the Berkeley Committee on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations declared that this committee is an extraordinary institution whose members have a deep sense of devotion to the University and its continuing excellence. He spoke with something akin to religious fervor.

Oligarchies, of course, do not always serve an organization effectively. They may solidify the status quo; they may represent certain contituencies and ignore the interests of others; and they may oppose administrative and even faculty initiative. In periods of crisis, or over highly contentious issues, the normally quiescent members of the organization may challenge the oligarchs' power, but displacing them turns out to be especially difficult. For example, by bringing carefully selected recruits from the outer to the inner circle of power, the Berkeley Establishment maintained its influence amazingly intact through the period of student disruption and faculty dissent.

We pointed out above that with the exception of The Vice Chancellor's chairmanship of the Council on Educational Development, major central administrative officers do not hold membership on the Division's committees, and with one exception there is no formal provision for consultation between the two. When the Policy Committee, which is responsible for coordinating issues involving more than

one Division committee and for conducting inquiries and submitting recommendations to the Division on urgent issues of educational policy requiring immediate action, was first established, the Division declined to empower the committee to represent it in consulation with the campus administration. Later, however, the Division authorized the committee to "act as a coordinating agency in facilitating consultations between the campus administration and appropriate committees of the Division, and to act as the consultative agency of the faculty in matters that do not lie within the jurisdiction of existing committees." [12] Even in such consultation the Policy Committee is careful to guard the faculty's "unadulterated voice." We were told that a previous chancellor tried to use the committee as a kind of kitchen cabinet, but the chairperson declined to accept any such relationship. Presumably, in consulting the chancellor or other high central administrative officers on critical issues, the Policy Committee would be careful not to compromise the Division's current or future positions. Nevertheless, the committee is ready to consult with the administration. The present Vice Chancellor is a faculty member with previous service on the Policy Committee, and one would suppose that in an entirely informal way he might keep in touch with faculty colleagues on the committee. Informal relationships may at times be more influential and effective than formal connections.

STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNANCE

Berkeley's 30,000 students are represented in campus governance by the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC). Unlike the other student government organizations in the UC system, the Berkeley ASUC represents both graduates and undergraduates; a departmentally based Graduate Assembly advises the ASUC and campus agencies on graduate student concerns, but the Assembly is considered a subsidiary group and receives its operating subsidy directly from the ASUC.

The ASUC enjoys limited student support on the campus --only between 15 and 20 percent of the student body voted in recent ASUC elections. Since the mid-60s, student

politics at Berkeley have been heavily dominated by parties which vie for control of the ASUC senate and offices, and as a result the student constituency is fractionated and issues are greatly politicized. In a recent election, various third-world student groups, women's groups, and disaffected students from the controversial School of Criminology formed a political coalition and ran a slate of candidates for ASUC offices on a platform of affirmative action reform, women's rights, and maintenance of the programs in Ethnic Studies and Criminology. This coalition managed to capture almost all of the ASUC Senate and ASUC executive offices, and many of the ASUC Senate memberships.

Over the years the ASUC has developed a relatively complicated internal organization. It appoints an executive director who has virtually total control over operation of such campus service units as the bookstore and student union food service; which are owned by the ASUC. Three elected presidents share the responsibilities of internal and external relations, assisted by three elected vice presidents for academic affairs, a vice president for administration, and two executive vice presidents. Various judicial, activity, and policy councils and boards carry on programming and advisory functions. The 30-member ASUC Senate is responsible for the allocation of student activity monies to various student clubs and activity boards, and for the approval of all policy statements and appointments made to administrative and faculty committees.

Students now sit on almost all of the chancellor's advisory committees and the ASUC enjoys a cordial relationship with most chief administrative officers. In a presentation before the University's Regents, Chancellor Bowker commented on student participation in the following manner:

> Regarding student participation, it is my view that we are quite beyond the question of *whether* there will be student participation. The answer to that question is to me most clear; of course there will be student participation. The question is rather *how?* How and through what mechanisms will students

participate? So we are involved in a process of evolution. [13]

Under an initiative from the ASUC and in cooperation with the Vice Chancellor for Administration, paid student interns have worked on budgetary reviews of student services. These services, including those in counseling, health, financial aids, and other student affairs, are supported in part or in full from student registration fees totaling some $9 million annually. Each year these units undergo an extensive budget review, complete with public hearings and student evaluations.

At one time, ASUC officers met weekly with the Chancellor for informal "bag lunches" to discuss topics of mutual concern. More recently the locus of this activity has shifted to periodic meetings with The Vice Chancellor on a less frequent basis.

Student relations with the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate have always been tenuous at best, and in recent years have become somewhat strained. Only very recently have students gained full membership on certain key Senate committees. The Berkeley Division Committee on Student Affairs was the first to seat students as formal members with voting privileges (in 1966). In 1973 three students became voting members of the prestigious 15-member Committee on Educational Policy. In addition, students have voting representation on the committees on Courses and Instruction, Teaching, University Extension, and Computers, and on the Council on Educational Development. In toto, students are represented with voting privileges on seven of the 33 committees of the Division, and may participate as informal observers in others. Student votes are not recorded on committee recommendations forwarded to the systemwide Academic Senate. On matters of committee recommendations to the Chancellor, student votes are recorded separately.

Informal student representatives are invited to attend Division committee meetings at the discretion of the committee chairpersons. In March 1975 the Division

was asked to approve an amendment to the By-laws which would have changed the status of student representation on the Committee on Academic Freedom from informal to voting membership. Although this resolution was fully supported by the committee chairperson, the amendment failed by a vote of 29 to 29. *[14]* (By-law amendments require a two-thirds majority for approval.) This rebuff, coupled with other setbacks in the relationship between the ASUC and the Academic Senate, prompted a series of harsh remarks before the Division by one of the outgoing ASUC academic affairs vice presidents. The following excerpt captures some of the frustration and animosity expressed:

> Today I will not list our views on ROTC, Extension, (or) the ORU [Organized Research Units] report from CEP [Committee on Educational Policy]--you already know our basic position and if you choose to heed our advice you will--we are powerless to push our views further and instead of belaboring these points, I would instead choose during this last address to tell you how we at the ASUC feel every time we approach a meeting with you and your committees.
>
> To put it bluntly, we feel like actors in a bad play, sometimes even like the wanderers in Sartre's *No Exit*. Our main problem in participation in the governance, such as it is, of higher education is *YOU*. At least most of you and certainly the procedures you have adopted and hold apparently immutable.
>
> . . . But after honestly assessing the "potential" of increasing student representation and participation, we have concluded that we cannot, in good conscience, maintain that optimistic facade. The reason for our change of conscience is quite simple: We have fought many times for participation, backed by legislative encouragement,

University rhetoric, and words of encouragement from yourselves, only to find out that WE WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO FULLY PARTICIPATE. *[15]*

Despite the pessimistic tone of these comments, the ASUC continues to make formal requests for 25 to 30 percent representation on all faculty committees which have major impact on students. Primary targets for some kind of student representation, either formal or informal, are the Division committees on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations, Privilege and Tenure, and Senate Policy. Thus far, pressures for increased student representation have been resisted by faculty leaders, many of whom feel that the Academic Senate should represent faculty interests exclusively, and that student representation on committees sometimes has resulted in the politicization of issues and in some instances has deterred these committees from serious deliberation.

Other than a formal ASUC presentation at the beginning of Division meetings, no formal regular contact or liaison exists between the ASUC and the officers and other leaders of the Academic Senate. A move initiated by the administration several years ago to examine the feasibility of a faculty-student-administration council composed of the leadership from all three groups to serve as a means of communication and consultation, met with disapproval by faculty leaders, and the administration lost interest as well.

While students have made some progress in participation on administrative and faculty committees, they admit that this has not proved to be the most effective method for increasing student influence, especially in academic policymaking. Students acknowledge that for the most part their behavior in committees has been reactive and that there is little opportunity for them to initiate proposals or reforms through the formal governance structure. Participation for students serves what they call a "watchdog" function: It has enabled them to monitor the activities of the various decisionmaking bodies more closely.

Participation has also increased access to important information and sources of data on campus affairs. But Berkeley student leaders believe they have gained much more leverage by improving their own capacity for independent analyses from outside the system than they have from formal participation in the organization. Students at Berkeley are in the initial stages of developing structures and procedures that parallel the formal governance system and which afford students the opportunity to formulate policy and conduct evaluations independently of faculty and administrative agencies. As will be discussed in later sections of this report, student position papers on program reviews such as those in Criminology, as well as an independent analysis of Berkeley's *Revised Academic Plan, 1969-1975,* are only the first in what is hoped will be more continuous and systematic efforts to influence academic affairs.

Student efforts in the development of an independent review capability have been strengthened by the emergence of a systemwide student interest group, the University of California Student Lobby. One of the first of its kind in the country, the Lobby was founded in 1971 by the Student Body Presidents' Council of the University of California in an effort to represent student concerns more effectively before the legislature and other government agencies. Staffed by two full-time lobbyists (former UC graduates) and a half-dozen UC student interns, the Lobby has been careful in selecting its legislative agenda, has worked hard at developing good working relationships with state officials, and has earned the respect of both University administrators and legislators. In a recent poll of state legislators, the four-year-old organization was ranked as the 12th most effective lobby in the state, outpolling such established lobbyists as Pacific Telephone, the California Bankers' Association, and the California Wine Institute.

