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Nancy L. Ruther
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**FIVE COLLEGE
DEPOSITORY**

THE ROLE OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS IN
INTERNATIONALIZING THE U.S. HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM
FROM 1958-1988

A Dissertation Presented

by

NANCY L. RUTHER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1994

School of Education

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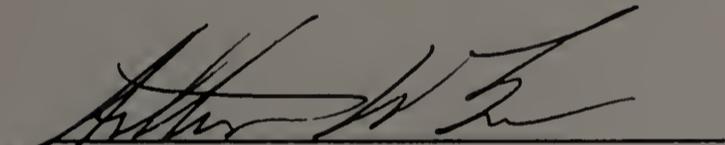
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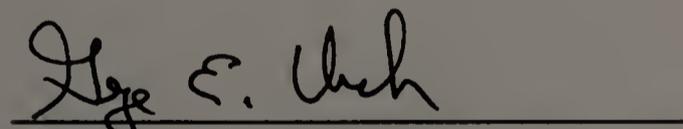
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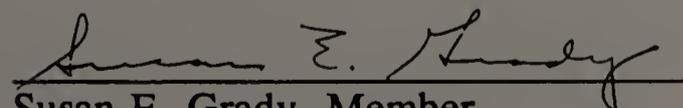
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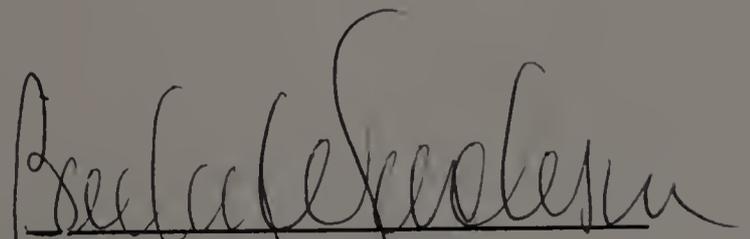
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DEDICATION

To Mrs. Catharine A. Patten affectionately known as Muvver. Her formal education ended in the eighth grade but not her love of learning.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author gratefully acknowledges the guidance, persistence and good cheer of her doctoral program Chair, Professor Arthur Eve and the unflagging support of the dissertation committee members Professors George Urch and Susan Grady.

Family and friends who provided unstinting support and great diversional therapy throughout the entire process deserve many thanks. Special recognition goes to Paula Baraket who lived through the last long lap with me. She earned new meaning for her initials... patience and belief.

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS IN
INTERNATIONALIZING THE U.S. HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM
FROM 1958-1988

MAY 1994

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The study posed the general question: How has the historical federal relationship with higher education affected the institutional capacity of the U.S. higher education system to sustain and expand its international dimension, to internationalize? Two federal programs were identified for their explicit interest in building higher education's institutional capacity in the international dimension between 1958 and 1988. National Defense Education Act, Title VI programs administered by successive federal education agencies were treated in depth. Agency for International Development programs administered by the foreign affairs agencies were highlighted as a counterpoint to Title VI.

Two further guide questions helped analyze the evolution of the policy arena. First, how effective were the federal case programs in achieving their legislative aims *per se*? The theoretical framework was triangulated from three veins in the literature, i.e., public policy implementation effectiveness, diffusion of innovations and higher education organization. The basic tool was legislative case history. The period was 1958-1980. Second, what did higher education institutional participation patterns in the case programs reveal about the effectiveness of these case programs and their influence on the international capacity of the higher education system? This was answered in terms of specific definitions of internationalization. The participation and funding patterns of 506 institutions and consortia of higher education in the two case programs from 1969-1988 were analyzed in terms of regional dispersion within the U.S., ownership balance and institutional diversity. Institutional diversity was analyzed in depth for Title VI.

The study revealed a series of policy choices and decisions as the policy arena developed. It confirmed an important but not dominant role of federal programs in sustaining higher education's international capacity. Internationalization depended on higher education itself. Federal resources rarely matched policy goals. Over the thirty years, the case programs most directly contributed to international capacity in research universities, less directly in other higher education groups. The study suggests that barring massive concerted advocacy or a unique policy catalyst, the higher education system can best increase federal resources for internationalization by stretching existing channels rather than creating new ones.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
ABSTRACT	vi
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xv
GLOSSARY OF LEADERSHIP POSITIONS	xvii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW	1
A. Rationale for the Study	4
B. Focus and Significance of the Research	12
C. Approach to the Study	14
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	19
A. National Higher Education Systems: Transnational and Conceptual Approaches	22
1. Traditional Models: Focus on Institutions of Higher Education	25
2. Bridging Old and New Concepts with the Knowledge Model	33
3. Internationalization of Higher Education in Terms of the Knowledge Model	49
B. Balancing Stability and Change in Higher Education Systems	54
1. Approaches to System Change	58
2. Institutional Perspectives	70
3. Environmental Perspectives and International Forces	77
4. Insights on Institutionalization of Innovation	81
C. Balancing Societal and System Values	86
1. Key Values for National Higher Education Systems	88
2. Market Forces	91

3. Government and Public Policy Forces	103
a. Approaches to Understanding Public Policy and Higher Education	106
b. Public Policy and Higher Education in the U.S.	118
i. Legislative Benchmarks: 1787-1950	123
ii. Legislative Benchmarks: 1950-1972	126
iii. Legislative Benchmarks: 1972-1980	133
c. Higher Education Interests in Federal Policy	138
D. Focus of the Research	151
III. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	155
A. Analytic Framework	156
1. Specifying Internationalization as an Analytic Lead Concept	160
a. Internationalization at the Institutional Level	162
b. Internationalization Across the System	167
2. Policy Implementation Effectiveness	172
3. Structural Effects Across the Higher Education System	192
B. Methods of Analysis and Data Sources	196
1. Policy Implementation Analysis	200
2. Structural Change Analysis	202
C. Limits to the Study	209
IV. ROOTS AND GROWTH OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS: 1958-1964	211
A. The National Defense Higher Education Act of 1958, Title VI	211
1. Policy Environment and Advocacy Coalitions	211
2. Legislative Goals and Resources	215
3. Program Mechanisms and Development	222
4. Evaluation and Adjustment of Programs and Policies	230
B. Foreign Assistance Act of 1961	240

C. Policy Implementation Effectiveness: Effectiveness in Achieving Legislative Aims <i>Per se</i>	248
D. Issues Raised for the Next Period	251
V. GREAT EXPECTATIONS AND RETRENCHMENT: 1965-1970	255
A. The International Education Act of 1966	259
1. Policy Environment and Advocacy Coalitions	259
2. Legislative Goals	266
3. Policy and Implementation Issues in the Authorization Hearings	275
4. Funding Debates and Appropriations Hearings	288
B. Continuing Programs of NDEA Title VI	300
C. Foreign Assistance Act Counterpoint	309
D. Policy Implementation Effectiveness: Effectiveness in Achieving Legislative Aims <i>Per se</i>	317
E. Issues Raised for the Next Period	321
VI. CONSOLIDATION AND REFINEMENT: 1971-1980	325
A. Higher Education Amendments of 1972, 1976 and 1980	331
1. Policy Environment and Advocacy Coalitions	331
2. Legislative Goals	338
a. The Education Amendments of 1972	339
b. The Education Amendments of 1976	345
c. The 1980 Higher Education Act Amendments	352
d. Summary of Legislative Goal Developments	364
3. Legislative Resources	365
a. Legislative Resource Debates 1971-76	366
b. Legislative Resource Debates 1977-80	373
c. Summary of Legislative Resources and Implementation	384
B. Foreign Assistance Counterpoint: FAA amendments of 1975	385
C. Policy Implementation Effectiveness: Effectiveness in Achieving Legislative Aims <i>Per se</i>	392
D. Epilogue: Subsequent Initiatives and Actions (1981-88)	404

VII. PROGRAM INFLUENCE ON THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM	409
A. Policy Implementation Effectiveness and Congruence with the Internationalization Ideal	409
1. Adequate Causal Theory	410
2. Clear and Consistent Objectives	414
a. General Implementation Effectiveness	414
b. Congruence with the Internationalization Ideal	419
3. Implementation Compliance Structure	424
4. Committed and Skillful Implementing Officials	428
5. Political Support from Interest Groups and Sovereigns	429
B. Aggregate Participation Patterns in the Two Federal Programs	430
1. Regional Dispersion	432
2. Ownership Equity	436
3. Institutional Diversity	440
C. Institutional Diversity of Participants in the Title VI Program	446
VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	459
A. Summary and Response to Initial Guide Questions	459
B. Comments on the Study Methodology	472
C. Recommendations for Further Research	475
D. Lessons for the Future	477
APPENDICES	
A. CLASSIFICATION GUIDES TO THE STUDY GROUP	485
B. DATA SOURCES ON INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATION	501
BIBLIOGRAPHY	507

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
2.1. Example of institutional migration patterns (1952-66)	104
2.2. Historical benchmarks of higher education associations	149
3.1. Internationalization elements in institutions of higher education	165
3.2. Internationalization dynamics of the higher education system	170
5.1. Activities of the IEA: Advanced centers and undergraduate programs . .	273
A.1. Summary of Carnegie Classification over three periods	486
A.2. Regional classification guide	487
A.3. Summary classification guide for study participants	488

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
2.1. An updated structural-functional model	30
2.2. A simple illustration of the knowledge model of higher education systems .	41
2.3. A complex illustration of the knowledge model adapted to the U.S.	50
2.4. Matrix of federal legislative acts related to different dimensions of the higher education system	154
4.1. Authorization versus appropriation levels NDEA Title VI (1959-64)	232
5.1. Authorizations versus appropriations: NDEA Title VI and IEA (1965-71)	318
6.1. Authorizations versus appropriations: NDEA Title VI and IEA (1972-78)	394
6.2. Authorizations versus appropriations: NDEA/HEA Title VI (1979-86) . .	407
7.1. Authorizations versus appropriations: NDEA/HEA Title VI and IEA (1959-86)	415
7.2. NDEA Title VI funding by major programs (1969-88)	417
7.3. Regional location of grantees in education and AID programs	433
7.4. Regions represented by program	434
7.5. Regional funds distribution	435
7.6. Study group ownership	436
7.7. Ownership of grantees by program	437
7.8. Ownership of grantees by classification group	438
7.9. Funding by type of ownership	439
7.10. Proportion of system covered by study grantees by classification group .	441
7.11. Institutional diversity -- study grantees by group versus system wide groups	442

7.12. Distribution of federal funds by type of institution	443
7.13. Distribution of program funds beyond the research universities group . .	444
7.14. Institutional diversity of grantees in Title VI centers program	447
7.15. Funding per group in the Title VI IS/Graduate program (1972-80)	451
7.16. Grantee diversity in Title VI IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business programs	453
7.17. Funds by institutional group in Title VI IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business programs	456

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Higher Education and Non-governmental Agencies

AAC	American Association of Colleges
AACJC	American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, formerly American Association of Junior Colleges
AAS	Association of Asian Studies
AASCU	American Association of State Colleges and Universities
AAASS	American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies
AAU	American Association of Universities
ACE	American Council for Education
ASA	African Studies Association
EWA	Education and World Affairs
HBCU	Historically black colleges and universities, often includes the group of land-grant institutions founded in 1890
ITR	International Training and Research program of the Ford Foundation
IRDC	International Rural Development Conference (July 1964)
LASA	Latin American Studies Association
MESA	Middle Eastern Studies Association
NAICU	National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities (generally for profit rather than non-profit institutions)
NAFSA	National Association of Foreign Student Advisors
NASULGC	National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges
SSRC	Social Sciences Research Council

Federal Agency and Legislative Abbreviations

211(d)	Section 211(d) of the FAA, Title II authorizing strengthening grants to institutions of higher education working in development assistance with AID
AID	Agency for International Development, foreign assistance arm of the State Department since 1961
BIFAD	Board for International Food and Agricultural Development of AID
CEC	Center for Educational Cooperation, an office in HEW at the Secretary level
CRSP	Collaborative Research and Science Program of AID
FAA	Foreign Assistance Act of 1961

FY	Fiscal Year, the government budget year running from July 1 to June 30 until 1976 and from October 1 to September 30 after 1976, e.g. FY 1977 included October 1, 1977 to September 30, 1978. In FY 1976, an extra quarter was added to the fiscal year to allow for the adjustment.
HEW	U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
OE	Office of Education within HEW. OE was an independent agency of government prior to being absorbed into HEW
NDEA	National Defense Education Act of 1958
NSF	National Science Foundation
Title VI	NDEA/Title VI, legislation that originally supported language and area studies within higher education
USDE	U.S. Department of Education (since 1980)
USIA	U.S. Information Agency, agency of the State Department

GLOSSARY OF LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Presidents of the United States

<u>Name (party)</u>	<u>Dates Elected/Inaugurated</u>
Dwight D. Eisenhower (R)..	Nov 1956, Jan 1957
John F. Kennedy (D).....	Nov 1960, Jan 1961 assassinated Nov 1963
Lyndon B. Johnson (D).....	Assumed office Nov 1963 Nov 1964, Jan 1965
Richard M. Nixon (R).....	Nov 1968, Jan 1969 Nov 1972, Jan 1973 resigned Feb 1974
Gerald R. Ford (R).....	Assumed office Aug 1974
Jimmy Carter (D).....	Nov 1976, Jan 1977
Ronald R. Reagan (R).....	Nov 1980, Jan 1981 Nov 1984, Jan 1985
George W. Bush (R).....	Nov 1988, Jan 1989

Administrators of AID

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates in Office</u>
Fowler Hamilton.....	Sep 1961 - Dec 1962
David Bell.....	Dec 1962 - Jul 1966
William Gaud.....	Aug 1966 - Jan 1969
John Hannah.....	Apr 1969 - Sep 1973
Daniel Parker.....	Oct 1973 - Jan 1977
John Gilligan.....	Mar 1977 - Mar 1979
D. Bennett.....	Aug 1979 - Jan 1981
M. Peter MacPherson....	Feb 1981 - Aug 1987
Alan Woods.....	Nov 1987 - Jun 1

(There is a) deeper adjustment, or lack thereof, that is taking place throughout (the U.S.) to a world marked by increasing complexity, the decline of U.S. authority, and a plethora of economic, political and military centers of power. U.S. scholarly hegemony may have persisted slightly longer than the country's economic and political dominance, but the directions of change are undoubtedly the same. Clearly the capacity of the U.S. higher educational community to recognize this change and adapt thereto may be as significant as the nation's response in other segments of its affairs." "If the response to this challenge is not more profound and institutionally creative than responses to the past..., we believe that the costs to the nation will be great. All involved will pay heavily this time for **missing the boat**. (emphasis added)¹

International studies in American higher education are at least as much a product of twentieth century political development as of internal evolution in American education. They are a product, in higher education, of major societal changes, and as such they have a national history.²

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Global interdependence. The end of the Cold War. Economic competitiveness. These are but a few of the dizzying array of worldwide transformations manifest in the 1990s. The magnitude and pace of global change challenges higher education and other national sectors to "internationalize," to understand each in its relationship with the rest of the world and to integrate this

¹ Craufurd D. Goodwin and Michael Nacht, Missing the boat: The failure to internationalize American higher education (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 9-10.

² Eileen McDonald Gumperz, Internationalizing American Higher Education: Innovation and Structural Change, (Berkeley, California: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, 1970), p.1.

understanding into core activities and values. Faced with growing needs for international understanding and expertise of leaders and citizens, of managers and workers, of scientists and technicians, artists and artisans, the nation has sought them in the national higher education system. Growing expectations press the international capacities of higher education. Simultaneously, the higher education system faces its own challenges in responding to world changes. Higher education is challenged to internationalize, concurrently maintaining institutional and curricular integrity and national strength while expanding curricular, scholarly and institutional links beyond national boundaries. The process of matching higher education's international agendas and capacities to national needs for international expertise and training is not new but demands on it have been expanding and accelerating with increasing global interdependence. The process is firmly rooted in the evolution of national higher education systems and the traditional patterns of responding to international challenges. In the U.S., the foundation from which the national higher education system will rise to the internationalization challenges are found in the structural capacity of the international dimension of the higher education itself and in the historical relationship between the federal government and higher education.

The first of the opening quotes characterized the legacy of the international dimension of the higher education system as "missing the boat." Roughly summarized, the U.S. higher education system historically has focused on domestic issues. Specialized international enclaves have developed around area studies or development assistance or study abroad or foreign students largely because of a constant flow of federal and other external resources. Most of these international

units are cross-disciplinary; a few have developed strong institutional support while many operate on the margins of the campus mainstream. This traditional split has left institutions of higher education ill prepared for and conflicted over internationalization. Unless it can resolve these conflicts, higher education risks "missing the boat," i.e., failing to infuse the entire enterprise with "the rest of the world" thus unable to meet internal demands or to serve national and international needs. Higher education could meet the same fate as the U.S. auto manufacturers that failed to engage in the global market that emerged in the 1970s. The argument typically ends with a common refrain: Strong campus leadership and, most likely, extra funds from an external patron like the federal government will be required if higher education is to "catch the boat."

The single boat metaphor provides useful insights into the internationalization dynamic of the individual institutions of higher education in the U.S. Yet a focus on the sum of the institutional parts understates the strengths of the higher education system as a whole. What is a somewhat marginal enclave on a single campus may well be part of a vital network at the level of the national higher education system. The base of the national higher education system is the more than 3000 institutions of higher education. Yet the national system is more than a set of institutions. The system also includes associations of higher education institutions, disciplinary and professional associations as well as other higher education clients or stakeholders including government, business and other organizational actors. A fleet rather than a boat may provide a better image for the national higher education system, a fleet formed by a variety of boats under different ownership arrangements, staffed by fairly

mobile captains and crews working independently yet related by common apprenticeships, tasks and experience. The fleet fishes for knowledge, preserves it in various forms and transports it to many different research and teaching audiences. A major challenge like internationalization may prompt the institutions, leaders and faculty to join forces and collaborate more explicitly to take advantage of new knowledge or technology, or to meet new demands from the local campus clients or larger markets in the region, the nation or overseas.

A. Rationale for the Study

Much of the scholarly literature on the internationalization of the U.S. higher education system has focused on the "boats" rather than the "fleet", the individual institutions of higher education rather than the national system of higher education. Within higher education internationalization has come to suggest an organization-wide change process not limited to isolated changes in curriculum or administration but rather imbuing the institutional fabric of universities and colleges with a sense of the larger world. Henson's definition was deceptively simple: "Internationalization is the incorporation of international content, materials, activities and understanding into the teaching, research, and public service function of universities in an increasingly interdependent world."³ National higher education associations have issued

³ James B. Henson, Jan C. Noel, T. E. Gillard-Byers and M.I. Ingle, "Internationalizing U.S. Universities--Preliminary Summary of a National Study", Appendix B of the Conference Proceedings, "Internationalizing U.S. Universities: A Time for Leadership", June 5-7, 1990, Spokane, Washington; (Pullman, Washington: International Programs Office of Washington State University, June 1990). The author attended.

guidelines to assist colleges and universities that plan to internationalize.⁴ Studies have identified and analyzed relationships of key institutional variables associated with internationalization of universities and colleges.⁵ Backman's case studies served as a practical text on how to establish international programs within universities and colleges.⁶ These insights have been necessary but not sufficient to understand the development of international capacity of the national system. A system focus includes institutional and disciplinary, internal and environmental facets of higher education.

At the national system level, internationalization has served as a shorthand descriptor of higher education's response to changes in the world and to the relative position of the U.S. in the world. The international dimension of U.S. higher education has been the product of many forces, internal and external to higher education. A quick scan of the myriad forces reveals general student demand, international student presence, study abroad opportunities, faculty interest and pressure, increasing ease of worldwide communication and travel, administrative leadership, economic and political trends, dramatic events such as the collapse of communism, philanthropic foundation encouragement, federal program support and

⁴ American Council for Education (ACE), National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges (NASULGC), the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) among others.

⁵ James B. Henson, editor, Internationalizing U.S. Universities: A Time for Leadership, June 5-7, 1990, Conference Proceedings, (Pullman, Washington: International Program Office of Washington State University, 1990) and Maurice Harari Internationalizing the Curriculum and the Campus: Guidelines for AASCU Institutions (Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1983).

⁶ Earl Backman, ed., Approaches to International Education, (New York: American Council on Education/MacMillan, 1984), p.xv.

the common effort of universities and colleges through higher education associations. The presidents of major research universities have identified internationalization as one of the three major threads of change envisioned for higher education in the U.S. into the 21st century.⁷ McCaughey suggested internationalization has taken a permanent place in the pantheon of revolutions in U.S. higher education.⁸

Increasing global interdependence has been and will continue to be a key environmental factor shaping the content, clientele and structures of the national higher education system in the United States. But internationalization of higher education in the United States is not new. This curricular and organizational innovation has been developing and spreading across the U.S. higher education system since its inception in the colonial colleges. Extra-university groups such as foundations and governments have provided resources and legitimacy to faculty and administrators attempting to strengthen their institutions' international capacities. In its earliest isolated experiments much of the study of modern foreign languages and cultures (as opposed to Greek, Latin and Hebrew) was introduced into the curriculum by a single professor working from a library donated by a missionary or businessman returning from a life's work overseas. The years 1850-1920 saw the beginning of the

⁷ Karen Grassmuck, "Toward the 21st Century: Some Research Universities Contemplate Sweeping Changes, Ranging from Management and Tenure to Teaching Methods" The Chronicle of Higher Education, Vol 37, No 2, Sept. 12, 1990, pp. A1, A29-A31. See also Richard I. Miller, Major American Higher Education Issues and Challenges in the 1990s, (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1990).

⁸ This rhetorical flourish was in Robert McCaughey, "The Permanent Revolution: An Assessment of International Studies in American Universities," Report to the Ford Foundation, (New York, 1981).

U.S. research university and the establishment of the national land-grant college system. This occurred against a backdrop of increasing technological and trade competition with Europe as well as substantial foreign investment in the expansion of the geographic and economic frontiers of U.S. Many of the increasing faculty in the sciences and engineering for the land-grant colleges brought back organizational and academic concepts from their training sites in Europe.

From 1920-1950 enterprising faculty and private foundations joined with groups like the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council to expand the scholarly islands and integrate them into a larger curricular archipelago of international and area studies. Higher education was a key source of the accelerated language, engineering and scientific training and advancements needed to prosecute World War II. After the war, higher education absorbed many soldiers fresh from their wartime experience in Europe, North Africa and Asia with the help of the federal GI Bill. The federal government's Marshall Plan and Point Four program aided academic trade flows with U.S. faculty and other U.S. trained experts working as consultants, institution builders and researchers overseas while commodity surplus revenues supported library collections on campus.

The experience of World War II and subsequent global prominence transformed the United States. From 1950-1970, Sputnik, the Vietnam War, African decolonization and the Alliance for Progress provided the backdrop for the accelerated evolution of higher education's international capacity. This period has been perceived widely as the golden era of international capacity building when foundations, federal

government and the universities worked in common cause.⁹ The federal government took an increasingly active role in higher education through research funding and student aid programs.¹⁰ Private foundations provided major funding to expand higher education's capacity in international and area studies, foreign language studies and overseas economic development. With the Fulbright exchange program and the National Defense Education Act, the federal government began to replace the private foundations as the principal funding agent for international education. Higher education associations like the American Council of Education and individual university leaders provided guidance, collaboration and pressure.¹¹

In the 1970s, fiscal stress battered the campus while the country suffered recession and stagflation. Oil price shocks shivered through the U.S. economy induced by the OPEC cartel and the federal government-imposed retail price controls. The U.S. withdrew from Vietnam, opened relations with China, entered an era of detente with the Soviet Union and struggled with Iran's revolution and U.S. diplomats held hostage. In higher education, the golden age of expansion of international capacity and continuous growth of external funding was over. The academy turned inward while students sought out the world. The international side of the academic

⁹ Robert A. McCaughey, International Studies and Academic Enterprise, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984). He provides an intriguing full book discussion of the "academicization" or enclosure of international studies with extensive discussion of the major foundations' role, especially Ford Foundation.

¹⁰ Homer D. Babbidge, Jr. and Robert M. Rosenzweig, The Federal Interest in Higher Education, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962); see also Gladieux and Wolanin (1976).

¹¹ Gumperz (1970) described the three early phases in detail on pp. 7-76.

enterprise experienced consolidation and retrenchment of language and area studies and overseas development efforts, the expansion of the undergraduate international studies curriculum and the fragmented but energetic development of extra-curricular programs such as study abroad, foreign student advising and international program coordination. More U.S. citizens were travelling abroad than ever before, including students and faculty. Reflecting on the 70s, Burn touted the strength of the international dimension of higher education but lamented the lack of leadership to focus the growing but scattered academic and programmatic resources.¹² The Perkins report issued by President Carter's commission on foreign language and international studies repeated much the same refrain, calling higher education to meet the increasing need for international competence.¹³

In the 1980s, the nation began to worry seriously about the U.S. ability to meet global economic competition or to fulfill the promises of the civil rights and social agendas of the 60s. Higher education found itself sharing the blame for the nation's inadequacies. The break-up of the U.S.S.R., the velvet revolutions in Eastern Europe, the pro-democracy demonstrations in Tianamen Square, multi-party elections in Nicaragua, the emergence of the "four tiger" economic powerhouses in Asia, the breakup of apartheid in South Africa and widespread economic breakdown

¹² Barbara Burn, Expanding the International Dimension of International Education, (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1980).

¹³ Strength Through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capability, a report to the President from the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, chaired by James A. Perkins (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979). See also the background papers and studies.

in other African nations provided the global backdrop. Not unlike the era of the land-grant movement a century earlier and the Sputnik era two decades earlier, the nation faced serious economic, technological, political and military challenges in a rapidly changing world and higher education was seen as a key player in the national response. States, businesses and citizens groups began to court foreign investors as potential employers in their own backyards. The numbers of students from overseas grew on U.S. campuses. Scholars and students found new intellectual opportunities along with increasing physical access to the entire world. On campus language requirements began to re-appear and the thrust was to coordinate the proliferating international activities while infusing the curriculum with greater world awareness.¹⁴ More research in higher education began to focus on internationalization issues.¹⁵ University leadership, faculty and higher education associations developed institutional

¹⁴ Many university presidents have called for such an infusion strategy: Mark Eyerly "Rhodes: Cornell should be the world's land-grant university" Cornell '90, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Alumni Office, Summer 1990); Charles J. Ping "Ohio University in Perspective", annual convocation address November 4, 1982 (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1982); Derek Bok, "Commencement Address June 11, 1987," (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Office of the President of Harvard University, 1987). Also, see a report on internationalizing the University of Massachusetts: Larry J. Rosenberg, "The Whole is Greater than the Sum of the Parts: A Study of International Involvement at the University of Massachusetts/Amherst," report prepared for R.D. O'Brien, Executive Vice Chancellor and Provost, (Amherst, Massachusetts: July 1987).

¹⁵ There are several case studies, journal articles and books. See Backman (1984), Holzner (1988), Lambert (1986), Olson and Howell (1982), Rabinowitch (1988), Smuckler and Sommers (1988), Solmon and Young (1987).

guidelines on internationalization.¹⁶ Disciplinary associations began to reconsider their comparative and international approaches.¹⁷

In the 1990s, internationalization of all sectors of U.S. society including higher education is unlikely to stop or even to slow. Regional trading blocs promise or threaten to emerge as free trade agreements are negotiated. New military and political flashpoints burst just as old ones seem contained. Insufferable human tragedies are splashed continuously on the television screens of the world in real time. World events are just a television dial or an airplane trip away. Increasingly, individual universities and colleges have assigned high priority and begun developing strategies to build their international capacity.¹⁸ The federal government has demonstrated commitment to continue support for higher education's international dimension, including re-authorizing Title VI programs in 1992 the Higher Education Act which has supported international and area studies since the National Defense Education Act of 1959. Further, the federal legislature has authorized a major new law, the National Security Education Act of 1992, creating a permanent trust fund to

¹⁶ Harari (1983) for the American Association of State Colleges and Universities. Other associations included American Council for Education and the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges. See also Groennings (1987).

¹⁷ Sven Groennings and David S. Wiley, editors, Group Portrait: Internationalizing the Disciplines, (New York: The American Forum, 1990); also Richard J. Samuels and Myron Weiner, editors, The Political Culture of Foreign Area and International Studies: Essays in Honor of Lucian Pye, (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's (U.S.), 1992).

¹⁸ Charles O. Ping, "Strategies and Leadership Options for Effective Internationalization" remarks presented on June 5, 1990 at Spokane, Washington at the conference on "Internationalizing U.S. Universities"; Backman (1974); Allaway and Shorrock (1985). For other university presidents see Bok (1987), Eyerly (1990).

support students, faculty and institutions of higher education in their international endeavors. Key higher education associations have worked to secure federal commitments and also have commissioned studies to enable higher education, government and business to formulate more effective institutional and national policies for educating citizens for an interdependent world, e.g., the American Council on Education study of undergraduate international studies or the Institute for International Education's study on faculty travel and overseas experience.¹⁹ The state governors have expressed support for improving their universities' and colleges' capacity to aid international economic initiatives.²⁰ Over 160 academic, government and business leaders joined in a conference on strengthening internationalization of U.S. higher education.²¹ Other academic and legislative initiatives related to internationalizing U.S. higher education will not be uncommon during the nineties.

B. Focus and Significance of the Research

This study focuses on the national higher education system and its international dimension, particularly on its relationship with the federal government. It takes a

¹⁹ Richard D. Lambert, International Studies and the Undergraduate (American Council on Education: Washington, D.C.) 1990. Gail S. Chambers and William K. Cummings, Profiting from Education: Japan-US International Ventures in the 1980s, IIE Research Report #20, (New York: Institute for International Education, 1990). Alice Chandler, Obligation or Opportunity: Foreign Student Policy in Six Major Receiving Countries IIE Research Report #18, (New York: Institute for International Education, 1989). Also, Solmon and Young (1987).

²⁰ Henson, Noel, Gillard-Byers (1990).

²¹ Henson (1990).

longitudinal approach to identify evidence of the more permanent structural changes in the higher education system's international capacity between 1958 and 1988. The analysis is anchored in specific cases of federal legislation and programs in which higher education institutions have participated regularly over the entire period.

The general question the study proposes to answer is: "How has the recent history of the federal relationship with higher education, anchored in cases of specific federal programs, affected the institutional capacity of the U.S. higher education system to sustain and expand its international dimension, to internationalize?" This will be addressed through two sets of sub-questions. The first set takes the perspective of the federal programs. How have federal program goals and incentives matched the needs and motivations of different parts of higher education systems? How have federal programs related to different groups of the 3000 plus institutions of higher education in the U.S., ranging from research universities to community colleges. What fields, disciplines and professions have been targeted or ignored by the programs? How have they related to the public and private sectors of the U.S. higher education system? How have they related to higher education in different regions within the U.S.? The second set of sub-questions takes the perspective of the higher education system. What parts of the higher education system have participated in which federal programs? at what level? for how long? Have any groups of universities and colleges participated to a greater or lesser extent in the key federally funded programs? What does the pattern of university and college participation in federal programs suggest about the historical diffusion of international capacity across the higher education system? What does the participation pattern suggest about

federal programs' effects on the sustainability of internationalization efforts of clusters of individual universities and colleges? What do the lessons from both sets of questions suggest for the federal role in the next phase of internationalization of U.S. higher education?

The research is intended to contribute to understanding the contextual and strategic factors shaping the internationalization processes of the national higher education system in the U.S. The analysis of this federal policy arena, as seen in its historical relationship between federal programs and higher education, may help educators and other policy makers as they shape the next phase of the national higher education system's response to the pressures of the era of interdependence. More immediately, understanding the larger systemic factors may help academic administrators and faculty to take advantage of the intellectual and financial resources available to help them internationalize their own institutions. Finally, it is hoped that the study may contribute in some small way to other researchers tackling international and/or institutional development processes in higher education systems.

C. Approach to the Study

Much the way an archaeologist attempts to understand the dynamics of living beings and societies from the study of skeletons, pottery shards and hieroglyphic royal pronouncements, so too the author attempts to understand the dynamics of internationalizing higher education by analyzing key trends in and patterns of external funding, of university participation and of federal legislation and regulations. The research questions derive from recent and older literature about the growth of the

international dimension of higher education. The approach is both historical and exploratory, highlighting issues between federal programs and the development of the national higher education system's international dimension. Because of the relative paucity of published scholarship beyond the advocacy and descriptive variety at the national level, the approach to understanding the internationalization dynamic is triangulated from the literature on comparative higher education, on higher education organization and administration, including its sub-field of innovation diffusion, and on public policy analysis at the federal level.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature and develops an historical and conceptual framework for research on the internationalization of the national higher education system in the U.S. The first section describes the functional and structural parameters of the higher education system in the U.S. within which internationalization occurs. It synthesizes and critiques three models of higher education systems -- organizational, structural-functional and knowledge models. Since internationalization by its very definition aims at changing the system, the second section reviews approaches to understanding stability and change in higher education systems. Particular attention is paid to the requirements for institutionalizing innovations and the role of external actors in sustaining and diffusing innovations across the higher education system. The third section addresses the on-going balancing act between national and higher education values. It reviews the ways that the interplay of market and public policy forces have shaped the higher education system in the U.S. Particular attention is paid to the historical development of the federal relationship with the international dimension of higher education as well as to the enduring

structural patterns that have developed among the three systems -- market, government and higher education. The chapter ends by presenting a matrix of key federal programs associated with the international dimension of the national higher education system. The center cell of the matrix identifies the legislative programs on which the study focuses.

Chapter 3 details the research design including data collection and analysis methods. The research questions raised in the introduction and the literature review chapters are refined according to analytic requirements. Key choices are justified, i.e., the choice of the period 1958-1988 and the choice of the two federal case programs, Title VI of the National Defense Education Act of 1959 as well as Title XII of the Foreign Assistance Act administered by the Agency for International Development (AID). Title VI receives fuller analytic treatment while AID serves as a counterpoint to highlight major lessons from them both. The quantitative and qualitative data derived from legislative and executive documentary evidence are described along with the methods to determine the case programs' influence on higher education's capacity to sustain and spread institutional innovation processes associated with the internationalization of higher education. The analytic framework consists of three parts. The first part specifies an internationalization ideal as a heuristic device, a proxy for the results of successful internationalization of the higher education system. The second part describes a method for analyzing the federal programs as case studies based on a set of guide questions from the literature on analyzing policy implementation effectiveness adapted with the lessons of Chapter 2 on the internationalization of higher education. The third part describes the method for

analyzing the structural impact of the federal case programs on the higher education system based on the Carnegie classification of institutions of higher education and adapted to the lessons of Chapter 2 on diffusion of innovations. The chapter ends by discussing the study's limits.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the results of the legislative history and policy implementation analysis for the two federal program cases. Together, they present the case study of the dynamic evolution of the federal relationship with the higher education system comparing legislative goals, operational guidelines and funding patterns of the internationally oriented case programs over time. Major periods of continuity and change in the programs are analyzed and funding trends presented graphically. The interplay with the higher education actors in the policy-making and evaluation processes receives particular attention.

Chapter 7 begins by recapping the legislative implementation effectiveness of the two programs. In doing so, it compares the legislative case histories to the internationalization ideal of the higher education system. Chapter 7 then presents the quantitative evidence of the two case programs' influence on the U.S. higher education system. Graphs of higher education participation and funding patterns related to the two case programs are used to highlight the federal program influence on spreading and sustaining international capacity across the higher education system. The analysis focuses on funding and participation patterns by type of institutional ownership, geographic location and institutional diversity. Overall patterns across both programs as well as differences between the two case programs are highlighted for private and public sectors, for all parts of system from research universities to

two-year colleges as well as emerging patterns among participating institutions such as consortial or system-wide collaborative mechanisms. Chapter 7 closes with a detailed review of the funding and participation patterns for the Title VI program elements over time.

Chapter 8 summarizes the findings and conclusions about the programs' impact on the national higher education system and its international dimension. It reviews the full set of research questions and highlights the implications of the findings for the future federal relationship with the U.S. higher education system, especially its international capacities.

Understanding the structure of American education -- both the structure of the local units and the relationships between these units -- is essential as a background for understanding educational innovations... If, in fact, one's assumptions about the structure are erroneous, the content of proposed innovations may be open to serious question, and explanation of success or failure will be inadequate.¹

It might be said that change, like motion, is only detected through hindsight: only when the arrow has arrived or when institutions and their practices appear different can we say that some change has occurred. But whether change is an innovation -- a practice or belief of distinct newness, or a renovation -- a reproduction of existing cultural praxis and belief: this is a question more difficult still.²

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Internationalization is a process, dynamic not static. Whether it reflects innovation or renovation may be impossible to say. That it will embody elements of both is certain. There are many forces affecting the internationalization of the U.S. higher education system and a complex set of responses within higher education, system-wide and within individual institutions of higher education. Wayland suggested looking for hard evidence of complex changes in the forms and structures

¹ Sloan R. Wayland, "Structural Features in American Higher Education as Basic Factors in Innovation" in M.B. Miles, editor, Innovation in Education (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), pp. 587-613, quote on page 588.

² K. W. Smith, "Review of I. and S. Hassan, Innovation/Renovation: New Perspectives on the Humanities," Change, Sept. 1984, pp. 5-7.

of higher education. Mortimer and Bragg noted that Carnegie had obligingly provided a classification scheme that researchers have used regularly in their traditional studies of higher education structures and functions. Missing have been the longitudinal studies needed to breathe life into the static structural analyses and understand the dynamics of the organizational system of higher education.³ To understand the dynamics of internationalizing the U.S. higher education system, this study adopted an historical approach; to find harder evidence of change in the organizational dimension, a structural approach.

The structures and processes of higher education systems are replete with antinomy, i.e., opposition between one law or set of rules and another, a contradiction between two statements, both apparently obtained by correct reasoning. Examples abound. The university is autonomous yet serves the national interest. College administrators function as executives in a hierarchy yet serve as faculty working collegially through committees. Academics must be independent thinkers yet meet the demands for relevance by students as well as specifications of research contracts.⁴ Higher education policy research seeks the balancing principles, the points of potential resolution or conflict of the dialectical tensions inherent in the higher education system.

³ Kenneth P. Mortimer and Stephen M. Bragg, "Organization and Administration of Higher Education", The Encyclopedia of Education Fifth Edition, Harold Mitzel, ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 1369-1378.

⁴ Tony Becher and Maurice Kogan, Process and Structure of Higher Education (London: Heineman, 1980).

Much of the scholarly literature on the internationalization of higher education has focused on the organizational capacities of individual colleges and universities or clusters of them. Much of the advocacy and descriptive literature has highlighted the importance of federal funding to sustaining the international capacity of higher education. This study takes the vantage point of the national system of higher education rather than specific institutions or clusters of institutions of higher education. Also, the study focuses on the institutional more than the disciplinary side of higher education's processes in the international dimension.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section identifies some of the unique features of the U.S. higher education system by drawing on cross-national comparisons as well as traditional and newer models of higher education systems. The second section focuses on one of higher education's most fundamental balancing acts, the need to balance stability and change. It synthesizes lessons of higher education reform, innovation and institutionalization of change. The third section addresses the need to balance societal and system values. It synthesizes lessons of how market forces and governmental forces each interact with and affect higher education systems. The end of each section attempts to map these lessons onto the historical development of the international dimension of the U.S. higher education system. The fourth section ends this chapter by summarizing the working assumptions and presenting the research questions. The next chapter addresses the research methods chosen for the analysis of two cases of federal programs that directly targeted the international dimension of the U.S. higher education system between 1958 and 1988.

A. National Higher Education Systems: Transnational and Conceptual Approaches

In the study of national higher education systems, the *problematique* lies in the nature of national. The nature of the national system is defined largely by the nature of the society in which it is embedded and which mediates and structures the interaction of the national and international environment with higher education. The national setting will affect how values, beliefs, goals and resources of the larger society are matched with those of higher education. After a brief review of the traditional approaches to U.S. higher education, the discussion draws on more recent insights from comparative higher education and organization and administration research both of which have attempted to apply contingency theory to national higher education systems. Clark's cross-national comparisons suggested three main points of departure from earlier concepts of higher education systems: that they are best understood as "knowledge" organizations; that national systems can best be analyzed as a differentiation among institutions; and that government has become the most important link between higher education and society especially as economic needs for human capital become more pressing. The knowledge and differentiation concepts are discussed in this section; the government role in the third section.

For the U.S. much of the higher education research has focused on institutions, the universities and colleges, individually or in groups. Rhoades argued that research on the national higher education system in the U.S. and its public policy components has been hampered by two main weaknesses: the nearly exclusive reliance on static structural functionalist approaches and the lack of a theory of the state and higher education.

"The literature on higher education (focuses on) structural-functionalism ... organized around disembodied descriptions of the functional division of labor among higher education institutions, of competitive markets driven by individual choice and institutional aspirations that give rise to a meritocratic status hierarchy of institutions, and of a formal political system and political interventions that are dysfunctional. **The view provided in the higher education literature is a largely static view that is poorly equipped to address and analyze mechanisms of social, economic, and political change that are embedded in and that change higher education.**"⁵ (emphasis added)

Such limitations are not atypical of relatively new areas of scholarly inquiry.⁶

While lacking strong theoretical underpinnings, a substantial body of advocacy or descriptive treatments of the higher education system's relationships with extra-mural actors such as federal or state governments and foundations has been developed.

Many of these have been insightful and serious.⁷ Both Garvin and Dill identified several institutional level models which have provided useful if narrow insights into

⁵ Gary Rhoades, "Higher Education" in Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Sixth Edition, Marvin C. Alkin, editor in chief (New York: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 583-590, quote p. 590.

⁶ For a discussion of this episodic and advocacy nature of new fields, see p. 955 of Seth Spaulding, Judith Colucci, Jonathan Flint, "International Education," Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Fifth Edition, Edited by Harold E. Mitzel, (New York: The Free Press, Macmillan), 1982, pp. 945-958.

⁷ Babbidge and Rosenzweig (1962). James A. Perkins, Editor and Barbara Baird Israel, Associate Editor, Higher Education: From Autonomy to Systems, (New York: International Council for Educational Development, 1972). Burton R. Clark, The Higher Education System: Academic Organization in Cross-National Perspective, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1983.) Burton R. Clark, "Forum: The Organizational Dynamics of the American Research University," Higher Education Policy Vol. 3, No. 2, 1990. J. Victor Baldridge, Power and Conflict in the University, (New York: Wiley, 1971). Michael D. Cohen, James G. March, and Johan P. Olsen, "A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 17:1-25, March 1972. Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, Leadership and Ambiguity, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1974).

the higher education system's overall functioning. They identified the main failing of these traditional models as inadequate links to the societal or system environment of higher education.⁸ Becher and Kogan focused on the United Kingdom higher education system with comparisons to other countries. They provided an excellent example of a structural-functionalist model of the higher education system which attempts to recognize dynamic relationships within the larger system environment and explore the nature of relationships with public policy actors.⁹ After a brief review and critique of these more traditional models of national higher education systems, the discussion will turn to the knowledge model. Based on contingency theory and institutional economics, the knowledge model and supplementary approaches have begun to resolve the weaknesses in the traditional conceptual models.

First a point of clarification on systems. Systems, rather than the traditional structural functionalist approaches, have enabled newer research to focus on the dynamics and environment of higher education systems. Following Clark's lead, this study uses the term system in at least two senses to reflect the fluidity of academic organization and its relationships with many actors in society in many different modes. In its more narrow conventional sense, system refers to an aggregate of formal entities, e.g. the U.S. system of higher education seen as the sum of more than 3,000 different private and public institutions ranging from research universities

⁸ David A. Garvin, The Economics of University Behavior (New York: Academic Press 1980) pp. 2-4. David D. Dill "Organization and Administration of Higher Education" in Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Sixth Edition. Marvin C. Alkin, editor in chief (New York: Macmillan), 1991, pp. 933-940.

⁹ Becher and Kogan (1980).

to two year colleges and specialized stand-alone professional institutions in some fields like law.¹⁰ At other times made clear by context, system will include a larger network of actors engaged in higher education in different roles as controllers, workers, leaders or consumers. In the U.S. the larger network of actors might include higher education associations, state boards of higher education, college trustees, corporate managers, federal officials, citizen groups, alumni/ae associations or foundations.

1. Traditional Models: Focus on Institutions of Higher Education

The traditional models of higher education in the U.S. have focused on internal decision making rules and processes of institutions, individual universities and colleges, with scant attention paid to their larger environments or to the overall system of higher education. The collegial model is rooted in traditional notions of a community of scholars. In this view universities are characterized by lack of hierarchies, values are widely shared, scholarship is judged by ones peers, and decision-making occurs primarily through consensus processes such as faculty committees. "The bureaucratic model, in contrast, emphasizes the degree to which power is centralized. Universities, in fact, possess a number of bureaucratic characteristics, among which are a formal division of labor, an administrative

¹⁰ B.R. Clark (1983). Also see The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, revised edition, (Berkeley, California: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1976).

hierarchy, a clerical staff, and the payment of fixed salaries."¹¹ The political model, partly in reaction to the collegial model, emphasized conflicts among interest groups within the university. This view stressed the importance of recognizing internal factions, different distributions of power and processes involved in resolving conflicts in order to understand university behavior.¹² The organized anarchy model, popularized as "the garbage can model" by Cohen and March, emphasized three special characteristics of the university: That the problems to be tackled may be unpredictable; that technologies for tackling them are unclear; and that participation is fluid. Under these circumstances, the organizational forms through which choices are made and which provide a high degree of organizational flexibility become particularly critical to universities, making their decision processes and structures unique among society's institutions.¹³

Many of these organization models of U.S. higher education were developed during a growth period for the system and the nation. Dill argued that because they were developed when there was substantial slack in the system, they "largely failed to account for the role of the environment on organizational structure." Essentially, when it was supportive, the environment was relatively easy to ignore. As resources shrank, the analytic power of these models dwindled, too. Dill also judged the models to "underestimate the role of integrating mechanisms in colleges and

¹¹ Garvin (1980), p. 3.

¹² Baldrige (1971).

¹³ Cohen and March (1974) and Cohen, March and Olsen (1972), pp. 1-25.

universities" while over-emphasizing the forces of fragmentation and atomization on campus.¹⁴ Garvin found these models to lack "important details, making them difficult to test without additional assumptions." For example, "the political model emphasizes the importance of interest groups in conflict resolution, without giving us much insight into the particular political alliances that are likely to be observed." Garvin also lamented the lack of insight into "the motivations of administration and faculty" and stressed the need to address organizational goals which he viewed as an issue prior to structure and process. Referring to the importance of market forces in disciplining the interaction of higher education institutions in the U.S., Garvin suggested the need for understanding the influence of the economic environment to round out the earlier studies.¹⁵

Clark's work on institutional culture suggested that the saga concept was capable of integrating the varying perspectives of the basic models. He found that since symbols have provided a particularly potent integrating force in an academic community of ideas, strong institutions have tended to rely on sagas, institutional histories that bear resemblance to their mythical counterparts, identifying the heroes and villains, the struggles and successes that have shaped a university or college. Sagas provided higher education with a sense of community, engendering feelings of warmth and place rather than the colder professional or bureaucratic styles of other institutions. Sagas could describe the conflicts of competing interests and explain the

¹⁴ Dill (1991), p. 933.

¹⁵ Garvin (1980), p. 4. Garvin's work on the economics of higher education is discussed in some depth in section three of this chapter.

evolution of the bureaucratic structures in the context of a specific institution. The community emphasis of a strong institutional saga could emphasize the collegial model and effectively avoid the oversimplification of the traditional organizational elements that the organizational anarchy proponents found necessary. Finally, Clark suggested that beyond its integrative function on campus, the institutional saga could double as the public image presented to external actors.¹⁶

Other research models that focus on the overall higher education system have been limited to a relatively static structural functionalist approach. Like their organizational counterparts, the structural-functional approaches to the national system provide serious insights despite serious weaknesses. They tend to focus on the administrative and institutional elements of the system rather than the full disciplinary and academic processes involved. They also tend to understate the dynamics of the system. Despite their weaknesses, they begin to describe the complexity of the national higher education system in the U.S.

Becher and Kogan's higher education system model began to introduce the dynamics and to add explicit connections to the larger society. They drew on the United Kingdom's system primarily with comparisons to the U.S. system. Becher and Kogan described the key processes and structures of national higher education systems in an illustrative model (see Figure 2.1.) stressing relationships among functions and levels. The basics of the model included four structural levels reflecting functions rather than organizations: 1) individuals (students, teachers,

¹⁶ Burton R. Clark "The Organizational Saga in Higher Education," The Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 17, (June 1972), pp. 178-184.

researchers, administrators); 2) basic units (departments, schools, centers); 3) institutions (universities, colleges); and 4) external authorities/national associations (accrediting agencies, national associations, federal agencies, fifty state system units). Becher and Kogan identified two basic processes: 1) normative processes required to monitor and maintain values appropriate to each level; and 2) operational processes to carry out specific work tasks. They also identified actions typically associated with each mode. Actions may be intrinsic (focused on self) or extrinsic (focused on colleagues or the unit). Appraising and judging are actions in the normative mode; allocating resources, responsibilities and tasks to oneself, colleagues or subordinates are actions in the operational mode. They suggested that horizontal relationships (those within each level) focus on maintenance while vertical relationships (those between levels) focus on moving beyond convention, on engendering innovation. The model recognized that the social and economic climate in which higher education system exists impinges on all parts of the higher education system but is extraneous to the system itself. The environment acts "... as a force field affecting the development of values ... and hence the operations of higher education. Thus, any historical treatment of higher education would take the social and economic background as an essential context within which to explain the way in which the academic enterprise has developed."¹⁷

¹⁷ Becher and Kogan (1980), pp. 10-25.