In addition to its offices in Sacramento, the Lobby maintains an annex on each of the UC campuses, and staffs these annexes with student interns who work with each campus student government on various pieces of legislation and on statewide policies affecting students. Using

the potential power of the student vote (there are about 120,000 students in the UC system, 85 percent of whom are registered to vote), the Lobby has successfully outflanked the university on several issues and has forced the University administration and Regents to recognize students as a political force which must be reckoned with. The Lobby's efforts to review and publish its own commentary on the University's legislative budget request have already produced a series of invitations from the University for students to become more involved at the systemwide level in the initial stages of budget development. And on an issue of direct concern to the UC faculty, student lobbying efforts last year were responsible for the introduction of an amendment to a collective bargaining bill that would have named students as third-party participants in any and all faculty bargaining negotiations. Promoters of the collective bargaining bill were forced to withdraw support for a variety of reasons, including the fear that this amendment had a good chance of being adopted.

Among its many successes, the Lobby has been instrumental in supporting student aid legislation, in shepherding a constitutional amendment which altered the appointment procedures and terms of office of UC Regents, and in paving the way for the appointment of the first student regent to the University's governing board. Most sources, however, cite the Lobby's successful drive to include $1 million for innovative undergraduate teaching in the state's budget for the University as its most significant achievement. The $1 million first appeared in the 1973-74 University budget as an incentive fund for improvement of teaching and was the product of over one year's negotiation between the Lobby, the governor, and the legislature. The million-dollar appropriation was at first opposed by University officials, but has appeared in the University's legislative budget for the last two years and has been augmented by almost a million in University funds. The fund is allocated from the UC president to the chancellors of the campuses. Berkeley's student government was the first to submit a series of proposals for funding, and some of the money has been awarded to the ASUC to support its Academic Review Unit and its Mini-Grant Program to improve departmental teaching and advising. The funds

provided for both of these projects have enabled the ASUC to expand its Academic Affairs Office from three vice presidents to a staff of paid and volunteer student workers who conduct research, prepare reports and critiques, and monitor the activities of most committees and agencies concerned with academic decisionmaking on the campus. The ASUC has used these grants as a means of improving its capability to conduct systematic ongoing evaluations in a more highly organized fashion.

Even with the increased opportunities created by the activities of the California Student Lobby--namely, leverage at the state level and increased staff and resources--several factors still impede student influence in campus decisionmaking. Student leaders admit that their capacity to keep pace with all of the issues is still quite limited; some doubt whether they will ever be able to effectively recruit the steady stream of student volunteers needed to mount evaluation studies, prepare reports, and represent student interests on faculty and administrative committees. There still remain the seemingly immutable barriers and difficulties in obtaining entree to faculty committees and councils concerned with academic policymaking. Student leaders complain bitterly that they are still deprived of access to information regarding the University budget and budget justifications from the various departments, schools, and colleges. How these budget decisions are made at Berkeley remains a mystery to them. And finally, students are uncertain about how and whether or not their analyses, reports, and recommendations will be fed into the formal campus decisionmaking system to guarantee some impact.

Nevertheless, Berkeley students feel they continue to make progress in their efforts to influence educational affairs. Indeed, several faculty leaders and key administrators commented that they have been surprised by the amount of progress, and that campus attitudes towards student participation have softened. "If you had told me ten years ago that students would be members of the Senate's Committee on Educational Policy and that they would be issuing independent reviews of academic units, I simply would not have believed you," was a comment of one member of the faculty Establishment. Several persons

predicted that if students continued to develop their own review procedures and became more sophisticated at understanding the information made available to them, they would certainly be able to make their interests felt, if not at the campus or systemwide level then before state executive and legislative agencies.

It is important to point out here that in some departments and programs students participate in decisions concerning admissions, curriculum, and faculty personnel. The degree of involvement varies considerably from department to department and from undergraduate to graduate students. In some--perhaps most--cases, the amount of student influence in departmental affairs is significantly greater than it is in campuswide matters.

III.

How Many Jurisdictions?

One of the most important characteristics of the authority structure at Berkeley is the predominance of faculty members in administrative positions. Membership on important Senate committees is often the gateway to administrative assignments as dean, provost, or vice chancellor. Faculty members move in and out of administrative posts. Administrators frequently move back to important Senate committee assignments. For example, two former deans of the College of Letters and Science were recently on the budget committee; one later became a provost. The present dean of the Law School was recently a member of the budget committee. A former vice chancellor became chairperson of the Committee on Committees, an erstwhile vice president of the University headed the Committee on Academic Planning, and a former vice chancellor later served as chairperson of the Berkeley Division.

FACULTY ADMINISTRATORS

Berkeley's system of faculty administrators has some significant advantages. It should have a leavening effect on faculty attitudes toward institutional problems. While serving as administrators, faculty members have access to information on a wide range of internal activities and external influences that might not otherwise come to the faculty's attention, and administrators presumably share much of this information with their colleagues, especially those on the important Division committees on which they have postadministrative membership. The faculty member's loyalty to the institution may be significantly heightened

because of his contacts with many more constituencies and his sensitiveness to external boundaries of the institution. In policymaking councils, faculty administrators are able to speak with the faculty's voice. The in-and-out movement blurs the jurisdictional boundaries between faculty and administration and thus gives a significant sense of unity to the organization. One perceptive observer, presently a department chairperson who once served as vice chancellor, told us he had seen no differences in basic academic attitudes of members of the faculty Establishment when they were in or out of administrative office.

We found some aversion to those dubbed "professional administrators," or even "career administrators," whether at Berkeley or throughout the Universitywide administration. One faculty administrator said that in the '60s, in response to disruptions and legislative demand for control and accountability, there was a special effort to recruit professionals, presumably on the ground that faculty were incapable of meeting issues and making hard decisions. He declared that, "Decisions were handed down as compulsory rather than persuasive, decisions that were insensitive to faculty attitudes and perspectives." The general attitude toward professional administrators seems to be more than unsympathetic; it approaches disdain. There is a general feeling now that through the appointment of faculty members to the major administrative offices, and with the shift of student services from the Vice Chancellor for Administration to the other Vice Chancellor, faculty hegemony has been restored and administrative decisions put into proper perspective.

There are serious limitations, however, to the in-and-out patterns of faculty administration. Administrators may find it difficult to disagree with pervasive faculty attitudes or influential faculty groups. They are likely to be subjected to strong pressure for the maintenance of traditional structures, educational values, and patterns of authority. One of the most important limitations is the administrative discontinuity that arises because of relatively short terms of office by department chairpersons, deans, and presumably provosts and The Vice Chancellor. One administrator emphasized that it was

difficult to maintain credibility with the faculty because trustworthiness depended on recognized maintenance of high standards of research and scholarship, and administrative service made it difficult to continue scholarly activities. A major faculty administrator said he could not remain in office much longer than five years without being labeled a career administrator, and as such would almost inevitably sacrifice the credibility of his faculty colleagues. (This may be likely, but we do not believe it is inevitable; one of the principal deans has been in office for at least ten years and still retains his influence and the high regard of distinguished scholars.) The administrative discontinuity that characterizes the in-and-out system, we were told, creates critical difficulties in decision-making which requires memory and information over time. As academic administrators come and go, nonfaculty budget officers with longer tenure provide the memory and maintain the essential link between faculty and administration. In so doing, these budget officers may gain an inordinate degree of influence over academic affairs.

TWO JURISDICTIONS, OR ONE?

After careful study and analysis of the relationships between faculty members and administrators, Mortimer *[16]* concluded that governance at Berkeley operates more closely on a model of separate faculty and administrative jurisdictions (with various forms of interaction) than on a model of shared faculty-administrative authority. We have considered the possibility, on the other hand, that there is essentially a single jurisdiction--the faculty's sphere of authority and influence. We noted above that faculty members' movement in and out of administrative positions strengthens the sinews of faculty power and reconciles administrative with faculty perspectives.

The difficulty with the notion of a single jurisdiction is that the Regents have delegated executive power to the chancellor in such matters as budget and faculty personnel. Even so, Chancellor Bowker quickly discovered that he must come to terms with the Senate. Early in his administration he aroused the faculty by abolishing the

departments of Demography and Design without formal consideration and recommendation by Division committees; technically he was not required to do so. (Eventually, graduate work in Demography was organized as a Graduate Group.) He disturbed certain Senate committees further when he decided to close the School of Criminology and find another structural location for the study of criminal justice. The faculty reminded him that although the Regents had delegated significant executive authority to the chancellor, they had specified that he must exercise it after consultation with the Senate. Speaking a year or more after the ruckus over the termination of the units of Demography, Design, and Criminology, Chancellor Bowker wrote in his report to the Regents on *Berkeley in a Steady State:*

> It should be no secret to anyone that the faculty, through the Academic Senate, will always have a good sized "piece of the action" at Berkeley. This is because of the delegations which the Regents have made directly to the Academic Senate, as well as because of the long history and tradition of the campus. For my part, I not only *must* take the advice of the faculty, but I *need* it.

Nevertheless, as noted earlier, the Chancellor occasionally overrules the budget committee on academic personnel and exercises considerable control over the allocation of resources.

The Chancellor's formal administrative authority over faculty personnel and allocation of resources gives us reason to suggest that there are in fact two jurisdictions at Berkeley: not the faculty and the administration in general, but the faculty and the Chancellor. Although there are many contacts at the interface, in a very real way the Chancellor stands alone facing the Senate and the cadre of faculty administrators.