**EXTERNAL/NAT'L
ASSOCIATIONS
AND AUTHORITIES**

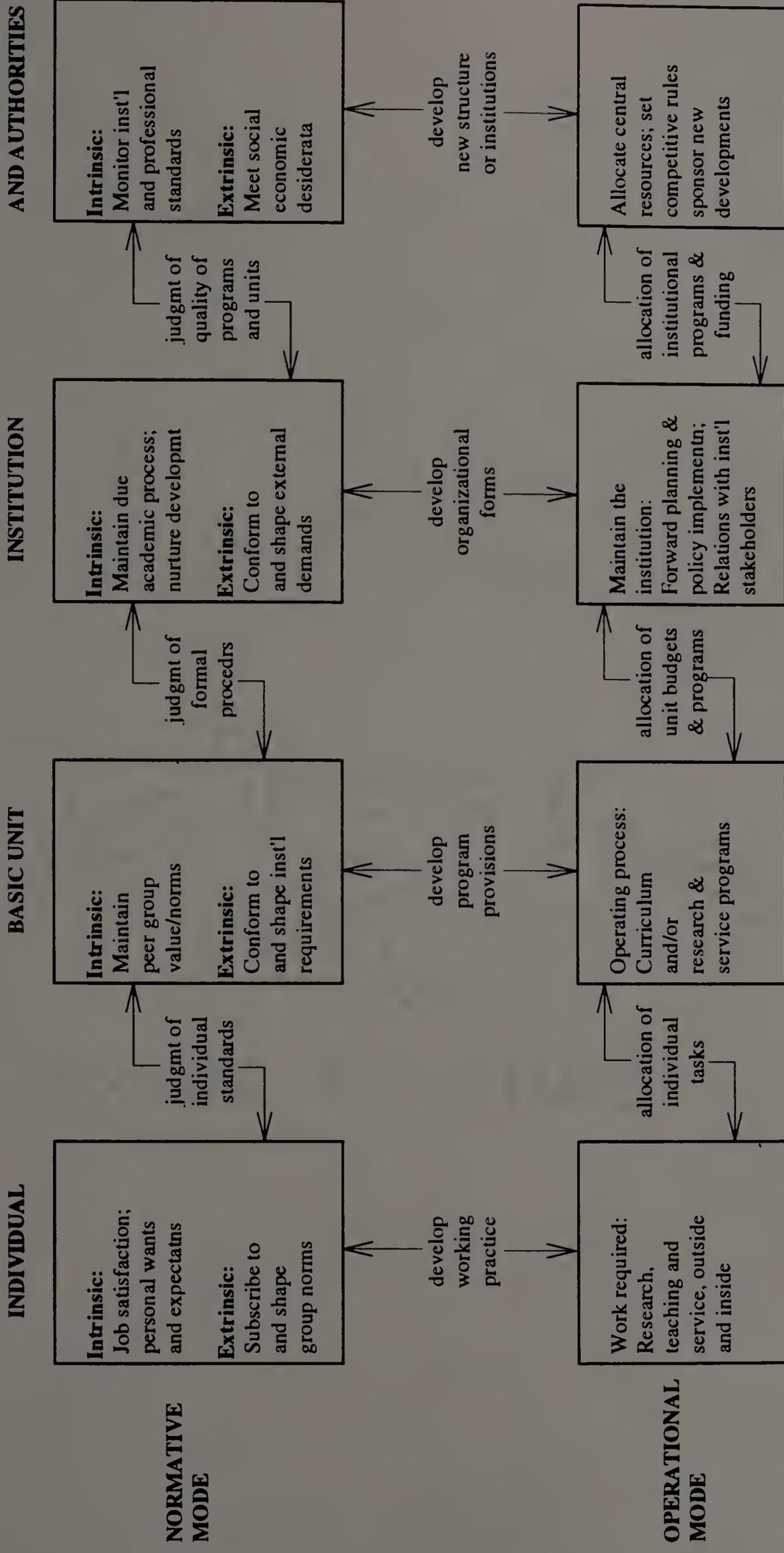


Figure 2.1. An updated structural-functional model

Becher and Kogan based their model on the United Kingdom which has a unitary national higher education system, almost entirely in the public domain. The U.S. system is mixed nearly evenly between public and private control of higher education and, within the federal system, has a weak national authority relative to the strong role of the states. In the model the major differences surface at the national-institutional levels while similarities predominate at the individual and basic unit levels. In the normative and operational dimensions the U.S. is essentially the same as the U.K., the difference being one of relative emphasis rather than substance. At the level of the basic unit, the U.S. department chair may have somewhat greater formal operational authority than the U.K. chairholder; while the U.K. chairholder will have somewhat greater formal normative authority than the U.S. department chair depending on the circumstances of the particular institution. At the institutional level, the U.S. university or college will have extra tasks. In the normative mode the U.S. institution has an explicit advocacy role, not only to conform to external demands but to shape them. In the operational mode, the U.S. institution must cultivate and maintain relationships with a wide range of external stakeholders -- local, state and federal government agencies, research sponsors, alumni/ae, foundations, community groups, to name a few. Also the institutional level in the U.S. is likely to have relatively greater autonomy in the judgment of curriculum because of the tradition of strong boards of trustees and institutional autonomy. The greatest difference between the U.K. model and the U.S. occurs at the national or fourth level of the model. For the public half of U.S. institutions, especially those with strong state systems, Becher and Kogan's fourth level applies since the state authorities serve much the same

function as the central authorities in the U.K.. The private sector institutions would have boards of trustees and officers who would carry out a formal set of operational and normative tasks for both the private and public sectors in the U.S.; the model would need a fifth level to encompass the federal government and other national actors such as higher education associations, foundations, businesses and citizens' groups. The U.S. national level monitors institutional as well as professional and disciplinary standards, but its role in resource allocation is much more diffuse than the U.K.'s single-funding source.

Rather than add a fifth level to fit the U.S. case, the model may be restructured to three basic levels. The understructure combines Becher and Kogan's individual and basic unit. In the U.S., this understructure would include departments and schools as well as faculties, e.g. the faculty of arts and sciences, the business school. The midstructure equates to Becher and Kogan's institution which holds a mediating position between the two lower levels and the higher levels of national systems. Superstructure or national level equates to Becher and Kogan's "central-system level". It includes multicampus academic administration like state systems or regional coordinating boards in the U.S., the state or provincial executive and legislative authorities, and the national government with its executive and legislative authorities.¹⁸ In the U.S., the national level includes the higher education associations, both disciplinary and institutional, the accrediting bodies, nongovernmental research and training patrons as well as citizen or professional

¹⁸ Clark (1983), p. 108-110. Clark defined these terms, under-, mid- and superstructure, more thoroughly but the sense is roughly the same as described here.

advocacy groups.¹⁹ U.S. higher education is characterized by a strong middle with major power vested in institutional trustees and administrators. In the U.S. and elsewhere over time, "the center of gravity in higher education" has been "moving upward from the single institution to the coordinating body responsible for a broad range of institutions within a single system" creating a large, unwieldy and powerful midstructure.²⁰

2. Bridging Old and New Concepts with the Knowledge Model

The knowledge model of the university has provided a new twist to traditional approaches by applying contingency theory to core principles of organization of higher education. Dill defined key terms for the contingency model: Differentiation, integration and technology. **Differentiation** refers to the number of functional units in an entity as well as to differences among units in their orientations -- goals (basic vs applied research), time (long vs short term); interpersonal (people vs task); formality of structure (nature of reporting relationships, criteria for awards, control procedures.) **Integration** was defined as "organization collaboration necessary to

¹⁹ Many authors have addressed the complex groupings of national actors in the U.S. higher education policy arena. See Perkins and Israel (1972); John Brademas with Lynne P. Brown, The Politics of Education: Conflict and Consensus on Capitol Hill, (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Lawrence E. Gladieux and Thomas R. Wolanin, Congress and the Colleges: The National Politics of Higher Education, (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1976); David H. Finifter, Roger G. Baldwin and John R. Thelin, editors, The Uneasy Public Policy Triangle in Higher Education: Quality, Diversity and Budgetary Efficiency, (New York: Macmillan and the American Council on Education, 1991).

²⁰ Perkins and Israel (1972), Introduction.

achieve productive effort" referring to the processes that "link these differentiated segments in order to achieve unity of effort" and allow organizations "to function as purposive entities that interact with their environment for survival." Technology is defined as "the production arrangements or task structures by which an organization converts inputs into outputs." Dill emphasized higher education institutions' needs to balance these forces, citing Clark's transnational comparative findings:

"...knowledge specialties or disciplines are the fundamental aspect on which the basic structure of institutions of higher education is organized independent of environmental variations. ...within academic institutions, differentiation is an intrinsic quality of the core task, and pressure toward further fractionalization is unending. Conversely, integration is a continuous need, and inventing or evolving new forms of integration is the essential art of administration of colleges and universities. Differentiation and integration, then, can be understood as dialectical concepts in which both forces are juxtaposed simultaneously within the same system."²¹

With differentiation as a natural product of the interaction between the technology and the environment of an organization, the knowledge centeredness of higher education has caused a dual operating structure with disciplinary and enterprise dimensions. The organization of the disciplinary elements reflects the basic work of academics and has developed common traits worldwide, with disciplinary associations, departmental units or chairs organized around research interests and classes, or with curricula organized around teaching interests. The organization of the enterprise elements reflects the accommodation of higher education in its social, political and economic environment, resulting in different institutional structures and national systems worldwide. The enterprise side tends to reflect teaching and

²¹ Dill (1991), p. 933-940, Clark quote on p. 935.

students while the disciplines tend to reflect scholarship and faculty. As one entity, they push each other to respond to the fuller concerns internal to higher education itself and to higher education within society. When they come together in the basic working unit like a department, they are particularly powerful integrators. Clark described it:

"To stress the primacy of the discipline is to change our perception of (higher education) enterprises and systems: we see the university or college as a collection of local chapters of national and international disciplines, chapters that import and implant the orientations to knowledge, the norms, and the customs of the larger fields. The control of work shifts toward the internal controls of the disciplines whatever their nature. ...in the academic world, the disciplines are 'product lines,' and the enterprises are geographically centered. ... The large and permanent matrix structures of academic systems are not planned for the most part but evolve spontaneously, so compelling 'in the nature of things' that there does not seem to be an alternative. In fact, there is none. **Higher education must be centered in disciplines, but it must simultaneously be pulled together in enterprises.**"²²

Clark Kerr's description of "the multiversity" captured the tension inherent in disciplinary and administrative differentiation and integration.²³ While generally associated with integrative tasks, the enterprise side also fragments and differentiates into new units and roles. Witness the explosion of administrative units for computers, community relations, special student groups, grants and contracts, institutional research or fund raising. This occurs in response to the environmental demands of research sponsors and societal groups but also to changes within the disciplinary side

²² Clark (1983), pp. 30-32.

²³ Clark Kerr, The Uses of the University, with a "Postscript--1972", (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972).

and to advances in administrative approaches *per se*. Disciplinary elements naturally mirror the "fissions and faults" of knowledge, creating new sub-fields, classes and degrees. This fragmentation is held in check by opposing integrative disciplinary forces is played out within the procedures developed and resources allocated by the enterprise side. The disciplinary side also has developed strong integrating mechanisms -- prescribed steps to move from lowest student novice to graduate apprentice to doctor to professor as well as the curriculum itself with its prerequisites, majors and degrees. Virtually every field maintains intellectual historians and methodologists to integrate its corpus of learning and techniques. Faculty members often form interdisciplinary research or teaching groups to nurture new fields or to supplement a field with wider geographic or trans-disciplinary perspectives. The disciplinary community is composed of a loose system of faculty members from a particular field who work collectively through their professional associations and the peer review process to shape the external environment of higher education.²⁴ The disciplinary side maintains a tremendous variety of both strong and weak links to the environment through individual or group research and teaching endeavors. In the U.S. disciplinary links to the environment tend to be strong because of the need to respond to public service missions and market requirements. Groennings argued that

²⁴ Dill (1991), p. 937. Both Gumperz (1970) and McCaughey (1984) described the development of area and international studies as disciplines and later as disciplinary associations of faculty such as the Latin American Studies Association.

external disciplinary communities serve as gatekeepers to structural change, playing a role in determining the organization of academic communities on campus.²⁵

Higher education's dual authority structure combines with the potency of symbols in knowledge-based organizations, this has created unique leadership patterns. Unlike the traditional of the bureaucratic and the "collegial" models, Clark identified two cohabiting types of leadership -- hierarchy-executive and collegium-committee. The faculty-administrator role tends to be the principal device for blending and balancing the tensions inherent in the different needs of the disciplinary and enterprise sides of higher education. By assigning the fundamental integrative role to individuals -- individuals who embody and preserve a desired set of academic symbols -- higher education has attempted to preserve its sagas and ethos at all levels of the system. To fulfill a leadership role and legitimately wear different official and unofficial mantles of authority an individual must be sufficiently well respected and well steeped in both disciplinary and enterprise practices.²⁶ Tying this to Becher and Kogan's model, where an activity is weighted toward the normative element and is most closely associated with the individual knowledge tasks of scholarship or teaching, the emphasis most likely will fall on the faculty element of the faculty-administrator role. For example, only tenured faculty are likely to lead basic units. Even though they control relatively small slices of the total institutional resource pie, they are the key point of authority over the most fundamental normative tasks. In the

²⁵ Groennings and Wiley (1990). Clark (1983) also indicated that other researchers have addressed this phenomenon.

²⁶ Becher and Kogan (1980), p. 66.

understructure the faculty role may predominate but few faculty members escape all administrator roles such as course advisor, grant-seeker or committee member. In the midstructure and superstructure levels, the administrator role may predominate but national leaders often share faculty characteristics such as doctoral training, occasional teaching, research projects or writings of academic interest.

Tapping the insights of the knowledge model, the traditional organizational models may be seen as complementary, each having greater explanatory power in some situations than in others. For example the collegial model emphasizes the integrative aspects of the disciplinary dimension, functioning most clearly in the understructure but still an integral part of the belief system of the mid- and superstructure. The bureaucratic model fits within the enterprise dimension, focused primarily on the formal operational mode but also structuring the normative interactions especially at the midstructure level of the system. The organized anarchy model stresses the duality of higher education systems focusing on the mutable nature of knowledge and the imperfections and unknowns inherent in the academic core technologies of research and teaching. The political conflict model focuses on the forces of differentiation and the challenges of integration. With the knowledge model, the political interests may be identified as representing fundamental disciplinary and enterprise roles at any or all levels of the higher education system. Clark's transnational research suggested that the political model's emphasis on the fundamental role of political interests was right on target as a basis for understanding higher education systems.

The knowledge model helps respond to Dill's and Garvin's concerns that the traditional models lack explanatory power for ways that higher education might adapt to changing environmental conditions, especially resource availabilities. Both the bureaucratic and collegial models provide a point of departure to understand higher education's survival and maintenance strategies in resource-poor environments where the enterprise side must increase efficiencies and set priorities while engendering support and good will among the disciplinary advocates. The political and organized anarchy models may prove most useful in understanding the dynamics of growth in resource-rich environments as the enterprise side has the luxury of supporting and encouraging the disciplines to spin off new research and curricular endeavors.

It begins to address the weaknesses of the traditional structural-functional approaches to understanding the dynamics of the higher education system that Rhoades and others have identified. By suggesting a framework for understanding the dynamics of the system and its interaction with the larger society, the knowledge model may help create conceptual links between institutions, the higher education system and society. Especially in the U.S., each level could be seen as a part of a national system of disciplinary or enterprise elements, providing intimate links to the larger society -- the understructure with faculty and departmental ties to their disciplinary and professional associations and peer review mechanisms; the midstructure with ties through their national administrative and institutional associations and accrediting and review mechanisms; and the superstructure through policy networks, professional associations or ad-hoc interest groups. To spur the

reader's visual imagination, Figure 2.2. below illustrates the knowledge model in a simple form.

The knowledge model has added substantial complexity and dynamism to the traditional approaches providing a natural bridge between system levels. A weakness of the knowledge model is its potential to overstate the importance of research at the expense of teaching or service functions of higher education. Like most conceptual models it has been designed to enlighten, not to predict or fully explain. Clark's transnational research on higher education suggests that most national systems resolve the research-teaching tensions through institutional differentiation -- some institutions emphasizing research, others teaching, still others blending the two. With this reminder of organizational dynamics' importance within the context of system dynamics, the section now turns to the larger system dynamics.

In his transnational comparisons, Clark found that the understructures of higher education systems were relatively similar around the world. Greater differences appeared in the midstructures in response to higher education systems' evolutionary particularities. The differences were most pronounced in the superstructure, the national system level. Yet within the midstructure or institutional level of higher education worldwide the differentiation of the enterprise side has tended to parallel the disciplinary side, creating relatively wide flat organizational bands of departments and schools to carry out the work of the academic fields and professions. Higher education systems have separated their activities at the national level among different types of institutions, both vertically and horizontally. The U.S. has one of the most highly differentiated systems in the world -- divided

HIGHER ED SYSTEM LEVELS / HIGHER ED SYSTEM FACET	DISCIPLINE AND/OR PROFESSIONAL BASE	ENTERPRISE BASE
UNDERSTRUCTURE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Faculty as researchers and teachers *Courses, studies *Departments, acad. units *Grad and prof'l schools, centers, programs, etc. *Faculty committees (curric/dept review, promotion/tenure) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Administrators, planners, budgeteers, fundraisers *Administrative units (finance, registrar/admissions, facilities, food service, student affairs, etc.) *Governance committees, faculty senate, etc.
MIDSTRUCTURE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Institutions of higher education including 2 and 4-year colleges, teaching and research universities *Presidents and Officers *Boards of Trustees *Curriculum standards and degrees 	
SUPERSTRUCTURE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Nat'l/Reg'l Associations of acad/prof'l fields *Peer review systems *Research patrons/sponsors -government authorities -foundations, corporations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Nat'l/Reg'l Associations of institutions *Accreditation assns *Inst'l patrons/sponsors -government authorities -foundations, corporations

Adapted from B. Clark (1983), D. Dill (1991), F. Rhoades (1991)

Figure 2.2. A simple illustration of the knowledge model of higher education systems

geographically across fifty states, horizontally into public and private sectors and vertically into at least five different levels ranging from research universities to community colleges.²⁷ This is illustrated in Figure 2.3. on page 50.

In the higher education literature horizontal or sectoral differentiation is the term used to describe the mix of private and public sector institutions. Clark drew examples from many countries ranging from simple to complex: A single sector of institutions within a single public system such as Italy or much of Africa; several sectors within one governmental system such as France, Thailand or Poland; several sectors in more than one formal public subsystem such as the U.K., Germany or Mexico; and several sectors with private support as well as different forms of public sector allocations such as the U.S. or Japan. In the U.S. roughly half the universities and colleges are private and half public. The public institutions include research and service oriented state universities, state colleges and community colleges that rely heavily on local and largely public funds. The private institutions include well known, well endowed universities focused on research, lesser known universities and liberal arts colleges as well as a few privately owned two-year colleges that rely primarily on tuition and fees. Horizontal differentiation in the U.S. is due in large part to "the ability of students to move from one to another, receiving credit for courses already completed. U.S. (public and private) sectors overall are highly permeable, since there are course credits and certificates common to all and the

²⁷ The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 1987 edition, (Lawrenceville, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987). There were a series of three of these classification guides in 1973, 1976 and 1987. They will be referred to as the Carnegie Classification.

division of labor, (especially) within the state systems, is premised on a common medium of exchange."(words in parentheses added)²⁸

Within the midstructure institutions have tended to develop vertical tiers not only administratively but related to research and the natural progress of the learning stream moving from beginning to intermediate to advanced work for students. These vertical tiers make major differences in access and connections to the job market across national systems of higher education. Fewer tiers generally mean a more elite-oriented system with more direct links to limited elite job markets and narrower channels of access. The tiers also affect research, finding some level of relationship to training. Single tier systems tend to force research out of higher education as the teaching loads overwhelm the research agenda and research is hived off to separate national institutes. France or the former Soviet Union provided prime examples in Clark's research. Clark described the tier structure typical of institutions of higher education in the U.S.:

"Two tiers have predominated in the American mode of university organization. The first tier, the undergraduate realm of four years, is devoted primarily to general education with limited specialization... Specialization has found its home in a second major tier composed of two distinct forms known as the graduate school and the professional schools... The American vertical differentiation was created only a century ago, at a time when 'the university' was added to a domain that had been occupied for over 200 years by 'the college.' ...Most colleges existing at the time remained pure colleges (Amherst and Oberlin)... some colleges became both college and university (Yale and Harvard); and newly created universities found viability in being colleges as well as universities (Johns Hopkins, Chicago, Stanford.) The emergent solution was a distinct graduate and professional level with its own organization, placed in the educational sequence on top of the now

²⁸ Clark (1983), p. 62.

'undergraduate' level, which was so well rooted in a college of its own."²⁹

Across the midstructure, hierarchy or vertical differentiation is also common, providing another major point of distinction among national higher education systems. This hierarchy has resulted from the natural levels of educational tasks in the disciplinary side as well as prestige rankings of both the disciplinary and enterprise sides of institutions. The first form of hierarchy reflects the natural feeder system. Groups of institutions have taken up location at lower and higher rungs of the educational ladder, lower ones feeding higher ones. Citing the U.S. state systems of community college, state college and state university as an example of this feeder system, Clark discussed the objectivity of these tiers saying:

"This is quite an objective matter. Even if the three sectors had a parity of esteem, there would still be a noticeable vertical differentiation based on place in the ladder of education. With each place there are predictable associated activities: research is likely to locate at the uppermost levels; general education is likely to appear in the lower steps; specialized education in the higher steps."

But the status hierarchy has tended to overtake the more objective functional ladder. Clark suggested that the search for objective institutional parity was as illusory as the "search for the classless society." Both academics and the general public have tended to judge institutions of higher education according to the meaning of graduation both into the job market and social circles as well as the ability of graduates to secure places at higher levels of the system. Even the U.S. and Canadian systems which fell in "the middle ground of status hierarchy" worldwide,

²⁹ Clark (1983), pp. 49-53.

exhibited pronounced differences in the social standing of institutions and sectors although a few institutions did not monopolize elite placement. Clark found definite prestige rankings in Canadian and U.S. systems, e.g. "U.S. Ivy League universities above state colleges." Yet he also found that "placement to high office in public as well as private spheres is institutionally diversified and overlaps sectors. No one or two institutions have a lock on sponsorship of top offices, political or administrative."³⁰ For example, U.S. presidents are as likely to have been educated in small, lower prestige colleges as in large, higher prestige research universities. In the U.S. the Carnegie studies recognized both the functional ladder and the prestige factors by explicitly addressing subjective as well as objective criteria in classifying the higher education system into ten vertical institutional tiers.³¹ Perkins and Israel, found increasing pressure among states to rationalize the allocation of public funds through relatively objective formalization of the feeder systems of colleges and universities. They recognized that the status factor was never far from the surface in these attempts at objective formalization.³²

In his economic studies, Garvin found prestige enhancement was instrumental in ensuring long-run fiscal viability and institutional vitality. By enhancing its prestige, an institution could reduce its dependence on local student demand and increase its ability to attract students and faculty from larger catchment areas as well

³⁰ Clark (1983) pp. 63-65.

³¹ Carnegie Classification (1987) and (1976).

³² Perkins and Israel (1972).

as grants and contracts from a wider spectrum of external sources. Combined with controlling cost and optimizing enrollment, Garvin saw prestige enhancement as the basis for institutions of higher education to carve out an effective niche in the overall higher education market. This kind of market differentiation proved a good competitive strategy to ensure institutional growth in resource-rich periods and survival in resource-poor periods. Garvin emphasized that the prestige factor was not simply mercenary but an important part of the rational economic behavior of institutions of higher education. He found prestige to be instrumental to meeting the larger symbolic and institutional needs stressed in other higher education models, e.g., the bureaucratic need for institutional viability, the faculty need for an invigorating collegium of scholars and the students' need for a comfortable learning community.³³ Clark also attributed competitive value to prestige factors in labor and institutional markets. Referring to the concept of "organizational saga", Clark said that by creating intense loyalties to the institution, the saga became "a valuable resource" creating bonds that gave "the organization a competitive edge."³⁴

Three phenomena common in the U.S. higher education system have been covered inadequately in the treatment of the knowledge model to this point -- shared resources on campus, interdisciplinary programs, and extension programs. Levine identified shared resources as those used by the larger university community such as libraries, language laboratories, writing tutor programs or academic computing centers

³³ Garvin (1980).

³⁴ Clark (1972), p. 183.

on campus.³⁵ Shared resources directly serve the disciplinary side but require large investments of money and professional staff to run properly, the bailiwick of the enterprise side. In his transnational research Clark identified several reasons why interdisciplinary programs emerge. They enable academics to draw new methods and insights from other fields and also to address issues emerging from society.

Interdisciplinary programs provide a relatively inexpensive way for the enterprise side to enable the disciplinary side to enrich teaching and scholarship. These endeavors may lead to new fields of study, creation of which is relatively more expensive requiring new faculty and other resources from the enterprise. Creating the field of computer science from engineering and math is an example. With the strength and adaptability of the midstructure in the U.S., such interdisciplinary programs have tended to take shape on campuses either as special research-teaching centers or specialized professional schools. In less flexible systems around the world they have more generally been hived off into special institutes outside the university.³⁶

Similarly, for extension education, the strong and highly differentiated midstructure characteristic of the U.S. enabled higher education to meet the unique demand for applied research and training. While much of the early extension education was created within state agricultural colleges to meet the needs of farmers, the ethos and

³⁵ Arthur Levine, Why Innovations Fail, (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1980).

³⁶ Clark (1983).

practices of "public service" have spread across higher education reaching many other working groups in society.³⁷

Figure 2.3. on page 50 illustrates the fuller complexities of the U.S. higher education system with the knowledge model as frame of reference. The understructure represents both disciplinary and enterprise elements housed within individual institutions of higher education. The enterprise dimension's key sub-units are called "offices" and are generally run by administrators, who often have faculty responsibilities and/or training. The shared resources are shown between the disciplinary and enterprise elements common to both. The essential sub-unit of the disciplinary element is a department consisting of faculty and faculty-administrators. Individual faculty and departments are represented in a variety of larger organizational forms such as schools, graduate, professional or undergraduate, as well as a variety of teaching, research and extension or service oriented programs and centers. The interdisciplinary efforts generally are called programs, centers or institutes. Clark's transnational research suggested that faculty are committed increasingly to a departmental home as well as fully engaged in an interdisciplinary research group.

³⁷ Roger L. Williams, The Origins of Federal Support for Higher Education: George W. Atherton and the Land-Grant College Movement (State College, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991). Williams discussed the special client groups targeted by the earliest extension education. Garvin (1980) also discussed the market responsiveness of the U.S. higher education system obliquely referring to the expansion of continuing and extended education programs as both public service and money-maker. For a discussion of the historically black colleges and universities, see Ralph D. Christy and Lionel Williamson, editors, A Century of Service: Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 1890-1990 (College Station, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991).

Such groups may address cross-cutting themes such as the environment together with an international or regional area such as African studies.³⁸

The midstructure illustrated in Figure 2.3. on page 50 shows the vertical tiers common to the public and private sectors with the boards of trustees and officers as well as faculty governance committees representing the highest levels of decision-making. The public sector also adds multi-campus or system officials who cross into the superstructure whose primary allegiance is to the higher education institutions they administer and oversee. The superstructure illustration reverts to the disciplinary-enterprise duality, with parallel roles distinctly tailored to the expertise of each side: Senior faculty take major roles in the disciplinary superstructure while senior administrators serve the enterprise side. Virtually all the players in the superstructure are boundary spanners, with one foot in their home institutions and one foot in the higher education circle. For example legislators may spend some time on higher education issues but larger representational or other policy issues may be their primary work.

3. Internationalization of Higher Education in Terms of the Knowledge Model

Three terms appear frequently in the literature related to internationalizing higher education -- international education, international dimension and internationalization. They tend to be nested like Russian dolls, each larger concept encompassing elements of the prior concept. Each serves to describe a key element of

³⁸ B.R. Clark (1983). This finding confirmed other authors' assertions that higher education is becoming more internationalized worldwide.

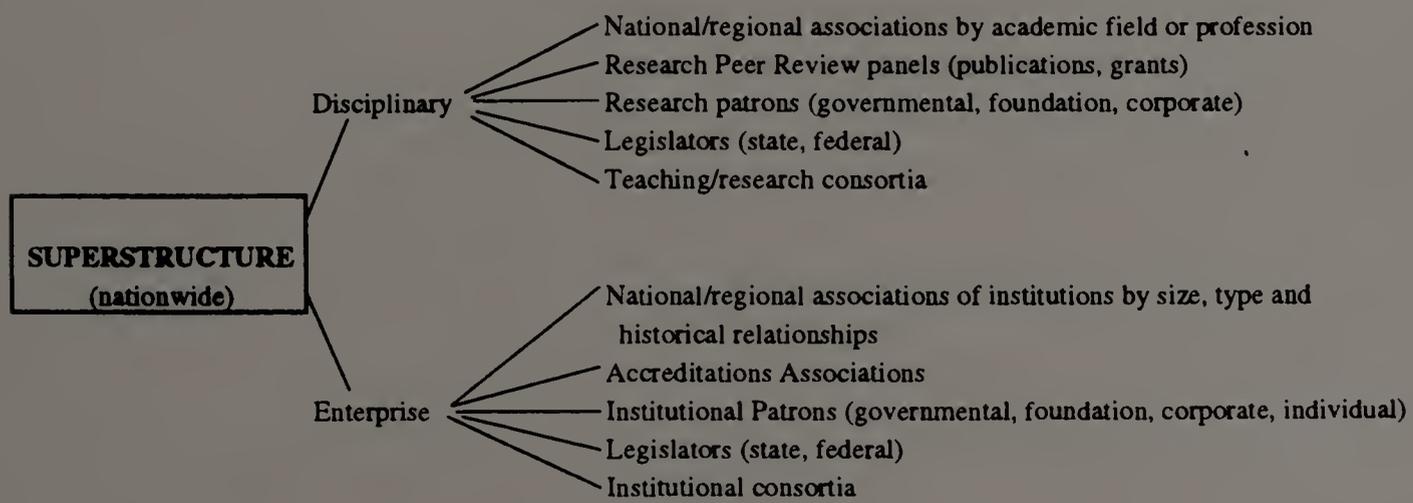
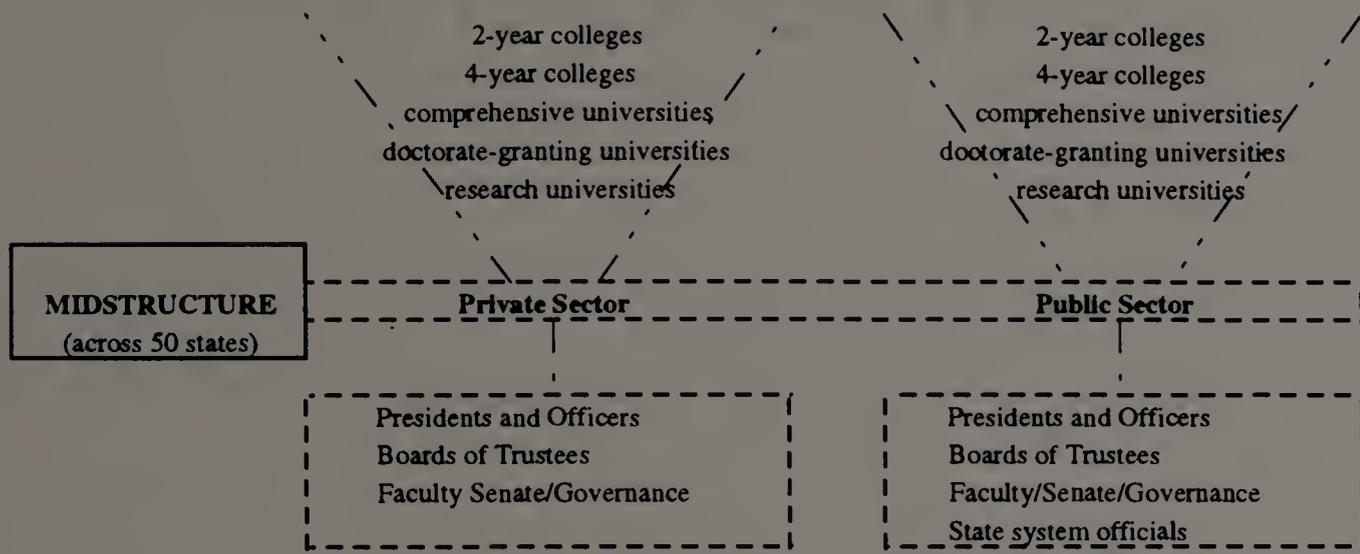
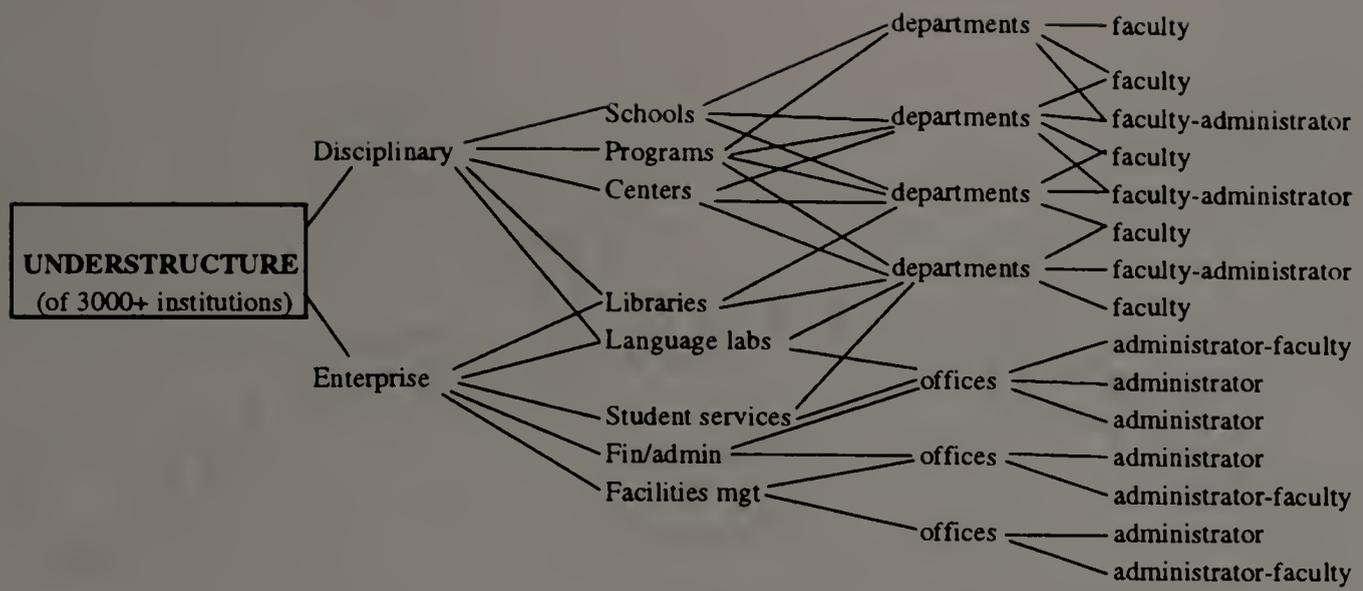


Figure 2.3. A complex illustration of the knowledge model adapted to the U.S.

internationalization of higher education. Butts provided a definition of international education:

"The programs of activity which identifiable educational organizations deliberately plan and carry out for their members with one of two major purposes in mind: (a) the study of the thought, institutions, techniques or ways of life of other peoples and of their interrelationships, or (b) the transfer of educational institutions, ideas, or materials from one society to another."³⁹

This definition provided by Butts relates most directly to the disciplinary side of higher education and several example of the types of curricular or departmental units that might be encountered under part (a) are: international relations, global studies, diplomatic history, international management, comparative politics, development economics, comparative education, foreign languages and literature, area studies of regions such as Africa, East Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, Russian and Eastern Europe, Western Europe or South and Southeast Asia. This study will focus on part (a) rather than part (b).

Posvar defined "the international dimension" of higher education as: "The entire scope and magnitude of international studies, international programs and international relationships that comprise the institutional effort toward international education."⁴⁰ This definition encompasses both the disciplinary and the enterprise dimensions of higher education. It includes the international education elements plus administrative offices, support programs and services related to study abroad, visiting

³⁹ R.F. Butts, America's Role in International Education: A Perspective on Thirty Years, (Chicago, Illinois: National Society for the Study of Education, 1969), pp. 12-13.

⁴⁰ Wesley W. Posvar, Education and World View, (New Rochelle, New York: Change Magazine Press, 1980), p. 49.

scholars, overseas technical assistance, technical training in the U.S., fund raising, overseas research or foreign students.

Internationalization encompasses both and generally refers to the active process of expanding the international dimension of higher education while ensuring the strength of the existing base. As McCaughey, Lambert and others have argued, internationalization suggests a major transformation of the entire system of higher education.⁴¹ Yet most of the research has focused on the dynamics of internationalization within a set of institutions or individual institutions. Henson provided a succinct and deceptively simple definition of internationalization of universities as: "...the incorporation of international content, materials, activities, and understanding into the teaching, research, and public service functions of universities to enhance their relevance in an interdependent world."⁴² A fully transformed system would have all universities and colleges moving to expand their international dimensions, both disciplinary and enterprise elements contributing to increased international capacity of the overall system. The international element would be infused through the institutional and disciplinary fabric of all parts of the system, public and private, two-year colleges to major research universities. At the extreme of this vision of a fully internationalized system, a new vertical tier would be created

⁴¹ McCaughey (1984); Lambert (1990). Richard D. Lambert, "International Studies: An Overview and Agenda," New Directions in International Education, The Annals of Social and Political Science, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, May 1980), Vol. 449, pp.154-55. Richard D. Lambert, Points of Leverage: An Agenda for a National Foundation for International Studies, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1986).

⁴² Henson (1990), p. 3.

as a select few of the top national research universities re-define themselves as "world universities" with a truly global scope of operations.⁴³

To summarize, the higher education system in the U.S. is one of the most highly differentiated and interdependent in the world, integrated into a multi-layered system through a variety of matrix and network formations. Like higher education systems worldwide, the U.S. system is formed around a dual structure of disciplinary and enterprise elements. The disciplinary and professional side reflects the organization of knowledge and the enterprise side reflecting the administrative organization of higher education. The two sides are laced together in faculty-administrator matrices of departments, schools, institutes and administrative offices on campuses and carried into roughly parallel matrices of regional and national associations of higher education with disciplinary, professional and institutional memberships. There are over three thousand public and private institutions of higher education ranging from research and doctoral universities to community colleges.

This study focuses on superstructure while recognizing the importance of the mid- and understructure of the system. Given the strength of the midstructure in the U.S., institutional dynamics become particularly important in understanding the system dynamics. The superstructure of the U.S. higher education system is highly diffuse and fractionated which reduces the likelihood that any national actor or force singlehandedly could cause the extensive structural change suggested by internationalization in its broadest definition. The extreme degree of institutional differentiation within the midstructure suggests that internationalization will present itself in as many forms as there are campuses. Yet there will be commonalities of

⁴³ Grassmuck (1991); Eyerly (1990); Ping (1982); Bok (1987).

internationalization forms among groups of institutions paralleling the characteristics that allow vertical and horizontal grouping, e.g., research vs teaching emphasis or private vs public ownership. The insights on interdisciplinary programs suggest that internationalization may offer a cost-effective means of insuring intellectual and organizational dynamism in periods of fiscal stress by encouraging interdisciplinary programs and collaboration across units. Integration holds sway over differentiation impulses in times of fiscal stress. Interdisciplinary work thrives in times of intellectual ferment. The 90s promise higher education both intellectual ferment and fiscal stress. Neither can be disassociated from increasing global interdependence.

Internationalization focuses on the dynamic transformation of higher education, both the institutions and the entire system, both the disciplinary and the enterprise elements. The phenomena of system transformation and innovation diffusion in higher education systems provides an approach to the analysis of such a broad-ranging change as that implied by internationalization. Higher education functions as a system through market and governmental coordinating mechanisms, balancing competitive and collaborative approaches to students, faculty, external resources, ideas, publications, teaching, research, policy or administration. These coordinating mechanisms are addressed in the final section of this chapter.

B. Balancing Stability and Change in Higher Education Systems

Perkins and Israel argued that innovation was the basic work of academia but they recognized the paradox inherent in higher education's dual role as preserver and innovator of knowledge.⁴⁴ The knowledge model maintains that higher education is

⁴⁴ Perkins and Israel (1972).

dynamic and evolving -- constantly balancing its core technology of preservation, expansion and dissemination of knowledge with environmental demands and internal needs for differentiation and integration for its very survival.

Vitality, the ability of a system to thrive and survive, requires both stability and change. Hefferlin indicated that vitality may be viewed as persistence, "the mere capacity to survive and endure ...often used in referring to an old person who continues to live with unusual physical vigor." McGrath preferred adaptation as a second meaning associated more with youth, "the capacity to grow and to adapt to new social demands." Both persistence and adaptation have been useful responses by higher education to external and internal forces in areas such as social conditions, labor markets, types of students, graduate employment markets, teaching methods, contents of teaching and scholarship, teaching and research methods, the mix of disciplines, and the very structures of higher education.⁴⁵ As the intensity and frequency of global interchange has increased, change forces have been associated with the international dimension of higher education as well.

Persistence has been a powerful force in higher education. Becher and Kogan suggested two reasons why persistence was such a common response to the many changes around and within higher education. First, higher education has not developed as a hierarchical system where change can be decreed from above. Rather it has developed as a highly negotiative system where all players feel they have the right to decide what is best for them and therefore any change must be sanctioned by

⁴⁵ J.B. Lon Hefferlin, Dynamics of Academic Reform, (San Francisco, California: Jossey Bass Inc., Publishers, 1969). Hefferlin discussed these elements in depth in introducing his study of academic reform in the U.S. In his introduction to Hefferlin's book, Earl J. McGrath synthesized the discussion of vitality. Also see Mark Easterby-Smith, "Change and innovation in higher education: a role for corporate strategy?", Higher Education, 16:37-52, 1987.

those that must put it into effect. Second, higher education institutions have tended to be risk-averse. They have been most likely to embrace change that seemed to be a sure deal, sustainable with traditional revenue streams and faculty resources.⁴⁶

Clark also found powerful reasons for persistence in higher education and identified three in particular. First, some organizational forms have persisted because they have worked or been effective, e.g. U.S. liberal arts colleges persisting since colonial days. Second, they have persisted when there was little or no competition as in the case of a highly specialized aeronautical engineering school or research unit. Third, persistence has occurred through "sheer institutionalization." When sufficient interest is vested in the organizational form itself, its special niche remains unquestioned, e.g. graduate schools or Classics departments. In this view persistence leads to transformation through accretion, an "accumulation of historical deposits."⁴⁷ Higher education's emphasis on survival has not gone unrewarded. By one account, 62 universities have persisted in roughly the same recognizable forms since 1530, a record rivaled only by a few churches or governmental organizations.⁴⁸

Vitality of higher education depends on persistence but more positive, active adaptation as well. Perkins and Israel saw "continuous change and innovation" as a fundamental requirement of higher education since the "the world is obviously faced with a vast need for new ideas and for manpower trained in new areas of knowledge."

⁴⁶ Becher and Kogan (1980), p. 121.

⁴⁷ Clark (1983), p. 220.

⁴⁸ The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, Three Thousand Futures: The Next Twenty Years for Higher Education, (San Francisco: Jossey Bass Publishers, 1980), p. 9, footnote #2. The footnote includes 62 universities in Western Europe, the Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church and the governments of Iceland and of the Isle of Mann in this list.

While recognizing the key role of external agencies in spurring educational innovation, Perkins and Israel pointed out the most innovative leadership comes primarily from ideas not from funding.⁴⁹ Indeed change is such an integral part of higher education that to study change is to study the entire enterprise and its evolution. Studies have attempted to address change in higher education systems in various guises -- as innovation, as reform or as transformation. As a dynamic approach to higher education systems, the knowledge model suggests that change flows from the natural struggles of interests and contradictions inherent in the disciplinary-enterprise tensions within higher education. The splitting and specialization associated with differentiation around knowledge areas and enterprise elements are offset by integrative forces reshaping the relations of the atoms and molecules of academic and administrative activity into larger viable life forms of academic enterprises and associations. The knowledge model shows differentiation as higher education's primary form of change.

Many authors identify common threads for understanding the change-stability processes operating in higher education, no easy task. Baldrige described higher education change processes using a political systems approach based on interest group politics. Clark's transnational research affirmed the importance of interest group power dynamics in shaping higher education change processes. Levine, and others have drawn on the diffusion of innovations literature of sociologists, economists and marketing experts to explain the processes of introducing and transmitting changes in higher education systems. Levine focussed on the institutional level change process. He went beyond the traditional stages of the diffusion literature to investigate why

⁴⁹ Perkins and Israel (1972), p. 9.

innovations were sustained, equating failure or success with permanence. Beyond the national setting, B. R. Clark noted that, "Changes also flow across national boundaries, and the phenomenon of international transfer of academic patterns is pursued as a ... major avenue of change, one fraught with problems of acceptance and adaptation of transplants."⁵⁰ After a review of models and approaches to change in national systems, the section will explore two other perspectives -- the institutional and the extra-national forces affecting change in national higher education systems.

1. Approaches to System Change

T. N. Clark described traditional ways that higher education systems have evolved over time. He focused on innovations and their institutionalization with a particular emphasis on the disciplinary dimension, defining innovation as "a new form of knowledge that leads to structural change." Paralleling the classic sociological definition of institutionalization as "a cultural element that is accepted by actors in a social system," he saw institutionalization of innovation in higher education occurring "when an innovation develops into a profession or discipline" within academia.⁵¹ Easterby-Smith showed that innovation need not been limited to new knowledge in the sense of academic fields but also may encompass new technologies for teaching or research, new educational processes and methods, changes in the balance of subjects-

⁵⁰ B.R. Clark (1983), p. 8; Dill (1991); Baldrige (1972); Levine (1981); J. Victor Baldrige and Robert A. Burnham, "Organizational Innovation: Individual, Organizational and Environmental Impacts," Administrative Science Quarterly, 20:165-176, June, 1975.

⁵¹ Terry N. Clark, "Institutionalization of innovations in higher education: four models," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 13, No. 1, June 1968. Reprinted in Academic Governance: Research on Institutional Politics and Decision Making compiled and edited by J. Victor Baldrige, (Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Co.).

courses-projects-disciplines, or new and modified organizational structures and systems from faculty senates to accounting procedures. Similarly, Levine showed that institutionalization of any of these wide ranging innovations occurred when the relevant higher education actors accepted them, allowed them to persist and sustained them over time. The number of relevant actors affected by and the depth and degree of involvement required in the institutionalization process affected the outcome. The more widespread the innovation's effect and involvement requirements, the more arduous the institutionalization task.⁵²

T. N. Clark identified three models to highlight different aspects of system-wide change processes operating in higher education. They have been used to some degree of mutual exclusion by different research approaches to higher education systems: Organic growth limited largely to intellectual historians or students of European systems; differentiation, the model of choice for much U.S. research focused on individual institutions of higher education or disciplinary development; and diffusion, applied relatively infrequently to higher education and usually to intra-institutional change processes. He proposed a fourth approach that combined all three over time and across the entire system, somewhat unimaginatively called "the combined process" model. Each model has assumed highly permeable boundaries for higher education and dynamic interaction between all parts of the higher education system and outsiders. In all four models, he emphasized that innovation and institutionalization were distinct processes. Innovation tended to draw on outsiders, "marginal men" or boundary-spanners and was good for and depended on the overall creativity levels of higher education. Institutionalization on the other hand tended to

⁵² Easterby-Smith (1987), Levine (1980).

rely on insiders and respected authorities requiring institutional commitment and high levels of trust. The two have tended to be less than comfortable companions.

In the organic growth model, T. N. Clark viewed higher education innovation largely as the product of outsiders who espoused subjects or methods that were not wholly acceptable to typical ideas or approaches of the academy. The process could be synthesized into three phases. In the first phase, a group of interested individuals - - diplomats, traders, engineers, chemists, missionaries, bankers, etc. -- begin to develop professional activities around a set of themes and generate a loosely knit organization with some sort of publication to share and criticize ideas. In the second phase, they regularize their status, initially with utopian or polemical rhetoric and later shift to a more realistic and pragmatic ideology, a more stable identity and with an increasingly respected organizational name. In the third phase, after attempting amateur seminars or apprentice arrangements, the organization creates new educational institutions to train new entrants. He provided examples of this model being "followed by the physical and biological sciences in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the social sciences in the nineteenth, and such specialties as.. nursing in the twentieth."⁵³ As they mature, some associations maintain balance between academics and lay professionals while others do not. In his history of international and area studies in the U.S. higher education system, McCaughey lamented the loss of the "gentleman scholar," the "diplomat or trader scholar" whose role as a respected contributor to debate he found diminished after official entry into the academy. Still, McCaughey agreed that academicization of a field of intellectual inquiry may be necessary and even useful. Gumperz, writing on the origins of

⁵³ T.N. Clark (1968), p. 76-80, quotes pp. 78, 80.

international studies in the U.S., detailed the interaction of business and military leaders in this process for Asian studies among others.⁵⁴

T. N. Clark argued that an outside professional field may accrue many benefits from entrance into academia, including relative security of tenured positions; time to devote to the innovation; reduction in role ambiguity and clarification of status as professors; greater legitimacy as a valid intellectual community worthy of respect from the general public; and academic freedom to question critically. Despite the benefits, T. N. Clark also identified risks both to the outside field and higher education. He suggested that the timing of the entrance of an innovation into higher education had a significant influence on the lines of the innovation's development. Entering too early in the life of the innovation could create the risk of "premature closure and dogmatism, heightened by the necessity to present the innovation formally to an academic audience" and ultimately result in "precipitous solutions" and "neglect of basic problems." Entering academia too late, on the other hand, incurs the risk of over reliance on outside partners rather than university colleagues and systems. Such delayed entrance "may generate alliances with groups outside the university -- industry, government, the military, coffee house intellectuals" and a tendency to develop along lines that meet their immediate needs for "practical application, routine service activities, and superficial criticism."⁵⁵

The "differentiation model" has provided one of the most powerful explanations for change in higher education systems. The knowledge model discussed

⁵⁴ McCaughey (1984); Gumperz (1970). Especially Gumperz' early chapters on colonial times to 1920.

⁵⁵ T.N. Clark (1968), pp.83-84. In their analyses of international studies within the U.S. higher education system, McCaughey (1984) and Goodwin and Nacht (1991) identified similar phenomena.

in the first section drew heavily from differentiation concepts, balancing them with integration concepts, to formulate a dynamic overall model of higher education. In the differentiation model, higher education change tends to be additive. As B. R. Clark stated: "The fundamental adaptive mechanism of universities and larger academic systems is the capacity to add and subtract fields of knowledge and related units without disturbing all the others." He suggested that understructure of faculty and departments is adaptable because of its matrix forms and the potential to add new departments, institutes or chairs. The base expands horizontally as exemplified in the triple-matrix formation of "a professor serving simultaneously in a history department, a Far Eastern center, and a comparative research group focused on science or education or some other societal actor that cuts across departmental interests and geographical-area clusters."⁵⁶

In the differentiation model change is induced from inside the higher education system generally as a result of the on-going specialization of knowledge and enterprise functions. Essentially this provides a kind of preapproval stage by virtue of the innovator's membership in the academic community. As T. N. Clark said:

"Innovations that are the product of persons within universities... tend to be less radical and extreme than innovation of outsiders and men marginal to the university, and correspondingly more acceptable to university decision makers. Consequently, they are more rapidly established in the university than innovations from the outside."⁵⁷

Rogers' extensive studies of innovation processes in all types of institutions confirmed the strength of the phenomenon he dubbed homophily, roughly translated as "likes attract likes". He found that respected persons within a culture or group

⁵⁶ B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 186, 189.

⁵⁷ T.N. Clark (1968), p. 809.

who also had a wider exposure to the larger society and additional sources of information, those considered cosmopolitans were most frequently the strongest advocates for innovations. Perkins and Israel saw this as a key role for the university or college president.⁵⁸

Gumperz' research on the internationalization of the U.S. higher education system confirmed the importance of strong leadership on campus. She found faculty leadership critical in establishing area studies disciplinary programs in major research universities. The faculty entrepreneur convinced the external foundations to fund it and persuaded the president to support it as well. The disciplinary associations were the mainstay of system wide support and intellectual vitality. Within the colleges where teaching undergraduates was the major focus, she argued that the issue was framed as both curricular and institutional. Leadership on international studies or other programs came most strongly from the president, often with support or stimulus from the institutional associations.⁵⁹

An additive mode of change suggests a reliance on additive resources, generally external resources for academic innovation via differentiation. Tension over funding is one of the indicators of the struggles to balance continuity and change in the differentiation model. As Hefferlin said:

"...the first key to academic reform is that of resources: an existing program will continue to exist as long as it can find support. A new program will be tolerated if it costs no money or it brings its own

⁵⁸ Perkins and Israel (1972), p. 9. Everett M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, third edition, (New York: The Free Press, 1983).

⁵⁹ Gumperz (1970), pp. 57-63.

support. It will be resisted if the new fund it requires could be used for expansion of existing programs. And it will be actively opposed and accepted only under duress if existing resources must be divided to include it."⁶⁰

Hefferlin's point does not suggest that academic innovation via differentiation cannot or will not happen with internal resources alone but that it will be more difficult. Nor does it suggest that external funding will guarantee success or persistence of innovation. It does suggest that an innovation may start sooner and move more quickly with extra external resources than it would without them.

The view of outside resource providers in the higher education literature has been conflicted. As B. R. Clark and others illustrate, there is a natural tension between the need for autonomy of higher education and the need for external funding. As Hefferlin stated: "...while educators work at molding the wishes of their benefactors about education, the educational enterprises of any society are inevitably molded to the wishes of their patrons."⁶¹ Part of the tension over the direction of change stems from the inherent asymmetry between benefactors and higher education. Kerr pointed out the asymmetry with the level of funding and size of the federal government, a major resource-provider in the U.S., being so much larger than the entire higher education system in the U.S. Similar asymmetry of resources has been observed for other benefactors especially proportionate to the resources of individual institutions of higher education or faculty. Others noted that only the university can take care of the university, emphasizing that any sense of mutuality or real

⁶⁰ Hefferlin (1969), pp. 39-40.

⁶¹ Hefferlin (1969), pp. 39-40.

partnership with government was overly idealistic if not sophomoric. Perkins and Israel saw outside funders as key sources of innovation but the university retained the decisive role. Only the university can integrate new ideas into the traditional missions of research, teaching and service, not outsiders.⁶²

External funding is a recurrent theme in several of the major works on the international dimension of higher education.⁶³ Since World War II, the major foundations earlier and later the federal government have provided significant amounts of funding for higher education institutions interested and able to expand their international capacity. McCaughey found that the Ford Foundation's International Training and Research (ITR) program had a significant impact on creating "an estimable and perdurable academic enterprise" of international studies. Ford's ITR program alone provided higher education with nearly a quarter of a billion dollars in the 1950s and 1960s for the explicit purpose of building international capacity.⁶⁴ It began with a focus entirely on the needs of the disciplinary dimension focused on faculty research and graduate training. Later it shifted to emphasize the institutional dimension and focused on creating coordinating mechanisms and internal resources to ensure longer term sustainability of the new disciplinary endeavors being created.

⁶² Kerr (1972); Perkins and Israel (1972), pp. 9-12.

⁶³ See Burn (1980), Gumperz (1970), McCaughey (1984), Irwin T. Sanders and Jennifer C. Ward, Bridges to Understanding: International Programs of American Colleges and Universities, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970).

⁶⁴ McCaughey (1984). For the overall institution building impact and funding summary, see pp. 113-114. For the negative impacts, see the epilogue, especially pp. 252-255. Chapter 4-6 of this study address the relationship in some depth.

The ITR program provided the basic model from for federal legislation.⁶⁵ That story line will be picked up again in the next section and later chapters.

Diffusion models traditionally focus on the development and transmission of innovative ideas or practices within and across parts of a system. Innovations may develop and diffuse within or across colleges and universities as well as between parts of the higher education system and outsiders in other national or international systems. Diffusion models have been used since the earliest days of the social sciences. Generally they analyze innovations through a series of stages: 1) Awareness; 2) information collection and evaluation; 3) trial or small-scale pilot adoption; and 4) adoption and adaptation or full-scale implementation. Another common part of the diffusion logic is homophily, particularly in the ability to "contribute new knowledge about the innovation and teach it effectively." To be diffused an innovation needs to be sustained and transmitted. Relative advantage or profitability of the innovation to the adoptee have been associated with sustainability. Interest groups and homophilous communication networks facilitate transmission of innovation among parts of a system and enable members of the system to hear of experiments elsewhere before adopting or adapting the innovation themselves.⁶⁶

The U.S. higher education system has been characterized as a highly competitive, dynamic, loosely integrated and highly differentiated system. Rogers

⁶⁵ Gumperz (1972); Lorraine M. McDonnell, Sue E. Berryman, Douglass Scott with support of John Pincus and Abby Robyn, Federal Support for International Studies: The Role of NDEA Title VI, (Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation, 1981). Both addressed the connection between Ford's ITR and the later Federal programs.

⁶⁶ Rogers (1983) has produced a comprehensive synthesis of the diffusion literature.

found that such a lively system dynamic combined with active communication networks of relatively homophilous actors have provided excellent conditions for the introduction, testing and diffusion of innovations. T. N. Clark illustrated the diffusion pattern of new disciplines across the German national university system which was similarly dynamic in the mid-nineteenth century. His description highlighted two characteristics commonly found in the diffusion literature -- open, competitive systems and carriers or change-agents:

"Many innovations developed within it and became institutionalized (through differentiation) in one of its many institutions. Then, younger men attracted to the innovation frequently specialized in the innovation and become [sic] carriers (*traegerin*), thereby serving as agents of diffusion to other parts of the national system. The decentralized, loosely integrated, relatively unstratified, and quite competitive structure of the system was particularly conducive to attracting younger men from one institution to the next, and in this way, institutionalizing the innovation."⁶⁷

Among the many concepts advanced within the general diffusion model, carrier plays a ubiquitous and important role under many names such as linking agent, boundary-spanner, cosmopolitan or marginal men. Like T. N. Clark's *traegerin* example, McCaughey emphasized the role of young faculty members in this role for international studies, carrying new methods and knowledge from their PhD training ground to their employing institutions. Newly hired younger professors from other parts of the system may affect changes in the understructure by introducing new content or methods. Rogers' basic research recognized the carrier but suggested that the most successful advocate of innovation would be more of a vital, cosmopolitan

⁶⁷ T.N. Clark (1968), p. 82.

mid-career professional, a cosmopolitan. In academia, cosmopolitans are generally rising stars among the tenured faculty, respected senior faculty, chairholders, department chairs or deans with particularly strong links to the larger academic or outside world. T. N. Clark, in a footnote, suggested that longstanding members of the academy who build strong ties with the outside serve as boundary-spanners as well linking internal and external systems related to innovations. Other authors, notably Williams and Hefferlin discussed the importance of charismatic leaders and "marginal men" or boundary-spanners in introducing and institutionalizing changes in higher education. These were people on the edge of academia but with new visions for it.⁶⁸

Following the diffusionists' logic and presaging the strategic planning writings of Keller or Easterby-Smith, Hefferlin identified external resources and internal advocates as two key elements of reform: "...not only must the necessary resources be available for reform, but an advocate must succeed in gaining access to them. And out of this competition among advocates for support of their enterprises evolves the pattern of higher education within society."⁶⁹ Boundary-spanners also tend to be respected members of the higher education system with official rank and privileges. For example, newly hired university presidents, deans or senior chairholders span the mid- and superstructures bringing new ideas, approaches and connections to resources and ideas from rest of the system and the larger environment. Miles suggested that

⁶⁸ T.N. Clark (1968); McCaughey (1984); Easterby-Smith (1987); Hefferlin (1969); Rogers (1983); Gumperz (1970). See also George Keller, Academic Strategy: The Management Revolution in American Higher Education, (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

⁶⁹ Hefferlin (1969), p. 39.

the higher education associations, or in his terminology the ancillary associations, were developed as permanent boundary-spanning agents with the explicit purpose of facilitating communication across different levels and groups within the higher education system. Gumperz found ancillary associations played an important role in supporting international studies' introduction and diffusion. T. N. Clark suggested that marginality equates with innovativeness because boundary spanners tend to see more sides. All three types of linking agents have been important in institutionalizing innovation: new hires, regular boundary-spanners and cosmopolitans. B. R. Clark suggested that the boundary-spanning mechanism of system change is particularly effective because it can go largely unnoticed with "the changes creep(ing) across those (many) bridges quietly and with little notice." This fits with his view that "incremental adjustment is the pervasive and characteristic form of change."⁷⁰

In his combined process model, T. N. Clark showed how the other three perspectives worked together, either simultaneously or over long stretches of time to shape the higher education system. He concluded that they need not occur sequentially, nor need they all occur. He suggested that under some circumstances the professionalization of a field by outsiders under the organic growth model was likely to parallel the development of an equivalent academic field by normal internal differentiation with the two sides complementing each other through diffusion

⁷⁰ T.N. Clark (1968); B.R. Clark (1983), p. 234; and Rogers (1983); Gumperz (1970). Also, see Wayland (1969), p. 613. Others writing on boundary-spanners included the history of George Atherton who helped to institutionalize the land-grant university system in the U.S. per Williams (1991). Hefferlin (1969) focused on the disciplinary oriented examples of George Ticknor or Louis Agassiz who brought European subjects and methods to their scholarship.

processes back and forth. At other times, either outside professionalization or internal differentiation might occur but not both. Even then, he suggested that as ideas diffuse back and forth between outside professional groups and internal academic groups, "the versions from both inside and outside stimulate one another." He also suggested that final acceptance into the academy may come later after a longer evolution.⁷¹

2. Institutional Perspectives

Ultimately, system wide evolution and diffusion of innovation has occurred institution by institution. The individual institutions of higher education have served as the integrators and managers of the system. One must understand the individual institutions of higher education, their systemic connections and patterns in order to understand the institutionalization and spread of an innovation such as internationalization. T. N. Clark focused on the birth and growth of innovation up to the point of adoption by a university, usually evidenced by the creation of a faculty chair or a department or even a professional school. In considering the fairly optimistic path of progress typical of the diffusion literature, Arthur Levine posed a provocative version of "the morning after" question, "Why do innovations fail?". Posed differently, what happens after the innovation is adopted? If it persists, how long? In what shape? Do other academic institutions adopt it or adapt it to their needs? As Levine showed, the diffusionists' focus on introduction, trial, evaluation

⁷¹ T.N. Clark (1968), p. 83.

and adoption within the institution has left largely unanswered the key system level question of what happened after an innovation was adopted. He proposed and tested an analytic framework that considered not only the set-up process for major curricular innovation in a university but also evaluated the results against stated goals and the innovation's persistence over time. At the institutional level, Levine developed a set of structural indicators for a range of institutionalization outcomes in response to innovations that will be analyzed and then synthesized into system-level lessons.⁷²

Levine's research on U.S. university provided a guide for understanding what "operational patterns" had actually surfaced as a result of innovation in higher education. Relative degrees of success or failure could be visualized or potentially predicted on a continuum of long term institutional outcomes identified as: diffusion, enclave, re-socialization or termination. In a range of positive to negative results, diffusion was the most positive when the innovation was fully embraced and allowed to spread throughout the organization. The enclave outcome was somewhat less positive with the innovation allowed to maintain itself as part of but in relative isolation from the larger organization. A ship on its own bottom is a frequent description of the academic enclave outcome. Re-socialization was characterized as a more negative outcome since the innovation was not institutionalized on its own merits but was placed back into more traditional practices and values. Termination

⁷² Levine (1980); T.N. Clark (1969). Levine's concepts were applied to one university case over time. His methodology was replicated in dissertation research by Adrienne Aaron Rulnick, Compatibility, Profitability and Leadership: Successful Innovation and the Culture of Higher Education, (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts, School of Education, 1991).

was the most negative outcome on the face of it since the innovation did not retain a university niche. Yet if the innovation continued to grow and flourish elsewhere in society, it could nourish the academic environment through outside links.⁷³

Examples of Levine's four outcomes at the institutional level can be found in the international dimension of the higher education system in the U.S.. For diffusion, the American University created its School of International Service as the anchor for an explicit effort of expanding the institution's international dimension to undergraduate and graduate curricula as well as to research and public service. Examples of enclaves abound in the separate professional schools of international affairs such as Johns Hopkins graduate school of advanced international studies in Washington, D.C.. Area studies and development assistance programs at Harvard have followed enclave patterns as well. Yale University's concilium for international and area studies provided an example of resocialization of an institute of international relations back into the more traditional mold of liberal education and strong departments. Termination was exemplified in the professional and intensive language training programs of the State Department's Foreign Service Institute. Many of these programs were developed initially on campuses but were removed and transplanted to the in-service training programs of the State Department.⁷⁴

⁷³ Levine (1980), p. 7.

⁷⁴ For the genesis of the Schools of International Affairs, see Robert F. Goheen, Education in U.S. Schools of International Affairs, a comparative study commissioned by the Exxon Foundation and the Pew Charitable Trusts and reproduced by the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, October 1987. For a classic case of re-socialization of an international relations institute, see William P. Bundy, "Building understanding in international studies: On the ground of liberal arts," Yale Alumni

From his research on higher education institutions and the larger literature of diffusion of innovations, Levine synthesized two basic mechanisms that determine universities' institutionalization-termination responses to innovations: compatibility and profitability. As noted before, higher education systems rely heavily on both subjective and objective judgments of legitimacy to preserve the trust essential to smooth functioning of its complex networks of actors, ideas and relationships. Organizational cultural, traditions and symbolism also are important characteristics of university life. Drawing on such concepts, Levine defined compatibility as a "measure of the appropriateness of an innovation within existing organizational boundaries." Levine indicated that compatibility functioned as a conservative mechanism, as a measure of dissatisfaction along the lines of testing a null hypothesis:

"Compatibility does not determine whether an innovation will work; it indicates the degree to which an innovation is inconsistent with the norms, values, and goals of the organization. In seeking compatibility, an organization attempts to maintain its personality, to protect the status quo, and to avoid changes in established boundaries."⁷⁵

Unlike compatibility Levine saw the second mechanism, profitability, as a measure of satisfaction. In the larger diffusion literature, the profitability concept generally has been viewed as "relative advantage" to the adopter based on the common concept of "satisfying the need for which the innovation was created." Neither the general literature nor Levine equated relative advantage, or its simpler variant profitability, with financial gain but saw it encompassing many types of gains

Magazine, New Haven, Connecticut, 1982.

⁷⁵ Levine (1980), pp. 17-20. See also Rogers (1983).

or types of benefits, i.e., psychic, time-savings or prestige, intellectual satisfaction, relative peer status, competitiveness or simple personal interest. He saw profitability operating differently but complementarily with compatibility, saying that, "Unlike compatibility considerations, which aim at preserving a particular array of organizational boundaries, profitability concerns deal strictly with a pragmatic assessment of gain irrespective of the boundary system." Levine identified three specific elements of profitability associated with innovations in higher education. They included self-interest and general-interest profitability -- the former "that which motivates the individual subunits...to adopt an innovation" and the latter as "that which motivates an organization to choose or modify an innovation, but is such that neither subunits nor individuals would adopt it themselves." For example, a language laboratory has general-interest profitability for a university with a foreign language requirement and strong overseas research interests as well as direct self-interest profitability for language instructors. The third element Levine identified was "negative profitability", roughly equated with the "avoidance of negative consequences of not adopting an innovation." For example, failure to set up a language lab hinders students from fulfilling a language requirement for graduation, increases staff costs for language teaching, reduces the university's attractiveness to top-quality students and/or faculty in the humanities or area studies, or reduces its chances in some grant competitions.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Levine (1980), p. 19.

Levine argued that the four institutionalization outcomes can be linked directly to the profitability-compatibility characteristics of the host-innovation relationship. He argued that diffusion is most likely to occur when both compatibility and self-interest profitability for many of the actors are positive. If self-interest profitability is lower or negative for many actors but general interest profitability and compatibility are both positive, then enclaving is the likely outcome. If compatibility is lower or negative for many actors but profitability positive, then the innovation is likely be resocialized within existing host-organization boundaries. Termination is the most likely outcome if overall profitability is negative whether or not compatibility were positive or negative.⁷⁷

B. R. Clark agreed with Levine's approach and expanded on it. Clark argued persuasively that the effects of reforming forces were largely dependent on the nature and relative power of interest groups around "differentiated specialties and the organizational parts that support... them." These concepts expanded on Baldrige's political interest model of academic reform. Clark found that all academic organization centers in groups vesting their interests in specialized forms of group work. They included outsiders, students, administrators and the faculty themselves that would cluster in many formations, shifting participation as interests changed. While individuals' affiliations may be fluid, the affiliation patterns generally are embedded as deeply as river-carved canyons in the grooves of the organizational landscape. Clark argued that these patterns have provided the stability around which

⁷⁷ Levine (1980), p. 17-20.

innovation may occur. Both change and resistance have their agents inside and outside the academe. Yet, innovations typically fail to take root, "because the innovators cannot acquire enough power to protect fully their new ways." In the early stages, innovations may be allowed to start, "even to acquire a clientele, but unless they attach the interests of various groups to their own interests and persuade potential opponents at least to be moderate in their resistance, they can be tightly bounded (restricted or terminated) as others raise their own level of concern, clarify their own self-interest with respect to the reform, and increase the bearing of their own weight."⁷⁸

Baldrige and Burnham found that organizational structure and the work environment were much more important in determining organizational innovativeness than individual behaviors. They concluded that larger, multi-faceted institutions tended to be among the most innovative types of institutions because there was limited opportunity for central control, that larger absolute budgets provided more room for discretionary funding and larger size simply provided a greater potential pool for creativity. Although he confirmed Baldrige and Burnham's findings on large institutions, T. N. Clark found that some smaller, client-responsive institutions were among the most innovative in response to both market forces and survival needs.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 216-219; Baldrige (1972).

⁷⁹ B.R. Clark (1983); T.N. Clark (1968); Baldrige and Burnham (1975).

3. Environmental Perspectives and International Forces

Higher education systems are knowledge seeking, receiving, processing and dissemination systems. As such they thrive on highly permeable environmental boundaries. External links are critical to their adaptive behavior and evolutionary path as the system and institutional model have highlighted. Yet these models focus on identifiable actors, individuals and organizations, operating between higher education and the environment -- boundary-spanners, ancillary associations, *traegerin*, cosmopolitans or outside resource agents in government or philanthropic organizations. Larger societal forces also interact with higher education systems affecting their evolutionary paths and adaptive behaviors. Two key forces, market and public policy forces, are addressed in the next section. Extranational or international forces affecting innovations and adaptations of national higher education systems are addressed briefly here.

Levine recognized the link between campus innovation and environmental factors:

"The likelihood of change is enhanced when there is a crisis in the environment,... when there is a power imbalance in the environment, when the environment has experienced structural changes, and finally when it is consistent with the *zeitgeist* of the times".⁸⁰

A review of the interaction patterns of national systems of higher education and international environmental factors may help to round out a "systematic picture of how change is determined", especially "the question of migration of academic forms among nations." As a premise for his transnational research, B. R. Clark stated that:

⁸⁰ Levine, (1980), p. 6.

"Numerous higher education systems have acquired many of their basic characteristics by means of such over-the-border transference. The initiation of major changes in the receiving country by this route takes two forms: external imposition and voluntary importation." In addition to Japan, Clark cited the U.S. system as a great example of voluntary importation. He said:

"it was influenced strongly not only by English understandings carried into a new territory by early settlers but also by Scottish-oriented reformers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, of course, by aspects of the German style brought back by US scholars and observers who saw the German university in action in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. ... Voluntary borrowing is typically more piecemeal, allowing various indigenous needs and expectations greater influence in determining what will be brought from abroad and applied experimentally toward creating an appropriate system.... In both cases, the most interesting aspect of the international route of change is the adaptation of the foreign forms to native conditions and traditions."⁸¹

The U.S. academic system developed in a colonial setting under largely voluntary importation. The land-grant movement and the uniqueness of the American research university borrowed and adapted much from the German and Scottish systems. As a conditioning factor, the lack of external imposition may have helped the American system be more open to the rest of the world, more receptive to ideas and forms than their counterparts in Eastern Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, the subcontinent and other more recent ex-colonies where imposition was the dominant mode or in Europe which was accustomed to being the source not the seeker, both in imposition and importation modes of transfer. Wechsler suggested that a great deal of the history of the U.S. higher education has been involved with "Americanization".

⁸¹ B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 227-230.

It could be argued that having declared victory in that task, the U.S. system is prepared to internationalize. Modern day study abroad and faculty travel fellowships or technical assistance assignments influence international transfer via the understructure mechanisms of academic systems. The understructure's interests as well as larger societal interests are likely to motivate higher education toward internationalization as an institutional strategy.⁸²

Clark also saw increasing international flows for higher education as in other aspects of human endeavor. He described the phenomenon aptly:

"In higher education as in other institutional spheres, countries are in an age of increased voluntary learning from one another. The international organizations have an interest in offering lessons across national lines. ...increasing numbers of disciplines and professional fields reward academics for international contacts, leading them happily to internationalize higher education as they go about their duties. It requires no great effort to 'whistle while you work' when making a trip to London or Paris or Rio de Janeiro." "Thus, as international communication accelerates, so do the possibilities of international learning, even if the observed lessons are ones to be avoided or counteracted. International transfer will not become an unimportant source of reforming ideas and unplanned flows... Reforming ideas drawn from other countries constitute part of the external demands pressed upon higher education systems, ideas that have to be interpreted for their bearing on local interests and then either rebuffed or revamped and adapted to the forms already in place."⁸³

⁸² Lester F. Goodchild and Harold S. Wechsler, editors, The ASHE Reader on the History of Higher Education Association for the Study of Higher Education Reader series, (Needham Heights, Massachusetts: Ginn Press, 1989). In the preface, Wechsler uses "Americanization" an process underlying the 350 year history of higher education in the U.S. For an excellent article on internationally competent academic institutions, see Burkhart Holzner, "Economic Competitiveness and International Education", National Forum: The Phi Kappa Phi Journal Vol.68, No.4, Fall 1988, pp. 11-13.

⁸³ B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 233-234.

Clark also referred to "the intellectual gold standard" of universality which runs counter to particularism or localization. When referring to the voluntary mode, Clark cited "the power of the historically central model of higher education: the British, the German, the French and the American. The standards of these systems have flowed into an intellectual gold standard that acts as a magnet for the academics of internationally peripheral systems. As prestigious models, they set in motion a process of academic drift among nations, analogous to the voluntary convergence within systems identified earlier."⁸⁴ Worldwide drift contributes to the larger intellectual rationale for internationalization in the U.S. As McCaughey quipped, few in the U.S. higher education community have argued for "provincialization."⁸⁵

Ball and Eggins commented on the growing internationalization of European higher education systems and imperatives for drawing lessons and common resources from each other. Goodwin and Nacht wrote of similar phenomena affecting the U.S. higher education system. In the U.S., internationalization of higher education seems to be partly driven by increasing interaction worldwide in all spheres, i.e., the fleet is simply rising with the global tide. To be true to its reputation of a strong market orientation, US higher education would naturally seek to adapt the "best" of global lessons and respond to competitive threats and opportunities in labor markets or intellectual endeavors.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 232-233.

⁸⁵ McCaughey (1984).

⁸⁶ Sir Christopher Ball and Heather Eggins, editors, Higher Education in the 1990s: New Dimensions, (Stony Stratford, Milton Keynes, U.K.: Open University Press,

4. Insights on Institutionalization of Innovation

Within their systems and institutional models addressing change and stability in higher education systems, various authors have generated additional common assumptions or lessons on the institutionalization of innovation in higher education, the process itself and the structural results of the process. Their debates are particularly relevant to internationalization as an innovation associated with institutionalization across the entire system of higher education. T. N. Clark's combined process model suggested the form for such lessons.

A basic proposition focuses attention on the relativity of any criteria for judging the success or failure of innovation. T. N. Clark stated it aptly: "...the closer an innovation is to central values of a social system, the more likely it is to be institutionalized." Since higher education lives by sophisticated conceptual schemes, an innovation with a highly developed conceptual scheme is more likely to fit the university norms and patterns than a less developed one. Similarly, homophily of characteristics of the innovation, the innovation's agent and the host organization or system are important. Garvin found it almost impossible to consider change in higher education without explicitly identifying goals. Both T. N. and B. R. Clark also noted that success or failure of innovations was relative to expectations.⁸⁷

B. R. Clark stated it eloquently:

"Finally, success or failure in reform are relative matters heavily dependent on expectations. If reformers expect only isolated enclaves for

1989); Goodwin and Nacht (1991).

⁸⁷ T.N. Clark (1968), p. 83, Garvin (1981), Rogers (1983).

their experiments, then they have not failed when the innovations do not infect the host organizations or the general system. If the innovators expect from the beginning to have their different forms made less different over time, as the innovating unit is resocialized by the host, then the fourth of the loaf they end up with is not failure. True expectations are nearly always difficult to identify, since they are masked by the rhetoric deployed in winning friends, enhancing morale, and otherwise building an institution. The stated purposes of reform are like all formal goals: they are to be assumed guilty of hiding the truth until proven innocent by congruence with operational patterns. Even then it is normal to reach for as much as possible and still be satisfied that one's grasp, falling far short, has made some difference."⁸⁸

The degree of overall competitiveness of a national higher education system is important in promoting innovativeness -- the more competitive, the more innovative. Free and frequent movement of faculty who are the most homophilous of academic migrants, has been particularly important for innovations to diffuse through the system. The strong homophilous communication networks typical of disciplinary and enterprise associations of higher education contributes to the innovative bent of higher education. The need to respond to student markets also encourages higher education systems to consider and allow trials of innovations, especially by outside groups. T. N. Clark found greater receptivity to innovativeness and even radical innovations where competitive grant funding was common as in the U.S. rather than regular central budgets characteristic of many national systems of higher education. This may have had as much to do with standardized funding as centralized decision-making which tended to dampen small scale innovation and pilot testing.⁸⁹ Babbidge and Rosenzweig as well as Levine

⁸⁸ B.R. Clark (1983), p. 227.

⁸⁹ T.N. Clark (1968), pp. 84, 87-88, Rogers (1983), B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 203-204. Also, see Hefferlin's (1969) discussion of the perils of overly centralized funding and the relative ease of action under conditions of abundance.

argued that funding has not been the only or even the major source of structural shifts. Other environmental events or forces serve as catalysts for structural change in higher education systems like war or an unusual swell in educational demand as occurred after World War II that was fanned by the GI Bill in the U.S. McCaughey along with Goodwin and Nacht argued that the changing role of the U.S. in the world has had significant effects on higher education's approach to international programs and units.⁹⁰

The role of external funding in innovation is complex and conflicted but omnipresent. T. N. Clark and Hefferlin suggested that innovation is more likely in a system awash with funds than in a less well funded system. Beyond the obvious, allowing people to do things, abundance reduces conflict over priorities on actions to take and not take. While action and expansion of the disciplinary dimension may be easier with abundance, B.R. Clark argued that permanent change in the enterprise dimension was more likely to occur in conditions of fiscal stress. Facing tight resources, integration forces a rethinking of disciplinary elements that proliferate in times of abundance.⁹¹ Hefferlin indicated that outside funding does not change the fundamental terms of debate on innovations in academia but it provides a larger space and period for demonstration and persuasion. Babbidge and Rosenzweig also indicated that the outsiders and outside funding may enhance the legitimacy of the reform group within higher education. Williams further suggested that charismatic leaders, especially in top posts, can disrupt

⁹⁰ Babbidge and Rosenzweig (1962), Levine (1980), McCaughey (1984), Goodwin and Nacht (1991).

⁹¹ T.N. Clark (1968), pp. 84, 87-88, B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 203-204, Hefferlin (1969).

the normal interest group dynamics (and funding battles) and promote the institutionalization of some particular innovation in higher education system-wide or within their own institutions.⁹² In their research on the Dutch national system of higher education Savenije and Rosmalen found that even fairly high levels of external funding were sufficient only to get higher education to pour "old wine" into new bottles. "New wines" in new bottles were created better by slow doses of relatively small amounts of external funding that allowed time to shift the underlying operations and belief patterns of the system. Larger or faster doses of outside funding generally prompted larger resistance and ultimately fewer if any sustained substantive changes in the system.⁹³

Considering system change in higher education, Becher and Kogan warned that the opportunity for significant structural change may be limited to the margins of existing program and expenditure unless someone is willing to overthrow substantial existing base programs or identify major new resources. They further argued that the key question for any system-wide innovation is, "Did they simply modify the existing map or significantly alter the underlying landscape?" Is it really a new field of policy studies or simply a new justification for funds for traditional political science departments?⁹⁴ For both the

⁹² B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 216-219; Baldrige (1972); Hefferlin (1969); Babbidge and Rosenzweig (1968); Williams (1991).

⁹³ Bas Savenije and Karel Van Rosmalen "Innovation in a Professional Organization" in Higher Education 17: 683-698, 1988.

⁹⁴ Becher and Kogan (1980), pp. 122-123; Levine (1980). John Kingdom, Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policy, (Boston, Massachusetts: Little Brown, 1984). Kingdom provides a thorough discussion of catalytic agents in shifting public policy paradigms into radically new frameworks with particular reference to economic development situations.

institutional and system level, Wayland and others suggested that structural indicators provide one of the only reliable measures of the institutionalization of change and thereby its long-lasting effects on higher education. B. R. Clark expressed it well when he suggested the following principle for understanding change:

"existing structures have response sets that shape what follows." "Hence, analysis of change can begin with the forms that are in place at a given time and then search for the difference those forms make in the period that follows. We put change in context when we concentrate on the immediate structural setting. The forms of that setting embody the momentum set by historical evolution. The forms allow us to predict future behavior of the system from present-day tendencies... Structural predisposition not only tells us about systematic resistance to change but also about imperatives for change, since social systems, more than individuals, contain complex interactions that lead to altered states. We need to know how change is conditioned 'by the way the system operates.'"⁹⁵

To summarize, three basic factors have enabled external agents, boundary-spanners and cosmopolitans within the national system effectively to introduce, sustain and diffuse innovations across higher education: compatibility, profitability, and communication. "Introduce" or "gain acceptance" includes the outside development processes of the organic growth model as well as the find out about, get information, evaluate and trial adoption dimensions of the diffusion model. "Sustain" includes the final adoption of the diffusion model but goes beyond all the models into the fullest meaning of continuation and vitality within the higher education system at all levels -- under-, mid- and superstructure. "Diffuse" includes transmission and communication across the system and between the system and the larger society as well as the typical

⁹⁵ Wayland (1969); and B.R.Clark (1983), p.184.

transmission and communication processes associated with differentiation within the under- and mid-structures.

Internationalization has come to be associated with the diffusion phase of innovation transmission, both within the disciplines and individual institutions as well as across the system. The substantive material and organizational mechanisms for adapting international elements to the traditions and missions of different institutions of higher education have been experimented, studied and reported in research publications and association guidelines. In their broadest outlines, international knowledge content and methodologies are recognizable in the comparative and international dimensions of the disciplines and professions and in the specialized fields of area studies and international affairs. Academic support services and special resources required for them are commonly found in study abroad programs, international student advisory or orientation services, vernacular library materials, faculty travel funds or language laboratories.

The next section focuses on the larger system-society issues raised in this section. After a brief review of the tensions inherent in balancing the values of society and higher education, the next section reviews the roles of markets and public policy in shaping higher education systems, both by determining the rules of the game and by providing resources.

C. Balancing Societal and System Values

Perhaps the greatest challenge facing national systems of higher education is to balance societal and system values. Claims on higher education can be made on

many value fronts from competing and conflicting interests in any society. Max Weber's famous metaphor suggests that beliefs act like switchmen helping to determine the tracks along which action will be propelled by interests. Compromise and common understanding between society and higher education on fundamental values and purposes fuel the system's locomotion. If the mixture is too richly fed by either side, the higher education system's progress will sputter and jerk. Resource allocation tends to provide the principal evidence of this balancing act. Finances and official sanction moving from society's organizations into higher education have been relatively easy to track compared to tracking faculty and academic institutions' energies and knowledge flowing back into society.

Ultimately, the point of balance between the values and structures of society and higher education systems will be determined by the coordinating mechanisms generally available in society. These range from government control to free-market mechanisms. B.R. Clark found a mix of mechanisms ranging from tight bureaucracy to professional oligarchy to loose market "with coordination vastly more complicated than normally depicted..." Bureaucratic hierarchies and professional oligarchies exist within the under- and midstructure levels of higher education in all national systems, continuing into the superstructure at state or provincial and national levels. According to Clark public sector administrative mechanisms are stronger or weaker but present in all countries, too. In some national systems, such as Japan and the U.S., market mechanisms traditionally play the key role in coordinating the overall dynamic of higher education. Despite the traditions of substantial public control of higher education in Western Europe, Ball and Eggins wrote that increasing

responsiveness to market forces as larger segments of society gain access to higher education. Considering the onset of near open enrollments in the U.S. and less universal but substantially more open access to higher education around the world, Clark suggested that "no set of government or academic officials could "control all that traffic, make all those decisions for students. Thus, increased consumer sovereignty is a fundamental way through which market-type coordination is extended" in higher education systems around the world.⁹⁶ After scanning the key values, market forces are addressed, then public policy.

1. Key Values for National Higher Education Systems

B. R. Clark suggested that society and higher education's beliefs have tended to cluster around three major values: competence, equity and liberty. "Competence" is generally equated with quality and excellence of higher education as a system capable of producing, criticizing and distributing knowledge as well as sending forth "a reliable stream of people well prepared for occupational performance and civil life." Societies need for qualified people, preferably outstanding ones, matches academia's own values well. Within academia there is a strong self-interest in quality of perceived performance and mastery reigns supreme. "Equity" is generally associated with social justice and fairness. It boils down to equal entry and certification access as well as fairness of treatment for students, faculty and staff based on merit, common standards across fields to ensure equivalency in certification

⁹⁶ Ball and Eggins (1989); B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 164-165; Dill (1991).

and career or social opportunities, and fair share or budgetary even-handedness for institutions, programs and personnel. Equity and excellence frequently conflict. In the U.S., both the higher education system and individual institutions of higher education typically have sought Pareto efficiency, i.e. to make some better off without making anyone worse off. "Liberty" is equated with choice, initiative, tolerance, or autonomy for individuals and institutions. On the academic side, liberty generally is expressed as freedom of research, of teaching and of learning. On the societal side, it becomes a range of educational options, self-development or personal financial independence that come with occupational preparation. The mobility and freedom required for full liberty naturally face resource constraints. Ideally, such constraints serve the academic enterprise the way a painter's choice of a canvas does -- limiting the size of the painting but not the creativity of the artist's work.⁹⁷

To be effective, national higher education systems cannot fanatically pursue one set of values at the expense of the others. B. R. Clark noted that, "The problem is how to preserve high standards and, at the same time, allow for institutional and individual mobility." Institutional differentiation has provided a basic set of value-balancing mechanisms. Vertical institutional hierarchies have provided mechanisms for concentrating resources efficiently for expensive tasks, relying on academic peer assessments as well as public opinion to portion out status and rewards. Horizontal or sectoral differentiation processes have provided mechanisms for allocating society's resources, public and private, between individual and social aims of equity or

⁹⁷ B.R. Clark (1983), pp.241-251.

mobility. Value compromises have tended to be set in the concrete of power and position, determining the structural capacity of higher education systems to realize their many ends. Resource flows have served as one point of evidence of values balance. In his analysis, McMahon found the U.S. higher education system to be highly differentiated and very efficient in the economic sense of best allocation of resources to maximize economic returns, both in terms of rate of return to individuals and encouragement of public saving and investment in higher education.⁹⁸

Becher and Kogan compared the role of the midstructure in the U.S. and the U.K. higher education systems in the values balancing process. The individual institutions of higher education in the U.S. have been the principal value arbiters and value setters while in the U.K. they have tended to be more brokers, mediators, traffic cops rather than substantive authorities or resource allocators. In both national systems but with particular acuteness in the U.S., Becher and Kogan found that:

"In presenting competence to the outside world, the institution has also to display its ability to assimilate, if on its own terms, the values of the society which ultimately must sustain it. Strong institutions are those which comfortably adapt to rather than keep aloof from the external environment....The institution must thus stand firmly on its own range of values but exhibit perviousness to the outside world."⁹⁹

Perkins and Israel presented similar arguments on the central role of the university or college in the U.S. higher education system. Although advocating stronger superstructures in higher education, they stressed individual institution's role

⁹⁸ B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 251, 257; Walter W. McMahon "Improving Higher Education Through Increased Efficiency", pp. 152-153, in Finifter, Baldwin and Thelin, (1991).

⁹⁹ Becher and Kogan (1980), p. 78.

as "the chief participant, quarterback, the leader in the whole system of higher education. For the health of the system turns largely on the vitality and health of the university, located in the middle of the entire scheme."¹⁰⁰

2. Market Forces

Since the U.S. higher education system has developed into one of the most market-oriented on earth, it is useful to review how market mechanisms function in higher education. Stauffer found that higher education in the U.S. has been characterized by a balance of collaboration and competition to meet the unique demands of its market and institutional needs.¹⁰¹ The opening chapter of this study highlighted the societal forces that strengthened the international elements of higher education's market environment.

Markets do not coordinate actions through some invisible hand but rather act as social controls with "elements of the automatic, unintended and unconscious". B. R. Clark cited Lindblom to the effect that in market life, people "are deliberate and conscious; but their acts accomplish feats of coordination of which they are not necessarily conscious and which they do not intend. ...Exchange is a basic form of interaction that stands in contrast to authoritative command; it can be seen as a method for organizing cooperation among people."¹⁰² Where market mechanisms

¹⁰⁰ Perkins and Israel (1972), p. 12.

¹⁰¹ Thomas M. Stauffer, Competition and Cooperation in American Higher Education (American Council on Education: Washington, D.C., 1981); Goodwin and Nacht (1991).

¹⁰² B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 136, 138.

predominate in higher education systems, he noted that their decision-making mode was best characterized as "social choice". Banfield provided one of the earliest and most succinct definitions of social choice as a collective decision-making process:

"A *social choice* ... is the accidental by-product of the actions of two or more actors--"interested parties," they will be called--who have no common intention and who make their selections competitively or without regard to each other. In a social choice process, each actor seeks to attain his own ends; the aggregate of all actions--the situation produced by all actions together--constitutes an outcome for the group, but it is an outcome which no one has planned as a "solution" to a problem. It is a resultant rather than a solution (emphasis his)."¹⁰³

Applying Banfield's social choice concept to higher education, resultants will more likely occur in the superstructure where society and the national higher education system meet; while solutions more likely will occur in the midstructure. As the system develops resultants, they may or may not become viable structures providing permanent solutions to on-going problems. The U.S. higher education system has provided examples of both solutions and resultants in the land-grant universities, and the graduate school. B. R. Clark described the graduate school example succinctly:

"...the rise of the graduate school in the U.S. [was] a solution to the problem of underpinning research and advanced training [but] was never a centrally planned solution, nor was it apparently even a tacit agreement among a small group of leaders. It was more a social choice, a resultant rooted in the competitive interaction and voluntary imitation of autonomous institutions."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Edward C. Banfield, Political Influence (New York: Free Press) 1961, pp. 326-327.

¹⁰⁴ B.R. Clark (1983), p. 136.

The rise of the land-grant university system had many elements of "social choice" but the purposive academic leadership and strong government role in its development introduced some characteristics of a planned solution as well. In the 1800s academic leaders and entrepreneurs joined with political leaders to fund and implement the land-grant universities to meet an increasingly pressing societal problem -- inadequate human resources, especially people trained in "the agricultural and mechanical arts." Such people were needed to fuel and sustain the economic growth and geographic expansion of the U.S. at the turn of the century.¹⁰⁵ Tremendous immigration flows addressed part of that need. The land-grant universities met another part.

For international studies, the early development was characteristic of social choice. During World War II the creation of specialized but temporary language and area studies training programs for soldiers on campus was clearly a planned solution to an immediate problem. Following World War II the continuing development of high level area study research and language training programs on campus was a planned solution advocated by academic entrepreneurs and supported by foundation resources. Similarly, the development of modern language and area studies teaching on campus took on the characteristics of a planned solution which culminated in federal funding with the NDEA in 1958. Faculty exchange developed in both modes and the planned solution mode was supported by the Fulbright-Hayes Federal program and its precursors after World War II. Other parts of higher education's international

¹⁰⁵ B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 136-138; Williams (1991).

enterprise such as study abroad programs and much of the U.S. undergraduate curriculum development continued developing in the social choice mode.

The tradition of the strong midstructure means that the institutional level is key for understanding the market functions of the U.S. higher education system. In his comparative work, B. R. Clark identified three markets in which higher education institutions function worldwide: consumer, labor and institutional. He saw the consumer market operating primarily through students who manifest demand through enrollment patterns into institutions as well as into fields, degrees, programs and classes. Clark's labor market included faculty and administrators whose mobility among institutions was determined and rewarded by prestige as well as salary. Finally, he observed the market of the institutions themselves, determined largely by their consumer and labor market positions. This global conception understated a source of consumer demand that grew dramatically in the U.S. after World War II, namely government or business grant and contract research clients.

Historically, the foreign or international dimension of these three markets was limited by high costs of entry and limited demand. Only a small elite group of students were likely to join diplomatic service or engage in trade overseas. Few faculty could afford the overseas travel needed to acquire language skills, cultural familiarity or archival access for substantive research or teaching of overseas oriented subjects. Few institutions could afford to develop or maintain library or faculty resources for such exotic languages or fields of study. Institutional clients for most colleges were locally or state oriented. The bulk of the federal agencies focused on domestic issues. After World War II the focus shifted. The federal interest in

foreign affairs and international science grew and created tremendous new demand. With the U.S. currency dominating world markets, costs had diminished for internationally oriented faculty and for establishing the library and other services to support them. By the 70s and emphatically in the 80s the global economy had flowered, costs of international travel plummeted, and communication facilities mushroomed. Increasingly, students from all walks of life were interested in and capable of entering foreign service or internationally oriented careers. The market barriers to entry were down and demand was up for the international dimension of higher education.

In all three markets, Clark viewed reputation as the "main commodity of exchange," a kind of intangible quality that added value in the higher education market. If anything, his transnational research understated the importance of tuition as a tangible price variable as would be the case were public funds the primary revenue source for systems of higher education typical outside the U.S. Garvin found U.S. institutions operating in intricately woven "prestige-tuition" webs. Garvin, Dill and others saw prestige as relatively more important in good times, while tuition was more important in bad times. Prestige has functioned as a ceiling variable with virtually unlimited upward potential while tuition has functioned as a floor variable with serious constraints on its downward potential.¹⁰⁶

In the U.S. Garvin found relatively little competition based strictly on tuition which would be expected if profit or revenue maximization were the goal of higher

¹⁰⁶ B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 162-167; Finifter, Baldwin and Thelin (1991); Garvin (1980); Dill (1991).

education institutions. He described institutions of higher education as non-profit organizations seeking to maximize utility rather than profits or revenues. The economist's concept of utility presumes that institutions of higher education are "pursuing goals consistent with their self-interests" in competitive environments. Constrained by the dual needs of balancing revenues and costs, the common goal of local faculty and administrators is to maximize institutional prestige or reputation based on faculty and student quality as well as equity characteristics. He differentiated between quality as an absolute and prestige as a relative standard. Teaching costs in general varied directly if stairwise with the numbers of students while research or scholarship costs tended to be largely independent of student costs. "Income from tuition and fees is the dominant source of revenue for only a small group of private universities," generally those with few external grants or contracts and low endowments. For most institutions, "outside sources provided the bulk of the funds." In 1975 for example, tuition and fees accounted for only 20% of higher education revenues, 13% for public institutions and 35% for private institutions. State, federal and local government, endowments, contract research and private grants and gifts made up the rest of the budgets of higher education.

During the expansionary period (1960-1975) that Garvin studied, even when institutions of higher education could have expanded revenues by raising tuition and increasing enrollments, most did not. He saw a strong preference for increasing student selectivity and raising the overall reputation of the institution. This preference was shared by all decision-makers, faculty, administrators and trustees enabling them

to enhance institutional and student quality while allowing some expansion of student numbers to meet goals of equity and access without giving up quality.¹⁰⁷

For tighter times, Garvin predicted that the majority of institutions necessarily would shift from this prestige-growth focus to an enrollment-survival focus relying heavily on tuition factors. He also predicted that the highest reputation institutions would be able to continue "prestige" strategies for survival and even growth in tough times. He had suggested that faced with tightening economies, some institutions might opt for a final push into the "high prestige" circle to differentiate themselves from the tuition-driven group and increase survival and growth prospects. His predictions were borne out in the 1980s across the U.S. Prestigious private research universities and colleges were able to raise tuition through the eighties, finally topping out in the 90s. As state and local government support shrank, many public institutions raised tuition and fees somewhat but were able to maintain and even increase enrollments by diversifying programs and promoting them heavily. Common belief to the contrary, Hauptman found that federal resources for student aid and research actually grew in real terms over the eighties. This helped to brace public higher education budgets from the whiplash effects of state and local economies in those hard financial times.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Garvin (1980), pp. 5, 18.

¹⁰⁸ Garvin (1980), p. 18; Arthur M. Hauptman "Trends in the Federal and State Financial Commitment to Higher Education", pp. 119, 120, 125 in Finifter, Baldwin, Thelin, editors, (1991). It would be interesting to investigate how internationalization strategies related to both the "push to prestige" and the "diversification strategies of survival and growth".

Garvin argued that the vertical hierarchies and market descriptors commonly used to differentiate the higher education institutions in the U.S. have created an impression of a more truly competitive national market than could exist outside textbooks. Functional oligopoly rather than pure competition provided a better descriptor for the institutional market of higher education which has been highly segmented within and across the many institutional tiers of research, doctoral, comprehensive, four-year and two-year colleges. Recognizing that roughly two-thirds of U.S. college enrollments were in undergraduate programs, Garvin pointed out that the educational destiny of the large majority of these students, and the institutions in which they enrolled, was dictated by geography. There has been strong personal preference for staying close to home as well as for avoiding the extra costs of studying farther away. The geographic market of most higher education institutions has coincided with town, county or state boundaries rather than a national market. Within the geographic limits institutional markets also have segmented by types of degrees and programs, while quality factors, tuition and costs further limited the likelihood of pure competition operating in higher education markets. The geographic factor did not apply to institutions or students of exceptionally high quality. Rather, this group has operated in regional or national markets where both institutions and students focused on programs and reputation, relegating geography and cost to secondary decision concerns.¹⁰⁹ Historically, international programs were limited to

¹⁰⁹ Garvin (1980), pp. 7-11.

the group operating in national markets. As global interdependence and access has increased, international programs have penetrated regional and local markets.

According to Garvin, institutions offering two and four-year degrees tended not to compete directly even when they were physical neighbors. Barring strong differences in program types, like religious vs secular schools, he found institutions offering bachelors degrees to compete primarily on geography and quality factors rather than price. For post-baccalaureate degrees, geography seemed to be nearly meaningless while quality and type of program became the grounds for competition in regional and national market areas. As Garvin said, "...only those institutions that offer higher degrees in the same field can be considered in competition with each other at the graduate level. For many doctoral programs, that population is limited to a handful of large, broadly diversified public and private universities." Faced with a highly competitive national market, the certainties of a local or regional market would be more likely to preserve an institution than a potentially costly attempt to break into the risk-filled national market. Faced with a declining local or client market, an institution's incentives to increase its prestige factor stem primarily from a desire to gain the flexibility that a larger national client or labor pool might provide and to protect itself from the risks of a thinner local market.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Garvin (1980), pp. 7-11. He provided examples of undergraduate markets. For example, Swarthmore, a liberal arts college, and the University of Pennsylvania, a research institution, are both prestigious and located in the Philadelphia area. They might compete for undergraduate enrollments on quality and distance but Swarthmore and Stanford University, another research university in northern California, were less likely to compete because of physical distance. Despite proximity in the Boston area, the prestigious institution Harvard University and its less prestigious neighbor Northeastern University, would be less likely to compete because of differences in reputation.

Market differentiation has been refined to a high art in the U.S. economy, even in its higher education markets. The creation of sub-markets or market niches has served as the primary competitive strategy for higher education institutions in the U.S.. Garvin wrote that institutions certainly were not confined to a particular sub-market. He stated: "In fact, the central feature of American higher education in the postwar period has been the growth in interinstitutional competition that has resulted from expanding sub-markets."¹¹¹ Perkins and Israel confirmed and expanded on this idea. Institutions have expanded geographically by adding branch campuses, by adding fields of study and by adding degree programs. At the same time that the institutions were creating new specialized programs and campuses they were also developing new integrative and coordinating mechanisms to capture the economic and prestige benefits for the mother institution. International programs have provided one of the mechanisms used. Several state HE systems have promoted actively the expansion of international curriculum throughout all the campuses with the central coordinating unit located at the flagship campus.¹¹² Dill agreed both market and other integrative mechanisms operate in higher education saying:

"Recent research findings on conditions of decline in academic institutions indicate... that as enrollment and revenues decline, authority becomes more centralized, planning more common, and issues of integration more salient....No single type of integrating mechanism is likely to be sufficient in the competitive environments in which academic institutions function. Integrating individuals, teams, and units is necessary to produce effective products and services; consensual

¹¹¹ Garvin (1980), p. 12.

¹¹² Garvin (1980), p. 12; Perkins and Israel (1972). For international programs and state systems see Henson, Noel, Gillard-Byers, and Ingle (1990), p. 18-22, Appendix B.

norms need to be developed regarding which academic fields or areas are most central to a particular institution, as well as how subsidies will be provided for essential areas that cannot support themselves. In addition, academic aspirations for quality and resources need to be subjected to market tests."¹¹³

The forces promoting institutional specialization and differentiation for market advantage have been the same forces promoting integration and balance of the higher education system. Clark argued that on top of the differentiation forces the market's integrator role was strong enough to create a system-wide convergence phenomena.

He tagged the phenomenon "academic drift" and described it:

"Highly valued institutions ... commonly generate the tides of academic drift, whereby enterprises commonly imitate and converge, as well as heavily guide the choices of consumers and personnel. Some academic drift is likely everywhere, toward institutions and sectors whose higher prestige brings an assorted set of higher rewards: better students, better work conditions, higher personal reputation, and more generous financing."¹¹⁴

Other authors also recognized "academic drift" within the U.S. Dill suggested that prestige was not the only motivator for drift. Rather, he saw a natural phenomenon of greater integrative pressure accompanying fiscal shrinkage accounting for part of the drift to similar programs across similar institutions.¹¹⁵ In his history of international studies, McCaughey, suggested that the emulation effect was a natural part of higher education's apprenticeship system contributed to drift over long periods. Faculty naturally seek to re-create in their new work settings the familiar

¹¹³ Dill (1991) pp. 936-939.