REGENTAL JURISDICTION

In one sense, of course, there is a third jurisdiction, in this case an encompassing one--the Board of Regents. What the Board delegates to administrative officers and to the faculty it can also reclaim. This it did in the widely publicized Cleaver case. The Berkeley Division's Board of Educational Development, which was established to offer experimental courses and which was empowered by the Senate to approve courses under its jurisdiction, authorized a student-initiated course known as Social Analysis 139X in which Eldridge Cleaver was scheduled to give 10 of the 20 lectures. Four regular members of the Berkeley faculty were to conduct and supervise the course. Cleaver, then a member of the Black Panthers, was on parole after serving eight years of a 13-year sentence. In April 1968 he and seven other Panthers were allegedly involved in a shoot-out with the Oakland police and were charged with assault with intent to commit murder. Cleaver was taken into custody but released on bail when a judge ruled that he was being held as a political prisoner. He would give the Berkeley lectures while on bail.

In 1920 the Regents had provided in their Standing Orders that "the Academic Senate shall authorize and supervise all courses and curricula." However, when confronted with the so-called Cleaver course, the Regents resolved that "effective immediately for courses offered in the fall quarter, 1968-69, no one may lecture or lead a discussion for more than one occasion during a given academic quarter on a campus in courses for University credit, unless he holds an appointment with an appropriate instructional title. This applies whether or not the teacher is paid by the University." This action evoked a series of adversary interchanges between the Regents and the Berkeley Division in which the Division ultimately directed its Committee on Courses to count up to five units of credit for work successfully completed in the Cleaver course when recommending candidates for degrees. In a memorial addressed to the Board of Regents, the Division declared that the Regents' action retroactively invaded

a jurisdiction legitimately exercised by the Senate, that the Regents had usurped faculty members' educational judgment, and that they had violated the academic freedom of students by preventing them from taking a duly authorized course for credit. Finally, in 1970 the issue reached the Alameda County Court in a suit by 16 students and six faculty members against the Regents. The Court upheld the power of the Regents to deny credit for Social Analysis 139X, and so the faculty was reminded again that "privileges which the Regents gave, the Regents could take away." *[17]*

More recently, the Regents intervened again in academic affairs in a controversy over academic credit for courses in ROTC. The dispute began in early 1970 following the invasion of Cambodia. The Berkeley Division resolved that the ROTC courses as then constituted were unacceptable and inappropriate in a university, and therefore would carry no credit toward a degree. However, the Regents subsequently declared that the ROTC would continue to enjoy its current status on the Berkeley campus and that there would be no change in the method of granting credit for ROTC courses toward degrees.

A recent stage of the debate over ROTC concerns students who are near graduation and who were admitted to ROTC courses after the Berkeley Division resolution of 1970. The Vice Chancellor has declared that the campus administration considers itself bound under the Regents' action to award the degree to any student refused certification by the faculty because of its policy on ROTC courses. The Division suspended its regulations to allow students to be graduated in the fall of 1974 and spring of 1975.

Taking up the issue again, the Division recently authorized a mail ballot to all members on two possible resolutions: One would reaffirm the Division's resolution of 1970, the other would authorize credit for ROTC courses approved by the Committee on Courses of Instruction and require that officers of the armed forces proposed for assignment to the faculty of ROTC departments undergo review by the budget committee. The faculty approved the second resolution by a vote of 553 to 409. This may have saved a further confrontation with the Regents.

The Regents have interfered in another field which the faculty has come to consider its own, namely, the appointment of faculty members to tenure positions. During his administration, President Clark Kerr persuaded the Regents to authorize the chancellors to approve appointments and promotions carrying tenure. Later, after controversy over the reappointment beyond normal retirement age of Professor Herbert Marcuse, a Marxist philosopher and prophet of the academic new left, the Regents withdrew the authority of the chancellors to authorize appointments and promotions to tenure status (which the Marcuse reappointment did not in fact involve). Subsequently, although the Marcuse appointment was at San Diego, the Berkeley Division of the Senate passed a resolution urging "in the strongest possible terms that the Regents, in the interest of this University, find the wisdom not to use the power so ominously reassumed and to reverse their ill-advised action." However, at this writing the Regents have not restored the chancellors' power over tenure appointments and promotions. And so the Berkeley faculty was reminded yet again that what the Regents bestow they can also recall. *[18]*

It should be said that more recently there have been efforts toward rapprochement between the systemwide Academic Senate and the Regents, but it remains to be seen whether there will be new examples of conflict between the legal authority of the governing board and what faculty members consider their professional privileges and responsibilities.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING MAY ALTER RELATIONSHIPS

Unionization and collective bargaining, if they materialize, could significantly change the system of faculty administrators and lead to a more clear-cut distinction between faculty and administrative jurisdictions. On May 30, 1972, the Berkeley Division established the Faculty Association, to be composed initially only of faculty eligible for membership in the Academic Senate, for the purposes of: 1) representing faculty interests to all agencies whose decisions affect the faculty, such as the legislative and executive branches of state govern-

ment, the state's Postsecondary Education Commission, the Board of Regents, and the Universitywide and campus administrations; 2) maintaining contact with parallel or similar organizations on other campuses of the University; and 3) preparing for the eventuality of collective bargaining by continually informing itself and the faculty on relevant issues. It was resolved that these functions be carried out independently of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate and its committees. One announced purpose of the Association is to protect the functions delegated by the Board of Regents to the Academic Senate, as well as to represent the faculty in ways the Senate cannot. Essentially, the same point of view was expressed by President Charles J. Hitch in testimony before the Joint Committee on Postsecondary Education of the California legislature:

> To make the bargaining unit synonymous with the Senate unit would facilitate reaching agreements on the separation of academic governance matters from economic matters, and the separation of tenure policies from other kinds of security of employment. [19]

The Faculty Association has been described by a faculty member who promoted its creation as an Establishment organization dedicated to the maintenance of the traditional Berkeley system of governance. He described the Association not as an employee organization but as one opposed to a system of collective bargaining which defines faculty as employees.

Whatever agency for collective bargaining materializes at Berkeley--it seems inevitable in some form--one of the key questions will be how to define management. This decision will reach the heart of the system of faculty administrators described above. Under collective bargaining, deans and provosts would probably be subsumed under management and would be forced to operate in an adversarial relationship with their former faculty colleagues. The consequence might be the emergence of truly separate faculty and administrative jurisdictions, and a profound reorientation in campus governance.

IV.

Obstacles to Change

One concludes from a study of the structure and process of governance at Berkeley that the campus is unlikely to change its basic character or its dominant structure. "Change," says the dictionary, "denotes a making or becoming distinctly different and implies either a radical transmutation of character or replacement with something else." Such a transformation is unlikely.

EXTERNAL INTERVENTION

Organizational change comes about from a variety of influences. External intervention is one impetus to reconstruction. So far, however, the University has successfully resisted legislative pressure to put much greater emphasis on teaching at the possible expense of time for research, although it has used special legislative and Regents' grants for the improvement of instruction constructively and effectively enough for an evaluation of this program to say that, "It is doubtful that any system is doing more to enhance teaching than is the University of California." *[20]* Funds for the improvement and evaluation of teaching are made available to the faculty through special grant programs administered by both the Senate Committee on Teaching and the Council on Educational Development. In addition, the Office for Teaching, Innovation, and Evaluation Services has been a significant means of improving instruction. A workshop on teaching was recently held, and awards for distinguished teaching are given annually. Thus Berkeley has been able to support and encourage good teaching and good teachers in a variety

of ways. The University's statewide administration shows no intention of translating government pressure into a realignment of Berkeley's priorities in research, teaching, and public service. Although the new president has described teaching and research as indispensable and complementary components of the University's mission, he has shown no intention of reducing the research ingredient.

Another form of external influence is a need for customers or a significant change in the desires of the clientele. In order to maintain or enlarge enrollments and resources, many institutions are expanding part-time registration, off-campus courses, and programs for adults. Many are catering to prospective students' vocational interests by introducing new undergraduate and graduate professional studies. Although Berkeley has made some concessions to undergraduates' vocational interests, it feels no great pressure for adaptation. One reason is that it does not lack applicants for admission to full-time status. In fact, it is over-enrolled. In the fall of 1975 more than 30,000 students were registered--well above its formal enrollment ceiling of 27,500. Even so, many applicants were redirected to other University campuses. The demand for places enables the campus to move students to where the resources and facilities are, rather than the other way around. A report prepared by the Office of Academic Affairs of the Associated Students complained that Berkeley's *Revised Academic Plan, 1960-1975* intentionally set admission and enrollment policies which ran counter to student demand. [21] The rush of students to Berkeley saves it from the necessity of any significant rearrangement of its academic program and structure. Nevertheless, the effort of students to persuade the University to readjust courses and faculty toward students' interests continues.

INTERNAL OBSTACLES TO CHANGE

Internal obstacles to educational innovation at Berkeley are numerous. One of the most stubborn impediments is its academic structure. Any complex organizational network becomes a barrier to change. Perhaps the

most persistent organizational problem, here and at most other institutions for that matter, is how to sustain educational enterprises that cut across departmental and collegiate boundaries. Although several interdisciplinary and interdepartmental programs have been developed over the past ten years, most have suffered in the competition for financial resources and their inability to sustain faculty interest and commitment. Few of these experimental programs have reached the level of support and acceptance that would give them a secure position in the institution.