¹¹⁴ B.R. Clark (1983), pp. 164-165.

¹¹⁵ Dill (1991).

routines and patterns of their mentors and of the institutions where they had trained. He also indicated that some universities used internationalization as the key strategy to move up the academic hierarchy, particularly Indiana University with President Homer Wells and Michigan State University with President John Hannah. Perkins and Israel noted the parallel trend in the enterprise dimension, perhaps it could be called "authority drift," reflecting the needs for greater centralization at higher levels of the system.¹¹⁶

From the institutional economics perspective Garvin described academic drift as institutional migration. These movements of U.S. colleges and universities were limited by target clientele and geographic market area and not just by perceptions of institutional prestige and program quality. In the expansionary period 1952-66, Garvin noted that over 50% of all institutions changed categories. "Most of the movement" was upward and "occurred between adjacent categories and involved the addition of higher degree programs." For example, a third or 104 of the institutions in the "two-year, non-degree program" category moved into the next category "bachelor's, first professional degree" while roughly half or 235 of the institutions in the "bachelor's, first professional degree" category moved up to the "master's, second professional degree" category. Garvin said that, "Much upgrading behavior can be viewed as a response to market pressures." Survival forces tended to predominate -- for example, when private two year colleges added four year degree programs to supplement tuition revenues rather than face the direct competitive pressures from expanding public two

¹¹⁶ McCaughey (1984); Perkins and Israel (1972).

year colleges in the same locality. Prestige forces tended to predominate when adding graduate degree programs, masters and doctoral. As Garvin described it,

"By creating masters's and doctoral programs, then, institutions not only expand their pool of prospective students, they also enhance their visibility and improve their standing in the community of all colleges and universities. The latter effect is particularly important because it is closely related to the efforts of institutions to expand their geographic markets through quality improvements."¹¹⁷

Table 2.1. below illustrates institutional migration as adapted from Garvin's book. Only those institutions already offering master's and doctoral programs showed any tendency to fall to lower categories, illustrating the difficulty and expense of successfully competing in those markets.

3. Government and Public Policy Forces

While market forces have played a dominant role in shaping the relationship between society and higher education in the U.S., government, too, has been a major part of the environment of higher education around the world. Worldwide, government has become a significant patron of higher education as well as a principle arbiter of values related to higher education; serving as both a forum of discussion of society's values and expectations and an allocator of society's resources to higher education. The government role in higher education in the U.S. is full of paradox. The national government has one of the world's weakest roles in operating the national higher education system yet wields enormous power over its direction and shape. In the U.S., national public policy processes are highly permeable and

¹¹⁷ Garvin (1980), pp. 12-14.

Table 2.1. Example of institutional migration patterns (1952-66)¹¹⁸

<u>Origin and Destination by degree category</u>	<u>Number of Institutions</u>
2-4 year, non-degree to:	
2-4 year, non-degree	184
Bachelor's/first professional degree	104
Master's/second professional degree	1
Ph.D. and equivalent degrees	1
Other	10
Total	<u>300</u>
Bachelor's/first professional degree to:	
2-4 year, non-degree	11
Bachelor's/first professional degree	188
Master's/second professional degree	265
Ph.D. and equivalent degrees	17
Other	14
Total	<u>465</u>
Master's/ second professional degree to:	
2-4 year, non-degree	2
Bachelor's/first professional degree	55
Master's/second professional degree	160
Ph.D. and equivalent degrees	87
Other	3
Total	<u>307</u>
Ph.D. and equivalent degrees to:	
2-4 year, non-degree	0
Bachelor's/first professional degree	4
Master's/second professional degree	20
Ph.D. and equivalent degrees	40
Other	0
Total	<u>64</u>
Other to:	
2-4 year, non-degree	4
Bachelor's/first professional degree	28
Master's/second professional degree	4
Ph.D. and equivalent degrees	0
Other	6
Total	<u>42</u>
Grand total	1178

¹¹⁸ Table 2.1. adapted from Garvin (1980) p.12. See also Table A.1 for the description of the 1,178 institutions of higher education in the U.S. according to the Carnegie Classification in 1971. By 1976, there were 2,803 institutions in the system.

interactive with market and institutional forces. One of the key differences between analyzing market and public policy interactions with higher education is that public policy processes tend to be more problem oriented, leaving a substantial document trail on both means and ends. This section provides the bases for analyzing the paradox and understanding the federal government's role in the internationalization of the U.S. higher education system.

Public policy often aims at social change, at promoting or constraining behaviors of actors and sectors of society according to national interests. The study of public policy aimed at higher education may be seen as the mirror image of the study of higher education innovation supported by external public agents. Each perspective sheds more light when linked to the other.¹¹⁹ This section begins with an approach to public policy in higher education. It proceeds to outline the development of federal interests primarily by tracing benchmark legislation and executive branch organization for higher education programs. Then, the higher education interests and actors are identified as the third side of the policy triangle. The international element is highlighted in each section.

¹¹⁹ A number of authors addressed these issues in depth: Gladieux and Wolanin (1976); Michael M. Atkinson and William D. Coleman "Policy Networks, Policy Communities and the Problems of Governance" in Governance: A International Journal of Policy and Administration Vol. 5, No. 2, April 1992 (pp. 154-180); Paul A. Sabatier "Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches to Implementation Research: A Critical Analysis and Suggested Synthesis" in Journal of Public Policy Volume 6, 1986, 1, pp. 21-48; George C. Edwards, III, Implementing Public Policy, (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1980); Helen M. Ingram and Dean E. Mann, eds. Why Policies Success or Fail, (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980).

a. Approaches to Understanding Public Policy and Higher Education

In his review of higher education policy in the U.S., Rhoades cited the lack of a framework for analyzing federal higher education policy but identified Gladieux and Wolanin's policy network concept as a promising approach. Political scientists and public policy specialists have developed a framework for understanding public policy that also applies to higher education cases. Sabatier and Mazmanian among others have advocated a top-down approach to understanding policy implementation starting with the legislation and investigating how and why it was effective in advancing its desired ends within a target population. An alternative bottom-up approach focuses on the problems and issues subject to legislation analyzing policy networks to understand how clients, target populations and "street level bureaucrats" have influenced the implementation of and adapted the policy in question. While the relative merits of each approach may be argued, Sabatier in a 1986 article proposed a synthesis of the top-down and the bottom-up approaches that was potentially more effective than either alone to understand public policy dynamics over 10-20 year periods. Compared to the typical 3-5 year framework of the two approaches, he found the longer period of analysis was useful in understanding the learning processes affecting policy making and implementation. Based on the lessons of 24 case studies using both approaches, including several on higher education, Sabatier argued for balance in recognizing the importance of advocacy coalitions in influencing the legislative processes as well as the influence of the legislative structures in shaping the way the advocacy coalitions and program proponents operated. Gladieux and

Wolanin's policy arenas concept fit within the advocacy coalition framework articulated by Sabatier.¹²⁰

Drawing on the strengths of both approaches to policy implementation analysis, Sabatier presented a framework for understanding policy change that has been applied to higher education and other sectors in several countries. Drawing from the top-down approach, his framework began with an analysis of two sets of extra-system variables: 1) relatively stable system parameters such as basic attributes of the problem area, distribution of resources, socio-cultural values and social structure and constitutional structure or underlying rules; 2) the more dynamic events external to the subsystem such as changes in socio-economic conditions and technology, changes in systemic governing coalition or policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems. He found that the dynamic external factors were the most frequent source of policy change.

Drawing from the bottom-up approach, he found that both sets of extra-system factors were filtered through the underlying constraints and resources of the subsystem actors to influence the policy arena. Within the policy arena, different and often competing advocacy coalitions generate strategies

"envisaging one or more changes in governmental institutions perceived to further (their) policy objectives. Their success will depend in part on the resources available to the coalition and congruence of their beliefs with the larger policy subsystem. Conflicting strategies from different coalitions are mediated by a third group of actors, here termed *policy brokers*, whose principal concern is to find some reasonable compromise which will reduce intense conflict. The end result is legislation or governmental decrees establishing or modifying one or

¹²⁰ Rhoades (1991); Sabatier (1986); Gladieux and Wolanin (1976).

more *governmental action programs* at the collective choice level. These in turn produce *policy outputs* at the operational level (e.g. agency permit decisions). These outputs at the operational level, mediated by a number of other factors (most notably the validity of the causal theory underlying the program), result in a variety of *impacts on targeted problem* parameters (e.g. ambient air quality), as well as side effects."¹²¹

Sabatier suggested that within a target policy arena such as higher education, the advocacy coalitions "are seeking to get their beliefs translated into governmental programs." Common value or belief system categories may help to understand both the advocates' positions and the government programs. He suggested categorizing the belief system of the policy arena in three parts. First, at the deep (normative) core were those fundamental normative axioms which were the wellspring of political debate but whose susceptibility to change he likened to "religious conversion" and not subject to governmental initiative. Second, at the near (policy) core were those fundamental policy positions concerning "strategies for achieving the normative axioms of the deep core" which were difficult to change but could be considered legitimate subjects of government policy and changed if experience revealed serious anomalies in their implementation. Third, the secondary aspects were those instrumental decisions needed to implement core policy positions and become government programs or regulations that, because they were moderately easy to

¹²¹ Sabatier (1986), p. 40, also see the illustration on p. 41. His examples could be substituted with "agency grant or contract decisions" and "level of international courses or languages taught" more appropriate to internationalization rather than the environmental policy arena he used as an example.

change, would be the "topic of most administrative and even legislative policy making."¹²²

Sabatier related policy change to the interplay of societal interests and government policy indicating:

"The framework argues that the core aspects of a governmental action program -- and the relative strength of competing advocacy coalitions within a policy subsystem -- will typically remain rather stable over periods of a decade or more. Major alterations in the policy core will normally be the product of changes external to the subsystem -- particularly large-scale socio-economic perturbations or changes in the system wide governing coalition (like a change in the governing political party)." (words in parentheses added)¹²³

Structural change in the policy core tended to occur in bursts spurred by catalytic events outside the policy arena in the larger socio-economic environment. The overarching interests that surfaced and coalesced in these bursts were hammered into detailed legislative agreements and executive regulations fairly quickly. Around these occasional bursts, there were years of small, additive changes of nuance and direction in the policies.¹²⁴ Based on his own and other's empirical research, Sabatier argued further that most of the small, additive changes occurring in the secondary aspects of the policy resulted from policy learning, the "result of

¹²² Sabatier (1986), pp. 21-48.

¹²³ Sabatier (1986), p. 43.

¹²⁴ Kingdom (1984). Also, these concepts of change through catalytic events rather than long evolutionary change have been discussed in an excellent article on evolutionary metaphors in social science research applied to higher education, see Donald T. Smith, "The New View of Biological Evolution: Organizational Applications to Higher Education," Review of Higher Education, Vol. 16, No. 2., Winter 1993, pp. 141-156.

experience" and "increased knowledge of the state of the problem parameters and the factors affecting them." As he said,

"Since the vast majority of policy debates involve secondary aspects of a governmental action program -- in part because actors realize the futility of challenging core assumptions -- such learning can play an important role in policy change. In fact, a principle concern of the framework is to analyze the institutional conditions conducive to such learning and the cases in which cumulative learning may lead to changes in the policy core."¹²⁵

Gladieux and Wolanin's work on the federal higher education policy arena in the U.S. paralleled and corroborated Sabatier's more general approach. What Sabatier called the deep normative core, Gladieux and Wolanin described as political culture, a moving societal consensus on "the goals of federal policy, acceptable means of achieving federal aims and the nature of political relationships" in the policy arena. Paralleling Sabatier's "near policy core" concept, Gladieux and Wolanin identified a policy arena with five separate characteristics or elements: 1) Substantive coherence around a cluster of related issues, 2) a policy network or sub-government formed by a set of governmental and non-governmental actors who interacted in fairly stable patterns, 3) resource commitments, both institutional and financial, 4) statutory foundations embedded in a set of laws historically associated with the policy arena, 5) and a set of public attitudes toward the issues and policies that exhibited a fair degree of stability over time, whether negative or positive, strong or weak. They wrote that public attitudes about federal policy toward higher education in the U.S. tended to be generally supportive but assigned it low priority. Key nongovernmental actors were

¹²⁵ Sabatier (1986), p. 44.

largely coterminous with the higher education associations, particularly the institutional variety, based in Washington, D.C. Finally, Gladieux and Wolanin described the basic change processes induced by public policy in terms similar to Sabatier's, identifying the predominant mode as incremental change. As they said, "Policy making is incremental in three senses: It occurs within the limits of a slowly evolving political culture, it is built on and related to existing policy, and it draws from existing policy models."¹²⁶

When considering public policy influence on institutionalizing change in the target sector, one counter-intuitive finding of the policy implementation literature warrants discussion. Sabatier stated the traditional assumption, "ceteris paribus, the probability of effective implementation of a reform is inversely related to the extent of envisaged departure from the status quo ante." His findings did not support this assumption. Berman phrased the finding simply, "little ventured, nothing gained." Incremental small scale reforms promoted by public policy were likely to get symbolic support but little real change in the target sector. They did not arouse enough response, positive or negative, to make a difference. Sabatier went further finding that ambitious and targeted reforms promoted by public policy seemed to achieve more, i.e. those that seemed "to arouse intense commitment from proponents but (are) rather limited in their effects on the entire system stand the best chance of success." The targeted approach is not inconsistent with the enclave pattern of institutionalizing innovations in higher education proposed by Levine in the second

¹²⁶ Gladieux and Wolanin (1976), pp. 249-263, quote p. 257.

section of this chapter. In his work on educational programs supported by the federal government in the U.S., Berman tied this finding to policy implementation strategies. He suggested that more demanding programs would be more effective with adaptive strategies which allowed implementors flexibility in using means suited to their local operating environments while achieving the program's agreed upon ends. Programs with low demands for change would function best in highly programmed situations which focused on complying with tightly bounded implementation rules and guidelines.¹²⁷

Based on extensive empirical research with educational institutions involved in federally funded programs in the U.S., Berman identified a typology for selecting the most effective approach for implementing a given policy within different types of delivery systems. Essentially, he argued that for more structured situations, programmed implementation methods would be more effective while adaptive implementation methods would be more effective in less structured situations. A situation would be considered "structured" when: the scope of change was incremental rather than major; the technology or the causal theory to be applied was fairly certain although with some level of risk; the conflict over the policy's goals and means was limited; the structure of the institutionally setting was "tightly coupled" to borrow March and Cohen's term, i.e., accustomed to "high coordination as in the case of military organizations, effective production firms and many public

¹²⁷ Sabatier (1986), pp. 29-30; Paul Berman "Thinking About Programmed and Adaptive Implementation: Matching Strategies to Situations", Chapter 8, pp. 185-205 in Ingram and Mann (1980), pp. 213-215.

bureaucracies;" and the socio-economic environment was relatively stable. He suggested that different strategies may be appropriate for different phases of the policy implementation process -- mobilization, implementation and institutionalization. Similarly, different approaches may be appropriate for different levels of the target sector, e.g. a programmed approach with a state agency serving as pass-through and overseer but adaptive with the local implementing group such as school or medical center.¹²⁸

Although Berman focused on elementary and secondary education, higher education offers examples of both structured and unstructured delivery system situations for public policy. For example, for the more structured operations such as student aid or purchasing operations, a programmed approach is effective for implementing a policy. An adaptive approach is more effective when a policy aimed at the less structured elements of higher education, e.g., introducing new academic programs such as international studies, expanding ancillary programs such as study abroad or creating an entirely new function such as foreign student advising. A mixed approach of adaptive and programmed implementation methods is appropriate for a policy aimed at a mixed implementation setting such as introducing new language teaching technologies to combine efforts of faculty and an audio-visual unit.

The work of several other authors who focused on higher education also substantiated Sabatier's and Berman's findings. In his transnational comparative work, Clark found legitimation to be the key role of government and enlightened

¹²⁸ Berman, (1980) pp. 213-215.

oversight as the most effective mechanism for playing that role with higher education, comparable to Berman's adaptive implementation concept. Clark recognized that even in national systems which allocated primary authority to central bodies, the independence of the academic understructure was formidable. Efforts to control and direct the academic understructure typically resulted in "old whines in new bottles." Clark found that the basic responsibility for legitimating an institutional role or "an ecological niche, naturally falls to those on the spot. But those up the line can help or hinder. They can help create space and get obstacles out of the way."¹²⁹

Government was most effective in shaping higher education by long run rewards rather than short term sanctions. Savenije and Rosmalen's research on government-supported innovation in the Dutch higher education system confirmed Clark's findings.¹³⁰ Clark wrote that the state role was most effective where,

"governments concentrate on setting broad directions of development, maintaining the quality of professional personnel and supervising the system in the mediated form, ...in which the balance of control shifts from government to academics at successively lower levels."

"Enlightened oversight is the way to go, since no matter how precisely governmental officials attempt to define objectives, the outcome will largely depend upon the cooperation of those in the system."¹³¹

Sabatier's framework for understanding policy change drew heavily on six conditions for effective policy implementation typical of the top-down approach. The first three conditions which were largely amenable to structuring by the legislative

¹²⁹ B.R. Clark (1983) p. 264.

¹³⁰ B.R. Clark (1983) pp. 264; Levine (1980); Savenije and Rosmalen (1988). See also Garvin (1980), Babbidge & Rosenzweig (1962), Kerr (1972), Ball & Eggins (1989).

¹³¹ B.R. Clark (1983), p. 272.

process in the statute itself included clear and consistent objectives; adequate causal theory; and a legal structure of the implementation process designed to enhance compliance by implementing officials and target groups. The last three which were post-statutory and more subject to traditions and trends in the larger bureaucratic, political and socio-economic environment of the program included: committed and skillful implementing officials; support of interest groups and sovereigns; and socio-economic conditions that do not change so substantially as to undermine political support or causal theory. Based on the empirical results of the 24 case studies of these conditions, Sabatier provided a generally positive evaluation of their utility. He summed up indicating the conditions had "proven to be a useful checklist of critical factors in understanding variations in program performance and in understanding the strategies of program proponents over time." Also positive was the finding that a longer timeframe for study of implementation effectiveness showed "the importance of learning by program proponents over time as they became aware of deficiencies in the original program and sought improved legal and political strategies for dealing with them."¹³² The focus on legally mandated objectives seemed to provide a less pessimistic evaluation of governmental effectiveness than other methods. Gumperz' work on the development of internationally oriented federal education policies supported this call for longer timeframes to allow for learning and improvement.¹³³

¹³² Sabatier (1986), pp.23, 27, 29.

¹³³ Paul A. Sabatier and Daniel A. Mazmanian, editors, Effective Policy Implementation, (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company, 1981), pp. 10-18; also see Gumperz (1970).

On the negative side, Sabatier concluded that the top-down approach and its six conditions focused too much on proponents and not enough on target groups as the bottom-uppers argued. Nor was it well adapted to the longer timeframe that seemed so useful partly because the longer time span created the need to aggregate actors into a manageable number of groups to avoid severe information overload. The bottom-up methods of analyzing policy networks and coalitions provided solutions that were in line with B. R. Clark's analysis of higher education, i.e. the most useful principle of aggregation seemed to be by belief system. This produced a focus "on 'advocacy coalitions,' i.e. actors from various public and private organization who share a set of beliefs and who seek to realize their common goals over time." Advocacy coalitions included not only program proponents but other actors as well in accord with the bottom-up approach. Gladieux and Wolanin as well as Gumperz and others treated the higher education associations, both disciplinary and institutional, as the primary advocacy coalitions in federal higher education public policy arenas.¹³⁴

Sabatier's combined framework for understanding policy change started from the bottom-up "focus on the policy *problem* or subsystem -- rather than a law or other policy *decision* -- and then examined the strategies employed by relevant actors in both the public and private sectors at various levels of government as they attempt to deal with the issue consistent with their objectives." In addition to the traditional top-down assumptions around the six conditions, the combined framework requires considering: 1) external changes affecting policy actors' resources and strategies; 2)

¹³⁴ Sabatier (1986), p. 28; B.R. Clark (1983); Gumperz (1970); Gladieux and Wolanin (1976).

attempts by actors to modify the legal aspects of a program; and 3) actors' efforts to improve their "understanding of the magnitude and factors affecting the problem -- as well as the impacts of various policy instruments -- as they learn from experience."¹³⁵ The policy arena may be specified for federal higher education in the U.S. and its international dimension drawing on these general approaches -- first reviewing the deep normative core, then the policy core and incremental changes typical of the policy arena. Gladieux and Wolanin suggested that three components would identify the underlying political culture of a policy arena, or to use Sabatier's term, its "deep normative core" -- the legitimate goals of federal policy, the acceptable means of achieving such goals and the underlying political relationships. Gladieux and Wolanin suggested that Sabatier's "policy core" could be identified through a cluster of related substantive issues, the recurring patterns of interaction among a relatively stable set of policy actors in the policy network, the underlying statutory foundations, resources, and public attitudes. The first three will be addressed below. Resources will be addressed subsequently. Because the operating rules of the federal relationship with higher education in the U.S. have developed differently than in many countries, the discussion begins with patterns of interaction and legitimate policy goals. From there the discussion focuses on the cluster of substantive issues and statutory foundations characteristic of the higher education policy arena in the U.S.

¹³⁵ Sabatier (1986), pp. 38-39.

b. Public Policy and Higher Education in the U.S.

Over time, the federal relationship with higher education in the U.S. has come to be defined by three characteristics: 1) state and private control rather than federal, 2) balanced support for private and public sectors, and 3) an instrumental rather than an institutional approach to higher education. The first characteristic is defined by constitutional silence on the issue, effectively leaving the states and private sector rather than the federal government with operational responsibility for public education including higher education. The resulting lack of an overarching unified federal policy on education has been both intentional and vigorously debated throughout U.S. history. By 1900 the debate was largely resolved and legislative proposals to create a national university as the base for a federally operated higher education system ceased. Military academies such as West Point, founded in 1802 for the Army, are the exception that prove the rule. Because of the academies' importance to national defense, clearly a federal responsibility in the constitution, the federal government operated them directly. On the second characteristic, the private sector of U.S. higher education has come to be viewed as a useful source of competition and innovation for the relatively faster-growing and ultimately larger public sector. Federal higher education programs seek balance by encouraging vitality and social justice in both private and public sectors but also tread the fine line separating church and state. Howard University provide one of the earliest examples. Founded in 1867 as a private college primarily for Negroes and freedmen to train as teachers and preachers, it began receiving Congressional subsidies in 1879 during the flush of

federal funds for public colleges in the land-grant acts of 1867 and 1890. By 1899, federal funds were prohibited from use for the theological part of the institution.¹³⁶

On the third defining characteristic, federal policy toward higher education has come to be based on its instrumental value for the accomplishment of national goals rather than the advancement of the educational process or the institutions themselves. This, combined with decentralized control, creates a fragmented policy structure and a patchwork of national policies and programs. Because of this instrumental focus federal support for higher education has been channelled primarily through categorical programs, i.e., those addressing categories of national problems or needs. Both McGuinness and Williams suggested that the primary mechanism for implementing these categorical programs, i.e., federal grants-in-aid, was invented with the federal land-grants to states to create special training programs in agricultural and mechanical arts in 1867. Another major mechanism of federal support has been grants and loans directed to students as citizen-consumers rather than passed through the colleges and universities. The federal government has come to rely on higher education institutions as suppliers of high level technical services and research which have been procured through project and grant mechanisms. Contracting mechanisms for

¹³⁶ Americo D. Lapati, Education and the Federal Government: A Historical Record (New York: Mason/Charter, 1975), pp. 48-58. According to Lapati, the first six U.S. presidents argued unsuccessfully for a direct operating role in establishing a national university, the basis of a national higher education system. Jefferson and Madison felt it would have required a constitutional amendment for a federal role. See also Edith K. Mosher, "Federal Influence on Education," Encyclopedia of Educational Research, H.E. Mitzel, editor, (1982); Babbidge and Rosenzweig (1962); Gladieux & Wolanin (1976); Aims C. McGuinness, Chapter 9 "The Federal Government and Postsecondary Education" in Philip G. Altbach and Robert O. Berdahl, editors, Higher Education and American Society, (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1981).

technical assistance were created in response to the influx of academic advisors in foreign and military affairs, especially after World War II to implement the Marshall Plan and other overseas development programs. Federal research foundations and endowments created advisory boards and peer-review grant mechanisms to ensure a regular flow of basic research, drawing heavily on academic research operations and their graduate training programs. Despite the lack of institutional support of higher education for its own sake, the expanding federal presence since World War II has had an unplanned but substantial effect on the shape of the higher education system.¹³⁷ Breneman described the result as an "example of the Hegelian concept that quantitative change can produce qualitative change, for the scale and nature of federal involvement has clearly expanded manifold."¹³⁸

Six overarching and overlapping substantive interests have been identified as the legitimate subjects or goals of federal higher education policy. First, providing leadership and meeting the national need for uniquely or highly trained personnel in economic, military and political spheres was one of the earliest interests of federal higher education policy. Babbidge and Rosenzweig suggested this was the cornerstone of successive policies. Second, national security and defense preparedness including science and other fields not normally considered military have been a major federal

¹³⁷ The land-grants under the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 to create public schools were the first experiment with the categorical grant mechanism but they were not implemented fully. Babbidge and Rosenzweig (1962); Gladieux & Wolanin (1976); A.C. McGuinness in Altbach and Berdahl (1981); Finifter, Baldwin and Thelin (1991); Williams (1991).

¹³⁸ David W. Breneman, "Is There a Federal Policy Toward Higher Education?", Chapter 2 in Finifter, Baldwin, Thelin, editors, (1991), p. 19.

interest. Third, economic security, both domestic and with other nations, has been an enduring interest. It has been exemplified time and again: in the initial land-grants in the Northwest Territory in 1787, in the land-grants for colleges in the late 1800s as the nation expanded westward, and again in the late 1900s as global economic competition heated up. Fourth, higher education has come to be viewed as a major source of social and economic mobility for U.S. citizens. Citizen productivity, economic and social mobility have been linked to national productivity and prosperity as well as to social justice and equity concerns. Fifth, international understanding became a more intense interest with the global prominence of the U.S. after World War II, Olsen and Howell pointed out part of the earliest federal interest was support of cultural exchange and humanitarian interests overseas. Sixth, federal policy has focused on creating an informed citizenry largely through primary and secondary school interests but often covering higher education as well.¹³⁹

Since the federal rather than state government has had responsibility for foreign affairs--military, economic and cultural -- it is not surprising that the federal goals in higher education have been with international interests. Education has been the operating sphere of the states but the international dimension has long been seen as a special category of federal interest. Gladieux and Wolanin wrote that the

¹³⁹ Gladieux and Wolanin (1976) pp. 5-7; Babbidge and Rosenzweig (1962) pp. 11, 14-15, 48-60; Williams (1991) p. 39; Goodchild and Wechsler (1989). Both Wechsler and Williams pointed to trade and overseas commercial competition with Europe that motivated the land-grant legislation in the late 1800s. For a thorough discussion of the international elements of federal education policy historically, see William C. Olson and Llewellyn D. Howell, International Education: The Unfinished Agenda, (Indianapolis, Indiana: White River Press, 1982).

economic, security and international rationales often were interwoven noted that federal policy has supported the objective of providing highly skilled "manpower",

"on the grounds that investment in higher education produces economic returns to society--that the availability of highly trained individuals is important to general economic prosperity. In addition, a strong economy has been considered vital to national defense and international competition."¹⁴⁰

Thus, statutory foundations of higher education and its international dimension have been fragmented and additive. Clark Kerr cited a wry but anonymous commentator as saying, "There is no federal program, only programs." McGuinness cited a Congressional Research Service study in 1975 that found 439 separately authorized federal programs touching on colleges and universities in the U.S. with over 35 implementing agencies. In a similar review of internationally oriented federal programs related to higher education in 1980, Wiprud found 181 programs being implemented by 28 agencies. Still the legislation has provided a significant point of collective action and decision for the national level of the higher education system. Folsom argued for the utility of legislative history as a window on the relationship between society and different national sectors. Beyond financial resources, Babbidge and Rosenzweig emphasized the increasing importance of federal programs that gave legitimacy to higher education endeavors since World War II. Gumperz' study corroborated their finding for international education. For college and university faculty and administrators, external funding provided a kind of knighthood for those

¹⁴⁰ Gladieux and Wolanin (1976), pp. 5-7.

academic entrepreneurs who succeeded in garnering resources for their programs and institutions.¹⁴¹

The policy core for higher education may be traced through three major periods of legislative benchmarks. From 1787-1950, the precedents were set for a federal role in higher education. From 1950-1972 there was a massive expansion of the federal role. From 1972-1988 there was consolidation. International interests were significant in every phase, especially in the heady middle period of growth. The legislation goals and executive branch administrative organization traced this through each period.

i. Legislative Benchmarks: 1787-1950. From 1787 into the 1950s, there was a limited federal role but the stage was set for categorical grants, student aid and a weak presence in the executive branch for education. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 provided scrip and land grants for local schools but the value was largely symbolic. The Morrill Act of 1862 provided the first serious federal funding, again through land-grants which were to endow the states' establishment of scientific training in the "agricultural and mechanical arts". Williams noted that these were administered by the Dept of Interior as the first categorical grants and provided the

¹⁴¹ Babbidge and Rosenzweig (1962), pp. 26, 47; Clark Kerr (1972) p. 69; Gumperz, (1972) pp. 1-5, and Gwendolyn B. Folsom Legislative History: Research for the Interpretation of Laws, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1972). Also, see the more current studies by Gladieux and Wolanin (1976), Finifter, Baldwin, and Thelin (1991), pp. 160-163; Robert Rosenzweig with Barbara Turlington, The Research Universities and Their Patrons, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1982); Helen R. Wiprud, International Programs of the U.S. Government: An Inventory, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980), p. iii.

"origin of the federal system of grants-in-aid for specific categorical purposes with basic accountability and annual reporting requirements." The college programs begun with these grants were extended with the Hatch Act of 1887 to create agricultural experiment stations and the second Morrill Act of 1890 which extended funding to the states for specific instructional purposes and served to create or to support existing private or public "separate but equal" Negro land-grant colleges. Rejecting the European model of national agricultural research services, the land-grant college presidents ensured that the experiment stations remained within the college structure as research and teaching units, linking the home institution and the federal department of agriculture permanently. Subsequent amendments and new laws expanded the funding base for the land-grant programs, generally with a dollar-for-dollar match from the state, adding agricultural extension and home economics training as well as new research areas such as marketing within the college umbrella. The basis for direct federal support to college students was created with the National Youth Administration's (1935-43) work-study programs. The Student War Loan Programs (1942-44) to enable students to accelerate degree completion provided federal aid to support students but passed it through the academic institutions. The Serviceman's Readjustment Act (1944), known as the "GI Bill" used the same pass-through mechanism and could be used in the U.S. or overseas. The GI Bill extension in 1952 provided payments directly to the veterans rather than through the academic institutions and could be used only at U.S. institutions.¹⁴²

¹⁴² Lapati (1975); Williams (1991).

Since the U.S. never developed the strong centralized bureaucratic mechanisms of Ministries of Education as other countries did, the federal Congress' multi-channel debate and advocacy systems have served the consensus building and planning roles for the sector. The Executive branch was not expected to serve as system operator or planner but as system monitor and, eventually, guarantor of access. The Office of Education was created in 1867 as a relatively weak central bureaucratic focal point to collect information and maintain statistics about "the condition and progress of education in the several states and territories," aid people in "establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems," and "otherwise promote the cause of education."¹⁴³ In 1869, the office moved to the Interior Department. Beyond the original statistical and technical assistance roles, the Office was expected to administer grants-in-aid for vocational education and to Land Grant Colleges under automatic, non-discretionary formulas. In 1939, it was transferred with its minor mandate intact to the Federal Security Agency which ran health and social security programs. The Office of Education had little to do with higher education partly because higher education itself saw few advantages in close ties with the office. According to Williams, relations were so poor that the colleges prevailed upon President Wilson to order the Office of Education not to release a report that attempted to define and classify institutions of higher education. The separation of schools and colleges within the Office of Education paralleled legislative processes as well. Williams found that legislative success depended on decoupling schools and colleges. In 1890,

¹⁴³ Lauriston R. King, The Washington Lobbyists for Higher Education, (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1975), p.12.

Morrill's bill to expand support for the college land-grant program did not pass until it was disengaged from legislation to support the common schools movement. Again in the 1960s, President Johnson found it necessary to separate his Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and the Higher Education Act (HEA) in order to pass both. But that puts us ahead of the story.¹⁴⁴

ii. Legislative Benchmarks: 1950-1972. If the Rubicon was crossed between 1850 and 1950, the seeds of empire were sewn from 1950 to 1972. Following on heels of World War II there was a massive expansion of federal support for higher education. This was justified as instrumental to national interests, first for defense and then for broader economic welfare and civil rights purposes. A national defense link helped overcome long-standing objections to an increased federal role in education and continued the pattern of federal support for higher education for essentially non-education purposes. Many new groups and institutions received federal funds. General institutional support was consciously limited.

The basic types of legislation continued on a larger scale: those that directly supported some category of endeavor or type of institution within the higher education system, those that directly supported student access to higher education, and those that enabled higher education to provide specialized services or to develop talent to meet national needs. The first two were embodied in a troika of legislative acts targeting

¹⁴⁴ King (1975) pp. 12-15; Williams (1991), p. 64. Williams said that for 18 years Senator Morrill and Mr. George Atherton, the President of Penn State and of the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Agricultural Experiment Stations together tried to pass general educational bills. Not until they decoupled the two, did the 1890s Land-grant college act pass.

higher education directly. They came to be known by their acronyms (NDEA, HEA and HEFA) and were administered by the federal education office. The third type was embodied in a wide range of legislative acts that worked primarily but not exclusively through higher education to address national needs in research or foreign affairs. They came to be known by their legislative sponsors or their functional name and were administered throughout the executive branch but not the education office.

First, the direct higher education troika. Catalyzed by the Soviet launch of Sputnik, the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958 was a watershed act. It was the first omnibus-type piece of legislation to support schools and higher education efforts by providing categorical grants for science and technology, math and modern foreign language programs, summer teacher training institutes and graduate training fellowships. Astuto and Clark summarized the NDEA as changing the "debate from whether there should be a federal role in education to what constitutes an appropriate federal role in terms of its purpose, size and relationship to state and local education agencies."¹⁴⁵ The NDEA also opened the door to a federal guarantee of equal opportunity for higher education rather than a more selective targeting of support for talent in specific fields of national interest. The Higher Education Act (HEA) of 1965 provided the first major federal program of undergraduate student grants, the Basic Opportunity Grants, as well as continuing and strengthening student loan programs. This confirmed the mix of instrumentalism and

¹⁴⁵ Terry A. Astuto and David L. Clark, "Federal Role, Legislative and Executive" (pp. 491-498) Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Sixth Edition, Marvin C. Alkin, editor in chief (New York: Macmillan, 1991), p. 469.

student opportunity in federal policy toward higher education established in the NDEA. By supporting the creation of community service and continuing education programs within colleges and universities, the HEA of 1965 also explicitly recognized a role for higher education in achieving broad national goals associated with Johnson's Great Society. The HEA amendments of 1966 and 1968 expanded and consolidated the basic thrusts of the Act. The International Education Act of 1966 helped preserve the foreign language provisions of the NDEA within the larger social aims of the HEA. Although its sponsors wanted to greatly expand funding for international higher education programs, they were disappointed when the bulk of Congressional funds were appropriated not for IEA but for the Teacher Preparation provisions of the HEA and other bills deemed crucial to the equal opportunity and the civil rights agendas. In 1963, the Higher Education Facilities Act (HEFA) provided loans to institutions of higher education for graduate facilities directly from the federal government, and through the states for undergraduate facilities. HEFA avoided the religious issue by targeting categories of facilities to be built like science or foreign language laboratories. This law also marked the creation of a bi-partisan legislative group within the education and labor committees that supported higher education. This group made possible much of the expansion of the 60s.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ King (1975), pp. 5-7; Lapati (1975); Babbidge and Rosenzweig (1966); Burn (1980). King on p. 6 emphasized the fact that Sputnik served as the catalyst for the NDEA but "the ideas that went into the bill stretched back for several years." Astuto and Clark (1991) said that many involved in promoting or introducing the IEA were concerned that no international bill could pass without citing the defense and national security rationale. In passing the original NDEA with its foreign language provisions eight years earlier, King said, in a footnote on p.6, that Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama, its chief sponsor, had instructed his staff to link defense and education as the only way to

In addition to the direct higher education programs, several other major federal programs were created that directly related to higher education interests. They were designed to create on-going national infrastructure rather than institutional or categorical support for the higher education system. The U.S. came out of World War II as a political, economic and military superpower. The nation needed to maintain the research and foreign affairs capacities that it had developed under the duress of war, much of which had been provided by the higher education system. Catalyzed by Vannevar Bush's Science, the Endless Frontier, the National Science Foundation was created in 1950 to support basic research and to award fellowships in the sciences including social sciences.¹⁴⁷ It served the nation's defense and economic interests and also helped universities transit to peacetime research. By 1959 NSF was mandated by law explicitly to promote teaching and research capacity in the sciences. While NSF did not provide direct institutional support, its project funding presented an open door to academic researchers, its fellowships supported their students, and its peer review and advisory board mechanisms provided a comfortable academic-like operating milieu. King suggested that the NSF and other scientific oriented bodies were so heavily reliant on academic scientists in advisory and implementing roles that the advisory apparatus came to be a lobby for the scientific university. To redress the imbalance observed by the humanists, legislation in 1965 created the National Foundation of the Arts and Humanities with its two endowments:

guide it "between the Scylla of race and the Charybdis of religion." Hill felt his colleagues could not vote against defense and education when joined in the same bill.

¹⁴⁷ Vannevar Bush, Science, the Endless Frontier, 1949 as cited in Lapati (1975).

the Arts Endowment focused on non-profit organizations and state councils and the Humanities Endowment focused on academic grants for training, fellowships, publications and information sharing. Later science and research oriented legislation was built around these two legislative cornerstones. For example, in 1966 the National Sea Grant Colleges Act, to be administered by the NSF, was passed to promote aquaculture as well as agricultural science and oceanography.¹⁴⁸

While avoiding forbidden areas of general institutional support for higher education, all of the federal programs demonstrated commitment to ensuring institutional capacity of higher education in the targeted fields. Of the international interests, foreign language was clearly included in the NDEA and to a lesser extent so was the growing interdisciplinary field of world area studies. The IEA attempted to support professional fields related to overseas economic development interests of U.S. foreign policy such as agriculture, public policy, health or medicine. Since the IEA was stillborn, this attempt to ensure support for fields linked to overseas development assistance was left unfunded from the education side of the policy arena. The discussion turns to the foreign affairs side of the policy arena.

The foreign affairs interests relating to higher education were active legislatively as well. The Fulbright Program began in 1946 with an amendment to the Surplus Property Act. It used foreign currencies, known as counterpart funds and generated from the sale of surplus military equipment to promote international goodwill through the exchange of students. The State Department, which administered the program,

¹⁴⁸ Lapati (1975); King (1975), p. 13; Babbidge and Rosenzweig (1962).

had to assure Congress that it would not detract from domestic education funding. The program struggled with uncertain funding until 1954 when it was supported by burgeoning agricultural surplus counterpart payments. The Smith-Mundt Act, also known as the Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, created the precursor agency to the U.S. Information Agency administered by the State Department to create a broad information service and cultural exchange administrative capacity. The Finnish Exchange Act of 1949 and the Humphrey-Thompson Act of 1956 followed for international exchange and trade fair participation, respectively. Faculty and graduate students were some of the major beneficiaries of these exchange programs.¹⁴⁹

In addition to exchange activities technical assistance opportunities for faculty also expanded after World War II. Truman's Point Four speech in 1949 propose "a bold new program for making the benefits of scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas." John Hannah, president of Michigan State University, immediately offered President Truman the assistance of the land-grant universities and colleges to implement Point Four. After several years of disparate development efforts by different agencies within the Departments of Agriculture and State, the International Cooperation Agency (ICA) was created in 1955 as a specialized agency of the State Department to coordinate the efforts. The universities were so deeply enmeshed in the overseas development technical assistance work that one of ICA's first actions was to create an

¹⁴⁹ Lapati (1975); Babbidge and Rosenzweig (1962).

Office of Contract Relations to develop standards for contracting universities. In 1961, the "new frontier" of the Kennedy administration articulated the vision that "a more prosperous world would also be a more secure world."¹⁵⁰ With Kennedy's impetus three major bills were passed: the Peace Corps, to enlist college graduates in overseas development work and cultural exchange; the Fulbright-Hayes Act to ensure regular appropriations to the overseas exchange activities including graduate and faculty fellowships; and the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) of 1961 to consolidate in one omnibus bill economic, military assistance and agricultural surplus counterpart funded activities. The FAA of 1961 also created AID, the successor to the ICA, and the Alliance for Progress for Latin America. Each of these helped stabilize the policy arena of international higher education, providing a sense of permanence to the legislative framework.¹⁵¹

The executive branch capacity expanded to implement the growing legislative mandate in education. The Office of Education had only a small role because the federal investment in education had been tiny. By 1950 federal funding to education

¹⁵⁰ Vernon W. Ruttan, "Solving the Foreign Aid Vision Thing," Challenge (May/June, 1991) pp. 41-46, Truman and Kennedy quotes p.41.

¹⁵¹ Brian Jordahl and Vernon Ruttan "Universities and AID: A History of Their Partnership in Technical Assistance for Developing Countries," Staff Paper P91-32, Department of Agricultural and Applied Economics, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota (July, 1991), pp. 19-20; Ruttan (1991) pp. 41-46; John M. Richardson, Jr. Partners in Development: An Analysis of AID-University Relations 1950-1966 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State Press), 1969; James W. Cowan and Paul R. Shaffer "International Affairs and the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges: A Historical Perspective" Journal of the Association of International Education Administrators pp. 68-85, (Fall 1987) Vol 7, #2 published at Washington State University. The Hannah-Truman letter dated February 4, 1949 was copied verbatim on p. 71 of the Cowan-Shaffer article.

amounted only to 2.9% of the total investment in education. In 1953 the Office of Education moved to the newly created Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). The Office of Education was given the regulatory oversight function for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for educational institutions, effectively adding a regulatory function to its mandate. The Office of Education also was assigned the responsibility of implementing the new higher education legislation of the NDEA (1958), HEFA (1963) and HEA (1965) yet King found little evidence that the Office played any active role in their planning or passage. The Bureau of Higher Education was not set up in the Office of Education until 1964. The universities also had many other points of access to the federal government through other agencies like the NSF or the State Department or the Agricultural Department. The State Department expanded, adding a new position of Assistant Secretary of State for Education and Cultural Affairs to administer and exert leadership in this sphere of government. The Office of Education was included on some of the advisory boards created by the new Assistant Secretary of State.¹⁵² As we will see below, the higher education associations were gearing up to take a more active and coordinated role in this growing policy arena with their first major joint foray coming with the 1972 HEA amendments.

iii. Legislative Benchmarks: 1972-1980. The Office of Education provided a weathervane of the 1972-80 period. As an Office within HEW, Education had a \$550 million budget for 1972-75. Under President Carter, a cabinet level Department of

¹⁵² Astuto and Clark (1991), pp. 492-493; King (1975); Lapati (1975); Gladieux and Wolanin (1976).

Education was first proposed in 1978 and legislated in 1979. Started in 1980 under Reagan (and under protest), the new Department still existed by 1985 but had shrunk from 7,400 to 5,000 employees. To provide rough comparisons, the New York Times reported that by 1993, at the end of the Reagan-Bush era, the Department of Education had 5200 employees, 220 programs and a \$35 billion budget to oversee. A minor but substantive change occurred in the Department of Education's relationship with the foreign affairs side of the policy arena. A new international business training initiative was funded within the NDEA Title VI umbrella in 1980. This initiative took off with the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Bill of 1988 to be administered by the Department of Education Title VI office rather than in the Department of Commerce.¹⁵³

The 1972-1980 period was characterized by retrenchment on the direct higher education side of the equation with no major new legislative initiatives and only one significant policy refinement in the 1972 HEA amendments. The policy debates shifted from defining substantive interests toward funding levels and implementation mechanisms while funding levels levelled off or declined in real dollars. The foreign affairs interests in higher education exchange suffered similar funding declines or levelling but few of the legislative refinements. The notable initiative on the foreign affairs side of the policy arena came with the Freedom for Hunger and Famine

¹⁵³ Astuto and Clark, (1991) p. 496; New York Times, Editorial, March 9, 1993.

Prevent Act of 1975 and its Title XII with the goal of extending the success of the U.S. land-grant agricultural university model to the world.¹⁵⁴

The 1972-80 period, during the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations saw a shift away from federal grants direct to (or through) institutions toward federal grants to students and substantial increases in student funding extended from traditional collegiate institutions to all postsecondary institutions including two-year colleges and proprietary (for profit) schools. The notable exception to the expanding pool of funds for student aid was in graduate fellowships which peaked in 1970-71 despite continued growth in funding for academic research to which they were tied frequently. Astuto and Clark characterized the period "as one of consolidation and increased regulatory effectiveness." McGuinness found that others such as Chester Finn held more conservative viewpoints. They referred less charitably to the federal higher education relationship than Astuto and Clark calling it "the regulatory swamp." McGuinness cited an Office of Management and Budget study that identified 59 cross-cutting requirements by 19 agencies aimed at socio-economic policy objectives.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Much of the discussion of funding levels and priorities for this period has been drawn from The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, The Federal Role in Postsecondary Education: Unfinished Business, 1975-80, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1975); and Finifter, Baldwin, Thelin, eds. (1991). U.S. Statutes at Large, Freedom from Hunger and Prevention of Famine Act of 1975, 94th Congress, Volume 89 in one part, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975); U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, Conference Report to accompany House Resolution 3, 100th Congress, 2nd session, H.R. Report 100-576 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1988).

¹⁵⁵ The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, More Than Survival: Prospects for Higher Education in a Period of Uncertainty, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1975), pp. 17,75; Astuto and Clark (1991), pp. 492-493, 496; A.C. McGuinness (1981), p. 171.

The 1972 HEA amendments created a notable policy shift. Congress recognized the need for and encouraged institutional and programmatic innovation within higher education by creating the Fund for Innovation in Post-Secondary Education (FIPSE) and also provided serious research funding by creating the National Institute for Education (NIE) within the Office of Education. There was great concern with the fiscal difficulties facing the higher education sector and two different approaches were proposed -- general support for institutions and support to students. Final legislation made a clear choice between the two. Students were to be the focus of federal support for higher education, not the institutions where they studied. The standard rationale for this choice was tradition. The states and private sector would continue their traditional role as the level primarily responsible for institutional strength of the higher education system in the U.S.

Cohen pointed out another rationale for Congress' choice, possibly either too cynical or too naive, that derives from the basic power balance between congress, the executive and the universities. With "formula" or "non-discretionary" grants, e.g. student grant or loan programs, neither the institution nor the executive branch administrator has much discretion in managing the funds. The "project" grant mechanism typical of most research or program development funding has tended to give both parties much greater discretion. There is usually a peer review process and consultation to reach consensus with the federal project manager and the university parties involved. The focus on the non-discretionary student approach effectively gave Congress relatively more control over the higher education funds. Consciously or subconsciously, greater congressional control may have been preferred in 1972

even more than in a normal political year. The Watergate scandals were breaking over the White House and the campuses had been convulsing over Vietnam. Neither the executive branch nor the universities seemed the most worthy managers. Solid evidence of the political clout of the direct student aid approach came in 1978 with the passage of the Middle Income Student Assistance Act providing loan guarantees to people above the accepted level of financial need characteristic of other student aid programs.¹⁵⁶

In summary, the higher and international education policy arena can be described using Sabatier's framework. At the normative core, the federal relationship with higher education is characterized by a focus on meeting national needs and supporting student access to higher education. Higher education's vitality is its own responsibility. Yet both rely on each other for research and teaching resources and highly-trained human resources. The policy core related to international education has split between foreign affairs and education interests, the former focused on development assistance and exchange programs, the latter focused on foreign language, international and area studies. The internationally-oriented higher education programs have been very small components of the larger higher education and foreign affairs programs of the federal government. Basic political relationships are generally

¹⁵⁶ Wilbur J. Cohen "Higher Education and the Federal Government" in Perkins and Israel (1972), pp. 86-95; Brademas with Brown (1987). Brademas was a principal educational supporter as a Congressman during these debates. On pp. 27-37, Brademas' version of the 1972 Amendments differs from that told by Gladieux and Wolanin (1976). Brademas said that the legislators (himself included) actually provided institutional aid in a somewhat different form than desired by the colleges. Unfortunately, it was never funded and the bill came to be associated only with the student grants named for their spokesman, Senator Pell, which received substantial funding.

described as an iron triangle of legislative, executive and, in this case, higher education interests. The next section outlines the role of the higher education leg of the public policy triangle.

c. Higher Education Interests in Federal Policy

Woven through the literature are two debates over the fundamental nature of the basic political relationship in the higher education policy arena. The first may be characterized as "value conflicts"; the second as "partnership vs realpolitik". Not surprisingly, both these debates became more acute with the great expansion of the federal role in higher education and the expansion of higher education itself since the end of World War II.

Concerning "value conflicts," both Cohen and Keppel remarked on the tendency of federal programs in higher education to feed a syndrome of *have's* and *have-not's*. Categorical programs by definition include certain programs, fields and institutions and exclude others. Kerr described the equity-excellence tension flowing across federal higher education policy in two waves since 1950 -- the first spontaneous, the second more purposively planned. The first wave of federal funding tipped the scale toward "excellence", focusing on procuring the best, concentrating resources in a few institutions in relatively few fields to create centers of excellence. In reaction, the second wave tipped the scale toward equity and focused on spreading out resources and talents. Higher education's high value on autonomy naturally butts up against government's value on accountability. As federal agencies became principal patrons of higher education, the problem was not so much control as

influence. Kerr said that the changes were "subtle, slowly cumulative and gentlemanly making them all the more potent. ...almost imperceptibly, a university is changed."¹⁵⁷

The higher education side of the federal policy arena followed Kerr's two-wave pattern -- beginning with centers of excellence in language and area studies ordinarily at research universities and gradually spreading to undergraduate programs across a broader spectrum of campuses. The foreign affairs higher side ran into additional value conflicts. On one hand government officials distrusted the academic experts to apply their knowledge of other countries objectively and supportively to U.S. national interests. On the other hand, area and international academic experts were concerned with ideological taint or becoming unwitting handmaidens to overt or covert foreign policies. All of these values conflicts tended became more acute as the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War proceeded from the 60s into the 70s.¹⁵⁸

The second set of issues revolves around whether the fundamental political relationship has been one of "partnership" or "realpolitik." Keppel suggested that most of the "partnership" concept came from educators who, "...on patriotic or other occasions devoted to self-congratulation" claimed "that federal or state governments have committed society to supporting colleges and universities on the basis of their inherent virtue."¹⁵⁹ McGuinness argued for a more realistic view saying that, "In

¹⁵⁷ Kerr (1972) pp. 54-69; Mosher (1982), p. 671.

¹⁵⁸ Kerr (1972), pp. 54-69; Jordahl and Ruttan (1991); Samuels and Weiner (1992).

¹⁵⁹ Francis Keppel, "The Role of Public Policy in Higher Education in the United States: Land Grants to Pell Grants and Beyond," Chapter 1 in Finifter, Baldwin and

no respect is the academic community exempt from the obligation to gain broad understanding within American society of its needs as a condition for obtaining support in the political process."¹⁶⁰ Perkins and Israel argued that greater partnership might require more direct federal control, hardly the most desirable characteristic of a healthy system of higher education in the U.S.¹⁶¹

The partnership issue took a unique twist in the international education arena. The tension was rooted in federal emergency programs on campus during World War II. The specialized training for soldiers in languages, area studies and engineering were mutually advantageous to federal and academic interests. After the war, foundation and government funds found their way onto campus to retool and maintain these innovations within the regular academic program. At the same time, federal overseas aid programs were drawing on academic experts, initially as temporary advisors and then as fully responsible administrators of larger pieces of the programs. As university responsibility grew for overseas projects so did the debate over the level of reciprocal federal support to aid the universities in developing and maintaining their international capacities. Gumperz wrote that the debate triggered activism among the higher education associations on the broader front of federal support for international education. With the passage of the NDEA in 1958, the terms of reciprocity were made explicit in categorical programs for language and area studies

Theelin (1991), p. 10.

¹⁶⁰ Cohen (1981), p. 86-95; McGuinness (1981), p. 177.

¹⁶¹ Keppel (1991) p.10; McGuinness (1981), p. 177. See also Rosenzweig and Turlington (1982); Perkins and Israel (1972).

in Title VI and for engineering and science in other titles. No such legislative compact was made for government-university relations in overseas development assistance although the IEA attempted it in 1966. AID patched up the void with "211(d)" grants in 1967. Not until 1975 with the FAA Title XII was there a serious legislative attempt to provide explicit support for institutional capacity of U.S. higher education to support overseas development efforts.¹⁶²

Williams described the general federal policy making process for higher education as "an interactive process involving reciprocal influences." Williams provided an excellent illustration of the realpolitik version of the national politics on higher education. He argued that the battle fought in establishing the national land-grant system of colleges was,

"neither so deterministic or romantic as it has been portrayed. It involved the rough-and-tumble of politics, including pressure tactics, aggressive lobbying, persuasion, agitation and of course compromise. It resounded with the clash of competing ideas and interests -- inside the movement as well as outside. And it is a story rife with paradox, inconsistency, and ambiguity. After twenty-five years of struggle and disappointment, the land-grant colleges turned the corner about 1890. This happened not because the institutions were destined to do so in response to some vague national demand, but because certain individuals were resolved to create the means--through federal legislation and organization of peer institutions--for the colleges' sustenance."¹⁶³

¹⁶² Gumperz (1970), pp. 32-53. In 1975, the Foreign Affairs Act of 1961 was amended to include Title XII which was designed to create a real partnership in overseas aid programs. Implementation was rocky. See Chapters 5-7 for full discussion.

¹⁶³ Williams (1991), p. 9.

Who represents the higher education side of the "iron triangle" of legislative committees, executive branch offices and the interest groups in this policy arena? The higher education associations have formed the third side. The higher education associations break into two groups: 1) Disciplinary associations organized by field or interest with faculty and professional members, e.g. Latin American Studies Association; 2) Institutional associations organized by peer institutions to represent their interests and maintain standards across the peer group generally with institutional members, e.g. the American Association of State Colleges and Universities.

The institutional associations have been more likely to focus on the legislative processes directed at higher education while the disciplinary associations have tended to focus more on the categorical or project oriented legislative processes related to their substantive interests. Gumperz found that the internationally oriented disciplinary associations of higher education provided important networks for developing the national standards of scholarship in the international dimension and creating pressure both within their home institutions and within the appropriate federal agencies to provide them resources for research and teaching. King indicated a similar phenomenon among the scientific researchers and their disciplinary associations, including social scientists, likening them to a large scientific lobby frequenting the legislative and executive corridors. The social science and history associations recently have begun to recognize international and comparative elements in their meetings. Virtually all of

the major institutional associations and many of the specialized associations have recognized and advocated for internationalization among their members by 1993.¹⁶⁴

For most of the major associations of peer institutions of higher education, federal relations became more serious after World War II both in terms of representing their institutional members' interests to government and shaping the direction of federal policy for higher education overall. The designation of federal relations staff occurred in the 1960s. By one count, there were 200 professional associations for higher education in 1975. Most authors refer to the "big six" associations which together have come to represent some 95 percent of higher education in the U.S. by member institutions and enrollments: the American Council on Education (ACE), the Association of American Universities (AAU), the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges (NASULGC), the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU); the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC); and the American Association of Colleges (AAC). In 1970, the National Center for Higher Education at One DuPont Circle in Washington, D.C. provided a common home for the six core associations plus several others.

Their concern with international education issues was longstanding but a small part of their overall mission. By the late 80s, the international dimension had become a larger portion of the mandate as evidenced by associations designating "international" staff, conducting research on or advancing notions of what an

¹⁶⁴ Gumperz (1972); King (1975); Groennings and Wiley (1991).

"internationalized" university or college could mean for their members' leadership, students, administrators and faculty.¹⁶⁵ Recent guidelines for accreditation have included international elements of both the American Association of Colleges and Schools of Business (AACSB) and the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education (AACTE). AAC and AACSB co-sponsored a conference on internationalizing business training in the smaller private schools. NASULGC, AASCU and AACJC have issued guidelines for internationalization to their member schools. ACE recently sponsored a book on internationalizing higher education.¹⁶⁶

The earliest example of higher education and federal officials developing regular patterns of policy interaction occurred in the mid-1800s when the Morrill Land Grant Act began federal government support for higher education. The first association of peer institutions of higher education was formed in 1887 by the presidents and senior scientists of the newly founded land grant colleges, the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations. Even prior to incorporation, their efforts were credited with successful passage and implementation of the second Land Grant Act of 1890 and the Hatch Act of 1887 which together secured the future of the land-grant system. In addition to its federal representation work, the Association developed curriculum standards and a professional forum for sharing ideas and information. William's description of the early years'

¹⁶⁵ King (1975), p.104. King described the process of securing foundation funding to help create "The Higher Education Center" at One Dupont Circle in Washington. Also see Gladieux and Wolanin (1976); James Guthrie, "Professional Organizations," in Alkin, editor (1991), pp. 505-512 .

¹⁶⁶ Lambert (1990).

activities of the land grant college association provided an apt description of the interaction of the modern actors in higher education policy:

"The Association's executive committee, ..., functioned as the colleges' medium for responding to the subsequent initiatives of Congress and the federal agencies. The (association's) committee also generated its own fair number of initiatives that required a response by the government."¹⁶⁷

The common physical location of most of the institutional associations provides the framework for interaction but does not imply common policy goals, interests or resources. As membership associations, each represents its own members interests. The association staff is expected to provide information and services as well as encourage new positions and policies but cannot push too far out front on any given issue. A brief description of each association's most salient characteristics follows.

- o ACE has been the umbrella organization for higher education in Washington with the most varied membership including college and universities as institutional members, plus state system and national association members as well as affiliates such as state departments of education and libraries. King suggested that because of its membership diversity, ACE's policy positions have tended to be fairly general and designed to serve as many members as possible. ACE has become one of the strongest policy analysis and research groups working on trends and issues facing higher education.¹⁶⁸

- o NASULGC has the longest and strongest political traditions in the capital, relying heavily on the member university presidents to do the heavy lifting in congressional presentations. In 1975, member institutions made up less than five

¹⁶⁷ Williams (1991), p. 218.

¹⁶⁸ King (1975), p.24.

percent of all centers of higher education but awarded "36 percent of bachelor and first professional degrees, 42 percent of all masters degrees, and 64 percent of all doctorates." Members include flagship state universities, parts of several multicampus state systems, historically black land-grant colleges, the sea-grant colleges as well as MIT, a private land-grant university, and Cornell, a hybrid private-public land-grant university.¹⁶⁹

o AASCU, the newest of the major associations, has represented one of the faster growing and more socially diverse segments of the system, the state regional universities and the former state teacher's colleges. As a rule, members are designated as "comprehensives" in the Carnegie Classification. In 1975, members "awarded more than one-fourth of all the nation's bachelors degrees and more than one-fifth of all master's degrees and graduated about one-half of the nation's potential teachers." Traditionally AASCU has been involved heavily in member services and development services for their fast-growing and ambitious membership.¹⁷⁰

o AAU has represented the nation's top research universities such as Yale and Harvard, Berkeley and Minnesota and has been viewed as the "ultimate presidents' club". It was founded a short time after the land-grant association. For most of its history the prestige of its membership belied its political influence, especially in legislative matters. Its primary interests have been graduate education and standards as well as research. More recently AAU has provided research support for higher education issues such as faculty and graduate training gaps. O. Meredith Wilson provided an interesting anecdote about AAU's early international roots. AAU

¹⁶⁹ King (1975), pp. 24-25.

¹⁷⁰ King (1975), pp, 24-25.

cemented its legitimacy in the higher education community in the 1860s when the European universities recognized a U.S. PhD as valid only if it were awarded by an AAU member institution.¹⁷¹

o AAC has represented the private four year colleges, mostly liberal arts and science, both large and small, both those that thrive and those that are more financially precarious. While these colleges graduate a relatively small percentage of the nations' degree holders, the more prestigious ones feed into the best graduate training programs. After historically eschewing any public role, they adopted a limited set of policy interests, particularly those concerned with student aid and equal access to federal programs for both private (secular and religious) and public sector institutions. These interests have overlapped little with the other associations and they have retained office space separate from One Dupont Circle.¹⁷²

o AACJC has represented the two year colleges, the single fastest growing segment of higher education throughout the 1960s and 70s. They have dealt with a different set of issues from others including strong interest in vocational and remedial education. Members also have strong ties to the secondary feeder schools and local business and government communities. They have different sources of political clout, too, because at least one institutional member is located in each congressional district in the country.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ King (1975), pp. 24-25; O. Meredith Wilson, "Private Systems of Education," in Perkins and Israel (1972), pp. 99-108. Wilson related the anecdote on p. 103.

¹⁷² King (1975), pp. 24-25. Also see the Carnegie Classification (1987) and (1976) discussion of four-year liberal arts colleges which are the major members.

¹⁷³ King (1975), pp. 24-25.

More specialized associations have developed within the framework of these comprehensive institutional associations. The associations for graduate and professional schools relate most closely to AAU or NASULGC. As part of the large university campuses or systems, many of their member schools represent Medical Colleges, Graduate Schools, Collegiate Schools of Business, Law Schools or Research Administrators. While they share common positions on copyright or tax laws, the substantive policy positions of the professional school associations tend to draw on the larger interests represented by their counterpart professions such as the American Medical Association or the American Bar Association. Increasingly they have been vocal advocates of federal support and of international activities including groups such as AACSB representing collegiate business schools or Association for Colleges of Teacher Education (AACTE) representing schools of education. The AACTE has tended to associate its interests and positions with AASCU and AAC where the membership overlaps the most. Special organizations representing religious colleges, financially precarious and historically black or minority small private colleges have generally worked with the AAC. Smaller associations of state colleges and universities or state systems including the historically black colleges and universities have generally worked within the orbit of AASCU or NASULGC. In addition, individual colleges and universities increasingly have their own staff for Washington representation duty, based either on campus or in Washington. As the federal interest in higher education has grown, the ranks of private entrepreneurs with representational or grants-writing skills also have grown.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ King (1975), pp. 29-36; Stephen K. Bailey, Education Interest Groups in the Nation's Capital, (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1975).

Table 2.2. below shows key years for the major institutional associations -- their founding as well as the year they officially opened programs in Washington, DC and federal relations programs. International issues units were created somewhat less systematically. ACE had a Standing Commission on International Education as early as 1954 primarily to facilitate contract negotiations for technical assistance overseas. ACE's current international unit began in 1974. NASULGC has had a standing committee and other organizational mechanisms to work with technical assistance and international studies since World War II. The AACJC began an international group as a task force in 1971-72. AASCU has created an international office more recently.

Table 2.2. Historical benchmarks of higher education associations¹⁷⁵

<u>Association</u>	<u>Founded</u>	<u>Office opened in D.C.</u>	<u>Federal program initiated</u>
NASULGC	1887	1947	1947
AAU	1900	1947	1968
ACE	1918	1918	1962
AACJC	1920	1939	1965
AAC	1915	1947	1968
AASCU	1961	1962	1967

In summary, market forces have been the predominant influence in shaping society-system interaction in the U.S. higher education system. Public policy works

¹⁷⁵ The table is adapted from King (1975), p. 112. For NASULGC, see Long and Campbell (1989), p. 149. For ACE, see Gumperz (1970), p.5.

with and through the highly differentiated, market responsive system of the more than 3000 institutions of higher education. Since World War II the federal government has become a major force in the institutional market of higher education through research grants and contracts. Federal influence on student markets has grown with the size and scope of student grants and loan programs. Also, since World War II the higher education associations have taken increasingly active roles in shaping the federal policy arena.

The public policy processes at the federal level in the U.S. are highly permeable and interactive with any sector targeted for legislative action. The legislative legacy provides the point of entry for understanding this side of the society-system equation. In the iron triangle of legislative and executive staffs and public interest groups, the higher education associations are a significant set of advocacy groups in the policy arena for international higher education.

The categorical approach of most federal programs with higher education has both created and calmed basic societal-system values conflicts. The early federal emphasis on supporting excellence coincided with the high academic value placed on excellence and quality but its exclusivity ran afoul of equity interests in society and the academy. The later federal emphasis on equity and balance reversed the tensions. As the federal presence in higher education grew after World War II, the conflicts over academic autonomy and government accountability or control grew, too. Higher education is best served by approaching federal policy on the basis of "realpolitick" rather than partnership, seeking to balance national, system and institutional interests in mutually beneficial ways.

Major changes worldwide -- global prominence after World War II, growth of the international facets of the national economy through 70s and 80s, and the collapse of Cold War in the 90s-- exerted pressure via market-like forces on all parts of higher education system. Public policy responded and led at different times. Public policy analysis provides a window on society-system interaction to help understand how federal programs have related to the internationalization of U.S. higher education.

D. Focus of the Research

The literature review has shown how the system works as opposed to the individual institutions within the higher education system; how external agents interact with and affect the introduction, institutionalization and diffusion of innovations across the U.S. higher education system; and how market and public policy forces have interacted with and shaped higher education. Particular attention was paid to defining the public policy arena related to the international dimension of higher education. In the overall society-system relationship, market forces and social choice mechanisms drive the basic innovation processes in the higher education system in the U.S. Federal programs have played important roles in building international capacity and the internationalization of the U.S. higher education system.

Figure 2.4. on page 154 presents a matrix of federal programs related to three dimensions of the higher education system to help focus on those that relate most directly to the institutionalizing international capacity within the higher education system. It describes the federal policy arena for international higher education with three vertical and three horizontal dimensions where federal policy and the higher

education system intersect. Vertically, the federal programs are targeted on: supporting the institutions of higher education per se; supporting programs like sciences or foreign languages or types of institutions of higher education generally research or minority institutions of higher education or libraries; or drawing on higher education system as the principal pool of talent or resources. Horizontally, one or more of three basic elements of the higher education system has related to these programs: the disciplinary dimension of faculty and professionals as associations and individuals; the institutional dimension of peer institution associations, state or regionally oriented groups and individual institutional leadership; and the societal-linking or market dimension of students and other clientele like parents, employers, contractors and alumni/ae.

Internationalization of the higher education system requires strengthening both disciplinary and enterprise dimensions, i.e. the overall institutional capacity of the professions. Higher education systems have separated their activities at the national level among different types of institutions, both vertically and horizontally. The U.S.system. Federal initiatives entered in any block of the matrix (Figure 2.4.) may be used by higher education to help institutionalize and strengthen its international capacities. The programs in the middle of the matrix, in the categorical-enterprise block, coincide most directly with the institutionalization of innovation needs associated with internationalization. Title VI of the NDEA and later of the HEA as well as Title XII of the FAA will be the focus of in-depth analysis in the next chapters. The national infrastructure approach was never adopted in the international

higher education policy arena. One may only speculate on its potential impact on internationalization.

Two empirically oriented questions will guide the analysis and help respond to the broad set of questions posed in Chapter I. First, how effective have the federal case programs been in achieving their legislative aims *per se*? Second, what do higher education participation patterns in the case programs reveal about the effectiveness of the programs *per se* and their impact on the structure and capacity of the international dimension of the higher education system? The next chapter discusses the methodology to respond to these questions.

HE SYSTEM FACETS FEDERAL FOCUS	DISCIPLINE AND/OR PROFESSIONAL FIELD (individual, groups or academic/prof'l assns)	ENTERPRISE (Indiv. or multicampus institutions of HE or inst'l assns of HE)	CLIENTS
INSTITUTIONAL (HE as end; state or private sector)	NA	Facilities support (inc lang labs) -HEFA	NA
INSTRUMENTAL (HE as primary means)	Research National Infrastructure -NSF, NIH, NIE, etc. (basic and applied research grants)	Categorial programs -NDEA/HEA Title VI (lang & area studies) -FAA Title XII (ag develop assistance)	Student aid program (general, may be applied to IS degree)
RELATED (HE as one of the means)	Research (contracted) -Defense, EPA, etc. Exchange of indiv. -Fulbright, USIA Development Assistance -TA, research (CRSP)	Development Assistance -Trg, inst'l project	Exchange of indiv. -Fulbright, USIA

Adapted from Gladieux & Wolanin (1976), B.R. Clark (1983)

Note: Secondary effects between matrix sections are implicit. HE = High Education

Figure 2.4. Matrix of federal legislative acts related to different dimensions of the higher education system

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the research design and methodology chosen to explore the relationship of key federal programs with the internationalization of the U.S. higher education system. The questions posed in the first two chapters will be refined and specified as specific research guides. The general research approach and the choice of two specific federal case programs is explained and justified. The specific analytic methods and data sources are described as are the limits of the study.

In the U.S., internationalization of higher education has resulted from an evolutionary interaction of the higher education system with multiple external and internal forces. Both advocacy and analytic writings have pointed to the federal government role in supporting and shaping higher education, especially in its international dimension. The federal government also has sponsored various reports and research on the subject. By focusing on the higher education system as the unit of analysis, this study provides insight into the context of research focused on other units of analysis such as individual colleges and universities, disciplinary groups, undergraduate or professional school curriculum, study abroad programs and academic organization and leadership. This study draws on and complements the insights of earlier national studies of the international dimension of higher education. This study focuses on historical public policy developments of the 1958-1988 period.¹

¹ Gumperz (1970), Sanders and Ward (1970), Burn (1980).

A. Analytic Framework

Market forces and social choice processes are the predominant influences on the introduction, institutionalization and diffusion of innovations across the U.S. higher education system. They have been the prime forces driving the internationalization of the U.S. higher education system. Still, public policy processes and particular federal programs have played important roles in building international capacity of and internationalizing the U.S. higher education system.

That scenario translate into the working hypothesis of this study. The more congruent the federal programs have been with the internationalization goals of the higher education system, the more effectively they will have sustained and diffused international capacity within and across the system. The investigation begins by making explicit the notion of an internationalization ideal for the U.S. higher education system. This heuristic device represents the system's goals. Analysis of historical data about federal program goals, guidelines and resources as well as about higher education institutions' participation in federal programs begins to reveal federal intentions about and effects on higher education's international capacity.

Two questions will guide the exploration and refinement of this working hypothesis. Separate analyses will focus on each. 1) How effective have the federal case programs been in achieving their legislative aims *per se*? The question provides a framework for analyzing the effectiveness of policy implementation based on the goals and methods approved in the legislation. Congruence with the internationalization ideal is highly likely since the programs have been selected for their explicit interest in building international education institutional capacity. In

answering this question, the study may shed light on what the cumulative policy changes and lessons about National Defense Education Act, Title VI and the Foreign Assistance Act, Title XII suggest about the federal role in internationalizing higher education in the post-cold war era. 2) What do higher education participation patterns in the case programs reveal about the effectiveness of these federal case programs and their impact on the structure and capacity of the international dimension of the higher education system? The question provides a relatively simple framework to analyze the diffusion effects of the programs on the system, comparing results to stated goals of the programs and the internationalization ideal for the higher education system.

The study focuses on the interaction of society and the higher education system from the vantage point of legislative history tracing federal policy and its implementation through the international education policy arena. In a review of over fifteen case studies, Sabatier found using such a top-down, policy implementation analysis approach, i.e., one starting with the legislation, to be useful in four situations: 1) When the "investigator is primarily interested in the mean policy outputs and outcomes;" 2) when the investigator is interested in "the effectiveness of a program;" 3) when "there is a dominant program in the policy area under consideration;" or 4) when "research funds are very limited."² Drawing from studies in Europe and the U.S., Sabatier also found that the case study approach was perhaps the only feasible way to study policy implementation. It helped to avoid

² Sabatier (1986), pp.21-48; Sabatier and Mazmanian (1981), p. 25.

severe information overload in the longer timeframes that he found useful.³

Sabatier's "mean policy outputs" roughly equate with the system level effects terminology used in the literature review.

Drawing from his research on 300 educational innovations in the U.S., Berman found it useful to differentiate between *micro* and *macro* implementation effects. Micro referred to implementation within formal organizations like schools, governmental agencies or health care centers. While the actual operations within the micro setting may be extremely fluid, unique and even conflicted, "they nonetheless follow tacit operating rules of the game, established roles, and routinized procedures. There often are, in short, enduring patterns of behavior in national policy settings, which can be called the setting's macro-structure."⁴ The study focuses on the macro structure, the system level, the mean policy outputs rather than inter-local variation at the micro or institutional level.

The major period for analysis of the case programs is 1958-1980. Events through 1988 are explored because of lag factors inherent in U.S. policy implementation. As seen in Chapter 2, the two major studies of the historical development of the international dimension of higher education in the U.S. conducted by Gumperz and McCaughey ended roughly in the late 1960s or early 1970s so it is a natural place to try to pick up the story. The late 1960s were also the transition period between the Ford Foundation and the federal government as the perceived

³ Sabatier (1986), p. 39.

⁴ Berman (1980), pp. 218-219.

major player among the external actors. As Lambert and Burn showed, by 1980 the challenges of international dimension were largely appreciated within the higher education community. For much of the twenty year period (1960-1980), the resource constraints were severe facing both higher education and the federal government. Hansot and Tyack indicated that such fiscal pressures generally force social institutions to make the hard choices and even shift their destinies. By 1980, there had developed a substantial voice within higher education to strengthen the international dimension. The term internationalization was coming into vogue by the end of the period, with definite overtones of institutional integration. At the national level, the balance among foreign policy imperatives began shifting, most notably decreasing on security issues and increasing on economic issues. The end of the Cold War in 1989 added new staging notes but the outline of the play had been written earlier for higher education's internationalization.

The case programs have been drawn from the education and foreign affairs streams of federal policy. Both were chosen for their explicit intent to strengthen the institutional capacity of U.S. higher education institutions. The study will focus on two federal programs: 1) language, area and international studies administered by the Department of Education under Title VI of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and the subsequent Higher Education Acts (Title VI); and, 2) development assistance programs administered by the Agency for International Development (AID) under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and its amendments, particularly Title XII in 1975. The Title VI program is subject to an in-depth legislative history case analysis over three periods from 1958-1980. The AID program is subject to a less

thorough case analysis as a counterpoint to Title VI. Institutional participation analysis is conducted for both programs with additional attention to the details of Title VI participation patterns. By comparing programs from two distinct policy streams, the author highlights differences in goals, implementation and political interests; identifies key points that might not surface from single program analysis; and provides a more complete picture of the effects of federal programs on the overall higher education system.⁵

1. Specifying Internationalization as an Analytic Lead Concept

An internationalization ideal for the higher education system is specified as a heuristic device at two levels: First, within individual institutions of higher education and second, for the entire higher education system. The author has constructed such an ideal by drawing on recent research completed by two separate writers, Afonso and Henson, and by adapting the ideal to the lessons of the knowledge model and other system models of higher education covered in the literature review.⁶ An historical analysis technique has helped orient this task. After describing the historical technique, the section develops the ideal in two steps, first at the level of individual institutions of higher education and then at the system level.

⁵ Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman, Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods, (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1984). See their comments on the value of comparisons across cases, pp. 151-152.

⁶ Janet Davis Afonso, The International Dimension of American Higher Education, Dissertation for the University of Arizona, 1990; Henson, Noel, Gillard-Byers and Ingle (1990).

The historians' technique of colligation may be used to help link historical developments with current concepts or events. In its generic sense, Hodysh said that "colligation indicates a 'binding together' of isolated data usually for the purpose of generalization." For historical analysis, he expanded on the term describing it as the "process of explaining an event by simply tracing its connection to other events, thereby locating it in historical context." Using this form of explanation, an analyst may focus on "dominant concepts or leading ideas" to group and classify events and establish their order and connections. Internationalization may serve as such a dominant or lead concept. Hodysh recommended taking care when introducing a current "term to account for the data of an earlier historical time" but recognized that problems could be offset by consistent treatment of data and hypotheses especially since concepts and policies tend to have long roots.⁷ In the case of using internationalization as the colligation focal point, the historical period selected is relatively brief and recent which further reduces the problem of importing a current term into a different spatio-temporal setting.

Hodysh highlighted the importance of consistency of usage and definition of the colligatory focal concept. Two terms discussed in the literature review have defined the concepts underlying internationalization of higher education, i.e. international education and international dimension. International education focused primarily on the disciplinary element with a set of academic and academically related

⁷ Henry W. Hodysh, "Objectivity and History in the Study of Higher Education: A Note on the Methodology of Research," The Canadian Journal of Higher Education/La revue canadienne d'enseignement superieur, Vol. XVII-1, 1987, pp. 83-93.

programs and activities. International dimension focused on the institutional or enterprise element that encompasses and enables international education.

Internationalization focused on the dynamic transformation of higher education, its institutions and the entire system, its disciplinary and enterprise elements. Recall Henson defined internationalization as: "...the incorporation of international content, materials, activities, and understanding into the teaching, research, and public service functions of universities to enhance their relevance in an interdependent world."⁸

a. Internationalization at the Institutional Level

Two recent studies have provided an empirical basis for further specifying internationalization as a colligatory concept. Both Afonso's and Henson's research identified a set of international education elements focused on academic and academic support elements. Henson also identified institutional or enterprise elements associated with internationalization within individual colleges and universities that described the international dimension. Henson's work also provided an empirical basis for specifying internationalization across the higher education system. Other authors, i.e. B.R. and T.N. Clark in Chapter 2, described supplementary elements required to internationalize the system, i.e., disciplinary and institutional associations and active communication networks to transmit and evaluate information about internationalization efforts.

⁸ Henson (1990), p. 3.

Henson led a two tier research project. The first tier consisted of survey research with 183 universities, mostly those granting doctorates and enrolling 5000 or more students. The second tier consisted of in depth case study data from 237 administrators at 10 of the universities. Of the universities covered, 64 were public land-grant institutions, 61 were public not land-grant and 44 were private. Also, 14 historically black colleges and universities (HBCU's) were included although they generally fall outside the group of doctorate granting institutions. The unique characteristics of each university and its immediate environment were found to be very important to successful internationalization. He found leadership at all levels made a critical difference. The results showed that:

"each university is unique but there are generic factors that appear to cut across many, if not most, universities: resources, program activities, leadership and management, organization, and external environment. The presence and characteristics of these factors and their interrelationships determine successful internationalization. A key ingredient is how these factors and their interrelationships are managed with the context of the university environment."⁹

Afonso developed a composite index score of the international dimension of higher education institutions in the U.S. using variables which could be measured using existing national data sets. Her index coincided largely with Henson's program activities element. Her data also focused on external funding for the international dimension of higher education, especially the Higher Education Act (HEA) Title VI, the National Science Foundation (NSF) grants with an international focus, U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) programs and National Association of

⁹ Henson, Noel, Gillard-Byers and Ingle (1990), p. 2.

Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA) grants. Afonso developed her index for the 102 Research I, II institutions in the Carnegie classification of 1987, a more narrowly defined group than Henson's. Afonso's index omitted institutional patterns for organizing or administering the international dimension because there were no nationally available data series to contribute to her index.¹⁰

Table 3.1. Internationalization elements in institutions of higher education summarizes and combines the elements that Henson and Afonso both found to be important in internationalizing institutions of higher education. In each element, the greater the variety, growth or internal support for a given sub-element, the more robust the internationalization pattern at the institution. Both authors found the leadership and management element to be the most important, bar none. For example, under the sub-element policies and practices, Henson found faculty promotion, tenure and merit (PTM) policies for faculty with overseas interests to be particularly important. Because of the time away from the department and teaching, overseas research or particularly consulting could be a detriment to long-term career prospects unless there was a pro-internationalization PTM policy. Henson found organizational structure to be the least important of the elements although it was clear that a single facilitative international program unit located near the heart of the central administration was the strongest organizational form. Still, multiple program units also were found to work when combined with strong leadership. The resources element was broadly defined to include human resources, incentives and funding.

¹⁰ Afonso (1990).

Table 3.1. Internationalization elements in institutions of higher education

Element #1: Leadership and Management

- o commitment, i.e. congruence between resources and rhetoric on internationalization
- o policies and practices pro-internationalization
- o strategic, results oriented approach to internationalization
- o allocation of resources for international activities, i.e. the structure of commitments and incentives recognizes the international dimension

Element #2: Organizational Structure

- o locus of coordination, centrality important for international program unit
- o linkages and synergy cross-campus of international interests
- o internal culture supportive, pro-internationalization

Element #3: Program Activities Mix

- o foreign language curriculum-courses-enrollments-degrees
- o undergraduate international curriculum-courses-degrees
- o international movement of students: foreign students on campus, undergraduate study abroad and graduate student research overseas
- o international movement of faculty: visiting scholars on campus from overseas and faculty travelling overseas
- o international development cooperation activities such as training on campus, technical assistance, research projects overseas or for overseas use
- o advanced graduate training and research in global themes and world areas
- o extended and continuing education includes international efforts

Element #4: Resources

- o faculty capacity and interest in international issues and activities
- o funds, both internal and external for internationalization
- o administrators supportive and actively pro-international at central, departmental, school, faculty levels
- o incentives and rewards available for internationalization

Element #5: External Environment

- o general global awareness
- o stakeholder demand for internationalization, i.e., alumni/ae, donors
- o benefits perceived and linkages with extra-university supporters of internationalization
- o external funding sources available, especially to leverage internal funds for international activities

Table adapted from Henson (1990) and Afonso (1990).

Indeed Henson's questionnaire responses indicated that the resources sub-element, faculty, was the most important single element in internationalization (ranked #1 by 94.4% of his respondents.) The second most important resource sub-element was funds (93% of respondents) with external funds important for leveraging internal

funds. The importance of leadership was confirmed by Henson's finding that the resource sub-element of administrators was ranked third most important overall (91.6% of his respondents).

This set of internationalization elements was developed from a subset of the entire range of higher education institutions in the U.S., i.e., doctorate granting and research universities with a small group of HBCU's that tend to be comprehensive universities or four-year colleges. To reflect the entire range of institutions from research universities to two-year colleges, the first four elements may be viewed as institutional and sufficiently generic to be adapted to any type of institutions of higher education. The final element, program activities mix, must be adjusted according to location of the college in the vertical hierarchy from research universities to two-year colleges according to its ownership status, public and private. All institutions are likely to include in their program mix a core of international elements: foreign languages, undergraduate and/or graduate courses and degrees, international movement of students and faculty and perhaps even development cooperation. The larger, more specialized institutions will have more or deeper capacity in each of these elements -- greater variety and more levels of foreign languages, multiple levels of degrees from Bachelors through PhD, or greater variety of interdisciplinary theme or area oriented research and teaching programs. Only the top research and specialized institutions will have extensive graduate training and research programs. Service-oriented and teaching institutions are unlikely to focus on graduate training and research or graduate research overseas yet they could have a strong interdisciplinary teaching program, perhaps focused on several world regions. Public

and land-grant institutions are more likely than private institutions to address extended and continuing education in either international subjects or domestic matters.

The colligatory concept of international education coincides with the element program activities; the international dimension concept coincides with the other four institutional elements. Yet these elements represent only the micro level, the individual institutions of higher education. These micro elements must be adapted to specify the larger dynamic covered the internationalization at the system level.

b. Internationalization Across the System

A recap of assumptions about the dynamics of the larger national system may be useful. The U.S. higher education system has been shown to be one of the more innovative and flexible systems around the world: first, it is highly differentiated vertically and horizontally; second, market competition rather than government regulation defines the primary mode of interaction within the system and with society permitting substantial institutional autonomy; third, it has highly developed disciplinary and institutional communication networks across the system that are open and well-traveled. Within such a dynamic system, external actors play important roles in introducing and/or supporting change efforts within higher education. Because of the overall values-balancing dynamic inherent at the national system level, values congruence is important for permanent institutionalization of external agents' innovations within higher education. Also, Garvin's discussion of the economics of higher education in the literature review suggested that barriers to entry into externally funded programs may spur competition and innovation within higher

education in the U.S. High standards have tended to make externally funded programs more desirable and participating institutions more likely objects of emulation if not subjects of active imitation.

Henson's research provided a bridge linking the lessons of individual institution of higher education to the system level with his spectrum of internationalization. Henson developed an index score for the degree of internationalization of each university and plotted them to obtain a frequency distribution. Based on this frequency distribution of survey respondents and the case study information, he created a twenty cell matrix. The matrix described typical institutions at four degrees of internationalization from high to low according to the five elements influencing internationalization described in Table 3.1. above. Henson's matrix provided a tool for measuring the movement of institutions along the internationalization path. Yet it ignored the system linking variables, the communication processes and networks that were shown to be important to systemwide change processes in the literature review. The system linking variable may be integrated fairly easily into Henson's other elements by explicitly recognizing membership and leadership roles in various higher education associations, both disciplinary and institutional. While this does not cover all possible communication variables, it is relatively straightforward and is supported in the literature as an important indicator of the network functions of higher education.

Table 3.2. below illustrates the internationalization dynamics characteristic of the U.S. higher education system. It was adapted primarily from Henson's matrix and supplemented by system-linking elements. The figure illustrates each of the five

elements identified by Henson and his colleagues collapsing their four levels into two to simplify the illustration of the path of transformation for different types of institutions in the higher education system. They show only two degrees of internationalization, lower on the left and higher on the right. Technical constraints prevented showing them linked and crisscrossing each other.¹¹

The research underlying this illustration made clear that the heaviest lifting of internationalization falls to forces and actors within higher education. It also showed clearly a serious role for external agents and forces -- to provide outside moral support and pressure for internal advocates of internationalization; to provide funding for new program activities or to leverage additional internal resources; to host or channel foreign visitors and visiting faculty and students between the U.S. and other countries; or to nurture and legitimate a pro-internationalization culture. The system linking variables, especially association membership, have appeared in virtually every element in the illustrations. As seen in the literature review, two of the main purposes of national institutional associations have been to share information among members and to advocate for their members interests with societal actors, increasingly with the federal government. The formation of international units within the national associations served to reinforce their importance as system links in promoting internationalization of higher education. Also, horizontal links among institutions as they form consortia or partnerships to take advantage of external resources or economies of scale provide further system links in the internationalization process.

¹¹ Figure adapted from Henson (1990) and Afonso (1990).

Table 3.2. Internationalization dynamics of the higher education system

Lower degree of internationalization

Higher degree of internationalization

1) Leadership and Management

- o Leadership support nascent to some degree
- o Resources do not match rhetoric, sporadic support to obtain external funding
- o Little information for planning
- o Disincentives in faculty policies for overseas work, i.e, promotion/tenure/merit
- o Few or weak links with national associations' international offices

- o Leadership strong at all levels: officers, deans, faculty
- o Resources match rhetoric, serious long-term commitment to international elements
- o International as regular part of planning
- o Neutral to supportive faculty policies for overseas work
- o Strong or multiple links with national associations' international offices

2) Organization

- o Office of foreign students plus pressure from some other program units pro-international
- o Weak links among interested parties
- o Little support in organizational culture
- o Institutional member of NAFSA, other international associations limited to individual memberships on campus

- o Multiple linked offices or strong central office
- o Interested parties linked across campus
- o Supportive organizational culture
- o Institutional member of NAFSA and other internationally focused consortia, associations and groups

3) Program Activities

- o Some international and area courses in social sciences/humanities; minors maybe
- o Some foreign languages offered but not required; most common ones
- o Growing number of overseas students but few U.S. students involved in study abroad
- o Occasional faculty travel overseas but infrequent visiting scholars from overseas
- o Some development cooperation but not linked to other campus activity
- o Public service clientele hostile or disinterested to intl programming

- o Variety of intl degrees offered: BA to PhD as appropriate to the institution
- o Many foreign languages offered and/or required; enrollments rising
- o Regular movement of U.S. and overseas students including graduate research
- o Regular movement of faculty from and to overseas for teaching and research
- o Multi-disciplinary research/teaching in area & global themes & languages
- o Development cooperation linked to other academic program activities
- o Public service clientele neutral to interested in international services

4) Resources

- o Administrators supportive, little flexibility
- o Faculty with intl capacity limited, few with interest in international teaching/research
- o Funds limited for international activity
- o Few external grants beyond development cooperation
- o Library w/ few international books-journals; virtually all English materials

- o Administrators active, articulate, flexible
- o Faculty core internationally competent, many interested
- o Pro-intl incentive funds available through internal competitions
- o Frequent external funds from many sources
- o Library collection with regional/theme focus and non-English materials

5) External Environment

- o Little demand from stakeholders and clients
- o Weak links between pro-international elements on and off campus
- o National institutional association tepid or newly aware of internationalization

- o Strong demand by stakeholders and key clients for intl programs
- o Strong links between pro-international elements off and on campus
- o National institutional association active pro-internationalization

To recap, a core assumption of this study is that international education is widely accepted in the U.S. higher education system and that the international dimension is gaining strength. The challenge is to strengthen, institutionalize and extend those capacities across the entire system. An internationalization ideal has been specified as a heuristic device. Key phrases have been defined. International education represents the disciplinary side of higher education. This fundamental academic building block is equivalent to the program activities element of the illustrations. The international dimension represents the institutional or enterprise aspects of higher education and is equivalent to the other four elements of the illustrations. Internationalization has been specified using a five element profile for individual institutions of higher education. To represent the dynamics at the system level the five element profile was expanded to ten, showing lower and higher levels characteristic of each element. The elements of the internationalization ideal will be compared with the elements included and excluded from the federal case programs. This will form the basis for analyzing the congruence between the higher education system internationalization and public policy goals and programs over thirty years.

McCaughey wryly observed that "internationalization admits to almost infinite regression." This is useful for advocates of internationalization but problematic for researchers. Measuring progress toward an infinite goal is an infinite task. The finite task of this study is to determine how the goals have shifted and how the actors in the policy arena have attempted to craft federal programs to support or stymie them. The policy implementation analysts have developed a methodology to aid in that task. The next section turns to that methodology.

2. Policy Implementation Effectiveness

This section addresses the first question -- How effective have the federal case programs been in achieving their legislative aims *per se*? The case programs have been selected based on their potential contribution to the internationalization ideal of higher education. The approach is adapted from the framework for analyzing policy change developed by Sabatier and others as presented in the literature review. After a brief recap of the federal government role in higher education, the methodology and a set of five basic conditions are refined specifically for the higher education sector and its international enterprise. The first stage of the case analysis focuses on the legislative process, identifying major periods of shifting policy goals and identifying the societal forces and the advocacy coalitions affecting those goals. The second stage of the case analysis focuses on the policy implementation process, addressing both executive and legislative factors. In both stages, the case studies consider congruence with the internationalization ideal. The focus on policy implementation as well as legislative goals encourages consideration of the range of higher education interaction with the federal programs. It does not imply one-way influence of federal programs toward higher education.

Recalling the accretive nature of federal policy in the U.S., specific case programs serve as a microcosm of the shifting national interest in higher education and its international dimensions. The policy arena for international higher education includes sets of advocacy coalitions -- higher education associations, institutional leaders, faculty leaders, citizen and corporate advocates, legislative and executive branch officials. They compete and collaborate in their attempts to mold federal

policy and programs to their visions. Core values of higher education are translated through policymaking processes into normative value-sets summarized in legislation and appropriations. Such core policies are adjusted over time through the implementation process, legislative review and political evaluation. It was shown that adaptive rather than programmed implementation processes were generally best suited to higher education policies related to internationalization. The specific case programs will be discussed more fully in the data collection and methodology section.

There is a relatively rich literature on the intra-institutional dynamics of international higher education and an growing literature on the dynamics of internationalization within groups of universities and colleges. Public policy and government programs have been included in most of these analyses. Few if any have focused on the national system effects of public policy or used legislative intent as the starting point. Gladieux and Wolanin provided an excellent framework for higher education policy analysis but not in its international dimensions. The Sabatier framework for understanding policy change, drawing heavily on the top-down approach and supplemented by insights from Gladieux and Wolanin, provides the empirical framework for the case studies. The choice is explained below.

Based on the empirical results of the 24 different applications of different variants of the top-down policy implementation case analysis, Sabatier's evaluation of the methodology was positive. He found six conditions were associated with effective policy implementation, namely: Consistent objectives, adequate causal theory, adequate legal structuring of implementation, skilled and supportive implementing officials, support of interest groups and sovereigns, and relatively stable

socio-economic environment. A longer timeframe for study of implementation effectiveness was useful because it showed "the importance of learning by program proponents over time as they became aware of deficiencies in the original program and sought improved legal and political strategies for dealing with them." Also positive was the focus on legally mandated objectives which seemed to help "produce a less pessimistic evaluation of governmental effectiveness." He wrote that:

"...the focus on legally mandated objectives encouraged scholars to carefully distinguish the objectives contained in legal documents from both the political rhetoric surrounding policy formulation and the tendency of critics to evaluate a program on the basis of what they mistakenly perceived to be its objectives."¹²

On the negative side, he found that the top-down approach and its six conditions focused too much on proponents and not enough on target groups as the bottom-uppers argued. Also, it was not well adapted to the desirable longer timeframe partly because the longer time span created the need to aggregate actors into a manageable number of groups if researchers were to avoid severe information overload. The bottom-up methods of analyzing policy networks and coalitions provided useful methods for resolving this weakness. After examining several options, the most useful principle of aggregation seemed to be by belief system. This produced a focus on 'advocacy coalitions,' i.e. "actors from various public and private organization who share a set of beliefs and who seek to realize their common goals over time." Advocacy coalitions allowed recognizing not only program proponents but other actors in accord with the bottom-up approach. Another bow to

¹² Sabatier (1986), p. 28.

the bottom-up approach was associated with the longer timeframe, namely a greater emphasis on tracking the influence of changes in the socio-economic and bureaucratic environment on the policy as it was implemented and modified over time. As Sabatier described it, the expanded framework started from the bottom-up "focus on the policy *problem* or subsystem -- rather than a law or other policy *decision* -- and then examines the strategies employed by relevant actors in both the public and private sectors at various levels of government as they attempt to deal with the issue consistent with their objectives." In addition to the traditional top-down assumptions, the expanded framework considered: external changes affecting policy actors' resources and strategies; attempts by actors to modify the legal aspects of a program; as well as actors efforts to improve their "understanding of the magnitude and factors affecting the problem -- as well as the impacts of various policy instruments -- as they learn from experience."¹³

In conclusion, Sabatier suggested the following criteria for applying the top-down rather than the bottom-up approach:

"The top-down approach is useful, first, in cases where there is a dominant public program in the policy area under consideration or where the analyst is solely interested in the effectiveness of a program. ...the top-down approach is more useful in making a preliminary assessment of which approach to use: To the extent that the scores on the six conditions of effective implementation are relatively high and the investigator is primarily interested in the mean policy outputs and outcomes, then the top-down approach is appropriate. On the other hand, in cases where the scores on the six conditions are relatively low and one is interested in inter-local variation, then the bottom-up approach should be employed. When scores on the six conditions are

¹³ Sabatier (1986), pp. 38-39. The focus on belief systems to identify advocacy coalitions fit with B.R. Clark's findings on their importance in higher education overall.

moderate or mixed, the appropriate methodology depends on whether on is primarily interested in mean responses or in assessing inter-local variation. The top-down is more appropriate for the former because it focuses on the extent to which the overall system is structured/constrained. The bottom-up focuses on local implementation structures, and thus is better for assessing the dynamics of local variation." (emphasis his)¹⁴

With these cautions and additions, the top-down approach with its well-tested set of conditioning factors, has been chosen as the guiding methodology for this study because the study's focus is on a problem, namely internationalization of higher education; mean impact on the overall system not inter-local variation among institutions of higher education; and is on two specific and relatively small federal program cases. A final pragmatic reason is the lack of substantial resources for the research beyond the author's own. Since there have been no other applications of this methodology to the international education problem sets to the author's knowledge, the uncertainties surrounding the topic provide another reason for relying on the better known, more concise top-down methodology. In addition, the higher education and international education literature has provided a wealth of secondary evidence of the interests and activities of the target group of higher education which has also provided some of the major program proponents. The higher education associations have served as vocal and well-documented members of the policy arena, coalescing into varying advocacy coalitions to affect and implement policies affecting internationalization.

¹⁴ Sabatier (1986), pp. 36-37.

The top-down approach also is appealing because of its emphasis on case programs that illustrate various aspects of policy implementation, learning and change over time. The case study approach has offered a rich methodology for the historical and qualitative analysis required of such complex subject matter as the internationalization of higher education. The criteria for choosing programs to be studied included: That they be attributed a significant role in the international higher education literature; that they have explicit interests in the institutionalization of international capacity in the higher education system; that they have functioned continuously since after World War II; that they represent different parts of the federal policy stream related to international higher education; that they meet the minimum criteria for applying the "top-down policy implementation methodology especially in terms of having a dominant piece of legislation that structures the implementation situation at least moderately well; and that there be adequate documentary and numeric evidence available for their study.

The programs most frequently mentioned in the literature of higher education have been Title VI, Fulbright, Ford Foundation's International Training and Research Program (ITR) and AID. Fulbright and the Ford ITR program were dismissed. Ford ITR was substantial but was neither federal nor was it active throughout the period. Fulbright has had substantial influence but has had no direct institutional interest in higher education although its support has helped to develop key institutional resources, i.e. faculty and graduate students. Other international grants programs such as those of the National Science Foundation or Arts and Humanities Endowments similarly had scant interest in institutional development of international capacity. In

addition, there were over 300 federal programs related to international higher education according to Wiprud's count in 1980.¹⁵ Despite their numbers, most of the programs were limited in scope and duration, ruling them out of this study.¹⁶

The study focuses on the Title VI and AID programs. Title VI presents an open and shut case for several reasons. It had explicit institutionalization goals from the beginning; had continuous programming since 1958. It was the dominant legislative program in the higher educational stream of federal policy related to internationalizing higher education. It has reasonable data availability both from secondary and primary sources. Both Henson's and Afonso's empirical work supported the choice of Title VI as a case study program. Because of the strength of the case for inclusion of Title VI, it is the subject of the full legislative case history as well as the institutional participation or structural impact analysis.

The rationale for including AID programs was less overwhelming but supportable. There has been continuous programming with institutions of higher education since Truman's Point Four program in 1947 and it has represented a substantial stream of federal resources from the foreign affairs arena. Secondary

¹⁵ Wiprud (1980). See also an earlier listing of international education programs: International Education Resources: A Summary of Research Projects and Reports funded by the Department of Education, National Institute of Education and the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education, cumulative second edition 1956-77, (Washington, D.C.: Department of Education, undated).

¹⁶ Wiprud (1980), Burn (1980), McCaughey (1984), Gumperz (1970), Henson (1990), Afonso (1990) among others. For more specific legislative references, see the Congressional Information Service publications.

sources have been adequate and primary data was available to trace AID funding flows to institutions in different parts of the U.S. higher education system. The AID program fell short on intent to support the institutionalization of international capacity within higher education despite the rhetoric of the major framework legislation provided with the 1975 Title XII amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act. Afonso factored out the AID variable for lack of statistical significance in her internationalization index. Henson found the AID variable to be important to internationalization, especially in its earlier stages on campus. Because of the mixed fit of the AID program with the full criteria, it is addressed as a counterpoint to the full legislative case study of Title VI but receives fuller treatment in the institutional participation analysis.

The case programs are analyzed in two stages. The analysis first covers legislative aims *per se* and, second their recognition of the internationalization ideal. Based on Sabatier's findings and the literature review, one overriding assumption is that stability and longevity are conducive to institutionalizing innovations in higher education including those in the international dimension. The first stage serves to bound the case analysis and establish major periods of continuity and change by focusing on exogenous factors and shifts in the advocacy coalitions over time, asking questions primarily of the legislative process. The second stage delves into the policy implementation process primarily with executive agencies and implementors focusing on Sabatier's five conditioning factors: Objectives; causal theory; implementation structuring; implementing agency skill; and interest group support. In each, questions and assumptions specific to international higher education derived from the lessons of

the literature review have been added to complement Sabatier's empirical framework. The Title VI program is analyzed in substantial detail, AID more cursorily.

The first stage of the case analysis has been broken into three sections identified in Sabatier's methodology, each with detailed questions. The questions provided guideposts for the legislative history rather than detailed directions for analysis. First, for the **relatively stable system parameters** there are four guide questions. 1) What elements of continuity with and digression from existing legislation were encompassed in this particular program? 2) What basic attributes of higher education did the legislation address, especially in terms of their congruence with the internationalization ideal? 3) Did the program abide within or try to alter any of the following: the basic distribution of resources in the sector? the basic constitutional structure and underlying rules of the federal government and/or of the higher education system? or the membership in the international higher education policy arena? 4) What do the legislative goals of the programs reveal about the balance of core values of autonomy, equity and excellence?

Second, for the **relatively dynamic events external to the international higher education policy arena**, there are two guide questions. 1) Was there a particular catalyst or shift in socio-economic conditions or technology driving the program's progress or initiation? 2) Were there changes in the governing coalition or policy decisions or impacts from other policy arenas driving or affecting the program's design, intent or progress? Sabatier's sixth conditioning factor socio-economic change is included in this discussion.

Third, for the **advocacy coalitions**, there are four guide questions. 1) How did their membership and their strategies change vis a vis the case program over time? 2) What did their membership, advocacy, interaction and/or publishing patterns reveal about the balance of core values between federal government and higher education? 3) What did they suggest about the perception of program effectiveness for international higher education? 4) What did they suggest about the structural effects of the program on the internationalization of the higher education system?