A recent internal position paper on the future of interdisciplinary and innovative programs at Berkeley assessed the present situation as follows:

> It may be generalized that the successful [interdisciplinary] programs of lasting duration found their origins through the interaction of faculty and graduate students engaged in scholarly or scientific research which necessitated the assimilation of knowledge from a number of allied disciplines. This interaction was apparently the product of a natural evolution of scholarship or research which, because of its unique academic significance, led to the formalization of these interests into a Graduate Group. It is usually when these interests broaden that they form a new discipline or impact directly on the undergraduate curriculum. Presently, the campus has approximately 33 Graduate Groups which integrate aspects of numerous disciplines in dealing with specific problems.
>
> In contrast, the formal interdisciplinary programs which have met with the least success appear to be those initiated at the undergraduate level that are primarily concerned with new methods of instruction and presentation. They appear to lack, for the most part, the solid foundation provided

through research, and are limited to the existing body of knowledge within each of the individual disciplines involved. [22]

Given this analysis, it is not surprising to find the report's recommendation that interdisciplinary efforts should be encouraged at the graduate level and that undergraduate interdisciplinary curricula should be designed as an outgrowth of new initiatives in graduate instruction.

Indeed, it appears that interdisciplinary graduate programs have succeeded far better than those at the undergraduate level. The "interdisciplinary graduate group" has become an established form on the campus for organizing instructional programs outside the established departmental structure. Typically, a transdepartmental team of faculty requests establishment of a group on the ground that its proposed program cannot be satisfactorily handled within existing boundaries. The group operates under the policy authority of the Graduate Council and under the administrative responsibility of the Graduate Division. In some cases the group may serve as an interim mechanism during a trial period, after which it is absorbed into an existing unit or attains departmental status in its own right.

Until very recently, each faculty member in a group retained his departmental appointment, and the group usually received its operating resources through extramural grants, allocations from discretionary funds, or support by the cooperating departments. In the past, the interests of graduate groups have been sufficiently close to the instructional and research interests of the parent departments to permit relatively easy development. However, some of the new groups (for example, Energy and Resources) are so broad that dependence on existing departments for faculty and resources has proved too restrictive. Consequently, the administration recently made an unprecedented faculty appointment directly to a graduate group. The administration has also called for a critical reassessment of the status of graduate groups relative to existing departments.

Interdisciplinary programs at the undergraduate level have been particularly vulnerable. Part of the difficulty in sustaining undergraduate innovative efforts has been the absence of any administrative structure responsible for supporting and promoting interdisciplinary programs. At the present time the administrative responsibility for interdepartmental curricula or curricula which do not fit neatly into any of the colleges or schools rests with The Vice Chancellor. And while he is generally supportive of innovative projects, the pressure of other responsibilities limits the time he can give to them.

At one time an assistant chancellor for educational development had administrative responsibility for promoting educational innovation on the campus. The last person to hold this half-time post resigned in 1970. In 1969 the Academic Senate authorized the creation of a Division of Experimental Courses. The chairmanship of the department was offered in turn to seven persons. Each declined the offer and the department never came into existence. While there are several reasons which might explain this apparent lack of interest, one of the principal ones may well have been that those offered the position recognized that it would require great amounts of time and energy but carry little in the way of faculty support or professional reward.

Two Senate committees share the responsibility of fostering educational innovation on the campus. The Council on Educational Development is a joint faculty-student committee which came into existence in 1972. The primary function of the council is to initiate and receive proposals for innovative curricular and instructional programs. Included within its jurisdiction is administration of experimental programs for which department or college support cannot be obtained, and approval of experimental administrative structures for periods of up to five years. The Vice Chancellor is chairman of the council. The council advises the chancellor on the allocation of discretionary resources for experimental curricula.

The second Senate committee is the Council for Special Curricula which is composed of at least one member each

from the Council on Educational Development and the Committees on Educational Policy and Courses of Instruction. This council was originally designed to administer and approve individually tailored curricula, but it has rarely functioned in this capacity because individual and group majors have been handled in the College of Letters and Science. It has been used to approve curricula leading to degrees in ethnic studies, and most recently the council served as the vehicle for approving a new experimental undergraduate degree in Health Arts and Sciences when the College of Letters and Science refused to sponsor the program.

Berkeley administrators have expressed some concern over the fragile position of experimental and interdisciplinary programs and the problems of intergrating them into the ongoing organization. Not the least of the problems is funding: Most of these programs are financed from discretionary or extramural funds and do not become part of the regular budget. To institutionalize experimental programs would, under present financial austerity, put them in direct competition for resources with existing budgetary units, which would be a source of very considerable strain in the system.

As one remedy to the organizational problem, the administration has recently appointed an Associate Vice Chancellor for Academic Development whose main responsibility will be to administer experimental programs and protect them from the encroachments of established academic units. Another means of support which has been suggested is the creation of a separate college which would house interdisciplinary curricula like Ethnic Studies and the proposed program in Law and Society; but this arrangement is still resisted by many administrators and faculty.

The problems of promoting interdisciplinary activities, however, go far beyond the need for a convenient organizational or administrative home. The resistance encountered from established units can be devastating to any program in its efforts to recruit students and sustain faculty commitment. Indicative of this difficulty were the obstacles encountered by the Collegiate Seminar Program,

an experimental unit which offers an alternative two-year curriculum to lower-division courses in the College of Letters and Science. The program is designed around a series of seminars taught by "ladder" faculty, including full professors, on topics relating to their current research and scholarly interests, and involves a close tutorial relationship between students and teachers. Sponsors of the Seminar program, which is known on campus as Strawberry Creek College, first requested sponsorship by the College of Letters and Science but were refused. They then turned to the Council on Educational Development where they won approval. Once established and supported by discretionary monies from the Chancellor and an outside grant, the program requested permission to have its lower-division courses substitute for the writing and distribution requirements of the College of Letters and Science. This request was denied by several of the College's committees, including the Executive Committee. It was only after the College faculty overturned the rulings of its committees that the request was granted.

In the spring of 1976 the Committee on Courses of the College of Letters and Science proposed to withhold credit for Strawberry Creek College courses taught by advanced graduate students called associates. Later, the Letters and Science faculty voted to approve one course per year taught by associates, an action which the director of Strawberry Creek College found tolerable. In the meantime, the experimental college requested and received permission from the Council for Special Curricula to offer a degree program.

The vulnerability of interdisciplinary programs is manifest even in the established Division of Interdisciplinary and General Studies, which is incorporated in the College of Letters and Science and offers its own integrated lower-division curriculum as well as interdisciplinary field majors in humanities and the social sciences. Although a Special Committee on Academic Program recommended its creation in 1967, *[23]* the Division is looked upon with great skepticism by the College and faces an uncertain future as departments fight to maintain their portion of a dwindling budget.

One of the most extensive experimental efforts on the campus which has strong and sustained administrative support is the program in Health and Medical Sciences. This program represents an alternative method for offering work toward degrees in the health sciences and is built on a network of cooperating relationships between several Berkeley departments, the UC San Francisco Medical Center, area hospitals, community physicians, and health care professionals. The undergraduate curriculum leads to a bachelor's degree in Health Arts and Sciences. Relying primarily on existing departmental courses at Berkeley as well as on internships with area physicians, community hospitals, and other health agencies, the program offers a series of options leading to a master's degree in Health and Medical Sciences. These options have included a dual degree in health and medical sciences and a "regular" Berkeley department, genetic advising, mental health, and medicine. Graduates of the medical option could secure third-year placement in medical schools. This option was accredited by the UC San Francisco Medical Center; in fact, the students were coregistered at San Francisco and Berkeley. The graduate curricula are sponsored by an interdisciplinary group under the auspices of the Graduate Division, and the undergraduate curriculum (which was turned down by the College of Letters and Science) is sponsored by the Council on Educational Development. The program is coordinated by a director responsible to The Vice Chancellor and by a series of coordinating and advisory committees.

The health and medical sciences program was developed as an alternative to creating a conventional medical school on the Berkeley campus. It is notable because it represents an attempt to devise experimental curricula by making major use of existing departmental faculty and courses, not only in the sciences but also in social and behavioral studies, and so avoiding the large investment and permanent structure which would have been entailed in establishing a more traditional and less flexible academic enterprise. A report on the program in December 1972 explored obstacles to the flexibility necessary for the development of experimental curricula:

> The first danger involves constructing an institutional base . . . that some or all of the important players would find competitive with their continued strength in existing departments and schools. The Committee believes it is important to avoid this danger *by using existing instrumentalities such as schools or departments*. Unless this condition is maintained, it is our fear that the collaborative stance toward the enterprise will not continue, as existing institutions work to protect their "space" and resources, such as FTEs, upon which they depend. The strategy which has developed depends upon the ability to assure that permanent appointments, permanent additions of space, permanent investment of resources of all types will occur through existing instrumentalities, and that the governance and management of the emergent set of programs around Health Sciences and Medical Education would remain *owned* [our emphasis] by a structure of academic and other roles whose occupants would come from cooperating schools and departments where their tenure, FTE, and careers would be based primarily. *[24]*

Nevertheless, it has been difficult for the program to recruit distinguished faculty members from relevant departments. Younger faculty, who might be more interested than their elders in interdisciplinary programs, place their advancement at risk when they engage in unconventional courses or curricula which their senior colleagues do not approve or which would divert their time and energy from recongized fields of scholarship and research. Although two Berkeley chancellors have given the program in health and medical sciences strong endorsement and support, it remained on shaky ground in the faculty, in part because of clinically oriented courses and a clinical staff which has so far had to be appointed in the UC San Francisco Medical Center.