The second stage of the case analysis delves into the policy implementation process primarily focused on the executive agencies along with the relevant higher education and legislative actors. Each of Sabatier's five factors conditioning policy implementation effectiveness will be addressed with sets of guide questions based on the particularities of the higher education system in the U.S. and the lessons on effective external agency in the institutionalization of innovation outlined in the literature review. The internationalization ideal has provided a second set of more specific questions. A set of questions and assumptions are presented for each of five conditional factors.

Conditional Factor #1: Clarity and consistency of objectives. Consistency around a core set of objectives was found to be more common than clarity in a sense of explicit meaning. Perhaps this ambiguity provided both political and operational flexibility that could be part of a refinement process. Rather Sabatier and Mazmanian found that most programs "incorporate a multitude of partially-conflicting objectives," which does not, "preclude the possibility for assessing program effectiveness" but rather suggests that it, "needs to be reconceptualized into the 'acceptability space'..."

In earlier work with Mazmanian, Sabatier found that the less ambiguous the objectives, the greater they were as a source of "political capital for implementors. Objectives were useful in making clear the structuring of the implementation process within the assigned agency, especially in terms of relative priority of the new activity relative to other existing ones. At a minimum, they found that objectives needed to provide substantive criteria for resolving conflicts over the implementation process. Both Berman and Sabatier found that programs with more ambitious objectives were more likely to be implemented successfully.¹⁷

Three additional sets of guide questions formed the basis for reviewing legislative goals in relationship to the internationalization ideal. 1) To what degree were the legislative goals congruent with internationalization ideal? This overarching question may be broken down into: Which of the five internationalization elements described in the ideal did the program promote and directly support? allow or encourage but not support directly? ignore? or deny? The program activities element served as a threshold indicator of the external program's effectiveness in supporting internationalization, varying directly with the number and scope of the activities covered, i.e., faculty travel, study abroad, visiting scholars, new courses, etc. The more direct the support or the more explicit the encouragement, the more likely the program had a positive effect; ignorance may be neutral; express prohibition, negative in relationship to the program's effect on internationalization of higher education. The four institutional elements may be addressed under objectives but

¹⁷ Sabatier (1986) p. 29; Sabatier and Mazmanian (1981), p. 10; Berman (1980).

more likely fall under condition #2 or #3. Nonetheless, to the extent the legislative objectives addressed institutional elements directly, they would have greater impact. What parts of the system, groups of institutions, have been targeted explicitly or implicitly in the legislative intent and types of funding, e.g. research or teaching institutions, public or private? 2) To what degree were the funding levels via appropriations consistent with the legislative goals? If the legislation is not funded, there is no program. The wider the gap between rhetoric and resources, the less likely the program have met the conditions of effective implementation. 3) How stable and consistent have the legislative objectives been over time? Where external actors have provided financial resources, the amount was relatively less important than longevity and constancy to facilitate permanent institutional change within higher education. This should not be interpreted as understating the impact of higher levels of resources over equally long periods for equally consistent purposes.

Conditional Factor #2: Adequacy of causal theory. Borrowing on the idea that "policy interventions incorporate an implicit theory about how to effectuate social change" from Pressman and Wildavsky, Sabatier's empirical findings confirmed that the causal assumptions generally were embedded in the jurisdictional and policy levers given implementing officials. In general, the implementing agency given sole authority or "sole veto over the program was more likely to be successful than when authority was spread across numerous implementing agencies. The more levels and jurisdictions involved, the more difficult successful implementation. The lower down within the agency the implementing unit, the less likely the program is to achieve effective implementation. Sabatier and Mazmanian's earlier work also reinforced the

need for clear causal links between government programs and the problem to be solved. They found that "the officials responsible for implementing the program" needed to "have jurisdiction over a sufficient number of the critical linkages to actually attain the objectives." Understanding the nature of the target population and/or delivery system has been a key underpinning of adequate causal theory.¹⁸

Further questions based on the literature review help apply this condition to the internationalization of higher education. An overarching set of issues relates to the fit between the program's underlying causal theory with the compatibility and profitability requirements of sustaining and diffusing institutional innovations across higher education. First, how did the program address the traditional paths of diffusion of innovation across the higher education system? Did the program support, ignore or deny horizontal, collegial networks and vertical, hierarchical networks? Did the program support traditional methods of emulating and/or replicating innovation within higher education, i.e., PhD training, publication and conference dissemination mechanisms, faculty development institutes, focus on prestigious institutions or faculty participation. Did the program support backward and forward links across the multiple levels of the overall education system from top research institutions to feeder schools all the way to primary school?

The second set of questions focuses on how the program's causal theory addressed the program and institutional elements of the internationalization ideal? To be effective, the case program will have steadily targeted a set of program elements

¹⁸ Sabatier (1986), p. 23; Sabatier and Mazmanian (1981), p. 11. For the compatibility and profitability discussion see Chapter 2 on innovation diffusion.

included in the ideal. Targeting more program elements will be more effective than targeting fewer so long as the resources are sufficient to implement the range of program elements targeted. Constancy in goals and resources rather than simple levels of resources have been shown to be relatively more important in effecting and sustaining higher education innovation.¹⁹ The institutional elements are addressed next. How did the program's causal theory address the institutional elements of the internationalization ideal--resources, organization, leadership, and environment? They overlap considerably with the next condition on the implementation structure of the program. On the *resource* element, what other internal or external resources have been encourage to be leveraged with the program resources? especially those focused on the more permanent elements of higher education, such as tenured faculty positions or degree programs. On the organizational element, effective programs support what Levine described as diffusion or enclave organizational patterns. What organizational patterns have been encouraged -- central integration on campus, strong departments or schools or institutes, multi-campus coordination, multi-institution consortia? On the leadership element, effective programs require serious leadership on campus from both administrators and faculty. Hard to measure, but important nonetheless, are links between external program support and internal policies such as promotion-tenure-merit (PTM) policies, program effects on pro-internationalization cosmopolitans on campus and support for an avuncular culture and data based

¹⁹ In Chapter II, Section 3.a., both Berman and Sabatier arguments were presented that more ambitious goals obtained greater results when resources were adequate. Savenije and Van Rosmalen (1988) emphasized constancy over amounts for effective institutionalization.

decision making systems. On the environmental element, effective programs encourage linking with other institutions, support membership in national or regional disciplinary and institutional organizations and leverage support from key stakeholders in the institution's immediate environment.

Conditional Factor #3: Implementation process legally structured to enhance compliance by implementing officials and target groups. This condition addresses the need to consider 'veto points' in implementation, sanctions and incentives available to overcome resistance, assignment of programs to supportive agencies that would assign the program high priority and adequate resources. The empirical results suggested that, "while fairly coherent structuring is difficult, it occurs more frequently than critics realize and, when present, proves to be very important." Sabatier found that the selection of sympathetic implementing agencies or the actual creation of new implementing agencies was found to be possible and desirable. "When this was not possible..., it proved to be a serious impediment." This point will be addressed in depth with the next condition.²⁰

Sabatier's and Mazmanian's earlier work provided substantially more detail on the legal structuring condition. On financing that was directly structured by the statute, Sabatier and Mazmanian found that there seemed to be no fixed formula for financial sufficiency either for the administering agency of government, the implementing agencies or the target groups. Still, they wrote: "In general, a threshold level of funding is necessary for there to be any possibility of achieving

²⁰ Sabatier (1986), p. 27.

statutory objectives, and the level of funding above this threshold is (up to some saturation point) proportional to the probability of achieving those objectives." They mentioned the positive impact of assigning implementation to an agency where opportunities for outsider participation were more open for two particular groups: The target groups as potential beneficiaries; and the "legislative, judicial and executive sovereigns of the agencies." They defined sovereigns of an implementing agency as those individuals or institutions that "control its legal and financial resources," normally found in "the legislature (and, more specifically, the relevant policy and fiscal committees), the chief executive, the courts, and, in intergovernmental programs, hierarchically superior agencies." Ideally, the legislated rules of participation in the program are biased toward legislative intent by "centralizing oversight in the hands of statutory supporters."²¹

The primary question explores how the program addressed compliance issues among target groups within higher education? First, which groups of institutions were targeted by legislation -- private or public? research or comprehensive or liberal arts or two year college? minority or poor institutions? Then, questions are raised relative to the compatibility, profitability and transmission requirements for institutionalization of innovation. As seen in Chapter II, compatibility is fundamental to acceptance; profitability shapes the immediate and longer-term institutional response pattern; and transmission shapes the ultimate diffusion pattern across the system.

²¹ Sabatier and Mazmanian (1981), pp. 11-18.

Compatibility requires sensitivity to traditions, cultures and operating patterns of higher education. A program sensitively structured to compatibility issues balances what Berman called programmed and adaptive implementation strategies appropriately for higher education? To be effective, the program uses: 1) peer-review processes to select participating institutions which also encourages the flow of information around the system; 2) an adaptive implementation strategy rather than programmed in all but financial and administrative compliance areas. Encouragement of or openness to local adaptation and experimentation by the participating higher education actors is also important.

Profitability is not simply objective economic gain but also subjective gain related to prestige or avoidance of losses. It affects both general institutional interests as well as in specific self-interests. Broadly defined, profitability measures the fit between the innovation and the incentive structure of higher education. Effective external programs support institutional as well as individual interests within the institution, emphasizing general interest profitability without ignoring self-interest profitability. Effective programs enhance both survival and competitive ability of individual institutions. Competitiveness is associated with quality, while survival is associated with tuition levels and meeting key stakeholder demand like students, parents, boards of trustees or local legislators. Effectiveness is likely associated with a program that: 1) provides new resources while encouraging the leveraging of existing resources either internally or from other external sources; 2) encourages expanding links with pro-international groups on or off campus that control resources;

3) provides a long-term commitment which reduces the opportunity costs and risks typical of experimental activity.

Transmission was defined as the process of communicating the innovation across the various disciplinary and institutional networks of higher education. Transmission is important for adapting the innovation within different higher education settings and plays an important role in policy learning. The effective external program: 1) supports the development and use of pro-international networks across participating institutions and across the system; 2) encourages communication of experimentation results across new and existing networks of academic and institutional exchange such as publication, conferences, associations, or new channels of communication; 3) assists in the evaluation of program impact on campus and on clients of higher education such as labor, business or government; and, 4) supports links across programs on campus, with other institutions, and with disciplinary and institutional associations of higher education.

Conditional Factor #4: Commitment and skill of implementing officials.

Although much of this is left to post-statutory political forces, some is structured by the initial statute. Both the smaller studies and the more recent empirical evidence confirmed that implementing agency support is the single most consistently critical condition for implementation success. The choice of implementing agency has a major impact on implementation effectiveness. The most effective scenario is an implementing agency that views the program as a feather in its cap, has some experience with the groups in the sector most likely to participate in the program, has a track record with similar programs, and generates a relatively low level of

congressional oversight. Relating to Condition #3, the funding available for the agency to staff and administer the program influences the commitment and skill of the implementing officials.²² In any policy arena, the federal staff overlap the disciplinary and professional networks of the higher education system. Legislative and executive officials are likely to have similar training to those who testify or advise on policy options.²³

Conditional Factor #5: Support of interest groups and sovereigns.

Although their recent work and empirical results showed a clear need to maintain political support throughout the implementation process, Sabatier and Mazmanian's earlier work provided more insight into the actual workings of this condition. They emphasized the importance of on-going, consistent support for and attention to the problem addressed by the legislation. They highlighted the multiple roles of constituency groups in maintaining support and overcoming opposition saying:

"First their membership and financial resources are likely to vary with public support for their position and with the amount of behavioral change mandated by statutory objectives. Second, constituency groups can intervene directly in the decisions of the implementing agencies both through commenting on proposed decisions and through supplementing the agency's resources. Finally, such groups have the capacity to affect agency policy indirectly through publishing studies critical for the agency's performance, through public opinion campaigns, and through appeals to its legislative and judicial sovereigns."

²² Sabatier (1986), p. 28; Sabatier and Mazmanian (1981), pp. 14, 18.

²³ The author did not find studies on the backgrounds and education of people in the international higher education policy arena so this point cannot be substantiated beyond personal observation.

They identified the role of fixer, "an important legislator or executive official who controls resources important to crucial actors and who has the desire and the staff resources to monitor the implementation process and to intervene on an almost continuous basis." Since in the natural course of legislation its intent is gradually undermined through subsequent tangential legislation, protectors, fixers and constituents need to be quite vigilant and effective to retain the original intent and potency of a statute because of the "interrelatedness of policy areas in any complex society."²⁴

In reviewing these conditions, the higher education associations act as the primary constituent group for analysis along with the legislative and executive actors involved in developing and implementing the federal case programs. Since the federal reliance on categorical programs creates have's and have not's among institutions and fields of endeavor, the make-up of the advocacy coalitions reflects the inclusion-exclusion phenomenon among institutional groups within higher education. Gladieux and Wolanin focused on the higher education associations as the major advocates of institutional interests within the higher education policy arena. Other groups or individuals joining the advocacy processes would indicate expansion or contraction of the policy arena as well as the relative power of the different groups.²⁵ Specific attention is paid to the number and types of higher education associations involved in the policy processes related to the internationalization issue and federal programs.

²⁴ Sabatier (1986), p. 30; Sabatier and Mazmanian (1981), pp. 16-18.

²⁵ Sabatier (1986), p.24; Cohen (1972); Gladieux and Wolanin (1976).

In summary, a method for analyzing the cases of two federal programs based on Sabatier's framework for analyzing policy implementation effectiveness is described to answer question #1, How effective have the federal case programs been in achieving their legislative aims *per se*? A set of questions and assumptions to guide the case analysis has been detailed. The first set of questions focuses on establishing the boundaries of the case analysis by describing the relatively stable system parameters, the dynamic events affecting the international higher education policy arena and the advocacy coalitions operating at different times during the case study period from 1959-80. The second set of questions focuses on determining the effectiveness of the case programs and their congruence with the internationalization ideal based on five factors found to condition the effectiveness of public policy implementation in general as well as the factors specific to higher education that condition successful institutionalization of innovations. By detailing the legislative developments and the interactions within the policy arena, the case analysis reveals the on-going policy evaluation process and results. The next section describes the method used to evaluate the policies' effects on the structure of the overall higher education system by analyzing participation patterns of the target population, institutions of higher education.

3. Structural Effects Across the Higher Education System

To respond to the second question -- What do higher education participation patterns in the case programs reveal about the effectiveness of these federal case

programs and their impact on the structure and capacity of the international dimension of the higher education system? -- the participation patterns and the corresponding funding of higher education institutions in the case programs are analyzed. The participation and funding trends help to cross-check and validate the results of the policy implementation analysis both in terms of the case program's actual parameters and also in terms of the internationalization ideal. Evidence of structural change is derived from changes in institutional concentration or absence in different vertical and horizontal groupings. The values balance is suggested by reviewing the patterns for their insight on institutional diversity, ownership balance and regional distribution of participating institutions and their relative funding.

Such pattern analysis over the twenty year period indicates the path and depth of internationalization's spread across the higher education system. This is somewhat like a navigator observing the speed and direction of the visible tip of an iceberg in order to trace the movement of the much larger mass that is out of sight just below the surface of the water. Understanding patterns of institutional participation in the internationally oriented federal case programs over time evokes larger system patterns, suggests the structural potential of the system to internationalize further and helps point out potential adjustments to policy or programs. After recapping the diffusion of innovation arguments from the literature review, this section lays out several assumptions about the implications of different patterns of higher education participation in the internationally oriented case programs.

Internationalization provides a rich sampler of academic change processes in their disciplinary and institutional dimensions. The diffusion of innovation literature

described fairly clear-cut phases through which institutions pass and overall systems evolve, i.e., individual experimentation and system acceptance, institutionalization and sustained systemwide effort, transmission across institutions and system diffusion. In this approach constant change and evolution are natural, generally spurred by catalytic external forces and conducted by internal innovators, cosmopolitans, boundary-spanners or external agents working in dynamic and often tense relationships with each other and with the relative conservative majority of the host organizations. Success is equated with a combination of sustainability and diffusion. An innovation that is not sustainable within individual institutions cannot be diffused across the system. Evidence of success may be found in the more enduring structures of the organizations and systems that incorporate the innovative behaviors. In their review of the literature on higher education, Mortimer and Bragg argued for more longitudinal studies to understand structural changes of higher education. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the U.S. Department of Education have created different classifications of higher education institutions to provide a common base for analyzing structural changes in the higher education system.²⁶

The simplest indicator of a case program's contribution to system diffusion is the extent of its coverage across the gamut of higher education institutions as

²⁶ By using the Carnegie Classification, the study draws on the most consistent of the classification schemes over the entire study period. The classification categories are discussed in Chapter 2 and later in this chapter in the data collection and analysis methods section. See Table A.1 for a summary of the changing institutional groups in the classification in 1973, 1976 and 1987. Appendix A summarizes the classification guide used for the participating institutions in the case programs.

classified by Carnegie. Within the constraints of the program's goals, resources and regulatory guidelines, this information illustrates and confirms how much of the higher education system's international capacity expansion is supported, ignored or denied by a given case program. To begin to approximate case programs' contribution to sustaining and deepening system capacity and internationalization, the higher education institutional participation data are disaggregated to reveal the trends in resource levels, longevity and frequency of participation by groups of institutions over time. The analysis of patterns of spread and concentration of institutional participation in the case programs attempts to be sensitive to program targeting, for example targeting public or private institutions or certain categories of institutions such as predominantly minority colleges or research universities. It also is necessary to keep in mind that the natural institutional migration patterns have not been separated from those related to internationalization attempts by participating institutions.

Four basic assumptions underpin this approach to structural change. First, the case analysis makes clear how and how much the programs supported higher education's internationalization. Second, the greater the number of categories of institutions participating in the program, the more serious the influence of the case program on diffusion across the higher education system. Third, the less interrupted and the more consistent the participation of a group of institutions, the greater the influence of the program on sustaining international capacities in that group. Frequency of participation is a better indicator of institutionalization of international capacity than funding levels. Fourth, the more the research and doctoral granting

institutions of higher education are represented in the case programs, the greater the impact of the programs on transmission of internationalization across the system.

The last assumption may be controversial to some but it draws from both the traegerin effect and the emulation effect found important to innovation transmission by Garvin, T.N. Clark and McCaughey. Other network effects such as national association links also have been assumed to help institutionalize and diffuse innovations. The traegerin effect relates most directly to disciplinary dimension with recently minted PhD's moving from their training sites to positions throughout the system. The emulation effect relates more to the institutional dimension where institutions of higher education attempt to use internationalization to enhance their relative position in the status hierarchy as well as their survival prospects. Garvin's barriers to entry argument also may provide useful insights into how specific federal case programs may trigger the emulation effect. Easier entry into a federal program emphasizes equity, promoting faster build-up of capacity generally related to teaching and student markets but perhaps lessening the perception of excellence if not real quality. Harder entry or higher requirements emphasize excellence, promoting slower build-up of capacity and slower pace of diffusion generally related to Ph.D. training and faculty markets which would tend to stimulate emulation as well as frustration among those institutions beyond the inner circle.

B. Methods of Analysis and Data Sources

The basic approach is historical for many reasons. From the perspective of the higher education field, several respected authors, including McCaughey and

Mortimer and Bragg, have bemoaned the lack of longitudinal studies of higher education. John Thelin summed up the problem when he described the need, "to nudge higher education researchers toward increased interest in the structural and organizational behavior of academic institutions over longer periods of time."²⁷ An historical approach has been confirmed as useful in analyzing federal policy effects in many sectors. Hansot and Tyack articulated several reasons why a historical perspective may prove useful for current educational policy debates: "Present actions and plans for the future flow ineluctably from beliefs about what went before. Whether individual or collective, whether haphazard or methodical, a sense of history clearly has an impact on educational policy." More specifically, Hansot and Tyack reminded us that historical research can be useful for meta-analysis, asking "not what shall we do (or did we do) about X problem, but why is X considered to be a problem at certain recurring times?" This does not mean "investigating precedents for the latest fad" but if some idea has been tried before, "it may be well to see why it was introduced, how well it worked (under different conditions to be sure), and why it either disappeared from sight..." or became sufficiently obscure to warrant rediscovery. Hansot and Tyack argued that the historical insights may be particularly useful in hard times when fundamental choices must be made on direction and most effective means to move in those directions. Indeed, Hansot and Tyack suggested that historical analysis may highlight the difficulties caused by and inaccuracies of "the incrementalism of much past reform and the overblown salesmanship of fad-

²⁷ John Thelin, Higher Education and Its Useful Past, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing, 1982), p. 169.

mongers."²⁸ Folsom made similar claims for the value of legislative history in separating the rhetorical chaff from the political wheat.²⁹ The literature of international education has had its share of salesmanship and solid scholarship. Historical insight may help separate fads from fundamentals regarding the federal role in higher education's internationalization.

The first part of the analysis addresses the policy implementation lessons and appears in Chapters 4, 5, 6. The primary focus is on NDEA/HEA Title VI and secondarily on AID's university programs. The case study method is applied in the first part of the study because of its emphasis on identifying trends and relationships from data that tends to be largely textual. Primary data for the policy implementation case analysis were drawn primarily from Congressional hearings and reports as well as from other legislative and executive documentation. Secondary data from academic and other reports and studies on the case programs were used to verify and amplify on the data in the congressional documents. The authorization and appropriations trends are displayed graphically in the text to highlight the relationship between resources and goals. Both the qualitative and numeric data are analyzed in terms of the conditions for effective policy implementation but also in terms of the conditions of the internationalization ideal for higher education.

²⁸ Elisabeth Hansot and David Tyack, "A Usable Past: Using History in Educational Policy," Chapter 1, pp. 1-22, Policy Making in Education, 81st Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Higher Education, edited by A. Lieberman and M.W. McLaughlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1982, pp. 1,16,19. Hansot and Tyack cited Anthony Downs on pp. 19-21.

²⁹ Folsom (1972).

The second part of the analysis focuses on the structural effects of the case programs on the higher education system. This analysis relies on simple graphic trend analysis of the primary numeric data about program funding awarded through grants and contracts to different categories of institutions across different program elements. For NDEA/HEA Title VI, the aggregate data covers the entire period from 1959-1988. For AID, the data covers 1969-1988 because of data availability. The lessons draw from institutional participation patterns and trends, triangulating with the analysis of the intent and resources of the legislative history in the case analysis.

Periodicity, by marking the ebb and flow of the federal relationship, enhances understanding of the federal programs' influence on higher education's internationalization. The author identified three major periods for the policy implementation analysis. The case studies are broken into three periods. The 1958-1964 period saw growth and substantial interaction between the education policy stream and the foreign assistance policy stream. In the 1965-1971 period, significant expansion was attempted and failed with both streams collaborating and then drifting apart. The 1972-1980 period saw consolidation and rear guard actions to preserve the programs. The structural analysis considers institutional participation and funding patterns in the aggregate for both programs over a single period, 1969-1988. It also provides a more detailed view of the Title VI participation patterns by sub-programs over that period. The choice of periods for the legislative analysis were derived from the literature and from the policy development and implementation trends that surfaced in the data collection and analysis. The participation analysis period was

based partly on data availability and partly out of respect for the lag inherent in policy implementation. Each of the analytic sections is described in detail below.

1. Policy Implementation Analysis

The first part of the policy implementation analysis delineates the policy context for the case program, i.e. identifying the major stable and dynamic variables as well as the major advocacy coalitions operating in the policy arena over key periods. The methods of legislative history and content analysis are the primary tools.³⁰ Much of the data for this part of the case analysis is derived from secondary sources which Folsom described as background history, useful in setting the context of specific legislative history. The general trends and specific facts of these background histories draw heavily from the Congressional Quarterly Almanac.³¹ They are validated against the findings from detailed content analysis of actual legislative and regulatory documents as well as the scholarly literature. The second part of the policy implementation analysis focuses on objectives, causal theory, implementation structure, implementation agent skill and interest group support.

³⁰ Robert Philip, Basic Content Analysis, second edition, No. 49 in the Quantitative Applications Series, (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1990). Stafford Hood, Legislative Intent, Program Implementation, and Higher Education Policy: The Case of Title III of the 1965 Higher Education Act, dissertation for the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1984, pp. 3-6, 8-13, 21-24. Zegenu Tsige Public Policy Implementation: Federal and Organizational Influence on Local Programs, dissertation for Harvard University, 1989, p. 33. Also see Miles and Huberman (1984).

³¹ Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Volumes XXII-XXXVI, (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1966-1980). Detailed citations are made with specific references in the text of Chapters 4-7.

Analysis of these five conditions of effective policy implementation relied on the tools of legislative history as described by Gwendolyn Folsom. Legislative history called for reviewing the laws themselves, their legislative precedents, committee reports, hearings and testimony to legislators from executive branch officials and representatives from higher education and other education groups.³²

Gladieux and Wolanin identified the negotiation processes around appropriations and final funding levels as a good vantage point for understanding the balance achieved between the executive and legislative branches' views on any given program.³³ The appropriation funding trends are another source of identifying the major trends in policy implementation. Numeric data on the overall authorization and appropriations trends from 1959-1988 was derived from the appropriations laws themselves, reviews of legislation provided by the Congressional Information Service and the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (CFDA). The CFDA began publication in 1969 so earlier data were drawn from the other sources.³⁴

The analysis started with the laws themselves to understand their intent and structure using legislative documents and secondary sources reporting on legislative processes. The policy outputs were derived largely from legislative hearings and congressional testimony from the federal officials responsible for implementation and from higher education spokespersons. They were supplemented by reports on

³² Folsom (1972).

³³ Folsom (1972); Gladieux and Wolanin (1976).

³⁴ Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), Annual publication 1969-1986.

implementing agency meetings or academic conferences held on the programs. In addition, secondary sources such as higher education publications or reports were tapped for context. The actual and perceived impacts of the agencies' decisions and procedures were deduced in part by reviewing client responses to agency and/or legislative expectations. These were taken from documents on legislative hearings along with program evaluations by the implementing agency, legislative committees and legislative arms such as the Congressional Research Service or General Accounting Office and target group or client studies and reports on the program. The perceived impacts and the political evaluation of the programs was viewed through changes in legislation and legislative debate parameters; reports from advocacy coalitions laying out their strategies and issues for a subsequent round of legislative debate; and the implementing agencies' strategies for the next round of legislation or program grants and contracts. The funding levels requested and appropriated provided concrete handles for grappling with the multifaceted narrative evidence. Levels, lags and gaps in or between authorizations and appropriations provided pertinent indicators of the actual state of play of the programs' implementation. Finally, the institutional participation data provided another concrete perspective on the legislation's effectiveness and impact. The participation data analysis is discussed next.

2. Structural Change Analysis

Patterns of university involvement in case programs were derived from implementing agency reports on funding awarded to participating higher education

institutions. Data on all Title VI programs was derived from USDE reports on funding allocated to each participating institution of higher education from 1959-1988.³⁵ For 1968-1988, annual funding data was reported by institution for each of Title VI programs, i.e., Centers, Fellowships, Graduate International Studies, Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Languages and International Business Education. The 1958-69 funding data were available by institution for the Centers and Fellowship programs but only as a summary of the entire ten year period. That was one of the main reasons that the overall structural analysis focused on 1968-1988. Since the other Title VI programs did not begin until after 1968, this did not cause major difficulties. To prepare the raw data for analysis, the author transcribed and aggregated the reported data into a series of spreadsheets, one for each Title VI program. The total funding and number of grant years of each participating institution of higher education was summarized for each program by year. This program participation information was summarized to derive the overall Title VI funding and participation patterns used to show trends with graphs in Chapter 7.

The data on higher education participation in AID programs was derived from contract office summary sheets known as "W-442 Reports."³⁶ The data in these

³⁵ See Appendix B which lists all of the reports from which the data were aggregated for the institutional participation analysis. Most of these reports were made available from the files of USDE by courtesy of Ann I. Schneider and Susana Easton of the Center for International Education.

³⁶ See Appendix B for the reports from which the study data were aggregated. Most of these reports were made available from the files of AID, courtesy of Gary Bittner of AID's Center for University Cooperation. He also facilitated access to other data sources on AID's university program that otherwise would have been very difficult to obtain.

reports was organized by the contracting institution of higher education and specified funding to date, world region of focus or operation, subject matter of project and often the duration of service. Since the AID data was available in multiple year contract totals, the author averaged it across the total number of months of service to generate annual totals by institution of higher education. This removed some of the spikes and valleys in the data that would be crucial for a more subtle statistical analysis. Such smoothing was not deleterious to the descriptive analysis used in this study and it made comparison with the Title VI annual data possible. Also, the AID data was not reported in such a way as to make obvious which contracts or grants were explicitly tied to the 211(d) or Title XII portions of the legislation that were designed explicitly to support institutional strengthening efforts of universities. The author's attempt to separate these institutional strengthening grants were not successful so the AID data could only be analyzed in aggregate for all categories of technical assistance, research and training.

The author was not able to find reports from the W-442 series for January 1, 1975 to September 30, 1976, the period coinciding with the federal government's transition from the July-June fiscal year to the October-September fiscal year. Since all AID contracts were reported cumulatively for multiple years, this gap probably did not cause any serious understatement in either the number or the total funding for AID-funded university activities. The gap only influenced the direct category of funding not the host-country component.

These two categories warrant a bit of explanation. The AID reports separated university funding and contract information into two categories. The "host country"

category reported on work that primarily focused on and was implemented overseas in a country or region, e.g. Guatemala or Central America. The "direct" or "AID/Washington" category reported on work that primarily focused on multinational or regional development needs and was implemented overseas as well as on campus or in the U.S. The author followed the same data preparation procedure as with the Title VI data for the direct category using spreadsheets. Luckily, she was able to avoid the data entry phase for the host country category by borrowing the database prepared by Frank Campbell in preparation for the review of AID-University relationships with Erven Long.³⁷

The study's overall database summarized annual funding information for both case programs by individual institutions of higher education. As seen in Table A.3. in the appendix, each program participant entry was categorized according to institutional type, region within the U.S. and ownership, i.e. private or public.³⁸ Ownership and regional base were straightforward reflections of facts and require little discussion. Institutions participating in the two case programs were found in every state but Alaska plus Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia. Table A.2. in the appendix shows how these locations were grouped into four regions, i.e., Midwest, Northeast, South/Southeast and West/Southwest.

³⁷ Frank Campbell, "A.I.D./U.S. University Contracts Providing Technical Assistance to Host Country Governments and Institutions," database prepared as background for Erven Long and Frank Campbell, Reflections on the Role of A.I.D. and the U.S. Universities in International Agricultural Development, U.S. Agency for International Development, (Rockland, Maryland: Statistica, Inc., September 5, 1989).

³⁸ See the list of participating institutions as grouped for the study in Appendix A, Table A.3. They are sorted alphabetically within groups.

The institutional categories are more complicated and merit some explanation. They were adopted from the Carnegie Classification of 1976. The Carnegie Classification was chosen because it has been disaggregated into more institutional categories allowing a little more explanatory power than the parallel classification scheme of the National Center for Educational Statistics. The 1976 Classification scheme was adopted since it coincided with the midpoint for the study. The three editions of the Carnegie Classification are summarized in Table A.1. in the Appendix.³⁹ The following categories have been used: 1) Research universities, 2) doctoral granting universities, 3) comprehensive universities, 4) four-year liberal arts colleges, 5) two-year colleges and 6) specialized institutions which includes stand alone professional schools and proprietary institutions. These are the only exception to the non-profit rule for the other categories. Carnegie's category of religious institutions appeared only twice in the study group, both times early in the Title VI program. They appear in Table A.3. in Category #9. Since they appeared so infrequently, the religious category was dropped from the analysis.

The denominator of institutions in the higher education system (N=2803) did not include the religious institutions identified in the Carnegie Classification as shown above the line in Table A.1. An additional category #7 was added to reflect the study's special population of consortia of higher education institutions. The consortia

³⁹ The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, (Berkeley, California: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1973); The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education. A Classification... (1976); and The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. A Classification ... (1987).

were both vertical and horizontal, e.g., the Wisconsin state system or the Five College Consortium in Massachusetts. Category #8 was used in the data preparation to locate groups appearing the federal program reports that were not institutions of higher education according to the Carnegie definitions. When appropriate, some of these other grant recipients were included in the analysis. Certain disciplinary associations in category #8 were included in the analysis. Other grantees in category #8 were not included in the analysis, e.g. specialized research and training institutions such as the East-West Center in Hawaii or consulting firms with education capacity.

The Carnegie Classification scheme was first published in 1973 using 1970 data and was updated twice over the twenty years of the study, once in 1976 using 1976 data and again in 1987 using 1985-86 data. Each participating institution was assigned to its category at the midpoint in 1976 to clarify the presentation of results over twenty years. Since most of the longest participating institutions in the two case programs were in the doctorate granting and research university categories where there was the least movement, the 1976 midpoint was chosen as a legitimate benchmark point. As reviewed in Chapter 2, there has been substantial institutional migration over the twenty years of this study. McCaughey suggested that some doctoral granting institutions used internationalization as a means of leapfrogging into the group of top research universities, especially Indiana University under Herman Wells and Michigan State under John Hannah. For example, Indiana University was

classified in the second tier of the research universities in 1976 but rose to the first tier in the 1987 classification as shown in Table A.3.⁴⁰

With this data on participating institutions of higher education, two sets of admittedly blunt instruments were used to indicate the effects of the case programs on sustaining and diffusing international capacity across the higher education system. First, frequency and continuity of appearance of institutions on the participant lists along with total resources allocated to the participant were used to indicate case program effects on sustaining international capacity. Second, the total level of funding allocated to and numbers of participants from different categories of institutions of higher education were interpreted as indicators of spread or concentration of international capacity over time. The aggregate data from both programs was analyzed for insight into the programs' effects on institutional diversity, regional balance and ownership equity in terms of building international education capacity. These same three elements were analyzed in more detail for each of the Title VI programs over the entire period to provide a more refined view of that program's impact. The changing patterns over time were displayed in graphic form to shed light on the underlying changes in the structural capacity of the higher education system.

⁴⁰ The author conducted a cursory review of the migratory patterns of the participating institutions and concluded that the shifts were too small to warrant special adjustments in the analysis.

C. Limits to the Study

Legislative history provides the foundation for the study. This introduces both a strength and a weakness. As a strength, the reliance on documented sources lends transparency. The study's data is relatively easy to verify. Yet careful analysis of a relatively high volume of legislative documentation reduces the time available to the research to pursue other sources. Since the period of study is relatively recent, many of the key actors are still alive and could lend substantial insight into the tale revealed by the documentary analysis. The study is weakened by its lack of personal interviews to elicit opinions and details from implementing officials or legislators and congressional staff members involved in the legislative development and implementation processes.

The exploration of the historical relationships between the Title VI legislation's institutional strengthening efforts and those of AID is intended to shed light on the key points of transition and decision in the overall federal policy arena affecting the international capacity of the U.S. higher education system. The decision to include both the educational policy stream and a counterpoint from the foreign affairs policy stream naturally excludes other aspects of the full policy arena. The inclusion of the AID counterpoint provides insight into a program with very different legislative and operating parameters than those of Title VI in the education stream. The Fulbright-Hayes program of international exchange of scholars and citizens is the most obvious exclusion. The Fulbright-Hayes legislation has had even less of an explicit institutional strengthening goal than the AID programs making it an awkward addition to the study. Yet Fulbright-Hayes has been funded under the same appropriation and

administered by the same office in the federal education agency as the Title VI programs for most of the study period. Ideally, all three programs would have been included in the study. Yet this could have been achieved only with a substantial expansion of the study's scope by addressing both institutional and disciplinary dimensions of higher education and by adding a third track in the legislative history.

The focus on legislative processes that are natural to a systems level focus highlights interactions in the higher education policy arena. It may seem to understating higher education interests. Yet it also shows the relationships within the policy arena with both institutional and disciplinary associations of higher education and other actors in the larger education policy arena. By highlighting system wide comparisons across major groups of institutions of higher education, the study does not provide detailed analysis of the case programs' effect on specific parts of the higher education system. Yet by providing insights into the larger policy machinery, the parts of the system and individual institutions of higher education may find new insights into influencing the larger policy arena or working more effectively within it.

CHAPTER IV

ROOTS AND GROWTH OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS: 1958-1964

A. The National Defense Higher Education Act of 1958, Title VI

1. Policy Environment and Advocacy Coalitions

The international higher education policy arena of 1958 was shaped by military language and area studies training efforts during World War II and technical assistance programs for developing countries that grew out of the Marshall Plan after the War. Three initiatives were particularly strong within the higher education community: modern languages, technical assistance, and area studies. The Modern Language Association (MLA) was eager to expand its new language teaching methods across the educational spectrum. They had received support from the Rockefeller Foundation but were actively pursuing federal funding as a more permanent source of support. For the most part, language and literature faculty on campuses supported MLA's efforts.

ACE and NASULGC's predecessor association were active in representing the interests of higher education institutions in contract negotiations with technical aid agencies of the U.S. government. Gumperz noted that ACE had completed a series of ten studies on the transition of educational wartime programs including two on language and area studies. By 1954, they had formed a standing commission on international education with particular interest in technical assistance efforts of higher

education. A debate was brewing over reciprocal obligations in relations between federal programs and higher education. Since government relied so heavily on the international educational resources, it was argued that government had an obligation to support the higher education institutions that created and maintained them.¹

According to Gumperz, neither the language nor the technical assistance initiatives were closely associated with the third major effort, i.e area studies. Area studies and some international relations centers had developed as faculty initiatives on campus aimed at creating new interdisciplinary programs. By the 50s, they had begun receiving substantial foundation support from Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations to name a few). They also had engendered serious opposition from the mainline social science and humanities departments on many campuses.²

President Eisenhower and the Republican party had taken a position against federal involvement in education during their electoral campaign in 1955. They reversed that stand after the Russians launched Sputnik in 1957 and provided draft legislation to Congress that eventually became the National Defense Education Act of 1958. In its opening declaration of policy the NDEA found that "the security of the

¹ For a full discussion of the early roots of technical assistance and the universities, see Jordahl and Ruttan (1991), Erven J. Long and Frank Campbell, Reflections on the Role of A.I.D. and the U.S. Universities in International Agricultural Development, (Rockland, Maryland: Statistica, Inc., 1989).

² Gumperz (1970), pp.31-43. See pp. 4 and 18 for references to ACE studies and the standing commission. The language teaching innovation of the time involved shifting from grammar and vocabulary study to an emphasis on communication skills, particularly listening and speaking. Many linguists and philologists accused the new methods of denigrating the heart of language study. See also McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1980).

nation requires the fullest development of the mental resources and technical skills of its young men and women." It emphasized the emergency nature of federal response saying that, "the present emergency demands that additional and more adequate educational opportunities be made available." In addition to ensuring that "no student of ability will be denied an opportunity for higher education because of financial need", the NDEA intended to correct imbalances in the national educational programs which had caused "insufficient proportion of our population" to be "educated in science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages and trained in technology." The law was careful to respect the principal of federal non-interference in schools and curricula. The Office of Education within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was assigned implementation responsibility with "funds necessary to administer the programs."³

Many of the issues and conflicts that surfaced during the debates leading up to and in the early implementation of the NDEA recurred in later legislative debates on federal higher education policy. Two such issues arose in the NDEA hearings. First, Congress rejected undergraduate scholarships but increased the amount available for loans to both graduate and undergraduate students. Federal support for

³ U.S. Statutes at Large, National Defense Education Act, September 2, 1958, Public Law 85-864, 85th Congress, Vol. 72, Part 1, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959), pp.1580-1605. Section 102 affirms the prohibition of federal control of education stating: "Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system." p. 1582. See Gumperz (1970) or Babbidge and Rosenzweig (1962) for fuller discussion of the legislative development process.

undergraduates would continue to be contentious for years to come. Second, Congress emphasized the temporary nature of the programs especially where they provided institutional support for elementary, secondary or higher education. The intent was to limit the duration of institutional aid to an emergency effort of three to five years. Funds were authorized for four years to emphasize the limited timeframe of the legislation.

Title VI was added relatively late in the development of the NDEA legislation and Gumperz noted the "conspicuous silence of most of the testimony on this Title (VI) of the proposed bill." She found in the House of Representative hearings on NDEA that only

"five persons devoted more than a line or two of their testimony to the need for federal aid to foreign language study. They included Marion Folsom, the Secretary of Health Education and Welfare; Lawrence Derthick, U.S. Commissioner of Education; and Kenneth Mildenberger, director the MLA Foreign Language Program. Fewer than twenty pages of Derthick's 144-page testimony dealt with language study ..."

The same people testified in the Senate hearings as well. In the Senate hearings, the president of the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) also added support for Title VI. The head of the national Federation of Modern Language Teachers Association argued for elementary and secondary support for foreign language including summer institutes for teachers. More faculty associations would become active in later hearings for renewals of Title VI, most notably in Congressional testimony around the IEA in 1965.⁴

⁴ Gumperz (1970), pp. 48-52, quote on p. 51.

2. Legislative Goals and Resources

In its final form, the NDEA of 1958 had eight substantive titles addressing higher as well as elementary and secondary education. Two addressed international education issues via foreign language teaching. Title VI was the principal title supportive of universities' nascent international dimension and is described in depth below. Title III provided financial assistance through states to schools to strengthen their science, math and modern foreign language instruction programs. The other titles addressed student aid and categorical programs of interest to higher education as well as primary and secondary schools. Title II provided loans for students in higher education. Title IV provided graduate fellowships based on approved graduate programs at specific institutions of higher education. Title V provided grants to states to set up guidance counseling and testing services in schools to "encourage able students". Title VII provided support to states, schools, higher education institutions or non-profit institutions to research and experiment with new media techniques for education. Title VIII expanded earlier federal laws to enable states' vocational education programs to reach larger, underserved populations. Title IX established a science information service with the NSF.⁵

Title VI entitled "Language Development" consisted of four substantive sections. Part (A) focused on higher education with sections 601 and 602. Part (B) focused on elementary and secondary education with section 611. Since these

⁵ For discussion of the impact of and debates surrounding the overall law, see Babbidge and Rosenzweig (1962), Gumperz (1970), Gladieux and Wolanin (1976).

sections continued as the legislative core in force until 1980, they bear full description.

Section 601a encouraged institutions of higher education" to establish "centers for the teaching of any modern foreign language" that would meet two criteria: 1) that "individuals trained in such language are needed by the Federal Government or by business, industry, or education in the United States, and 2) that adequate instruction in such language is not readily available in the United States." The centers could provide instruction in "other fields needed to provide a full understanding of the areas, regions, or countries in which such language is commonly used to the extent that such instruction is not readily available." Allowed fields were primarily in the social sciences included history, political science, linguistics, economics, sociology, geography and anthropology.

Section 601b authorized fellowships for individuals undergoing advanced training in any modern foreign language and other fields consistent with the centers' programs above. The recipients were required to study in an approved institution and provide "reasonable assurance" that upon completion of their training they would "be available for teaching a modern foreign language at an institution of higher education" or for other public service.

Section 602 authorized research and studies to further specify the need for greater training in language and related fields to understand the rest of the world and to develop better language teaching methods and materials to be used in such training "or in training teachers of such languages or in such fields."

Section 611 authorized institutions of higher education to provide summer language institutes "for advanced training particularly in the use of new teaching methods and instructional materials" for individuals involved in teaching, preparing to teach or supervising the training of teachers of modern foreign languages for elementary and secondary schools.

These sections combined with the policy statement suggested the causal theory underlying the legislation. Many foreign languages were not available at all in the U.S. Few experts and specialists could work in many languages and the capacity to develop such specialists was limited. Higher education was seen as the most natural repository of such expertise and knowledge. Congress made higher education the primary instrument for meeting the national need both to reduce gaps in language teaching at all levels and to create for greater language capacity among government, business and education professionals. The primary emphasis was on filling the critical gap in language teaching and language skills capacity. Area studies supplemented the language thrust. The research and studies section which provided both knowledge development and diffusion mechanisms also emphasized language teaching. Needs of elementary and secondary education for language teaching were to be met through intensive training by higher education under Title VI. Broader educational program capacity for science, technology and languages would be addressed through grants to the states under Title III.

The legislation authorized \$480 million for the entire NDEA over four years. Of that \$32 million or 6.7% (\$8 million per year) was allocated to Title VI (A) for sections 601 and 602. Gumperz suggested that one of the reasons for the relative lack

of enthusiasm for Title VI (A) among higher education actors in the hearings and advocacy phases was that "the financial outlay was relatively modest compared to that of other provisions."⁶ Other factors likely came into play. The relatively strong funding from private foundations to language and area studies and international studies programs especially among the research universities may have reduced the perceived importance of the new resources under the NDEA Title VI(A). There was little formal structure for federal relations among the institutional associations for international education beyond ACE and NASULGC's work on overseas technical assistance. Also, the habit of private universities to maintain their distance from federal education offices may have kept them from actively supporting Title VI.

The underlying tensions between the elementary and secondary education groups and the higher education groups may have contributed to the lack of enthusiasm as well. Title VI(B) or Section 611 for the language institutes received an authorization of \$29 million (\$7.25 million per year) rivaling the total sum for higher education alone for centers and fellowships programs. By channeling funds through higher education to reach elementary and secondary audiences, the NDEA Title VI ensured that neither group would be directly in control of program. While the intent may have been to take account of natural complementarity or ensure no single power source, there was a chance that both groups would lend support to the degree they perceived benefit, i.e., half hearted support for half benefit. Tension over the

⁶ Gumperz (1970), p. 53. Despite the low level of advocacy during the hearings and passage of the NDEA, there was no lack of interest in the Title VI programs. Gumperz said that there were 100 applications for the first nineteen NDEA Title VI center grants.

appropriate location of institutional support for international education would keep arising: should it be with higher education or with the other elementary and secondary programs or some shared arrangement?

The Office of Education within HEW was the designated executor of the NDEA. In the early years, it met Sabatier's criteria of an implementing agency that saw the new program as a boon not a burden. The Office of Education expanded its Division of College and University Assistance Programs within the Bureau of Higher Education to administer NDEA Titles II, IV, V(B) and VI.⁷ It set up the Language Development Branch to administer Title VI with four program units: 1) Language institutes for teachers; 2) fellowships for advanced students of critical foreign languages; 3) university language and area centers; and research and surveys pertaining to modern foreign languages.⁸ The Office of Education developed good working relationships with the university community in part by hiring many academics into Education posts related to Title VI. Kenneth Mildenberger was the first to head the language development programs under Title VI. As director of the MLA foreign language program prior to joining HEW, he was heavily involved in securing Title VI within the NDEA. Other examples of faculty appointments to staff positions were abundant. In 1962, J.M. Spillane from Notre Dame and earlier Purdue Universities became head of the Language Institutes Section replacing L.C.

⁷ Subsequently the Bureau was renamed the Bureau of Postsecondary Education.

⁸ Higher Education, Vol. XIX, no. 9, July 1963 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office for the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare), p.4.

Poston, Jr from University of Oklahoma who had served since 1959. Also in 1962, John Thompson of Stanford University came into OE to head the newly created Latin American Studies Unit of the Language Development Program to administer support programs for the Alliance For Progress and to "improve instruction in Spanish, Portuguese and other Latin American languages."⁹

Over the period, the Office of Education expanded its role beyond Title VI into related international education matters and forged links with the foreign policy agencies of State and AID as well as with the international arms of the science and professional foundations such as the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and the National Science Foundation (NSF). The mission of the Bureau of International Education was threefold: to maintain relations with international education organizations such as UNESCO or the United Nations; to provide services to American educators and educational institutions; and to assist foreign affairs agencies in carrying out educational foreign policy through exchange and technical assistance projects. In 1963, the Bureau included: 1) the Division of International Education Studies with branches for comparative education and for educational materials; and 2) the Division of Technical Assistance and Exchange Programs with a branch for technical assistance and another for educational exchange and training. In the journal of the Bureau of Higher Education, the Bureau of International Education reported regularly on programs it administered such as exchange programs for students, faculty and teachers under contract to the State Department with Fulbright Hayes funding;

⁹ Higher Education, Vol. XIX, No. 1, Oct-Nov 1962, p. 18; also, see Vol XIX, no. 2, Nov-Dec 1962, pp.15-16

those related to international educational organizations; that affected higher education institutions in the U.S. such as NSF and NIH overseas research activities; comparative education studies; the Cuban refugee and training program it administered for the State Department after the Cuban missile crisis; or AID, Alliance for Progress and Peace Corps participant training efforts in the U.S. or technical assistance and educational development projects overseas that were undertaken by U.S. universities and colleges as experts or administrators.¹⁰

Gumperz indicated that the issues of technical assistance contracting were primarily the concern of university administrators and "therefore of the ancillary groups representing universities" such as ACE or NASULGC. The language and area studies programs were primarily the concern of university faculties in the humanities and social sciences and their learned societies. In the early years of the NDEA, the institutional associations were more likely to establish ties with the Bureau of International Education while the learned societies and individual faculty leaders would relate more directly to the lower level implementing officials and the Title VI administrators in the Language Development section. The colleges barely entered this arena which focused on university experts and specialists, their advanced training centers and overseas technical assistance and research efforts. Referring to a different orientation characteristic of the colleges, Gumperz said: "In the colleges..., however, the issue of international studies was seen both as a substantive issue of

¹⁰ Thomas E. Cotner "Responsibilities of the Bureau of International Education in U.S. Foreign Educational Policy" pp. 3-7, 19 in Higher Education v. XIX, no. 6, April 1963; Vol. XIX, no.3 January 1963, pp. 7-15; and Vol. XIX, no.4, Feb 1963, pp.11-12.

curriculum revision in the humanities and social sciences and as a problem demanding the attention of -- indeed introduced by -- the college's major institutionally tied ancillary association, the Association of American Colleges."¹¹ By the end of the period, all three groups of higher education associations saw the need for changes in federal and OE support for the nascent international education enterprise of higher education.

3. Program Mechanisms and Development

To administer the new law, the legislators provided an adaptive implementation structure allowing substantial flexibility to the Office of Education and to the institutions of higher education applying for Title VI funds. The law authorized the Commissioner of Education within HEW to enter into "contracts with institutions of higher education" to operate the centers and the language institutes. No definition of "center" was provided; no preconceived notion imposed by the legislation. The choice of "contracts" rather than grants underlined the short-term intent of the legislation. The need was not perceived to establish a regular grants process with peer review and standards setting mechanisms typically associated with creating national infrastructure as occurred with federally funded national foundations. The center contracts were allowed to cover "not more than 50 per centum of the cost

¹¹ Gumperz (1970), pp. 59-60. Still the colleges had a role. For example, the historically black colleges and universities were some of the earliest institutions to participate in overseas technical assistance programs. For a full discussion, see Christy and Williamson (1991).

of the establishment and operation of the center." The 50% rule was an explicit institution building mechanism since it required institutional commitment to receive federal funds.¹²

Title VI explicitly supported four internationalization elements: 1) faculty mobility; 2) graduate training; 3) creation and diffusion networks; 4) and services to other parts of the education system. It prohibited its funds from supporting student field research or overseas study. Of the international program elements Title VI supported foreign language and some related social science and history courses. The law allowed federal funds to cover overseas work-related overseas travel of center staff and faculty as well as for visiting foreign scholars to teach in center programs. Fellowship recipients were expected to follow careers in education or public service but the law gave discretion to the Commissioner of Education to determine eligible careers paths. Fellowship students were authorized to receive tuition, stipend and travel from home to school but not overseas travel. For research and studies, the Office of Education was authorized to conduct the research itself or to contract for it with individuals or institutions. For the language institutes, higher education institutions were eligible to receive contracts to fund the training and the participating teachers were eligible for support for themselves and dependents.

¹² U.S. Statutes, The National Defense Education Act of 1958, P.L. 85-864, p.1580-1605. By the mid-60s, Education officials would express pride to Congress that the Title VI language centers of the NDEA had avoided the problem the foundations had with convincing the universities to commit their own funds to support the language and area studies centers.

The Title VI centers program grew and changed over the period. Gumperz observed that the centers program provided higher education with core institutional support and the fellowships program followed as a closely related second cousin of institutional support. The studies program and the teachers institutes program allowed universities to supplement the funds for their centers' programs. The number of centers grew from 19 in 1959 to 52 in 1962. By 1964, there were 55 centers spread across 34 universities and colleges.¹³ In 1961, the OE explicitly added geographic dispersion to its criteria for selecting center sites and added one center for Russian Studies in the Southern U.S. Four of the five new Latin American Studies Centers created in 1961 to support the Alliance for Progress effort were located in the South as well. During this expansion phase, new centers were added while existing centers were continued. Once centers won a place on the Title VI roster through a selection process that became increasingly competitive over the period, their contracts were renegotiated annually. Initially, the centers were situated at universities that already had "established substantial coursework and programs of good quality in areas falling within the 'most critical languages' provision... primarily to the major universities ...with programs of study at the graduate level." The OE used the ACLS list of six critical languages (Hindi-Urdu, Chinese, Russian, Portuguese, Japanese and Arabic) along with 27 languages of less critical importance. Placing these languages in regional context, Mildenerger listed the world areas supported with Title VI centers:

¹³ They had reached their appropriations ceiling so expansion either had come from new appropriations or from squeezing existing centers. This dilemma which was to continue with Title VI for years later was resolved happily with increased appropriations in the 1964 extension of the NDEA.

"Slavic or the soviet world; south Asia; southeast Asia; Near and Middle East; sub-Saharan Africa; Portuguese, and this involves primarily Brazil, of course; and then the Uralic- Altaic center. ...finally we have centers for east Asia and the Far East."¹⁴

The Title VI fellowship program expanded in scope and target clientele over the period. The fellowships (known as National Defense Foreign Language fellowships or NDFL's) initially were awarded through a national competition conducted by the Office of Education with ratings from review panels on individual campuses and recommendations from a national screening panel composed of as many as 33 federal agency officials and academics. In the first three years of the program, 78% of the awards went to students on campuses with NDEA language centers. The fellowship program grew from 171 graduate awards 1959-60 to 1006 in 1962-63. The number of languages also grew from six to 55 for fellowship awards over the same period. Spanish, Portuguese and other Latin American languages were added to the list of eligible languages in support of the Alliance for Progress program begun at Pres. Kennedy's initiative. Also in 1962-63, the fellowship program was expanded to include post-doctoral and undergraduate fellowships. The post-doctoral fellowships were intended for faculty teaching in colleges. When they completed their intensive language and area studies program they would return to help introduce non-western civilization elements into the undergraduate curriculum. The undergraduate

¹⁴ Gumperz (1970) p.54-55; U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Statement of Kenneth W. Mildenerger, Chief of Language Development Section, Office of Education," Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor on H.R. 6774 and H.R. 5805, 87th Congress, 1st session, part 3, June 7, 1961, p. 624.

fellowships were intended to help motivate younger students to begin the "unusual" language training thus reducing the time to degree when they began their graduate training.¹⁵

The expansion of the Title VI centers and fellowship programs coincided with a groundswell of interest in undergraduate needs for international studies. According to Gumperz two reports in 1961 and 1962 "urged the colleges to adopt usable features of the leading universities' approaches to international education." One was a study of non-western curricula in 800 colleges conducted by the AAC with a grant from the Title VI research and studies program. The other study was funded by the Hazen Foundation and conducted by Education and World Affairs. In addition, in testimony in 1961 on House bills to extend the NDEA, the MLA executive secretary George Winston Stone argued for continuing the language development provisions. He argued most strenuously for "aid at the undergraduate level for students in the neglected languages. ...We would like to see the law permit" getting them "younger, to train them also that they can be more useful in the national interest sooner in their graduate work." As a logical corollary, he urged more attention to the faculty of the colleges who "are responsible for the training of young people as they come through the pipeline for languages." He also pushed for adding English both as a second

¹⁵ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Statement of Dr. Kenneth W. Mildenerger to the Committee on Education and Labor," June 7, 1961, p. 625. Also see "NDEA Notes: Modern Foreign Language Fellowships," Higher Education, Vol. XIX, No. 1, (Office of Education, Oct-Nov 1962), pp. 15-17.

language and as the basic language of the U.S. and supported the proposals to expand opportunities for study abroad for teachers of foreign languages.¹⁶

In the same congressional hearings, a group of Asianist professors also testified for the first time on behalf of Title VI. Stanley Spector, chairman of the newly formed National Committee on Undergraduate Training in Oriental Studies, supported continuation of the advanced centers under Title VI but argued the program be expanded to undergraduate institutions and students with matching fund centers and scholarships similar to the Title VI advanced centers and fellowships. He argued that more than academic specialists were necessary for defending U.S. interests in Asia saying that Title VI should be expanded to include a wide variety of problem oriented or non-language specialists such as "doctors, engineers, business advisers, agricultural experts, and mining specialists" who were "entitled to an opportunity to gain some familiarity with Asian languages before they went into the field." After the hearings, Spector's group joined forces with Association for Asian Studies which created an ad hoc committee for undergraduate Asian studies. By 1964, the undergraduate momentum resulted in OE action. At a conference on undergraduate foreign area studies at Princeton in October 1964, the OE committed to locating some language and area centers at undergraduate institutions.¹⁷

¹⁶ Gumperz (1970) pp.59-63. U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Testimony of George Winston Stone," Hearings before the Special Committee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, 87th Congress, 1st session (June 1961), pp. 725-741.

¹⁷ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Testimony of Stanley Spector," Hearings before the Special Committee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, 87th Congress, 1st session (June 1961), pp. 805-811. Gumperz (1970), pp.59-63.

The Language Institutes programs of Title VI grew and changed over the period. For graduate students and college faculty, twenty of the NDEA centers were conducting special summer intensive language training programs in 1963 in 26 critical languages not commonly taught at U.S. universities. NDEA Title VI covered \$200,000 of the cost with equal amounts contributed by the host universities. Thirteen of the institutes hosted the first 100 undergraduate NDEA fellows for advanced language study. These undergraduate awards were based on the need to motivate students to take particularly critical languages where "demand far exceeds supply." The following summer, the advanced language institutes received 200 undergraduate with NDFL awards. By 1963, there were three levels of teachers' language institutes from beginner to advanced scattered around the country and the world. For example, in addition to 63 National Defense Language Institutes in the U.S. in summer 1963, twelve were to be conducted overseas for second level programs. Only those teachers that had passed a first level institute would be eligible for the overseas institutes. By 1964, the Language Institutes provided the model for the new Title XI of the NDEA. The "Language Institutes" of Title VI were transferred into the new "Institutes" of Title XI which called for universities and colleges to conduct institutes on a broader range of topics (modern foreign languages plus history, geography, reading, English), for a broader target group of educators (teachers plus librarians, media specialists) and for more schools especially those in disadvantaged districts with high proportions of students living in poverty.¹⁸

¹⁸ Higher Education v. XIX, no. 3, January 1963, pp. 7-15; Vol. XIX, no. 4, February 1963, pp.11-12.

There was little evidence of discussion or debate on the Title VI Research and Studies program so little comment is possible. In the early years, it seemed that the MLA did a fair amount of the work of preparing foreign language teaching materials and teachers' guides under the grant program. In testimony in 1961 and again in 1964, the publication and dissemination mechanisms for the materials produced under the program were characterized as "bottlenecks" rather than channels. In 1961, Stone of the MLA made a fairly mild request for better "provision for publication of these things." In 1964, W. Norman Brown Chairman of South Asian Regional Studies at University of Pennsylvania who also represented ACE at the hearing expressed stronger criticism of the government publishing mechanism. Brown called it a serious impediment to disseminating the results of contract research on language and area studies. Rather than being required to use the Government Printing Office, Brown called for funding to be built into research contracts to permit publication through standard academic networks or private publishers with appropriate attribution of the government funding source. He argued that this would result in many benefits including increasing the audience, reaching it more quickly and also reducing errors in special character alphabets of languages such as Chinese or Russian.¹⁹

¹⁹ U.S. Congress, H.R., "George W. Stone testimony," Hearings before the Special Committee on Education, 87th Congress, June 1961, pp. 732-3; U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Testimony of W. Norman Brown," Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor H.R. 6061 and H.R.9846, 88th Congress, 1st and 2nd sessions, (1963, 1964), pp. 127, 129-30. Occasionally, the studies were listed in Higher Education without analysis. Lists of studies completed under the program were available in OE flyers printed annually but they were not collected in the government documents library available to the author.

McDonnell's study found relatively high satisfaction with the Research and Studies program funding of the studies that set the research priorities for the program. As early as 1959, the ACLS conducted the first survey of language needs that OE used to determine the "critical languages" to be funded under Title VI Centers and Fellowships. In March 1961, the OE sponsored the MLA's "National Conference on the Neglected Languages." This resulted in the conference report by Austin E. Fife and Marion L. Nielsen with thirteen recommendations that "set a research program charter into the 1970s."²⁰

4. Evaluation and Adjustment of Programs and Policies

During this early phase of NDEA's implementation, there were several Congressional hearings to check the program's progress and decide its future. In 1961, Congress renewed the NDEA through 1964 authorizing the same funding level of \$8 million for Title VI. Again in 1963, Congress renewed NDEA through 1965 and the Title VI authorization level remained steady. Also in the 1963 extension, English when taught as a second language was added to the category of "modern foreign languages" approved under Title VI. In 1964 the NDEA was renewed through 1968, this time with annual increases in Title VI funding authorizations from \$13 million in 1965 to \$18 million in 1968 targeted entirely on centers, fellowships and research and studies sections of the law. The Language Institutes for were repealed from Title VI but resurfaced in a new NDEA Title XI for institutes for

²⁰ McDonnell, Berryman, Scott (1981), pp. 140-42.

teachers of foreign languages plus other social studies and english language arts subjects as well as teachers expected to work in special developing or poverty teaching situations in the U.S.²¹

Representative John Brademas (D-Indiana) was one of the most consistent supporters of the language provisions within the NDEA. When prompted on undergraduate scholarships by the MLA, one of his responses was typically enthusiastic. He said: "It may well be the case that we need some sort of outright bounty to be put on the head of every American student willing to study some of these extremely difficult languages." Similarly, Brademas explored the possibility of creating national infrastructure such as a national foundation for language teaching rather than the college-based strategy of Title VI. However, the MLA representative assured him that the colleges and universities would provide broader educational access while recognizing the utility of a national language training center to supplement the efforts of higher education institutions.²²

One measure of effectiveness of legislative implementation is the degree that appropriations match authorizations, i.e., the gap between rhetoric and reality. Authorizations give targets. Appropriations give cash to spend. Authorizations set the target funding levels as part of the intentions of the basic legislation as passed by

²¹ These laws were brief. U.S. Statutes, Educational Extensions, Oct. 3, 1961, Public Law 87-344, Volume 76; U.S. Statutes, Educational Extensions, Dec. 18, 1963, Public Law 88-210, Volume 77; and U.S. Statutes, National Defense Education Amendments, Oct. 16, 1964, Public Law 88-655, Volume 78.

²² U.S. Congress, H.R., "Statement of Representative John Brademas," Hearings before the Special Committee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, 87th Congress, 1st session, June 1961, pp. 733-736.

either or both bodies of Congress. They are generally set by the substantive committee responsible for and most familiar with a policy sector. Appropriations are set by separate committees responsible for national and sectoral finances.

Figure 4.1. Authorization versus appropriation levels NDEA Title VI (1959-64) shows the relationship between the two for the first five years of NDEA

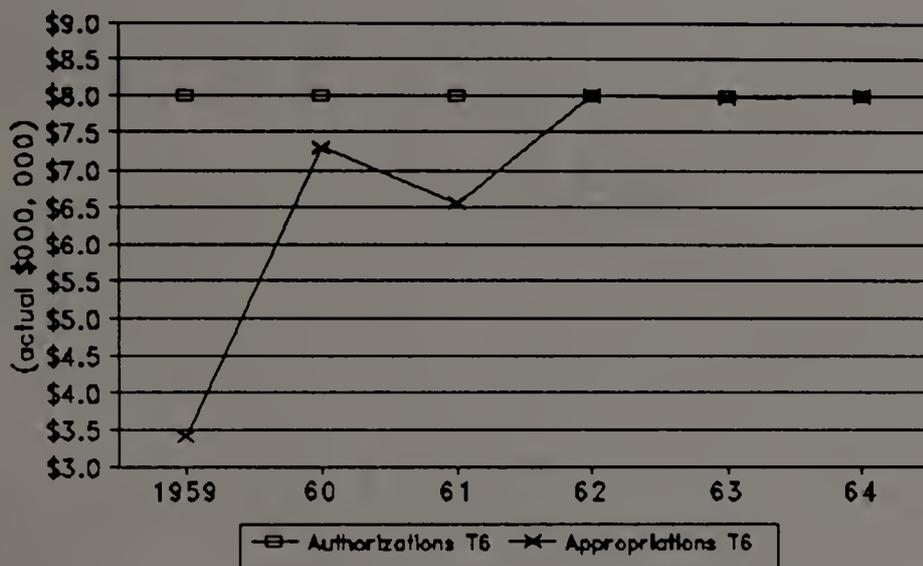


Figure 4.1. Authorization versus appropriation levels NDEA Title VI (1959-64)

Title VI (A). The trend is logical for a new program. Slowly, the appropriations rose to the total amount authorized. As the OE developed implementation capacity, the legislators provided more funds. With \$8 million authorized each year, the appropriations rose from \$3.4 million in FY 1959 to \$7.3, \$6.6 million in FY 1960 and 1961 and steadied at \$8 million in FY 1962, 1963, 1964.²³

²³ Underlying figures drawn from: U.S. Congress, Senate, Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act: Program Descriptions, Issues and Options, Senate Print 99-8, Committee on Labor and Human Resources, 99th Congress, 1st Session, prepared by the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, February 1985), p. 404.

Evaluative comments of the implementing agency officials provide another source of information for judging legislative implementation effectiveness. OE administrators took pride in direct results of their stewardship. HEW Assistant Secretary and Commissioner for Education Francis Keppel clearly saw the language development and overseas technical assistance support efforts of the OE as a source of pride and innovation within HEW. He attributed Title VI a key role in keeping the balance between federal support for the sciences and the humanities. In discussions of new federal support for expanding graduate education he cited Title VI as a model of building more and more geographically dispersed graduate programs. He also credited the foreign language component of NDEA Title III that created language laboratories in the schools across the country with spurring wider acceptance of audio-visual media in other teaching fields. He expressed pride that NDEA Title VI had been at the center of significant changes in language teaching in the U.S.--both its audiolingual methods and its broader acceptance among Americans and educators. Not only had Title VI built capacity in foreign languages but he touted the serendipity of its role in helping to expand advanced social science training and research capacity as well.²⁴

When discussing Title VI and its future, Keppel identified a larger, more permanent mandate than the initial legislative intent saying that, "the aim of Title VI was to begin a long range plan which would equip this country with the language skills required to carry out its enormous and growing commitments." Keppel argued

²⁴ Gumperz (1970), p. 51; Francis Keppel, "The National Education Improvement Act of 1963," Higher Education, Vol. XIX, no. 5 (March 1963), pp. 15-20.

that by 1963 the program had succeeded in the narrow terms of allowing enough people to acquire the skills to staff the campus programs under Title VI. But he argued that this was not sufficient to meet the needs of the "next phase of national progress" where he projected "growing demand of government, of business overseas, and of university interest in international affairs." Since he felt that the universities were not capable of expanding to meet those needs by themselves nor even to make the existing programs self sustaining, Keppel argued for more federal support to expand the number of programs, to grow the existing ones and also to help make the existing ones self-sustaining. He wanted federal funding sufficient to meet the full 50% support level for his expansion plan. With the average Title VI center using 20% matching federal monies, he felt they needed extra support to grow the programs to an adequate level and institutionalize them.²⁵

In a review article in 1963, D. Lee Hamilton, Director of Language Development in the Division of College and University Assistance of the Office of Education discussed the language and area centers. After some caveats on the original legislative intent, Hamilton cited Title VI's unexpected successes. The original intent of the legislation was to focus on "neglected foreign languages" and to generate a reservoir of expertise, generally associated with graduate training, faculty research and academic teaching. The "related studies" clause was not intended "to

²⁵ Keppel (1963), pp. 15-20; U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Testimony of Francis Keppel," Hearings before the Special Committee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, 88th congress, 1st and 2nd session (1963, 1964), pp. 15-17, 337. Keppel himself had served as Harvard Dean of Education among other academic leadership and faculty posts.

foster the social sciences per se" but rather recognized the need to put foreign language learning in the context of the culture and society in which it was used. He cited two unexpected bonuses resulting from the language and area studies centers. First, "for the first time in history of our higher education" the centers had provided a "mechanism which systematically" was turning out "M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s in the social sciences who have at least a basic practical command of such languages as Hindi-Urdu, Chinese, Swahili, etc. The consequences, as the trickle of such specialists slowly grows, are enormous." Second, the unexpectedly high level of undergraduate participation in the curricula created by language and area centers was seen as a major bonus. Not only did earlier training in tough languages reduce the overall training time of PhD's but it also supported the noble goal of providing "a truly liberal education" for all. Hamilton allowed that the organization of NDEA language and area centers was far from uniform and might be improved. They ranged from centers that were "largely a paper term" with little awareness that someone in Washington was grouping them together as "language and area centers" to those centers which functioned as a complex but cohesive "joint enterprise of both research and teaching." The latter was the ideal model and Hamilton cited OE's role in promoting its adoption through Title VI.²⁶

Hamilton's hyperbole on the effect of NDEA Title VI on social science PhD training was indicative of the level of enthusiasm that OE officials had for their program but also understated substantially the private foundations' contributions.

²⁶ D. Lee Hamilton, "Modern Foreign Languages and NDEA Title VI," Higher Education, Vol. XIX, No.9, July 1963, pp. 3-9, 35.

Gumperz noted that among the OE officials who compared federal and foundation efforts in language and area studies there was a sense that the foundations' relatively rich funding "actually left area programs in a 'financially precarious position' because area programs did not develop any strong claims to regular institutional support." The matching fund requirement of Title VI on the other hand "forced universities to undertake regular budgeting for these programs" and "that university willingness to underwrite the centers signified general acceptance with universities for the language and area center concept." Keppel had suggested that the fact that the average center relied on Title VI funding for 20% of its costs attested to Title VI's ability to create institutional commitment within the universities.²⁷

One key authorization missing from the NDEA Title VI legislation was funding for overseas travel and study for faculty and advanced students. There were other uncoordinated federal sources including U.S. dollars through the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 and foreign currencies for certain countries from the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. It was not until the passage of the Fulbright-Hays Act in 1961 that a regular source of dollars and foreign currencies were made available for faculty and student research. K.W. Mildenberger, who organized and headed the Language Development Program to administer NDEA Title VI and later headed the Division of College and University Programs within OE, addressed this problem area of Title VI. He said: "Several unsuccessful efforts were

²⁷ Gumperz (1970), p. 57. This perception was not wholly factual since Ford Foundation had begun to make institutional commitment one of its grant criteria in the 1960s under the ITR. See McCaughey (1984), Keppel (1963) for fuller discussion.

made to add such a provision to Title VI, but the Congress in 1961 included the necessary language in section 102 (b) (6) the Fulbright-Hays Act" which authorized:

"promoting modern foreign language training and area studies in U.S. schools, colleges, and universities by supporting visiting and study in foreign countries by teachers and prospective teachers... and by financing visits by teachers from those countries to the United States for the purpose of participating in foreign language training and area studies in U.S. schools, colleges and universities."²⁸

Mildenberger pointed out several key points about Fulbright-Hays legislation. First, it was delegated to the Office of Education to administer by an Executive Order in 1962. The rest of the Fulbright-Hays Act was administered by the State Department's US Information Agency. This demonstrated support from the foreign affairs stream for the role of OE in preserving and strengthening academic resources for language and area studies. Second, the dollar appropriations were not restricted to those countries where foreign currency credits were being generated. Third, the grants were tied closely to those universities participating in Title VI centers and fellowship programs. Mildenberger indicated that the first grants under this program went to eighty "graduate students training to be teachers of non-Western languages and area studies" and to forty faculty at "NDEA-supported language and area centers." The grants to bring scholars and teachers from overseas to the U.S. was not activated until later.²⁹

²⁸ Kenneth W. Mildenberger, "The Federal Government and the Universities" in U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, House Document No. 527, International Education: Past, Present, Problems and Prospects, Readings to Supplement H.R. 14643, Task Force on International Education, Rep. John Brademas, Chair, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, October 1966), pp. 23-29.

²⁹ Mildenberger (1966), pp. 28.

Evaluative comments by the higher education participants provided another measure of implementation effectiveness. McDonnell noted that the OE took the lead in formulating and modifying the Title VI legislation while the higher education associations were passively supportive. Gumperz found that the overall response within higher education to Title VI and its administration by the OE was positive. She cited Logan Wilson, president of ACE asserting that "federal aid has not brought federal control in its wake" and also his comment that "rarely has a small amount of money been so well invested." She cited the good working relationships between the OE language development office and higher education as a positive result of Title VI saying that it "softened boundaries between parties." Yet she also recognized that the links were largely limited to "major state and private universities and a few colleges successful in obtaining NDEA centers."³⁰

In testimony to Congress in 1964, W. Norman Brown highlighted some of the other issues that faced Title VI participants. He represented many groups -- ACE, the administration of the University of Pennsylvania's as its South Asia Regional Studies program director, and Asianist faculty by virtue of his role as Professor of Sanskrit. He noted the historical importance of three sources of funds in building foreign language and area studies capacity in higher education: 1) the universities themselves; 2) the foundations including Carnegie, Rockefeller but specially noting the ten year commitment of Ford's foreign area training program; and 3) the federal government through Title VI and foreign currency programs for research travel and

³⁰ McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981); Gumperz (1970), p. 56; Mildemberger (1966), pp. 23-29.

for library collections in the U.S. He argued that all three sources were necessary in the future saying: "No one of them could withdraw or diminish its support without harm to the U.S. national interest. All should continue with the possibility that the Federal Government should steadily increase its own participation..." since its resources are larger than those of the others. With static federal funding, the centers were hard pressed to meet growing demand or even regular merit increases. He identified the greatest immediate need as providing salary support for existing and new faculty and also fellowships especially for overseas dissertation field research. He also argued for more funding to be available to institutions of higher education that did not qualify as centers but wanted to build their programs.³¹ Presumably, that expansion would have included undergraduate institutions.

At the end of the period, Congress extended the NDEA. In the 1964 NDEA amendments, the Title VI programs of centers, fellowships and research-studies were extended for four years. Their funding was scheduled to increase from \$8 million per year to \$13 million in 1964 and then ratchet up to \$18 million per year in 1968. The amendment also repealed Title VI(B) for Language Institutes. These were replaced with Title XI "Institutes" for a wider educational audience including language teachers which received an authorization of \$32.75 million per year for three years. Most of the sections of the NDEA were amended along similar lines with two to four years extensions and steady or increasing funding. While ensuring no lapse in any NDEA

³¹ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of W. Norman Brown," Hearings before the Subcommittee on Education 88th Congress, (1963, 1964), pp. 124-33. The foreign currency programs he mentioned referred to the later Fulbright-Hays program for faculty, teachers and dissertation research travel.

program, Congress instructed the OE to recommend what further amendments and extensions should be made. Many of these would be incorporated into the HEA and ESEA of 1965.

Title VI along with most of the NDEA programs were deemed successful in most circles. The higher education policy arena was poised for more expansion and strengthening action in 1965. The foreign assistance stream was also kicking up substantial interest in the international higher education policy arena as discussed in capsule form in the next section.

B. Foreign Assistance Act of 1961

After 1949 and Truman's Point Four speech, the universities, especially the land grant colleges and universities, became involved in providing technical assistance in the developing countries. There were several incarnations of agencies created to implement the foreign assistance programs of Point Four. Governor Harold Stassen served as head of the Mutual Security Agency (MSA) and its successor agency the Foreign Operations Agency from 1953-1955. He was a firm believer in the role of the universities in supporting overseas technical assistance efforts of the U.S. government. Under Stassen's leadership and the later operations of the successor agency, the International Cooperation Agency (ICA) many institutions of higher education entered into long term institution building and technical assistance arrangements with the federal foreign aid program in agriculture, education, health and other development fields. The private foundations also funded university based institution building projects overseas. According to Erven Long's account, there were

at least 26 university contracts with the federal foreign assistance agency for agricultural development efforts alone between 1957 and 1959. By the end of the period under review (1958-64), the number of university contracts for agricultural development work alone grew to 42.³²

During the early years, the universities had enjoyed fairly easy and open access to all levels of the foreign assistance offices of the federal government. Policy focused on providing experts to solve technical problems and support long term institution building efforts of the host governments. The universities were the natural source of the high level human resources for the technical assistance strategies. Similarly, the university approach seemed to mesh with the educational and long term horizon associated with institution building. Many of the land grant institutions conceived of overseas agricultural development as a natural outgrowth of their domestic missions that had long been supported by federal programs through the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). Unlike their well worn processes with USDA, the technical assistance relationships were often rough and *ad hoc*. ACE and NASULGC had set up the federal contracts committee to help smooth the bumps. As the number of universities and faculty supporting foreign assistance efforts overseas grew so did the call for reciprocal support from the federal government. Two words came to sum up the higher education position. "Partnership" represented the search

³² Long and Campbell (1989), pp. 20-21. Jordahl and Ruttan (1991) said Stassen served from 1953 through 1957 while Long said he stayed until 1957. Long was writing memoirs and cited few sources beyond his own memory. The Jordahl/Ruttan dates seem more reliable. Note, there may have been more than one contract at some universities.

for as mutually respectful and useful a working relationship in foreign assistance as had developed between the land grant institutions and USDA. "Reciprocity" represented government support for universities to build and maintain the human resource base required for specialized foreign assistance and other overseas oriented activities. This was part and parcel of the larger institutional support debate within the higher education policy arena. Neither "partnership" nor "reciprocity" implied any loss of university autonomy or of government control.³³

By 1961, macroeconomic policy and capital transfers replaced technical assistance and institution building as the levers of choice for U.S. efforts to promote economic development overseas. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 created a new agency within the State Department, the Agency for International Development (AID) to replace the ICA. For the international higher education arena, the negative side of the new agency was associated with the policy framework and communication links. The newly formed AID had a much weaker central technical staff and leadership than the ICA with much greater program authority in the regional bureaus and country missions. Since most university links had been with the central offices and/or the technical officers in the field, the new structure severely disrupted the communication channels between AID and the universities. The regional bureaus and mission staff were in the best location to know the macroeconomic policy needs and where to apply the capital investment carrot and stick of loans-or-no-loans. The capital strategy eliminated much of the need for scientific, technical or institution building solutions to

³³ Jordahl and Ruttan (1991), Richardson (1969).

development problems. On the positive side, the expansion of the foreign assistance program for Africa and Latin America, especially with the Alliance for Progress, created vast new opportunities for interested universities.³⁴

In AID's first year, relations were particularly rocky for the universities. Fowler Hamilton, AID's first Administrator, seemed to understand neither the agency nor the universities. Long reported that the first meeting between the university representatives and Hamilton was "a rather bizarre meeting in fact" and described it: "A man (Hamilton) in charge of a large Agency attempting to explain the Agency's objectives, organization and program approaches to an outside group vastly better informed than he regarding all but the most recent organizational aspects of his agency."

Not long after this meeting "Dr. Clifford Hardin of the University of Nebraska (and later Secretary of Agriculture under Nixon) suggested that NASULGC should set up some special office of its own to be in continuous liaison with AID." NASULGC established its own international agricultural affairs office in 1961 with support of private foundations and their member institutions to avoid federal influence.³⁵

In December 1962, David Bell became AID Administrator, a post he would hold until July 1966. Bell was quite sympathetic to the universities and their potential role in AID's foreign assistance programs. He also was interested in the debate over policy. Despite the structural limits of being the head of a weak center/strong field agency, Bell exerted substantial leadership. Along with NASULGC, Bell set in

³⁴ Long and Campbell (1989), pp. 149-150. See also Jordahl and Ruttan (1991) and Richardson (1969).

³⁵ Long and Campbell (1989), p. 149. This quote is from Erven Long, who served virtually his entire career with AID in senior positions. See also Jordahl and Ruttan (1991) and Richardson (1969).

motion three processes that had dramatic effects on the next phase of development of the international higher education policy arena: 1) the Gardner report released in April 1964; 2) the Millikan study (same period of 1963-64); and 3) the International Rural Development Conference in July 1964.³⁶

Within AID, Bell used the Administrator's Economics Advisory Committee to debate development policy. Bell personally participated in most of the meetings and debates. The committee was "chaired by Dr. Edward Mason from Harvard under whom (Bell) had studied at Harvard and had worked in a Harvard-operated project in Pakistan." The discussions of agriculture often stayed at a theoretical level of "free price markets to guide resource use and development." Two major questions arose from these discussions. The Millikan report addressed the first: "Why wasn't LDC agriculture moving forward more rapidly?" The Gardner report addressed the second: "What might be done to make the U.S. universities, the largest instruments of AID's technical assistance, more effective in carrying out these programs?"³⁷

Dr. Max Millikan was an economist from MIT on Bell's committee. Long said that Millikan's report returned agriculture to a position of importance in AID's program and rescued "the entire idea of technical assistance from its moribund state." According to Long, Millikan was intrigued by LDC agriculture a subject "that he didn't at all understand,... especially LDC agriculture, nor why it didn't respond

³⁶ Long and Campbell (1989), pp. 149-161. Max F. Millikan and D. Hapgood No Easy Harvest, the Dilemma of Agriculture in Underdeveloped Countries (Boston, Mass: Little Brown & Co.) 1967.

³⁷ Long and Campbell (1989), p. 159.

better to the general macro-policy prescriptions coming increasingly into place."

Millikan organized a two week workshop with AID support with experts in "technical agriculture, ...agricultural economics, nutrition and public administration." Long

illustrated the workshop's central finding by quoting Millikan:

"...in many LDC's...there are millions of farmers. For agricultural productivity to improve importantly, most of those small farmers have to farm better! ...There is no way to force it; there are too many of them. And we don't really, know how to induce it! One thing is that it's not a simple matter of policy -- but of thousands, specific changes in farmers' activities. It has to be a massive educational process, but what kind of process we probably have yet to learn."³⁸

Dr. John W. Gardner was another member of Bell's advisory committee and head of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, a private public service foundation with international interests. According to Long, Bell asked Gardner to develop a report on the university issues that had been aired at a particular meeting of the committee such as "AID contracting policy, selection of universities (and) comparative advantages of universities versus other types of technical talent". Gardner set up a task force of university and AID representatives and solicited narrative responses on a wide range of questions and issues. Gardner wrote a forty page document that drew three conclusions according to Long. First, Gardner came down clearly in support of a strong role for universities in foreign assistance particularly in the "development and testing of new scientific and professional knowledge needed for economic development." Second, "AID's procurement

³⁸ Long and Campbell (1989), p. 160. Two participants surface later in this narrative concerned with the passage of the McGovern bill: Dr. Clifton R. Wharton (with Title XII) and Dr. Walter W. Wilcox, Agriculturalist of the Library of Congress.

policies, university selection policies, personnel salary policies and contract management procedures all tended to trivialize the AID/university relationship, and militate against the effective utilization of the universities, and weaken AID's ability to weed out indifferent performers." The third basic recommendation was to strengthen the technical and scientific competence of AID staff along with strengthening central offices related to "policy making pertaining to technical and scientific aspects of development." Gardner recommended many specific procedural and organizational changes within AID that continued to be debated for the rest of the period.³⁹

Along with these efforts initiated by AID, NASULGC's new international affairs committee had been working hard to renew communication channels with AID. Together with the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman and David Bell of AID, NASULGC began organizing the International Rural Development Conference just before President Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963. However, President Johnson said that he, "would welcome the opportunity to meet the assembled attendees at the conclusion of the conference in July 1964," according to Long. Papers were written on a set of themes, each of which was discussed in-depth by a working group at the conference which generated recommendations for AID, the universities and USDA regarding overseas development work. The conference was attended by 335 high level officials, with only slightly fewer from universities than from the government agencies of AID and USDA. Administrator Bell allocated

³⁹ Long and Campbell (1989), p. 163-4. The full text of the Gardner report may be found in U.S. Congress, H.R., House document No. 527 (October 1966).

responsibility for implementing the many recommendations from the Conference to the AID Technical Assistance and Research Committee where every AID region and bureau was represented.⁴⁰ Three actions that resulted from the IRDC were particularly notable. The first and most tangible result was that AID created a central contracting office. All regions, missions and bureaus would use standard core language while being flexible on programmatic details. Special attention was paid to the language of university contracts. Second, AID established what later became the Technical Assistance Bureau, a central staff bureau to guide policy on transnational development issues with a strong scientific or technical base such as population, health or agriculture. Perhaps least concrete but quite significant for shaping university relations with AID was, for lack of a better term, the "10% concept." This was to carry through as the primary conceptual foundation for federal reciprocity for universities' foreign aid efforts. Long attributed the concept to O. Meredith Wilson, President of the University of Minnesota reported his group's recommendation:

"that each university technical assistance contract with AID carry an additional 10% flexible money to be used to strengthen the U.S. university's capability to carry on that project. The university should have substantial flexibility as to how these funds were used providing only that they were used in a way which directly increased the effectiveness of the undertaking on behalf of AID."⁴¹

The Millikan report and the Gardner report provided grist for the working groups at the IRDC. With its high visibility and active support of President Johnson and senior federal officials, the IRDC provided the springboard into new legislative

⁴⁰ Long and Campbell (1989), pp. 149-153.

⁴¹ Long and Campbell (1989), pp. 153-157.

initiatives in the international higher education policy arena. ACE and NASULGC's new international unit in Washington, D.C. had a strong base to move into the legislative arena. There seemed to be more reason than ever to support the universities' efforts in foreign assistance with Administrator Bell's encouragement within AID, the growing program in Latin America and Africa and renewed policy support for technical assistance for agricultural development.

C. Policy Implementation Effectiveness:
Effectiveness in Achieving Legislative Aims *Per se*

To the question of success or failure of the Title VI program, the predominant refrain in the multiplicity of voices seemed to be "success". Congress extended the program three times and more than doubled its funding in the third renewal in 1964. The program was still considered less than permanent but Congress did not balk at extending this "temporary program" from 1964 to 1968, allowing NDEA Title VI a full ten year run. The Office of Education declared the Title VI program a success, constrained only by lack of funding from achieving even more. The higher education representatives seemed pleased with the degree of flexibility and autonomy in Title VI. They had gained some programmatic changes they had urged such as adding more centers, including more languages and social sciences as approved fields of study and adding undergraduates and colleges to the main target group of graduate students and research universities. The debate over teacher training seemed resolved with the 1964 NDEA amendments which transferred the Language Institutes to the new NDEA Title XI.

The early debates around Title VI would continue being discussed and resolved as the program was shaped over time. One debate focused on the adequacy of the programmatic mechanisms and funding requirements of Title VI. If the program were temporary, then higher funding levels might be justified to create the critical mass of skills and knowledge. Few were willing to argue for a permanent federal role in international education in the early years of Title VI. Funding levels would depend partly on what fields were included and how broadly the program was to extend into the higher education system. Regarding what fields might strengthen or dilute the program, many were proposed but few were chosen. History was added early. Classics, English and bi-lingual education were not. Rather they were added to other parts of the NDEA.

Similarly, the question arose on which languages to include or exclude -- less common, more common, critical, readily available or scarce or English as a second language? The division seemed to fall on Western and non-Western lines. The more commonly taught languages associated with Western Europe were excluded, i.e. French, German, Italian and Iberian Spanish. Virtually all others were included. English as a second language was absorbed into another section of the NDEA (although it was also allowed in the Title VI and the subsequent Title XI summer institutes).

Other questions regarded the relative emphasis on language, area studies or other problem oriented or topical fields such as engineering or public health; inclusion of undergraduate as well as graduate students; institutional and geographic dispersion of federal program participants from research universities to colleges around the

major regions of the country. The emphasis remained on languages and area studies not on topical or transnational issues. Undergraduates were included on the margins of the program with summer fellowship support. The universities remained the primary focus of center and fellowship programs but the colleges benefitted from the addition of post-doctoral fellowships for their faculty. Geographic dispersion clearly became more important.

Both the testimony at the renewal hearings and the reports submitted by the Office of Education on the program revealed substantial questioning and clarification of the causal theory underlying the legislation as well as the push and pull of different interests over the direction the program might take. Questions arose about the best age for language acquisition. If young was better for foreign language learning then should the federal government invest heavily in primary and secondary foreign language teaching rather than in higher education? In the period 1959-64, NDEA attempted both. Title VI recognized the need to build a reservoir of talent in the research universities to sustain long term creation of knowledge and training of future experts. The Title VI investments in teacher training institutes and the Title III investments in language laboratories and training programs through the states responded to the needs of younger age groups.

Questions arose whether the "centers" strategy of building capacity within the universities was as useful as building "national infrastructure" along the lines of the NSF capable of developing international education resources over the long term. The NSF model was attractive for the research side of language and area studies, it

was not deemed as useful as the campus based strategy to meet broader educational needs especially for the undergraduate training element.

Questions also arose on the adequacy of Title VI to contribute to foreign policy concerns. There seemed to be general agreement that Title VI and the OE had proved flexible enough to respond to changing foreign policy conditions. Witness the addition of Latin American Spanish to Title VI with the advent of the Alliance for Progress or the establishment of the Cuban Refugee fellowship and training program within OE's international unit. The response to the Soviet threat also seemed acceptable. In the testimony of Stone in 1961 and of Brown in 1964 indicated a relatively high degree of satisfaction that, after a slow start, the U.S. was on par with the Soviets in terms of language materials, teaching methods and the production of language experts. They argued that the U.S. was doing appreciably better and had more social science and interdisciplinary research on the rest of the world than the Soviets, or the Europeans for that matter.⁴²

D. Issues Raised for the Next Period

While Title VI's focus on expertise and research fit well within the original defense rationale of the legislation, Spector's testimony in 1961 suggested including the "international citizenship" or the "humanitarian" themes in addition to the "national security" theme. He suggested that the longer term solution to national

⁴² U.S. Congress, H.R., "G.W. Stone Testimony," Hearings before the Subcommittee on Education, 87th Congress, (June 1961), p. 736-741. U.S. Congress, H.R., "W.N. Brown Testimony," Hearings of the Subcommittee on Education, 88th Congress, (1963, 1964), p. 128-133.

defense problems might be found in greater citizen awareness and communication skills, the purview of undergraduate and elementary and secondary education.

Spector spoke of Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson's visit to Asia shortly before

Spector testified and paraphrased the VP's reaction as:

"we could stop communism 'dead in its tracks' if we knew how to communicate with them and help meet their needs. He called for closer person-to-person ties between Americans and Asians. It is too much for us to expect poverty-stricken Asian nations to educate all their peoples in English in the near future. It is therefore urgent that we Americans bridge the gap between ourselves and the peoples of Asia."⁴³

Within the foreign assistance stream, there was growing confidence that the "good old days" of Point Four and close working relations with AID could be renewed. "Partnership" had not been achieved but there were possibilities for it. Nor had "reciprocity" been achieved but there was clear recognition of the legitimate role of federal support of universities that supported the government's foreign assistance mission. The number of AID contracts with universities was growing steadily and the AID offices had accepted the utility of the central contracting office urged by the universities at the IRDC and in the Gardner report. When President Johnson appointed John Gardner to be Secretary of HEW, the international higher education interests felt they had a new friend in a senior position capable of furthering their longstanding efforts at "partnership" and "reciprocity."

⁴³ U.S. Congress, H.R., "S. Spector Testimony," Hearings before the Subcommittee on Education, 87th Congress, (June 1961), p. 811.

By the end of the 1959-64 period, pressures were building for change within the higher education policy arena as just discussed.⁴⁴ Forces in the larger society also were driving the momentum for change in international side of the policy arena. John F. Kennedy was elected President in November 1960. Much of the early NDEA was implemented early in the young president's term. It coincided with his introduction of major new foreign affairs initiatives such as the Alliance for Progress and the Peace Corps along with less publicized restructuring of the foreign assistance operations of the State Department within the newly created Agency for International Development (AID). Combined with the strong support from private foundations and the regularization of the Fulbright-Hays program, these were heady times for faculty and institutions of higher education involved in foreign languages, area studies, technical assistance and cultural or educational exchange. The higher education groups were pressing for institutional support. On the international front, there were pressures for federal support to reciprocate for the universities' investments in sustaining technical assistance resources for foreign assistance work overseas. There were pressures to extend federal support for undergraduate international education and continue advanced training and research.

Major storm clouds were brewing on the domestic political and foreign policy horizons. President Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963. More citizens, students and congressional representatives were questioning the U.S. foreign policy especially the nation's role in Vietnam. Vice-President Johnson won the presidential

⁴⁴ This closing discussion draws on the reports from the Congressional Quarterly Almanacs (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1960-1965).

election in November 1964, the same year as the first serious student riots at Berkeley. In 1965, Johnson began escalating the Vietnam war and promoting his War on Poverty at home. Race riots devastated the Watts section of Los Angeles. Campus unrest was flaring up in all parts of the country.

Kennedy had succeeded in getting foreign affairs legislation passed but of his education programs only the HEFA of 1963 had passed. Johnson encountered the reverse pattern. Foreign policy with its focus on Vietnam became Johnson's millstone but his education programs passed Congress smoothly. President Johnson was committed to passing the education legislation that had not been passed during the Kennedy administration. Ultimately, the legislative products of the Kennedy-Johnson era included the troika of HEA, HEFA and ESEA all based on the tested foundation of NDEA programs. The fourth pillar of the educational policy framework was to be the International Education Act (IEA) to provide a strong supportive base for existing programs like NDEA Title VI and expand beyond them into undergraduate international education and technical assistance. Despite its domestic intentions, the IEA came to be associated with foreign policy more than with higher education policy in many quarters. Unfortunately for the educational actors, this association blighted rather than blessed the birth of the IEA.

After running in parallel in the first phase, the educational and foreign assistance streams merged into a single policy arena for the IEA. By the end of 1970 they had split again into two tracks. The next chapter traces the path of the IEA.

CHAPTER V

GREAT EXPECTATIONS AND RETRENCHMENT: 1965-1970

The NDEA and other legislation in the first period had created a national market in federal funds for higher education. The debates over how to allocate its resources for the international higher education policy arena had become a permanent part of the landscape of the international dimension of the higher education system. International studies in U.S. higher education would now be shaped not only by the traditional forces of intellectual pursuits of faculty, the administrative and organizational interests on campus, the interests of national associations, the larger international context of the academy and the country and the good will of individual donors and foundations. The expanding role of the federal government had joined the forces. The system dynamics and relationships among the traditional forces were changed by the very existence of the federal programs whether or not they were present on a given campus.¹

The larger political context influenced the international higher education policy arena more acutely in this period than others covered in the study. This was due in large part to the unusually strong presidential leadership early in the period and presidential transition later in the period. The other parts of the Kennedy-Johnson education program were passed by 1965 -- ESEA, HEA, HEFA. National

¹ Gumperz (1970), p. 75, discussed this concept saying of the international programs on campus saying, "Now that these programs are in national competition for federal funds, they must suffer the fortunes of the national market economy so created."

presidential elections were approaching in Nov. 1968 so there was particular urgency to tie down the last leg, i.e. international education. President Johnson's policy was crystallized in three speeches -- the Smithsonian speech in September 1965, the State of the Union speech January 12, 1966 and the special education message to Congress delivered in February 2, 1966. Pres. Johnson called for extending the Great Society beyond the U.S. shores making a dual pledge to ensure "long term commitment to American universities for international studies support" and "to assist the education effort of developing nations."²

Existing NDEA Title VI support for universities was deemed insufficient for meeting the first part of the goal and so new legislation would be required. The second part of the goal, that related to the broader foreign assistance parts of the President's world education and health initiatives could be addressed with executive orders or legislative amendments. At the time of the Smithsonian speech, President Johnson asked for a congressional task force to work with the Department of HEW to draft the necessary legislation. Representative John Brademas (D-Indiana) led the International Education Task Force charged with creating and shepherding the legislation through Congress. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY) and Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Oregon) introduced the resulting legislation in the two houses of congress. Ultimately, the President signed the International Education Act on October 29, 1966, just days after the last day of the closing session of the 89th Congress. The timing

² Although it is pure speculation, this attempt to recognize the role of education in foreign policy may have reflected a desire to insert a stronger humanitarian impulse into foreign policy as the Vietnam policy became more conflicted.

was fateful to the political future of the IEA and to the shape of the larger policy arena.³

Mid-term elections in congress were scheduled for Nov. 1966. The President was not likely to retain the full strength of liberal democrats that came to Washington on "LBJ's coattails." The 1964 elections facilitated much of his legislative success especially in the 89th Congress. Indeed in November 1966, 47 new Republicans joined House of Representatives. They strengthened and emboldened the conservative coalition in the 90th Congress.⁴ Because of the late passage of the IEA in the 89th congress, its appropriations were left to the incoming 90th Congress. With this new political makeup, Congressional debates over Vietnam policy heated up. Foreign aid budgets were slashed to the lowest level since 1958 partly to reflect Congressional disapproval of the Vietnam policy. Higher education budgets, especially student aid, were threatened with cutoff because of Congressional displeasure with campus unrest. Educational policy overall was becoming more tense as desegregation efforts intensified. Fiscal constraints were exacerbated by the war and the Great Society programs. They put pressure on all budget items and resulted in an unpopular income tax surcharge in 1968.

On March 31, 1968, President Johnson announced the start of the Paris peace talks. He also announced his decision not to run in the Presidential election. Hubert

³ Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 89th Congress, 2nd session, Volume XXII (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1966), pp.306-309, 1232-35. For an insightful discussion of this period see Gumperz (1970), p. 1-64.

⁴ Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 90th Congress, 1st session, Volume XXIII, (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1967), p.76.

Humphrey won the Democratic party nomination in August but Republican Richard M. Nixon won the election in November 1968. In the final lame duck Congressional session of fall 1968, the Johnson administration and the democratic majority were able to pass the Higher Education amendments of 1968 extending authorizations for their overall programs until June 30, 1971 including the IEA. They authorized slightly increased appropriations for NDEA Title VI. To the surprise of many, they also introduced a new program for developing the education professions overall and preserved funding for other poverty oriented education programs. The lame ducks could fly but not high enough to win IEA appropriations in 1968.⁵

In the first period of this study, the transition of presidential leadership from Eisenhower's republican administration to Kennedy's democratic administration in 1960 helped to stimulate the international higher education policy arena. In the second period, the results of transition would be equally energetic but not so benevolent. The Kennedy-Johnson programs had created larger and more federal agencies and relied heavily on the categorical approach to expand higher education programs among others. Nixon proposed policies to shift federal funding into block grants putting more control in state and local levels and reducing federal administrative costs and burdens both on the economy and on the citizen. This section will explore the ways this structural shift in policy influenced the legislative processes and outcomes in international higher education policy arena.

⁵ Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 90th Congress, 2nd session, Volume XXIV, (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1968), pp.69-74, 100-101. In the 1960s, the Almanac summarized the status of bills at each legislative phase with a table called "box scores" as on pp. 100-101 cited here.

A. The International Education Act of 1966

1. Policy Environment and Advocacy Coalitions

While there was no Sputnik to serve as the catalyst, there was clearly great enthusiasm within higher education and parts of Congress and the Executive to move forward with greater federal support for international studies in higher education. They were buoyed by many successes over the previous ten years. Anxiety also provided motivation to many in higher education. Different authors identified various sources of anxiety for internationalists in the mid-sixties. William Marvel suggested that the many pressing demands of the overall expansion of higher education into two year colleges and growth of other levels of higher education might outpace internationalization of the curriculum. Associated with growth were tighter faculty markets that would make hiring the internationalist harder. With the increasing complexity of world affairs, it was becoming increasingly daunting to teach. Marvel also raised the issue that the largest and most internationally capable universities seemed to be less than enthusiastic about infusing their learning into the undergraduate curriculum. Looking at the extreme interest among the liberal arts colleges, Marvel asked about the other "two halves", i.e. those high school graduates that do not go on to college and those that go into undergraduate programs in education, business, engineering, agriculture, nursing or other professions. Both Marvel and Richard Morse questioned whether with only 5-10% of the institutions of higher education engaged whole or half heartedly in international studies it was realistic to expect the others to join. Looking at the existing group of internationally

oriented institutions of higher education, Education and World Affairs questioned whether they were stretched too thin to do more as the President seemed to expect. Morse also mused over the depth of commitment of the internationalists to their own cause. He mentioned a paradox of an author who wrote most persuasively about the importance of international education in one report and in a subsequent report on academic excellence failed to mention the international dimension at all.⁶

Looking at the sources of external funding there were further sources of anxiety driving the internationalists. George Beckman suggested subtly that the foundations might withdraw their support from international studies as was their typical pattern after several years in any field. EWA questioned whether the U.S. was already too interventionist and overtaxed overseas to take on more international activity on any front including education. Richard Morse presented the struggles within the executive branch of the federal government over the appropriate role of higher education in foreign policy between the prescriptive and ideological views typical of the Departments of State and of Defense and the less prescriptive, more interactive view of the Office of Education and others such as the Peace Corps or Fulbright-Hays program. Morse argued that higher education was compelled to engage. Robert Rosenzweig also argued that the universities must defend their own interests in the international policy arena, albeit with somewhat less polemical

⁶ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, House Document No. 527, International Education: Past, Present, Problems and Prospects. Readings to supplement H.R. 14643. Prepared by the Task Force on International Education chaired by Brademas, Rep. John. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, October 1966. "Statement of William Marvel," p. 519; "Statement of Richard Morse," p. 169; "Statement submitted by Education and World Affairs," p. 531.

phrasing than Morse. Edward Weidner reviewed the burst of resources that had come available to higher education from technical assistance overseas in the 1950s and 1960s. He suggested those resources could be lost to other groups in society if higher education failed to husband them and the underlying relationships wisely.⁷

Whatever the mix of experience and naivete, opportunity and need, enthusiasm and anxiety motivating them, the higher education associations were very active in the development of the IEA legislation. This was the first major concerted effort among various higher education associations to promote a particular piece of legislation related to institutional support in terms of federal reciprocity for overseas technical assistance and language and area studies support for all levels of the higher education system.⁸ As Gumperz said, "In striking contrast to the NDEA experience, the majority of ancillary representation was provided by the American Council on Education, the land-grant colleges...", i.e. the major higher education associations. In addition to representations from ACE and NASULGC, associations of smaller and undergraduate institutions also submitted letters, e.g. the American Association of Junior Colleges and the Association for College and Research Libraries. The budding

⁷ U.S. Congress, H.R., House Document No. 527 (1966), "Statement of George Beckman," p. 90; "Statement of Richard Morse," p. 174; "Statement submitted by Education and World Affairs," p. 531; "Statement of Robert M. Rosenzweig," p. 427; "Statement of Edward W. Weidner," p. 441. By the 1970 appropriations hearings, Beckman was the director of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute at the University of Washington but he had been a Ford Foundation officer earlier in his career.