The UC San Francisco Medical Center also had doubts about the medical option, and late in 1975 withdrew the option's accreditation. This led to review of the option at both systemwide and campus levels. A joint Berkeley-San Francisco Medical Center committee authorized by President Saxon issued a report on December 29, 1975, recommending the development of a 2-4-2 plan for medical education between Berkeley and San Francisco that would identify MD candidates as college sophomores, restructure the traditional four-year college and medical school pre-clinical program, and produce a better interface between medical and nonmedical aspects of education. The Academic Council of the systemwide Academic Senate has also expressed interest in following the program in health and medical sciences, and on January 5, 1976, the Berkeley Committee on Educational Policy appointed an ad hoc subcommittee to review the entire program. The subcommittee and the parent Committee on Educational Policy expressed support for the principles on which the program was founded, and recommended a two-year extension of the Berkeley medical option during which a "truly cooperative" 2-4-2 plan could be worked out with the Medical School in San Francisco.

Perhaps the work of the Academic Council and the Berkeley Committee on Educational Policy will result in a strengthening of the several aspects of experimental curricula, although interdepartmental and interdisciplinary programs, which are difficult to sustain at nearly all institutions, are particularly vulnerable at Berkeley because departments remain the seats of academic power and interdisciplinary efforts are hard to institutionalize.

Administrative initiative is an important internal means of inducing educational change. We have noted above that two chancellors have espoused the program in health and medical sciences, but this advocacy is one source of faculty suspicion or opposition. At Berkeley it is difficult if not dangerous for administrators to propose changes in organization or educational programs. An experienced hand declared that an administrator would be courting death to take much initiative in educational affairs. We think this is an exaggeration; our informant himself has made significant proposals. Administrative

intervention is a matter of style as well as substance, and its tolerance by the faculty depends on administrators' continuing academic credibility in the Berkeley mold. The chancellor needs to be especially skillful if he is to win faculty consideration and acceptance, but faculty administrators too find it essential to proceed with full regard for the delicate relationships between faculty and administration. One dean used the procedure of asking the executive committee of his college to list the ten most pressing needs for improvement. He added his own list, and together he and the other committee members negotiated priorities for action and what steps should be taken to improve conditions. One of the provosts revised an earlier recommendation for revamping and unifying the College of Agriculture and the School of Forestry, and guided the organization of a College of Natural Resources. A vice chancellor urged some of the distinguished members of the faculty to propose projects for the improvement of undergraduate instruction with funds provided by the legislature and the Regents for innovative projects. In the latter case and in others, the administrator's action was to search for new ideas and then to help bring them to fruition by finding allies for the originators and by scrounging the necessary financial support. Such administrative behavior may be more reactive than initiatory, but it is nevertheless an important element of leadership.

Most of the innovations sketched above do not reach deeply into the academic structure and academic perspective of the institution; they have even been called "window dressing" by one skeptic. We conclude that the structure of authority and influence that we have outlined operates to prevent fundamental change. A principal administrative officer observed that although it is possible to alter things at the margin, the system freezes Berkeley into a pattern which is almost unalterable. An administrator (who has found that it is very hard to breach the system of faculty decisionmaking) said it was admittedly difficult to make any major changes, but then asked, "What would you want to turn Berkeley into? After all, Berkeley is a graduate and research university of the highest distinction."

Some of the reasons why Berkeley may be expected to continue on its present course have been discussed above: the plenitude of customers, resistance to governmental and other external pressures, opposition to strong central control by the systemwide administration, limitations on administrative initiative, ubiquitous faculty administrators, and especially the faculty's dominant role in campus governance.

V.
Regenerating the System

One may conclude, then, that no significant change in Berkeley's academic priorities and values is to be expected. But an important question still remains: How can a self-contained system regenerate itself, especially under a steady state?

FACULTY RENEWAL

One impetus to renewal, we were told, is that campus scientists are so intimately involved in the national scientific fraternity that the Berkeley cosmopolitans are highly sensitive and responsive to new scientific movements. The same relationships hold in other scholarly fields. Nevertheless, faculty renewal through recruitment of promising younger staff is highly desirable. However, the rejuvenation of the faculty under conditions of financial austerity is particularly difficult. The problem, as stated in Chancellor Bowker's report to the Regents on *Berkeley in a Steady State* was that it is "necessary to devise a plan to maintain the dynamics of our regular faculty personnel system--to achieve sufficient turnover to enable us to continually bring in new ladder faculty to reallocate resources in accordance with developing programmatic trends--but without increasing the resources committed to ladder ranks, that is, to permanent faculty." [2
We noted earlier that the Chancellor's computerized model provides for an appointment of about 70 ladder faculty per year, which means that the percentage of tenured faculty will remain roughly constant until 1980, after which the rate of retirement will increase substantially.

Coupled with the recruitment of new faculty is the system of peer review of faculty quality, with major emphasis on research and published scholarship. This evaluation, which has always been rigorous, is likely to be even more so in a period when the number of new appointments is extremely limited. The system of peer review is one of Berkeley's most effective instruments for renewing the academic values to which the campus is dedicated.

ACADEMIC PROGRAM REVIEW

Another means of regeneration is systematic undergraduate and graduate program review. Systematic appraisal of academic programs with a direct bearing on resource allocation is a relatively recent development. Program review has taken on special significance to both faculty and administrators as steady state conditions have made it painfully apparent that growth in one academic field or program will probably mean a subsequent cutback in another, or even that the status of certain programs may have to be maintained at the expense of others.

Current procedures for review of academic units mirror the bifurcated and decentralized decisionmaking arrangement which characterizes most academic policymaking on the campus. At present, several agencies are responsible for the ongoing review of programs. The Graduate Council, a standing committee of the Berkeley Division, has responsibility for coordinating "the procedure of various departments and schools . . . as it relates to degrees higher than the bachelor's degree" and to make recommendations to the Universitywide Coordinating Committee on Graduate Affairs "concerning the qualifications of departments and groups of departments for initiating new programs." [26] The Graduate Council has traditionally been the sole agency responsible for the review of all programs leading to graduate degrees.

The responsibility for review of undergraduate programs now rests with the faculty of a school or college. The Executive Committee of the College of Letters and Science, which is also a standing committee of the

Division, conducts periodic reviews of the undergraduate programs under its jurisdiction. In addition, the Division's budget committee, which makes recommendations in matters of faculty promotion, tenure, and merit salary increases, maintains records on faculty strengths of all academic units.

Until very recently there has been no systematic attempt to coordinate the reviews of graduate and undergraduate programs, nor have these reviews been planned with any regularity. Reviews are usually conducted when a particular unit requests authority to offer a new or substantially altered degree program, or when it is known that a particular unit is having internal difficulties which might affect its ability to maintain academic quality. It is also the practice of the Graduate Division, however, to conduct reviews of programs known to be of high quality, presumably as a means of emphasizing bases of excellence.

The inescapable tie between program review and the allocation of resources was highlighted by decisions made by the Chancellor during the spring and summer of 1972 to phase out the relatively small departments of Demography and Design so that even these scarce resources could be distributed to other academic units. As noted earlier, the decisions upset the faculty leadership, which felt that the Senate had not been properly advised or consulted. Concerned over the potential loss of faculty authority in academic review, and fearful that the Chancellor would act without Senate advice on the distribution of scarce FTEs, the Division Policy Committee recommended that the Committee on Educational Policy (CEP) be assigned the responsibility of "representing the Division in all matters relating to educational policy, including *significant* [our emphasis] changes in the allocation of campus resources and make recommendations to the chancellor on the establishment and disestablishment of colleges, schools, departments, institutes, bureaus and the like." *[27]* The Policy Committee also suggested that the CEP make recommendations to the chancellor on allocation of the yearly FTE pool, but because of objections by the budget committee this suggestion was dropped.

The timing of these decisions by the Division had a direct bearing on the emerging and complicated campus debate concerning the future of the School of Criminology. The Chancellor had initiated the debate when he refused to recommend promotion to tenure for a controversial faculty member in the school and had given as his reason the difficult budget situation and uncertain future of the school. In a confidential letter to the budget committee, which has since been made public, the Chancellor wrote:

> Most important [in the decision not to tenure], I have not come to a final decision about the future of Criminology at Berkeley. If our resources remain level in terms of faculty positions, I believe I would recommend that the School be continued and expanded slightly. If, however, we have to take a cut of another 40 or 50 faculty positions, I believe that I would recommend that the School be discontinued, and am reluctant to increase its tenure component. The national reputation of the School is reasonably good within Criminology. I have had careful outside review. The School's mission to train graduate students for teaching in the community colleges is important but not really a mission that needs to be handled within the framework of a major research university like Berkeley. . . . Previous attempts to abolish Criminology at Berkeley have failed because of strong support within the law enforcement profession. Such strong support would not be forthcoming at the present time. *[28]*

The School of Criminology which offered the D.Crim. and M.Crim. degrees had been under attack ever since its formal inception in 1950 for either being too vocationally oriented and therefore inappropriate to the mission of a research university, or too academically oriented and remote from the professional community that it had a

responsibility to serve. A succession of deans and acting deans had added to the confusion and lack of leadership over the years, and internal conflicts and debates between "warring factions" of faculty as to the School's mission and emphasis had escalated.

Prompted in part by events surrounding the tenure case, by reports of internal difficulties in the School, and by a request from the Criminology faculty for authority to offer the MA and PhD degrees, the Graduate Council initiated a review of the School in late December 1972. An ad hoc review committee was instructed to "inquire into all aspects of the Criminology degree programs," including a consideration of the appropriateness of the subject and the School for Berkeley.

The ad hoc committee of the Graduate Council had begun to review the School's graduate programs by the time the Division had determined the new role of the Committee on Educational Policy (CEP) in program review. The CEP requested that the mission of the ad hoc committee be expanded to include a review of both graduate and undergraduate programs, and that a member of the CEP be added to the committee. This was accepted by the Graduate Council, and it was also decided that the ad hoc committee should report to both the CEP and the Council.

The committee submitted its final report in June 1973. The document provided a thorough analysis of the School's history, current problems and difficulties, strengths and weaknesses, and prospects for the future. The committee conducted a review of the work of both the criminology and criminalistics courses. Much of the committee's report pertained to the future of the criminology program.

Although the committee requested that a student from the School serve as a formal member of the committee and also that student input into the review process be guaranteed, student suspicions about the intent and operation of the committee were such that various student caucuses and organizations advised students not to cooperate with it. Informal discussions with several students did take

place and additional communications came to the committee through the independent efforts of the School's Criminology Student Association. The committee expressed regret that student participation was limited to these contacts.

The review committee met with faculty of the School as a group and with each member separately, as well as with faculty members from other departments, chairpersons of Senate committees, and other persons on campus who were knowledgeable or had opinions about the School. It worked with the Office of Institutional Research to obtain data on students, and each member read several doctoral dissertations. Comments about the School were solicited from former Criminology students as well as from professionals in law enforcement and criminal justice.

The committee focused on the mission of the School and the question of whether it could reasonably hope to achieve its purposes on the Berkeley campus. Primarily on the basis that the School lacked an integrated and coherent professional program, the committee concluded that the School of Criminology should be discontinued. The report recommended that the criminalistics program be maintained and transferred to either the School of Chemistry or the School of Public Health. (It has since been located in the latter.) It further recommended the gradual phasing out of the undergraduate program and ultimately the total disestablishment of the School, possibly to be replaced by some type of multidisciplinary "graduate group" program. *[29]*

While a majority of the Graduate Council supported the ad hoc committee's recommendations, the CEP was not entirely satisfied with the report. In an effort to unify the recommendations to the Chancellor, the Graduate Council and the CEP formed a joint subcommittee to evaluate the Criminology report and develop a set of recommendations for the parent bodies. Although the subcommittee, which had one student member from the CEP, submitted a unified set of recommendations, the two original faculty committees could not agree on the proposals. In March 1974 the two parent committees submitted separate sets of recommendations to the Chancellor.

The Graduate Council reiterated its support of the original recommendations of the ad hoc review committee. The CEP issued three separate reports: a majority report recommending a moratorium on admission to the School of Criminology and further study of the future of criminology studies at Berkeley, a faculty minority report supporting the original phase-out recommendations, and a minority report from the student members favoring the continuation and strengthening of the School of Criminology. All of these recommendations were forwarded to the Chancellor.

Independently of the efforts of CEP and the Graduate Council, the ASUC mounted its own review of the School during the summer of 1973. Its report, which represented the ASUC's first attempt at program review, was both comprehensive and voluminous. The report was submitted to the Chancellor and recommended strengthening the School through additional campus resources. While student leaders recognized they had entered the debate at a relatively late stage, they expected to receive a fair hearing on their recommendations. However, they declared that their report had little impact on the final decision and that there was no indication the report had ever been read by any influential person or group.

Details of the events which followed will not concern us here except to report that the Chancellor delayed his final decision on the School's future until the end of the 1974 spring quarter. During the weeks preceding the decision, students marched daily to and from the building where the School of Criminology was located, and to the Chancellor's residence on the campus, demanding a final decision. A student occupation of the classroom building took place at the end of May. Students criticized the faculty reports as biased and representing the attitudes and concerns of self-interested faculty from competing academic departments and colleges. They further questioned the validity of the recommendations on the ground that the faculty were not as concerned with the overall quality of the Criminology program as they were with the radical orientation of some of the School's teachers, and their outspoken criticism of the country's criminal justice system.

The Chancellor finally released his decision to disestablish the School of Criminology and proposed replacing it with an "enlarged and enriched graduate program covering the whole area of Law and Society, Criminal Justice, Crime and Crime Prevention." He also proposed that a series of undergraduate majors be developed in conjunction with the graduate programs. The Chancellor left open the question of the organizational placement of these programs.

Subsequent campus committees, some with student input and some without, have advised that a program in law and society be established either in the College of Letters and Science or in the School of Law. The ASUC has issued several comprehensive reports and position papers of its own concerning the proposed program. The ASUC proposes the creation of a Department of Criminology housed outside any of the existing professional schools or the College of Letters and Science. As this was being written, no solution for the location of an undergraduate program in law and society has been reached.

Some faculty and administrators felt that, as a result of its internal dissension, the CEP suffered a severe loss of credibility during the criminology review process. Criticism notwithstanding, the CEP is presently conducting informal talks with campus administrators and Division committees involved in program review, in the hope of resolving some of the jurisdictional disputes that impede the development of a coordinated plan for the review of academic units. CEP's present proposal calls for two levels of review: The first would be conducted under the auspices of the CEP, would be diagnostic in purpose, and would assess both graduate and undergraduate programs. If necessary, this review would be followed by a second-level analysis conducted intensively by an appropriate campus agency (i.e., the Graduate Council, the Executive Committee of the College of Letters and Science, or some other agency). A ten-year review cycle is envisioned, with the CEP selecting the units to be studied, in consultation with the provosts and the budget committee.

The CEP proposals have not gained much support. Major academic administrators are reluctant to have the present decentralized arrangement changed. They see program review as an important administrative and planning tool to initiate reform in the academic units under their purview. Moreover, on a campus where collegial norms are so pervasive, the determination of which units are to be reviewed is seen as a method for directing significant amounts of faculty peer pressure to move sluggish departments into action. A faculty chairperson observed that one difficulty with the present review process is that agencies such as the Graduate Council have no control or authority over the allocation of campus FTEs, and therefore their recommendations carry little clout. Tying the review process to key policymaking bodies like the Executive Committee of the College of Letters and Science or the budget committee, which have control over the allocation of resources, is one way to guarantee some incentive to change.

These controversies notwithstanding, responsible academic agencies have continued the review of programs under their jurisdiction. For example, during the past year the Executive Committee of the College of Letters and Science has initiated and completed a review of 15 undergraduate programs. Under the initiative of the Dean of the College, a student consulting group has been formed composed of one representative from each departmental student organization (where one exists), and several lower-division students nominated from the campus residence halls. Among its responsibilities, the group is asked to comment on departmental reviews. In some cases, separate student reports are submitted to the College Executive Committee along with the faculty review committee reports. The Dean has expressed great satisfaction with this system of parallel review and commented in a recent written report that this mode of student participation provides "a useful alternative to ASUC input." The Dean was apparently referring to the increasing activity of the ASUC in program review.

The Graduate School also conducts reviews at five-year intervals of the 20 organized research units under

its jurisdiction. A joint subcommittee of the Division committees on Research and Educational Policy recently presented a report to the Division on procedures and criteria for the operation and review of ORUs. The report emphasized the functions of bringing faculty members together from a number of different departments or disciplines and giving vitality to a field of interdisciplinary research. The report criticized those administratively responsible for the units for not reacting appropriately to deficiencies in operation revealed by review committees. The joint committee concluded that an ORU should be terminated at the end of each five-year review period unless a strong case could be made for its continuation. The report was considered at a meeting of the Division on May 12, 1975, but action was deferred pending further consideration by certain Division committees. On June 8, 1976, the Berkeley Division approved a recommendation of the Policy Committee that the Committee on Research represent the Division in all matters relating to the review of organized research units and advise the Chancellor in matters relating to research policy.

Systemwide reviews of certain academic programs are being conducted under the auspices of the newly created Universitywide Academic Program Planning and Review Board (APPRB). The Academic Plan for the University of California states that the systemwide review process "includes the authority to disapprove programs which result in unnecessary duplication and to re-order campus priorities to assure that all programs judged to be of scholarly and professional importance are presented somewhere within the institution." *[30]*

The APPRB has already completed a review of all programs in Administration and Education across the nine campuses. No one at Berkeley seems as yet very concerned about the impact of these reviews on the campus. However, statements from the University's central administrative offices about the possible need for preferential allocation of future resources to the less developed campuses keep faculty members and administrators alike keenly aware of the potential of APPRB reviews to effect major changes at Berkeley.

In spite of the fact that some units and administrators are jealous of their own initiative in program review, it seems clear that scarce resources will necessitate more systematic evaluation of curricula and greater Universitywide participation in the process.

VI.

Decisionmaking Moves Upward

The faculty renewal plan coupled with rigorous peer review of faculty quality, the ongoing review of undergraduate and graduate academic programs, and the periodic evaluation of the productivity of organized research units are the major means of maintaining Berkeley's standing in the academic world. In the words of the draft of Berkeley's academic plan:

> The ongoing process of review and self-assessment that is an integral part of Berkeley's planning will lead to changes in some disciplines, and to the discontinuation of programs that fail to sustain the rigorous academic standards set by the faculty or that cease to meet an evident educational need.

These critical, evaluative, and constructive efforts are motivated by a commitment to quality; in the words of the new president of the University, to "endemic excellence." "Excellence," President Saxon said in his initial address to the Berkeley Senate, "has become the norm, a way of life, so to speak." He went on to say that "our academic personnel process has stood as a superb instance of broad standards of excellence applied operationally throughout the institution." He then proclaimed Berkeley as the academic gold standard:

> The Berkeley campus is, of course, the prime exemplar of the University's excellence.

> Step by careful step, the quality of Berkeley's academic programs has been solidified and extended until the campus in general has achieved a level of scholarly distinction matched in no other public institutions and few private institutions in the world.
>
> But even more remarkable is the extent to which excellence is reflected throughout the entire university. Berkeley provided the initial inspiration for the other campuses. It set the norm, defined the standards, acted as a monitor and served as a challenge. . . . Berkeley demonstrated that absolute academic distinction actually could be achieved in a public university. *[31]*

Behind what may become a self-congratulatory ritual there lurk the dangers of enervating complacency and, to other California institutions and public figures, vexatious arrogance. Two respondents in particularly good positions to make educational judgments expressed concern about the continued eminence of graduate faculties and programs at Berkeley. It is true that their concern was mainly prompted by the difficulty of faculty renewal, but they were aware, too, that complacency can take a heavy toll in quality. Constant reiteration of Berkeley's and the University's preeminence in graduate education and research may fail to satisfy the skeptical members of the legislative and executive departments who are interested in undergraduate education and the development of the California State University and Colleges, a system now much larger than the University of California.

Universities like Berkeley provide wide scope for faculty initiative and individual choice. Such an institution, in Millett's words, "tends to provide a substantial degree of personal freedom to faculty members to fix their own objectives, to devise their own work processes, to control their own allotment of time, to determine the service satisfaction of their consumers (or students), and to evaluate their own standards

of performance." In other words, faculty members enjoy "a maximum degree of academic freedom and a minimum of supervisory constraint." [32] However, there is one freedom that Berkeley faculty do not possess, namely, the freedom *not* to do research or other creative work. Neither are they free to choose between research and teaching as primary roles, although the president's instructions to appointment and promotion committees say that "under no circumstances will a tenure commitment be made unless there is clear documentation of ability and diligence in the teaching role." Faculty members who are good teachers and fair researchers, a principal administrator told us, rise slowly in the professorial steps and ranks. The University Council of the American Federation of Teachers recently issued what it called *A Survival Manual* for UC faculty members. The latter were reminded that "in the UC system the higher levels of academic and administrative decisionmaking still emphasize scholarly research and writing above all other criteria." And the manual went on:

> *Ideally*, a candidate for promotion to associate professor should have a national reputation for scholarship, be an effective teacher and have made reasonable contributions in the service area. There is no question, however, that research in the form of publication is the single most important criterion for advancement. For Fine Arts faculty, exhibits and theater productions, for example, are the equivalent. A good research scholar will normally be promoted unless the teaching is considered of very poor quality. If a person is a good, very good, or even outstanding teacher, he or she will not be promoted unless his or her research is good.

Critics might find a few exceptions to these statements, but the instances would be extremely few indeed. Outstanding research and scholarly publication are almost always essential for promotion to the highest steps of

the full professorship. It is true that the University has recently responded to criticism of insufficient emphasis on effective teaching, especially of undergraduates, by putting new stress on the improvement of instruction and the consideration of teaching effectiveness in faculty advancement. A report of the Berkeley Division Committee on Senate Policy on April 26, 1976, declared that "the classroom is as much a part of the scholarly situation as the laboratory or the library." The Division then approved a motion to the effect that,

> Whereas, it is as important to conduct peer evaluation of teaching effectiveness of faculty as it is to evaluate their research contributions, it is resolved that the Committees on Teaching and Budget and Interdepartmental Relations develop and recommend to the Division a system of peer review of teaching to be used in all cases of promotion, including tenure, and merit increases.

Also, a joint proposal was made by the Universitywide Academic Council and the systemwide Student Body President's Council to the President of the University to establish a task force on teaching evaluation. It remains to be seen whether anything very significant emerges from this flurry on teaching.

The present attitude toward campus planning at Berkeley reflects the primacy of faculty interests--the institution's programs will be determined more by the amplification of these interests than by the desires of students or the expressed needs of the University's public constituency. In some such sense as this, the present draft plan, in its own words, may "be termed a plan not to plan." The draft explains that, "The maintenance of flexibility and adaptability, as the necessary condition of program quality, is the capstone and focal point of Berkeley's planning process." One might legitimately ask, however, whether planning not to plan may not carry into the future some of the same problems the campus

faces today. One of our respondents observed that distinguished as the research of major members of the Physics department has been, other fields of investigation and instruction needed to be strengthened. But this will be difficult, since 96.5 percent of the present regular faculty members in the department have tenure and so faculty renewal in the near future will therefore be extremely limited. There is evident danger that planning not to plan, which might have been tolerable during a period of great expansion, may, in the more austere future, leave the institution unresponsive to new emphases or new fields of research and scholarship, as well as to changing human and social needs.

There is reason to believe, however, that under effective leadership the campus may turn to positive future planning continuously reviewed and revised. The Provost and Dean of the College of Letters and Science has, in fact, supplied the model in his most recent presentation to Chancellor Bowker of the regular academic staff requirements of the college for 1976-77. This document is based on data supplied by an extensive information system, a prerequisite for effective management and planning. The presentation summarizes the efforts of the college to improve its programs and services, analyzes enrollment trends, estimates opportunities for faculty renewal, and summarizes conditions and needs for improvement, department by department. The needs are then translated into the resources required to meet them.

Information systems are management tools that can be used to augment administrative authority at the expense of faculty participation in defining the institution's purposes and devising means for their attainment. "To this end," wrote Millett, "consultative bodies of all kinds--councils, senates, and committees--should be given access to all desired information, provided with all available choices, and afforded an opportuntiy to express their points of view." *[33]*

In university governance, the purposes of communication and consultation are to stimulate a sense of community and acceptance of responsibility for the definition and

promotion of institutional values. At the moment, no such general community exists at Berkeley. Instead, there are communities. One of these is the Academic Senate. A leader of this organization observed some time ago that the institutional loyalty of younger faculty members tends to be relatively low. Their greater loyalty is to their discipline and to their professional colleagues in the world of scholarship. The Senate officer then went on to say:

> The University cannot prosper without the loyalty of its faculty. The Academic Senate is a unique instrument of the faculty. It is the faculty's authentic mouthpiece. By the same token it is well suited to cultivate a sense of loyalty in the faculty. For this, however, the Academic Senate has to be prestigious. If it is ineffectual for whatever reason and is habitually bypassed by the Administration in the development of University policy, the Academic Senate obviously loses the respect of the faculty and becomes an additional source of their alienation from the institution. *[34]*

As implied earlier in the discussion of campus jurisdictions, the Senate community could be expanded informally to include faculty administrators. In this sense, but only in this sense, can we talk about a community of faculty members and administrators. The Chancellor stands apart; he does not appear to be an intimate member of the faculty-administrative community--and perhaps he should not be.

Students, too, do not feel they really belong, in spite of the fact that they are represented on a large number of administrative committees and have voting or nonvoting membership on some Senate committees. Still unsatisfied in their ambition to influence academic affairs, students, as noted above, have turned to legislative lobbying as a means of bringing their power to bear on the University. Berkeley has failed to create a central consultative body of administrators, faculty members, and students for the consideration of campuswide affairs.

Communication and consultation are still mainly bilateral, administration-students, faculty-students, and administration-faculty. The College of Letters and Science has even established the principle of parallelism in program review; separate faculty and student committees conduct their reviews independently.

One must concede that in an institution as large and complex as Berkeley, community is difficult to attain. For example, instead of one student constituency there are many. But until a successful effort is made to bring the leadership of the major participants in the organization actively together (perhaps not in one but in several groups), Berkeley will remain vulnerable to antagonism and even to conflict and disruption.

Millett has observed that the mechanisms so far developed for the exercise of communal authority have tended to ignore or play down the need for institutional leadership. *[35]* We have commented above on how jealously the Senate and its committees assert and protect both their statutory and informal prerogatives, and how resistive they are to overt administrative intervention and initiative, especially on the chancellor's part. Nevertheless, we believe the Berkeley faculty should recognize more widely and fully than is now the case the need for central leadership. The loss of substantial incremental financial support means much greater competition among departments, schools, colleges, basic disciplines, and professional divisions for resources. Incremental budgeting, although it, too, has its competitive aspects, is less difficult than the trade-offs which involve augmentation of support for one unit at the expense of another. "The issue is also acute," Millett has observed, "because it involves questions of program changes, program priorities, and individual merit." *[36]* Consequently, leaders may have to make decisions that faculty members are reluctant to take. But we do not believe that the sole function of the chancellor and/or his major administrative associates at Berkeley is to arbitrate faculty competition for scarce resources in an arena in which various constituencies strive for preference, power, and influence. It is true that one of the functions of central authority is to serve as a

corrective of special interests, which are not unknown among faculty groups in a system characterized by strong faculty initiative and control. It is even more important in such a system for the central administration to initiate proposals for policy and program. The chancellor's freedom to act is constrained at the top by the systemwide administration and at the bottom by the faculty. Nevertheless, he is in a strategic position to play a significant role in sensing the legitimate public interest, in responding to appropriate concerns of the Universitywide administration, and in mobilizing the academic potentialities of the campus. Administrators, of course, need to be *reactive*. But in our judgment, they should also be *active*--they should take the lead in defining purposes, in establishing priorities, and in moving the institution toward new undertakings.

Administrative initiative and appropriate administrative decisionmaking need not be arbitrary. They require consultation; they abjure dictation. As noted above, Chancellor Bowker, conscious of faculty criticism of his action concerning Criminology, Demography, and Design, has pledged to seek faculty advice before making decisions. We believe, however, that on very infrequent occasions a chancellor may consider it essential to act (within the authority delegated to him by the Regents or the central University administration) differently from the advice offered by one or more constituencies, or one or more administrative or Senate committees. Furthermore, in a crisis or in a situation requiring immediate action, a chancellor may need to act promptly and decisively. Under such circumstances, he needs some protection from undue faculty recrimination. On the other hand, a faculty needs a means of escaping from continuing arbitrary behavior by a chancellor. One means of safeguarding both parties would be to appoint a chancellor for a fixed term of five to seven years, with the provision that his performance would be reviewed by appropriate constituencies before reappointment by the governing board. Such an arrangement would be consistent with the present practice of appointing provosts, deans, and department chairpersons for five-year terms, followed by an evaluation of their performance before reappointment.

Whatever the extent of formal administrative authority, under severe financial stringency one would expect the locus of decisionmaking to move upward in the organization. In general, our inquiry supported this hypothesis. A department chairperson who had had central administrative experience on the campus said that what was at one time essentially a local decision now had to be justified and reviewed at several successive levels in the organization. The Division Committee on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations itself is exercising much more detailed surveillance over the allocation of positions for ladder faculty among schools, colleges, and departments. The provosts and the Chancellor exert a high degree of control over academic programs, decisions concerning academic personnel, and the distribution of resources among the units under their surveillance. In the near future, the chancellor will probably have to act on such difficult matters as the reallocation of resources between the professional schools and the College of Letters and Science; he will not be able to meet the needs of professional schools from his discretionary funds alone. It is possible that the Universitywide administration will exercise more authority over campus affairs, although this will be resisted by chancellors and faculties.

Planning also puts a severe strain on faculty participation. One of the most [illegible] members of the Berkeley Division, a former vice chancellor, pointed out that although the Senate has become increasingly interested in long-range planning both for the campus and the University at large, its ability to deal with relevant issues is limited. He emphasized that academic planning requires a vast amount of information, much of which the faculty does not possess. Consequently, the chancellor's office, in consultation with the Division Committee on Academic Planning, necessarily takes responsibility for campuswide planning because it is better informed, can devote more time to it, and has the resources needed to collect and organize the essential information. (Volumes of information have been put in the hands of the Committee.) The Committee, which was established at Berkeley about three years ago, is still in the process of determining its

relationship to the administration. At the end of 1975-1976 the Committee had been attempting to find ways to coordinate its work with that of other Division committees such as Budget and Educational Policy, and had put major emphasis on undergraduate admissions policy and "remedial" student services. Although the particular roles of the faculty and administration in long-range campus planning remain to be defined, we look forward to strong administrative influence, especially from the chancellor and his administrative group. We believe this to be both inevitable and appropriate under a well-defined system of shared responsibility and shared authority.

Notes

[1] This project is one of some 30 case studies of governance commissioned by John D. Millett under a grant from The Lilly Endowment. The emphasis in the project was on campuswide governance, and therefore no effort was made to study the internal governance of departments schools, and colleges.

The report of governance at Berkeley is in part an update of two previous investigations: *Academic Government at Berkeley: The Academic Senate* by K. P. Mortimer, and *The Faculty in University Governance* by T. R. McConnell and K. P. Mortimer. However, some issues touched on in the present study go beyond those treated in the two previous reports.

The present investigation was based in part on a limited number of interviews with present and/or former officers of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate, present and/or former chairpersons or members of six of the most important committees of the Division, the Chancellor, The Vice Chancellor, the Vice Chancellor for Administration, the provosts, the Assistant Chancellor for Budget and Planning, an assistant to the Chancellor, present and/or former department chairpersons, and a professional school dean. Faculty members in charge of two experimental academic programs were interviewed. We also interviewed two leaders of the Associated Students of the University of California. To all of these people we express our appreciation.

No attempt was made to assess general faculty attitudes toward the administrative structure, administrative process, or faculty-administrative

relationships. Neither was any attempt made to poll the faculty on substantive questions at issue on the campus. The interpretive observations are those of the authors themselves.

The investigators had at hand many documents, including the minutes of the statewide Academic Senate, Academic Assembly, and Academic Council, as well as those of the Berkeley Division; the By-laws and Standing Orders of the Board of Regents; reports appearing in the *University Bulletin*; program reviews of the Department of Sociology and the School of Criminology; various ASUC documents; and other sources including but not limited to those that appear in the notes following. We would also like to express appreciation for the cooperation of the offices from which these documents were secured.

The project was completed by June 15, 1976, although the text reflects selected events that have occurred since that date.

[2] Saxon, D. S. *The University of California: What makes it unique?* Paper presented at a meeting of the Board of Regents of the University of California, Berkeley, September 1974.

[3] University of California at Berkeley. *Campus academic plan* (Vol. 1: General). Mimeographed draft.

[4] Jako, K. L. *Dimensions of the undergraduate through the sixties*. Berkeley: Project for Research on Undergraduate Education, University of California, 1971.

[5] The number of full-time positions in universitywide offices decreased from 992 in 1958 to 365 in 1965. Summarized in *Development and decentralization: The administration of the University of California, 1958-1966*.

[6] Notice of meeting, Assembly of the Academic Senate, May 29, 1975.

[7] As Chancellor at Berkeley, however, Kerr exercised significant educational leadership. Examples were given in T. R. McConnell & K. P. Mortimer, *The faculty in university governance*. Berkeley: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, 1971, 140-144.

[8] Bowker, A. H. *Berkeley in a steady state*. A report to the Board of Regents of the University of California, September 21, 1973. Mimeographed.

[9] *Report of the Committee on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations, 1974-1975*. Notice of the meeting of the Representative Assembly of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate, November 24, 1975.

[10] Mortimer, K. P. *Academic government at Berkeley: The academic senate*. Berkeley: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, 1970.

[11] Mortimer, K. P., & McConnell, T. R. Faculty participation in university governance. In C. E. Kruytbosch & S. L. Messinger, *The state of the university*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1970. Pp. 111-131.

[12] By-laws of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate, p. 7.

[13] Bowker, A. H., *Op.cit.*

[14] Minutes of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate, March 17, 1975.

[15] Remarks by Edmundo Anchondo to the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate, May 13, 1975.

[16] Mortimer, K. P., *Op.cit.*, p. 153.

[17] Gardner, D. P. The power struggle to convert the university. *Educational Record*, spring 1969, *50*, 113-120.

[18] Since the Regents' action, only three names have been extracted from the lists of personnel recommendations submitted to the Board, and these names were later resubmitted and approved.

[19] University of California. *University Bulletin*, July 1974, *23*, 181-190.

[20] Stone, J. C. et al. . . . *and gladly teche: Report of the assessment and evaluation study of projects for instructional improvement on the nine campuses of the University of California*. Berkeley: University of California, 1974, 1.

[21] ASUC Office of Academic Affairs. *Comments on academic planning at Berkeley in 1974*. Berkeley: Associated Students of the University of California, 1974.

[22] *Interdisciplinary and innovative programs*. Position paper presented to the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Program Planning, December 1974.

[23] Special Committee on Academic Program. *The undergraduate program in letters and science*. Berkeley: College of Letters and Science, University of California, 1967.

[24] Rovnan , A. *Experimental program in health sciences and medical education: A report, January 4, 1971--June 30, 1972*. Berkeley: Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Medical Education, University of California, December 1972.

[25] Bowker, A. H., *Op.cit.*

[26] By-laws of the Academic Senate, 106, Sections B(1) and B(2), 13-14.

[27] By-laws of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate, 23, as amended 1/23/73. Minutes of the Representative Assembly of the Berkeley Division, 4(1), 6.

[28] Memo from Chancelor Bowker to the Senate Budget Committee, May 1, 1972.

[29] Review of the School of Criminology, submitted by the ad hoc Review Committee of the Graduate Council and of the Senate Committee on Educational Policy, June 15, 1973. Mimeographed.

[30] University of California. *Revised academic plan, 1974-78.*

[31] Saxon, D. S. *The endemic excellence of the University of California.* Berkeley: Minutes of the Representative Assembly, University of California, November 24, 1975.

[32] Millett, J. D. Governance and leadership in higher education. *Management Forum,* December 1974.

[33] Millett, J. D. *Strengthening community in higher education.* Washington, D.C.: Academy for Educational Development, 1974, 25.

[34] Zinner, P. E. Organization and function of the academic senate. *University Bulletin,* October 4, 1971, 21-22.

[35] Millett, J. D. Memorandum to case-study authors of The Lilly Endowment project on college and university governance, July 17, 1975.

[36] Millett, J. D. *Allocation decisions in higher education.* Washington, D.C.: Academy for Educational Development, 1975, 19.