⁸ Gladieux and Wolanin (1976) argued that the first fully coordinated legislative effort by the higher education associations was with the HEA amendments of 1972. Certainly the experience gained in the experience with the IEA contributed to their capacity for the advocacy process in 1972. Both sought institutional aid without success.

undergraduate interests in area studies during the NDEA Title VI renewal hearings in 1964 bore fruit in the IEA. The undergraduate committee of the Association for Asian Studies was refused funding from the Association officers but OE recognized their labors and invited them to prepare a background paper for the IEA and participate in the congressional IEA task force.⁹ AAU was largely absent from the highly visible activities of the other associations. Their role is described a bit more fully below in the discussion of foundation support.

The land grant and state universities were fueled by the high visibility success of the IRDC and AID's serious attempts to implement much of the Gardner report in 1964. With these successes on building the partnership between higher education and the federal government for technical assistance overseas, the universities were ready to push for new legislation to ensure reciprocity through ongoing institutional support. Beyond the development assistance meetings, higher education groups representing undergraduate education and foreign languages and area studies had held conferences and developed reports to address the needs for strengthening the international dimension of higher education in 1964 and 1965. Many of their findings and arguments were represented in the background documents prepared by the IEA Task Force totalling over 500 pages of small print. Many of them addressed the

⁹ Gumperz (1970) p. 63-7. U.S. Congress, Senate, "Statement and Testimony of Dr. Stephen K. Bailey, Chairman, Commission on International Education of the American Council on Education," Hearings on the International Education Act, S.2874 and H.R.14643, Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 89th Congress, 2nd session, (August, September 1966), pp.457-466. In the Senate hearings all the higher education associations were represented by Bailey except the AAU. Some of the presidents of AAU member universities wrote individual letters but there was no legislative record of a common AAU position.

undergraduate level. They identified the strengths that had developed within the higher education system and suggested new directions for growth and consolidation of the effort. Consortia among institutions of higher education and with schools were touted as a way to extend expensive programs of technical assistance as well as languages and area studies. Most cited citizen education and humanitarian goals of promoting peace and international cooperation as the primary rationales for greater federal support for international higher education. A few indicated economic development and the enhancement of U.S. business ability to compete in international markets, generally those related to professional and technical education.¹⁰

In the executive branch, the timing was particularly propitious for HEW and OE to take an enlarged international role. That would include implementing higher education international studies efforts under the IEA and coordinating educational cooperation, international exchange, technical assistance and comparative education studies with AID, State and the universities. Despite OE's weak tradition in the international sphere, a special leadership nexus in the key federal agencies offset the complications likely to arise in securing the IEA legislation and carrying out HEW's new role. John W. Gardner, author of the seminal report on "AID and the Universities" as President of the Carnegie Corporation, had recently been appointed Secretary of HEW. Francis Keppel who had become a strong advocate of

¹⁰ U.S. Congress, H.R., House Document No. 527. (1966) Note: It was in these documents that the author first spied the word "internationalizing" being applied to higher education. For example, some of the reports mentioned in the task force report included the Education and World Affairs report on "Colleges and World Affairs," AAC's report "Non-Western Studies in Liberal Arts Colleges" and the Princeton Conference on Foreign Languages and Area Studies.

international efforts as Commissioner of Education had just moved into the new position as Assistant Secretary for Education within HEW. David Bell continued as AID Administrator with longstanding relationships with Gardner. Charles Frankel had recently been appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs after recently authoring a book on education and foreign affairs while a philosophy professor at Columbia University. His book fit the President's initiatives. All four had deep ties to the university community.¹¹

Many legislators commented that the strong supportive testimony from Bell of AID and Frankel of State as individuals combined with the quick responses from their offices in terms of information and reports during the hearings on the IEA were important in convincing the legislators of the need for and feasibility of the IEA. Another example of the power of these four working in concert came from AID's administrator. Bell lent strong support to HEW's legislative initiative in the IEA rather than compete with it by supporting a bill developed by Senator McGovern (D-S.Dakota). The McGovern bill would have amended the foreign assistance act to address AID's narrower concerns especially regarding support for U.S. higher education's role in agriculture and rural development.¹²

¹¹ Frankel's book was noted by John Walsh "Exporting the Great Society: Funds are a Limiting Factor" Science, Vol. 152, April 1, 1966 as reprinted U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Hearings before the Task Force on International Education, H.R.12451 and H.R.12452, John Brademas, Chair, 89th Congress, 2nd session (March, April 1966). pp.296-299.

¹² Long and Campbell (1989), p. 161-2. Long provided a rich description of Bell's respect for Gardner. Long also indicated that AID could accomplish almost all of its aims for better relationships with the universities under existing law so there was little to lose from supporting the bigger, bolder IEA effort -- all to gain, little to lose.

Congress provided the stage upon which the various actors in the policy arena would shape the IEA. Here, too, there was an unusually strong working relationship between the universities and the policy makers. The task force on international education chaired by John Brademas (D-Indiana) had two principle advisors who represented different groups within higher education. Herman B. Wells, Chancellor of Indiana University was a major advisor representing both the technical assistance interests and the language and area studies interests of higher education. In addition to presiding over the 25 year transformation of Indiana University into a major national research university with strong international studies including three NDEA Title VI centers, he was also "the first president of the National Education Association's Department of Higher Education, and president" of NASULGC's predecessor associations. The second counselor was Peter Gillingham, a graduate of Yale College and Yale Law School who was on leave from his post as "executive associate of Education and World Affairs" who was more representative of the foundation community and the private institutions of higher education. Also, Ward Morehouse of the State University of New York, participated in the hearings and deliberations. He also served on the undergraduate committee of Asian Studies which

According to Long, the McGovern bill (S.1212) was spurred by Walter Wilcox, the agriculturalist of the Library of Congress who had participated in the IRDC as well as the Millikan workshop and was a long time friend of Senator McGovern. Also see Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1966), pp. 346, 50. It reported that the McGovern bill never went beyond the Senate committee. An International Health bill that was part of the Johnson initiative also stopped in the House committee because of fears that it would drain critical human resources from domestic health programs.

was a vocal group representing undergraduate interests and prepared a task force report.¹³

2. Legislative Goals

After three months of preparation, the House introduced legislation (H.R. 12451, 12452) in February 1966 and conducted hearings in April and May 1966. The House voted on a cleaned up version of the original legislation and moved the bill (H.R. 14643) forward in June. The Senate conducted their hearings in August and September 1966. The Senate voted the bill (H.R. 14643, S. 2874) on October 13 in a slightly different version than the House. The House voted to approve the bill as amended by the Senate on October 21. Despite the back and forth, there were relatively minor changes in the essential sections of the bill during the hearings and debates. The law authorized \$131 million including \$1 million in FY 1968 for HEW to gear up for implementing the full program followed by \$40 million in FY 1969 and \$90 million in FY 1970. Thus created, the International Education Act of 1966 was signed into law on October 29 by President Johnson during a meeting at Chulagankorn University in Bangkok Thailand.¹⁴

¹³ Gumperz (1970), p. 65-7. Members of the Task Force were listed and biographical sketches of Wells and Gillingham were provided in U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings before the Task Force on International Education, H.R. 12451 and H.R. 12452, (1966), pp. 10-11.

¹⁴ Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1966), pp. 306-9 for a description of the full legislative process in the 1965-66 passage proceedings.

Perhaps the most straightforward way to describe the goal set for the IEA that emerged from the congressional crucible is to review the law section by section. It was fairly brief. The preamble to the IEA emphasized the humanitarian and cultural rationales of contributing to world peace and understanding as well as the rationale of an informed citizenry. The notion that higher education was a "right of citizens" that had developed through the poverty and education programs permeated the preamble. Notably absent was the traditional rationale for international and higher education, i.e., national security. The rationale of improving economic and trade relations was included in the House Report which linked U.S. based international business as a resource for economic development as well as U.S. economic growth. Educational resources were identified as the primary vehicle. The law's "Finding and Declaration" stated that:

"a knowledge of other countries is of the utmost importance in promoting mutual understanding and cooperation among between nations; that strong American educational resources are a necessary base for strengthening our relations with other countries; that this and future generations of Americans should be assured ample opportunity to develop to the fullest extent possible their intellectual capacities in all areas of knowledge pertaining to other countries, peoples and cultures." It was found "therefore both necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to assist in the development of resources for international study and research, to assist in the development of resources and trained personnel in academic and professional fields, and to coordinate the existing and future programs of the Federal Government in international education, to meet the requirements of world leadership."¹⁵

¹⁵ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Report No. 1539 on H.R.14643, The International Education Act of 1966, Committee on Education and Labor, 89th Congress, 2nd session (May 17, 1966). U.S. Statutes at Large, International Education Act of 1966, October 29, 1966, Public Law 89-698, Volume 80, Part 1, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966).

The law had two main titles. The first title called for two new grant programs -- one for advanced centers of international studies and one for strengthening undergraduate programs in international studies. The second title amended related laws to fit the larger agenda set by the IEA. NDEA Title VI was amended to remove the "50 percentum ceiling on federal participation"; to remove the "requirement for area centers that adequate language instruction not be readily available"; to authorize grants as well as contracts for language and area centers; and to make the HEW Secretary rather than the OE Commissioner directly responsible for administering Title VI. NDEA Title XI was amended to add "International Affairs Institutes for Secondary School teachers" providing both new subject matter and funding with authorizations of \$3.5 and \$6 million for FY 1967 and 1968 respectively. The Fulbright Hays Act was amended to allow excess foreign currencies (also known as blocked or counterpart currencies) held by the US government in "less developed friendly foreign countries" to be used to support student and faculty exchange between those countries and the U.S. Finally, the HEA of 1965 Title IV-B was amended to allow the benefits of the student loan program to apply to students studying in qualified institutions of higher education overseas. Two other titles were added during the floor debates before the congressional votes. Title III called for a study of the brain drain from developing countries and identify ways to encourage foreigners studying in the U.S. to return to their countries and apply their knowledge and skills to their own nation's development. Title IV was an unrelated rider addressing recreational land use. The section prohibiting federal control of education, by then standard, was included.

The two programs created under the IEA's Title I were designed with complementary goals for graduate and undergraduate studies. The wording of the two sections follows:

Section 101 supported "Centers for Advanced International Studies". It would provide grant funds for: "the establishment, strengthening, and operation" of graduate "centers which will be national and international resources for research and training in international studies and the international aspects of professional and other fields of study. Activities carried out by such centers may be concentrated either on specific geographical areas of the world or on particular fields or issue in world affairs which concern one or more countries, or on both." Section 102 supported in "planning, developing, and carrying out a comprehensive program to strengthen and improve undergraduate instruction in international studies." Grants could be made "for projects and activities which are an integral part of such a comprehensive program..." (a list of seven specific components of such a comprehensive program discussed below.)

The administrative mechanisms for the Title I programs had certain similar components. The HEW Secretary was the designated implementing official. Grants were the chosen funding mechanism as typical of categorical support programs rather than the contracts more typical of mission oriented service procurement programs. Individual institutions as well as consortia of institutions of higher education were eligible. Not only could universities and colleges, singly or in groups apply for the grants but so could disciplinary, professional or institutional associations such as the Asian Studies Association or the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education or the Social Science Research Council when they were deemed likely to "make an especially significant contribution to attaining the objectives" of the program. Funding for the two new programs was authorized to begin with \$40 million in FY 1967 and continue with \$90 million in FY 1968. The legislation also

authorized \$1 million for the HEW Secretary to prepare a detailed plan for implementing the program.

Two organization mechanisms associated with the passage of the IEA would help meet higher education's goal of "partnership" much the way the stated federal goal of providing a permanent basis of supporting institutional capacity in international studies met the higher education goal of "reciprocity." When the IEA bill was introduced in the House in spring 1965, President Johnson confirmed HEW's leadership role by issuing an administrative order creating the Center for Education Cooperation (CEC) in HEW to administer the IEA and related activities. A national advisory council on international studies composed of academics, federal officials and private citizens also was proposed to guide the development of IEA programs.

In its report on the bill, the House education committee cited the "crucial bearing" of the CEC on the "success of the IEA." Since many federal programs had failed to recognize the complex nature of the U.S. higher education system, the report indicated that the CEC should be located at a high level within HEW to attract outstanding personnel and deal effectively with other federal agencies. Most importantly, the CEC was expected to develop a "close working relationship ... with the universities and colleges, characterized by cooperation, communication, mutual understanding and respect." Sec. Gardner wrote that the CEC director would report to the HEW Secretary through the Assistant Secretary of Education. At this Bureau level, the CEC would administer the HEW components of the IEA, take on the administration of NDEA Title VI (601) centers and fellowships as well as coordination of federal international education programs and other international

education liaison and administration functions that were assigned to HEW.¹⁶ The NDEA Title VI (602) research and studies program would be transferred to the OE Bureau of Research. This elevated position within HEW effectively disinterred Title VI, a merit-based, institutionally focused program from the Bureau of Higher Education where it was increasingly buried among the proliferating needs-based, student loan and grant programs.¹⁷

There were also differences in the administrative framework for the two programs in terms of specificity of administrative requirements and specificity of criteria and procedures for awarding grants. The advanced program was expected to be organized according to the tested Title VI model of graduate "centers" of interdisciplinary research and graduate teaching. The undergraduate program was not limited to the center model but was required to fit within a broader organizational concept of "comprehensive program." In the graduate and professional program, the

¹⁶ U.S. Congress, Senate, "Statement of John W. Gardner," Hearings on the International Education Act, S.2874 and H.R.14643, Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 89th Congress, 2nd session, (August, September 1966), p. 189. Also, see p. 59 for further statements on the integration of NDEA Title VI within the CEC.

¹⁷ Gumperz (1970), pp. 66-68; McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981) writing in 1979 saw an early lack of prominence and misfit that would characterize the Title VI program buried within the larger OE unit administering the federal college and university programs variously called the College and University Programs, Higher Education or Postsecondary education bureau. This split of Title VI 601 and 602 programs into two different OE units was confirmed in later testimony in appropriations hearings. See U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Testimony by Robert Leestma," Hearings on the Office of Education Appropriations for 1971, Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, 91st Congress, 2nd session, (March 1970), pp. 990, 1048-1094. Leestma explained why the two line items were merged again after an OE restructuring rejoined the two programs under the "Language and World Affairs" office in the Bureau of Higher Education in 1970.

mix of subject matter in terms of geographic area, professional and transnational problems or issues was to be determined during the competition for funds rather than by pre-determined criteria. Merit rather than need was the unstated primary criterion for selection. The Secretary was to make "advanced" grants "on such conditions as necessary to carry out (the section's) purposes." The law was silent on the grants procedures and fiscal administration of the advanced centers program. The 50% rule was not mentioned but "part or all of the cost" of the centers would be funded, a more flexible approach.

For the undergraduate grants, the legislation gave the Secretary more specific criteria for allocating grants mixing geographic distribution, need and capability. The law called for the Secretary to seek: "an equitable distribution of grants throughout the States while at the same time giving a preference to those institutions which are most in need of funds for programs in international studies and which show real promise of being able to use funds effectively." The legislation specified procedures for administering the undergraduate grants program including setting a regular schedule of grant application and reporting, providing appropriate "fiscal controls... to assure proper disbursement and accounting for Federal funds paid to the applicant", and providing adequate reports and information. Further for the undergraduate program the law attempted to ensure that grant funds would supplement not supplant existing resources and "to the extent practical increase the level of funds that would, in the absence of such Federal funds, be made available" for international studies. The oversight required of the undergraduate program may have simply reflected the novelty of the program. It also may have reflected the reluctance of Congress to fund

merit-based undergraduate programs during the War on Poverty era. Some may have remembered the exclusion of undergraduate programs needed to secure passage of NDEA Title VI in 1958.

The types of activities on campus that could be funded were different for the two programs as well. The program categories were similar but the different activities reflected the underlying assumptions. Table 5.1. below compares the major programmatic differences with key items from the internationalization ideal marked in parentheses where appropriate.

Table 5.1. Activities of the IEA: Advanced centers and undergraduate programs

<u>Advanced Centers</u>	<u>Undergraduate Programs</u>
"establishing, strengthening, equipping, and operating research and training centers..."	"planning for the development and expansion of undergraduate programs of international studies"
"the cost of teaching and research materials and resources" (library)	"teaching, research, curriculum development, and related activities" (curriculum development)
"the cost of programs bringing visiting scholars and faculty to the center" (faculty mobility, foreign scholar support)	"programs under which foreign teachers and scholars may visit institutions as visiting faculty" (faculty mobility)
"the cost of training, improvement, and travel of the staff for the purposes of carrying out the objectives of this section" (faculty mobility, training)	"training of faculty members in foreign countries" (faculty mobility, training)
"funds for stipends... to individuals undergoing training at such centers including allowances for dependents and for travel for research and study here and abroad." (student mobility-graduate fellowships)	"expansion of foreign language courses" (foreign languages)
	"programs of English language training for foreign teachers, scholars and students" (foreign student/scholars support)
	"planned and supervised student work-study-travel programs" (student mobility)

All advanced centers would be expected to house all activities in varying proportions. The undergraduate programs would be expected to focus on one or more elements. Only undergraduate programs would be eligible for planning support. Advanced centers were targeted for library support while undergraduate programs were targeted for less specific curriculum development support. Both programs would support U.S. faculty development and travel for U.S. and overseas scholars. Both supported students but in different ways. The advanced centers could provide fellowship support for graduate and professional students while the undergraduate programs could support undergraduate travel for work or study or a combination of the two in approved programs. Only the undergraduate program was explicitly encouraged to support foreign language teaching and teaching English as a second language. Since foreign languages were a main focus of the NDEA Title VI graduate programs, they were deemed less important than the IEA's advanced centers. Also, practically speaking it would be virtually impossible to learn all the languages of every region that the study of transnational issues such as economic growth might encompass. The inclusion of foreign language for the undergraduate reflected the sense that the earlier a student began language study the better. The inclusion of English as a second language coincided with similar programs in other education legislation of the time.¹⁸

¹⁸ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings before the Task Force on International Education, H.R. 12451 and H.R. 12452, (1966). U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on The International Education Act, S.2874 and H.R.14643, (1966).

3. Policy and Implementation Issues in the Authorization Hearings

Questions arose during the hearings that addressed both policy goals and implementation issues. The debate and the responses shaped the legislation's intent and the executive implementation efforts not only during this period but into later periods. Both the House and the Senate education committees were supportive but the House committee's task force was enthusiastically pro-IEA. The most fundamental argument for the IEA was reflective of the larger educational policy debate in Congress. Rep. Albert Quie (R-Minnesota) summed up the issue. He said:

"...usually I think the local community, the States, and the institutions ought to give the greatest amount of responsibility to the (educational) program. However, when you get into language and area centers and the study of other parts of the world, it is hardly a direct responsibility of a community or a State to get into that. We don't have that problem in Minnesota; we don't need French or German any more, but we do have a need internationally. As a conservative Republican, I think this is one area where the Federal Government has a direct and most important role..."¹⁹

The level and need for funding were discussed thoroughly. The House report emphasized that the IEA provided "compensation for a debt long overdue and (was) a pledge to the future." It suggested what was required for international education was a national investment in international education equivalent to the U.S. investment in science and technology in the 1950s. In the House hearings, the higher education associations argued that the levels provided in the authorizations were too small. IEA support was more tepid in the Senate and the higher education rhetoric heated up. One higher education representative told the Senators that IEA funding was below the

¹⁹ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings before the Task Force on International Education, H.R. 12451 and H.R. 12452, (1966), p. 35.

\$100 million allocated to build a single cyclotron. Rep. Quie and at least three other Representatives went on record as feeling the funding levels were too low. The Democrats agreed as Rep. Patsy Mink (D-Hawaii) said, "I am only disappointed that there isn't as much money as I would like to see in a program like this." In an unusual move, Rep. Quie supported waiving the 50% rule for the IEA, going so far as to say that "I want to commend you (Secretary Gardner) and assure you that you have a strong supporter in this area," i.e., international education.²⁰

Sec. Gardner explained why HEW had requested relatively slow growth in funding for the IEA. While HEW was fully committed to the program, he was concerned with effective start-up saying, "We have a lot of planning to do, everything we have learned out of last year's flood of legislation is that it takes a long time to get underway." Later in the hearings, Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-California) expressed severe skepticism that the \$5-\$10 million level for the first year would be sufficient for a national program. He questioned the assumption of other resources being available saying, "I can't envision the universities being in a position to raise any great sums to build centers without substantial Government help." Perhaps presciently, Hawkins also questioned the effectiveness of the administration's basic

²⁰ U.S. Congress, Senate, "Testimony of Stephen K. Bailey for ACE, AAJC, NASLGUC, AASCU," Hearings on The International Education Act, S.2874 and H.R.14643, (1966), pp. 457-466. U.S. Congress, H.R., "Remarks of Representative Albert Quie" and "Remarks of Representative Patsy Mink," Hearings before the Task Force on International Education, H.R. 12451 and H.R. 12452 (1966). For Quie, see pp. 34-35. For Mink, see pp. 38-39.

strategy saying, "It seems to me in keeping it vague, as apparently it is, the present proposal, that we are not going to end up with much."²¹

To further justify the relatively modest funding request, Sec. Gardner indicated that the federal government could use a strategic selection process and focus on "stimulation and with innovation and with the strengthening of certain centers nationally" rather than more comprehensive funding of the entire system. Gardner also felt the less costly more selective approach was justified because the foundations, "the States and boards of private institutions have poured money into this so there are other sources and we are not in the same situation as we are in some areas of education where we have to start from scratch and build something not supported." Brademas pursued that line of reasoning. He asked the foundation representatives directly whether the IEA would affect their funding plans. Both Mr. Ward from the Ford Foundation and Mr. Harrar from the Rockefeller Foundation replied essentially "no." At the risk of speculating, had Brademas asked the question differently he may have received a different answer, i.e., were the foundations planning to reduce their funding instead of would the IEA affect the foundations' plans. It seems that Ward answered truthfully that the IEA funding levels would not change Ford's plans. It

²¹ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings before the Task Force on International Education, H.R. 12451 and H.R. 12452 (1966). On level of funding, see Representative John Brademas, Chair, pp. 22-23; Representative Albert Quie, pp. 34-35; Representative Patsy Mink, pp. 38-39, Representative Adolphus Hawkins, pp. 50-51, John Gardner's response on p. 23. For criteria, see John Gardner's comments on pp. 23, 27, 35, 37 regarding mix of need, capacity and geography.

was fairly clear by the time of the hearings in spring 1966 that the Ford Foundation had decided to phase out its ITR program support by the end of 1970.²²

An aside on the relationship of the foundations and the universities around the time of the passage of the IEA may be useful. In hindsight, the IEA acted as a not insignificant catalyst for an unfortunate and unwitting shift in the relationship between the research universities and the Ford Foundation. Unfortunately, their readings of the federal intervention in international education and of each other were not borne out in fact. The research universities that were involved in international and area studies were content with basic workings of NDEA Title VI and were somewhat concerned with general levels of federal support for international programs. As an association the AAU was not represented at the IEA hearings although several of its individual members from the research universities testified or submitted letters. The funding available from the Ford Foundation's ITR program may have contributed to their less than full involvement during the early development of the IEA legislation in 1965. There were few indicators of anything but status quo from Ford ITR in 1965. Also, the research universities traditionally kept their distance from the federal government. By the time the IEA was passed in October 1966, however, the universities were anxious to ensure federal resources for Title VI and the IEA because of the imminent end of the Ford ITR program.

²² U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings before the Task Force on International Education, H.R. 12451 and H.R. 12452, (1966). For a discussion of the presumption of continuing outside funding, see John Gardner pp. 26-27, 34 for comments on the 50% rule and comments by Mr. Ward of the Ford Foundation and Mr. Harrar of the Rockefeller Foundation, p. 275.

Early in 1966, Ford decided to close ITR by the end of 1970. MacGeorge Bundy was installed as President of the foundation in January 1966 and he blessed ITR's passing. McCaughey suggested that the frictions between academics and government officials over foreign policy may have influenced Bundy's decision. Bundy had been National Security Advisor to both Kennedy and Johnson and evidently had not always agreed with his academic brethren advising the presidents, especially on Vietnam policy. The passage of the IEA in October 1966, further confirmed the decision to close ITR since there was clearly a sense within the Ford Foundation that the government was in the wings. McCaughey also suggested that "moving to the next table" was very much in character for Bundy who had a reputation as a strong and creative leader not one likely to carry on tradition for its own sake. By Oct 1967, Francis X. Sutton had become head of Ford's international division and receiver of ITR. McCaughey quoted Sutton from a report to his Ford colleagues as posing a question that served as an epitaph for ITR. Sutton asked if it were not so that...

"in some geographic areas, countries, and disciplines, 'sufficient' area specialists have been trained to man the necessary positions, provide the basic research and reproduce themselves in adequate numbers without special pump-priming?"²³

Particularly during the House hearings, the criteria for allocating funds to graduate and undergraduate programs was an issue. The representatives insisted that geographic dispersion be included as major criteria. HEW accepted that but insisted that geography had to be combined with two other criteria -- need and capacity.

²³ McCaughey (1984), pp.241-242.

Gardner said: "While we would strive for equitable geographic distribution of grants, we would give preference to institutions which most urgently needed such funds and which showed real promise of being able to use them effectively." Gardner argued that this was not so much a financial need as an academic or curricular need. This would allow the largest universities to the smallest two-year college to justify its need based on its own programs rather than any absolute criteria imposed by HEW. On capacity, Gardner did not refer solely to the level of academic programs or status or size but to institutional readiness and commitment saying that, "the likeliest one to profit by (the IEA) is one to be compounded of motivation, flexibility and a willingness to develop programs which cut across existing programs." The participants in the hearings agreed that a variety of institutions would be eligible -- new and existing programs, two year as well as four year colleges and universities, and programs that would be upgraded or provide a demonstration effect. Primary and secondary schools would not be covered by the IEA but could be included within the existing ESEA programs. Gardner summed it up saying that: "It is the problem of finding opportunity, finding points of growth, finding areas where you can build a national resource, or develop a program where it is needed."²⁴ In the end, the law

²⁴ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings before the Task Force on International Education, H.R. 12451 and H.R. 12452, (1966), pp. 22-23, 26-28, 34-35, 37-38. Gumperz (1970) suggested that the entry of the federal government into this allocation process between graduate and undergraduate educational made explicit certain fundamental issues and potential conflicts within the higher education internationalist community. Previously they had been handled on an ad hoc basis if at all by individual faculty and disciplinary and professional associations. She suggested that the institutional interests were likely to enter and create new sources of competition.

called for more extensive review procedures and criteria for the undergraduate level leaving the graduate level more at the discretion of HEW on grounds of merit.

Another of the questions revolved around the notion of amending existing legislation, especially NDEA Title VI. HEW's Gardner and Keppel took the lead in preparing the legislation. Essentially the decision to develop new legislation was made by HEW officials with the assistance of the Congressional sponsors. Given the scope of the President's "world health and education" mandate, they decided that no combination of amendments to NDEA Title VI, Fulbright Hays, other education or foreign assistance legislation was sufficient. Secretary Gardner indicated that the IEA would cast a wider net. The NDEA centers focused primarily on foreign languages and the subjects needed to understand the areas in which they were used. The graduate and undergraduates trained in these centers were clearly focused on that goal rather than the larger aims of the IEA. Indeed, he suggested that an NDEA center might become part of an IEA center. The IEA centers would seek to "include many schools and programs in addition to Arts and Sciences such as Medicine, Law, Business and Agriculture." The IEA would attempt to reach all students, undergraduate as well as graduate and professional on a wider range of topics than the NDEA centers. Finally, he cited the need for a broader operating principle for the IEA saying that since the NDEA was created "to meet certain highly specialized needs related to national defense, we felt it was more appropriate for the broad academic purposes of the IEA to be pursued thorough an independent legislative enactment." Much of the academic community involved in NDEA Title VI were

supportive of the IEA so long as it did not reduce the resources flowing into the existing programs.²⁵

A question that came to plague the IEA debates was whether this was a domestic education or a foreign aid program. There were a variety of other questions nested in that one. Is it a bill to ensure an adequate supply of foreign affairs staff? Is it designed to reduce the brain drain from developing countries? Is it designed to increase the number of foreign students coming to the U.S. as opposed to going to the communist foes in the USSR and China? Sec. Gardner responded to the manpower question saying, "it would be a mistake to think of the Act as a manpower training bill which will turn out internationally-trained government servants." The House report also emphasized these points saying that this is not an "educational foreign aid bill" but one to strengthen our own universities and colleges. Sec. Gardner's response to an amendment proposed on foreign students by Sen. Jacob Javits (R-NY) encapsulated the debate. He said:

"The basic aim of the IEA is to strengthen the capacity of our domestic institutions of higher education for research, study and teaching in international affairs. The emphasis is on institutions and not on individuals, on American schools and not on foreign assistance." (emphasis his)²⁶

²⁵ U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on The International Education Act, S.2874 and H.R.14643, (1966), p.138 and testimony of various academic leaders. The author can only speculate on what difference it would have made if the HEW officials had included the NDEA Title VI administrators in their testimony. Their absence from the hearings seemed to undercut the credibility of the HEW arguments that the NDEA Title VI interests would be embraced within the new IEA structures and processes.

²⁶ U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on The International Education Act, S.2874 and H.R.14643, (1966), pp. 68, 138, 258.

While the IEA itself responded to this narrower agenda, Gardner envisioned the Center for Educational Cooperation taking a significant role in a broader agenda of enabling U.S. higher education to play a stronger supportive role vis a vis foreign policy under the purview of the Departments of State, Commerce or Agriculture. Gardner also emphasized his intention to build on the experience of NDEA Title VI and other international education programs already administered within OE.²⁷

Both the minority and majority views in the House and Senate authorizing committee reports were supportive of the emphasis on funding U.S. higher education institutions working on federal foreign affairs programs. The sweeping remarks of the presidential speeches in January and February 1966 tended to muddy the domestic and foreign policy agendas of the IEA. Two different statements from a total of eight Republican and fairly conservative representatives were attached as supplemental views to the House report that supported the IEA bill. They wanted to "make perfectly clear that this bill has nothing at all to do with aid to other nations" nor did it "even move in the direction of any new foreign commitment". The statements were issued as antidotes to the President's high flying and potentially counterproductive rhetoric in his February speech that they characterized as being "couched in typically grandiose terms of 'a worldwide effort to rid mankind of this slavery of ignorance'."

²⁷ U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on The International Education Act, S.2874 and H.R.14643, (1966), pp. 27-51, 68, 138, 258. In the end, Javits' "education for peace" proposal was addressed by allowing foreign currencies to be used for educational exchange through an amendment to the Fulbright Hays Act. The Javits' amendment would have made the IEA a vehicle for expanding foreign students coming to the U.S. Sec. Gardner assured the Senate committee that HEW fully supported the concept of greater foreign student presence in the U.S. but emphasized that the IEA was not the appropriate instrument.

They argued that the implication that "we were to extend the 'Great Society' to all the world at the same time we were engaged in an increasingly costly war in Vietnam and faced with mounting inflation at home caused great concern to Members of Congress of both parties." These supplemental statements attempted to make clear that the IEA would expand upon the NDEA Title VI that had been small but successful program devised under a Republican administration. They reiterated that the IEA was "related solely to domestic colleges and universities." They ended with an emphatic statement, saying: "In view of the President's expansive pronouncements on this subject we think it is necessary to make the true dimension of this bill absolutely clear in order to avoid misunderstandings."²⁸

The testimony before the Senate Committee of freshman Rep. Robert M. McClory (R-Illinois) bears repeating. Two years later in 1968, it was McClory who would push the teetering appropriation into the "nay vote" abyss. He offered the amendment that scuttled the appropriations for the IEA for FY 1969 by a vote of 91-86 during floor debate in the House. He also raised objections to the procedures of debate for the IEA on the House floor in 1966. McClory testified that he had spent two and one half years as the U.S. delegate to the Inter-Parliamentary Union working on international education issues. He had become convinced of the need for U.S.

²⁸ Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1966, p. 308; U.S. Congress, H.R., Report No. 1539 to accompany H.R.14643, The International Education Act, (May 17, 1966). At the end of this committee report, supplemental views were attached and signed by Representatives W.H. Ayres (OH), A.H. Quie (MN), C.E. Goodell (NY), J.M. Ashbrook (OH), A. Bell (CA), O.R. Reid (NY), G. Andrews (AL), E.J. Gurney (FL). Note: The fact that LBJ signed the bill into law during a visit to Bangkok, Thailand did little to convince people that this was not really a foreign aid bill in disguise. After years of cuts, 1968 saw the first foreign aid bill that Congress refused to pass.

support to relieve world illiteracy. McClory was frustrated that the IEA did not respond to his priorities for overseas educational aid. He said: "It was disappointing that no exciting new programs looking toward helping the 700 million adult illiterates in the developing nations was outlined" in the Presidential speeches that spawned the law. He argued that existing legislation could be amended to achieve the domestic agenda that the IEA was really intended to address. He perceived the IEA as a piece of legislative trickery whose only reason for being was to "increase the authorization for higher education which purports by its title to do something which it does not do and to fulfill promises made by the President to this Nation and to the rest of the world which, indeed, are not fulfilled in any sense of the measure." He ended his testimony asking the committee to table the IEA in order to develop legislation that would really further world peace and development since the IEA was unnecessary at best and deceitful at worst. As McClory described it, "the IEA gives emphasis at this time to a subject of low priority in virtual disregard of a subject of the highest priority -- the literacy training of the people of the developing world."²⁹

Closely related to the foreign-domestic debate around the IEA was a question of federal power in education and congressional jurisdiction. Senator Morse introduced the IEA in the Senate. He also served on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Morse expressed two concerns. First, how would the separate authorities in the IEA be made clear between HEW and the traditional foreign affairs

²⁹ Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1968), p. 498. The teller tally for the vote was 91-86 to delete the authorization for the IEA. For the relevant testimony, see U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on The International Education Act, S.2874 and H.R.14643, (1966), pp. 454-456.

agencies? Morse referred to concerns of his colleagues on the Foreign Relations committee and said that "unless those authorities are clearly defined and limited, this bill has no chance of passage." Second, Morse indicated that there was growing concern throughout Congress about "federal power in education" and that federal programs should not undermine local control. Events that had occurred at the same time with the Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Department also had provided a specific instance of federal programs impugning and demeaning the impartiality of higher education institutions. Morse said it was equally important to prevent federal control of universities as it was to keep "higher education from becoming propaganda centers for government policies." Morse argued that the IEA's creation of a national advisory council would help to obviate both problems. He urged further that higher education itself create a council of international studies to promote its own agenda vis a vis the federal polity. The House report also emphasized these points saying that the bill was designed to "strengthen our universities not make them instruments of foreign policy." The higher education associations agreed with Morse's directions and testified that they were pleased with the added flexibility that the IEA promised to provide especially for smaller institutions.³⁰

³⁰ U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on The International Education Act, S.2874 and H.R.14643, (1966), pp. 258-265. Discussion among Senators Morse (Oregon) and Dominick (Colorado), Dean Josef Korbel and Prof. Vincent Davis, Graduate School of International Studies of the University of Denver. The Camelot incident involving the CIA and universities in anti-revolutionary policy in Latin America had broken into the headlines relatively close to these hearings. Morse sat on the Interamerican subcommittee of the foreign affairs committee in the Senate. Also, see House Report No. 1539 of May 17, 1966, pp. 39-40.

Delays and confusion over the appropriate location, i.e., whether education or foreign affairs, were not unusual with the IEA hearings and debates. President Johnson called for 20 different major actions in his world health and education speeches. The IEA addressed only three of those related to domestic higher education. Yet many of the other seventeen filtered into and affected the IEA hearings and debates. For example, Assistant Secretary of State Frankel had called for the creation of an educational corps within the Foreign Service and that Corps was included as one of Johnson's twenty points. This corps was conceived as similar to the commercial or labor officers serving in the foreign service as regular State Department employees nominated by and working closely with their respective federal agencies of labor and commerce. The agricultural corps was different in that the attaches remained as employees of the Department of Agriculture nominated to serve in the Embassies overseas, generally in the Economics Section reporting on agricultural events and serving as liaison with U.S. agricultural interests in country. The State Department provided great detail on the proposal to the Brademas Task Force, down to the job descriptions and a paragraph by paragraph comparison of the proposed Educational Officer with the existing Foreign Agricultural Attache per legislative instructions. The Education Officers would be drawn from academia and other sectors of professional life and would rotate between Embassy posts and positions in the U.S. at universities, HEW or State. Although the Education Corps was never intended as part of the IEA, it helped distract the legislative hearings. Secretary Gardner testified several times that the IEA was not a manpower bill, that it was designed to meet the human resource needs of the foreign policy establishment

only indirectly by improving the international intelligence quota (IQ) of the pool of college educated citizens.³¹

While other parts of Johnson's grand scheme such as the international health bill or the foreign service education corps were never voted out of committee for full consideration by the Senate or House, the IEA survived the authorization process. It came perilously close to being lost in the first House vote but ended in the win column.³² Its implementation would begin after the appropriations process. There the votes were equally close but ended in the loss column. Implementation (or lack of it) is the subject to which the narrative now turns.

4. Funding Debates and Appropriations Hearings

The implementation of the IEA was caught up in legislative debates over the federal education programs, particularly the highly contested appropriations processes. Other new education programs were funded but not the IEA. The normal disjunctures

³¹ U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on The International Education Act, S.2874 and H.R.14643, (1966), pp. 219-220, 224-232, 236-7. Eventually, the Education Corps surfaced as a part of the Higher Education Amendments of 1968 sponsored by Sen. Peter H. Dominick (R-Colo). Also, see Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1968), p.494. The provision was included in the Senate Committee report but Dominick withdrew the provision on the Senate floor on procedural grounds that it was more appropriately considered by the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. Dominick also was assured that hearings would be held in 1969. The author did not check the later sources but the Corps did not resurface in the education legislative documents she reviewed.

³² Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1966), p. 308 provides a quote: "The House June 6, by a 195-90 roll call vote, passed the H.R.14643 under suspension of the rules. Although the suspension procedure is generally used for noncontroversial measures, H.R.14643 received only five votes more than the necessary two-thirds majority for passage. A majority of Republicans voted against the bill."

caused by the transition in political leadership and philosophy from the Johnson to the Nixon administration was exacerbated by increasing economic pressures. The problem was so acute that Congress gave President Nixon authority to exercise wage and price controls to slow inflation which he first exercised in 1971. Foreign aid suffered continuous cuts over the period. The displeasure with foreign policy affected the discourse on international education programs. First, a quick review of the contentious appropriations process and then the funding debates targeted specifically on the IEA after its passage.

In his message on education and health on February 28, 1967, President Johnson asked Congress to provide \$350,000 to plan and start implementing the IEA in FY 1967 and an appropriation of \$20 million to begin program grants in FY 1968. The Johnson administration sought, with mixed results, to extend and/or fund all the educational programs including the recently authorized Teacher Corps program. The appropriations bills provided high drama for the educationists throughout the year. In May, 1967, the Second Supplemental Appropriations Bill allowed the Teacher Corps to survive by providing \$3.8 million and extending it through FY 1970, substantially below the administration's request of \$33 million or the Senate's preferred level of \$18 million. In October, the conservative coalition in the House added a rider to a routine appropriations bill "ordering the President to reduce projected Government expenditures in FY 1968 by \$5 billion." This caused a funding deadlock until December. On December 11, one day before adjournment, Congress passed an educational appropriation bill. It surprised many observers by extending the ESEA with an appropriation higher than requested by agreeing to some block grants, the

Republicans preferred mechanism, and making a compromise on desegregation.

Within the education appropriation, the newly created Corporation for Public Broadcasting was funded. Congress denied the extension of the HEA and NDEA both of which were due to expire at the end of FY 1968. They also denied the start-up funding for the IEA.³³

In his February 1968 education and health message, President Johnson built on F.D. Roosevelt's four freedoms on which America stands, declaring "freedom from ignorance" as the fifth freedom. Johnson asked Congress to continue the education programs placing first priority on the higher education programs. He also urged Congress "to fulfill the commitment it made two years ago, and appropriate funds needed for the IEA." Much of the legislative year was spent in hearings and passage of the Higher Education Amendments of 1968 an omnibus bill which extended the HEA, NDEA, HEFA and the Vocational Education Act through June 1971 (FY 1970). Fiscal year 1969 appropriations were based on the 1968 Amendments authorizations. NDEA Title VI was extended with funding. The IEA was extended without funding thanks to the McClory amendment introduced from the floor. Funding was preserved for the overseas research and education programs funded by

³³ Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1967), pp. 67, 76-77, 162-164, 72A-77A. Also see Long and Campbell (1989), p. 162-63. Long said that the House Appropriations committee was "adamant in its opposition" to the IEA and despite "heroic efforts by Dr. Miller, and able support by Dr. Gardner, the Appropriations committee would not agree even to appropriate a requested \$30,000 to finance planning and analytic work to develop more fully to the Committee's satisfaction the rationale and justification of the program." Miller had been President of West Virginia University until John Gardner hired him as Assistant Secretary for International Education in HEW. Unfortunately, Long neglected to mention dates but it seems to fit in the hearings for the FY 68 appropriation.

special foreign currencies when legislators defeated another House floor amendment proposed by John Erlenborn (R-Illinois). The newly authorized Networks for Knowledge program to promote consortia and electronic links across higher education was funded despite a floor amendment to delete it. Other new higher education programs were preserved but without funding, i.e. those related to graduate education, public service education, and clinical law experience. The biggest issue affecting the higher education legislation was campus unrest. At least five bills had provisions calling for disciplining students who participated in campus disorders. There were also some Congressional frustration over the Administration's refusal to spend appropriated funds for certain programs. The international component was affected by the continuing frustration over Vietnam policy which was muted by Johnson's announcement of the Paris peace talks in March 1968. The foreign aid appropriation was slashed to \$1.8 billion, the lowest level in 21 years. These were the last appropriations bills signed by President Johnson. He signed them in October 1968 just before Congress recessed for the year and prior to the November presidential elections.³⁴

President Nixon took office in January 1969. Congress passed no major education legislation in 1969 or 1970. Consideration of the Labor and HEW appropriation bill (H.R. 13111) for FY 1970 was postponed to January 1970 to avoid a possible recess veto by the President. In January, Congress sent the FY 1970 appropriations bill to President Nixon who vetoed it partly because Congress provided

³⁴ Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1968), p. 72 on disorder and foreign aid summary; pp. 593-603 on labor/HEW appropriations; p. 42-A for presidential quote.

more money than the administration requested. Congress sustained the veto. Continuing resolutions extended funding for existing programs at the HR 13111 levels through FY 1970. Under this arrangement, several new educational programs received funding to start operations, i.e., public service education fellowships, graduate education strengthening and clinical experience programs for law schools. The foreign aid appropriation for FY 1970 followed a similar path. It passed in January 1970 at the same low level of \$1.8 billion for all economic and military assistance programs.³⁵

The appropriations for FY 1971 were again difficult. The education appropriations bill provided \$4.4 billion. Education was separated from the larger Labor and HEW appropriations. Congress passed them despite a Presidential veto in August 1970. Most of the educational program authorities ended with the end of FY 1970 (June 30, 1971) and both the House and Senate held hearings on bills to extend and/or modify them. Despite the effort, Congress left the educational extensions until after the mid-term elections scheduled in November 1970. The next Congress beginning in January 1971 was faced with passing the education programs by their June 30 expiration. The foreign aid appropriation for FY 1971 cleared Congress on

³⁵ Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 91st Congress, 1st session, Volume XXV, (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1969), for educational funding pp. 464, 593; for foreign aid funding pp. 87. Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 91st Congress, 2nd session, Volume XXVI, (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1970), for educational funding pp. 73-75, 79; for foreign aid p. 80. Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 92nd Congress, 1st session, Volume XXVII, (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1971), for educational funding p. 205.

New Year's Eve 1970 at low levels consistent with previous years.³⁶ The continuing story of the education bills in the 1971 legislative session will be addressed in the next section addressing the 1971-1980 period.

In this tense setting, some higher education programs grew. The NDEA Title VI program retained its funding despite severe threats that will be discussed below. The IEA authorization managed to survive but was never funded. The FY 1970 budget was the last time the administration requested monies be appropriated for the IEA. This third attempt for IEA funding for FY 1970 had good representation from higher education and a strong argument from HEW/OE in the House. Its defeat in the House left the IEA in the bureaucratic equivalent of a permanent vegetative state with scant hope of achieving a full and active life on its own. The HEW arguments in the subsequent Senate hearings were perfunctory and factual, not designed to sway the Senators to challenge the House appropriations decision. To understand the struggle over IEA funding, the appropriations hearings of 1969 for the FY 1970 budget provide a reasonable synopsis. Turn now to those hearings.

On May 13, 1969, twelve HEW officials from the Secretary-designate to a budget officer testified on OE program and administrative funding needs before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations. The education subcommittee was chaired by Daniel J. Flood, (Pennsylvania). Dr. Robert Leestma, Assistant Commissioner for International Education and head of the Institute for International Studies within OE

³⁶ Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1969) for educational funding pp. 464, 593; for foreign aid funding pp. 87. Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1970) for educational funding pp. 73-75, 79; for foreign aid p. 80. Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1971) for educational funding p. 205.

presented the administration's proposal for \$20 million for NDEA Title VI, Fulbright-Hays training grants and the IEA. Leestma argued cogently and strenuously for inclusion of \$2 million to start the IEA by funding planning grants in 64 undergraduate institutions of higher education, ten regional consortia, twenty graduate institutions and two nonprofit educational organizations. He argued that there was "in a very strict meaning of the word an impending financial crisis in international studies that only the Federal Government (could) help alleviate." This specific financial crisis was precipitated by the foundations' decision to withdraw from international studies based partly on the prospective funding available from the IEA. Leestma said that \$21.3 of the \$58 million of external funding available for thirty six universities for international studies in 1966-67 had come from the Ford Foundation alone. In 1970, he said the Ford contribution would be less than half of that amount. Leestma argued further that there was substantial commitment across the higher education system to expand international studies well beyond these 36 strongest institutions. All of higher education depended on the federal government, especially under the IEA since other federal programs were being held constant. The \$2 million to start the IEA would come from reducing the NDEA Title VI Research and Studies budget by \$1.8 million.³⁷

³⁷ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations for 1970, Subcommittee on the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare of the Appropriations Committee, 91st Congress, 1st session, 1969, Parts 5 and 7, Office of Education, pp. 973-976, 983-984. Out of 35 pages of testimony on international education programs, 15 focused on the IEA. The title VI switch appears on p. 1007.

The general tone of the discussions was friendly if challenging. Yet Chairman Flood seemed impatient particularly with the IEA. Flood opened the conversation on the IEA by saying, "I am amazed to find that after being turned down repeatedly, you are again requesting \$2 million for the IEA." He went on to relate the history of committee votes saying that he took "a roll call vote in this subcommittee once" and the result was: "One aye. That was me. Eight noes. One absent. I never took another one." The exchange between Leestma and Chairman Flood quickly became heated. As Leestma described the national purposes that would be served by the IEA, Chairman Flood interrupted and re-stated Leestma's comments as, "You mean instead of the three R's, we have four: reading, writing, arithmetic and revolt?" (emphasis added). At that point, the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Budget, James B. Cardwell, who normally attended such hearing to ensure accuracy of operational details, spoke up. His summary of HEW efforts to pass the IEA bears full quotation:

"You start out by asking us about what may to you and this committee appear to be a stubbornness on the Part of HEW. This is the fourth time that this committee has been asked to provide initial funding for this program. It seems to me that in itself is interesting. You should ask the question, 'Why?'"

"John Garner (sic) made the original proposal. He made it twice. He was turned down each time. Wilbur Cohen was Secretary and he was very keenly aware of the political hurdles that this item had to get through in order to be enacted. He still came forward with the proposal. Secretary Finch came in, and even at a time when he was cutting over \$1 billion out of its budget, he backed up this proposal. Why did all of these men support this item? I think the answer is really what Dr. Leestma said to you; that is, that they are convinced -- and this is every one of these men and the people who have advised them and been around them -- that this country has a tremendously important role to play in the world and that we are not preparing our educated citizens -- not citizens at large, but the educated citizens -- to play that role properly.

"Our basic educational system does not have built into it the proper balance. I would commend this to you. I think it is worth thinking about. It is more than just being stubborn. I don't think that is the issue really at all. It is that there is a strong consensus among thoughtful men, leaders, if you will, in the executive branch that this is something we ought to do."³⁸

After the Leestma-Flood exchange, the rest of the discussions were calm and serious. The other committee members were concerned about the long-term commitments that the IEA planning funds would imply. When pressed Leestma said that the full cost over five to eight years would be \$80-90 million, i.e. roughly \$35,000 each for 2,400 institutions of higher education. The committee was concerned with starting a new program in a year when so many other deserving education programs were being cut. Leestma went beyond the immediate loss of foundation support to say that the OE had conducted "an excruciatingly penetrating review" to cut its programs. The OE's decision to fund this program was "prima facie evidence of the importance that this (Republican) administration, like the last (Democratic) administration, has put upon the international dimension."³⁹

On the IEA's relationship to the NDEA Title VI centers. Leestma explained that IEA would go beyond area studies into transnational problems such as trade. He emphasized that the IEA would focus on undergraduates and begin the process of "modernizing the undergraduate curriculum to reflect the world in which we live, in

³⁸ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations for 1970, (1969), Part 5, Office of Education, pp. 984-987.

³⁹ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations for 1970, (1969), Part 5, Office of Education, pp. 984-85, 989, 992-3, 996, 1001.

the 2,500 institutions of higher learning scattered across the country." On the issue of using other legislative authority, Leestma indicated that it might be "possible to broaden the NDEA to do this" the IEA had been extended the previous year in the education amendments which suggested that Congress wanted to keep the IEA as the primary authority. When pushed on the duration of the IEA grants program, Leestma indicated that the larger policy debates ultimately would determine the life of the IEA saying,

"one of the major decisions coming up before long will have to be the determination of the role of the Federal Government in higher education. At that time, it seems to me this question of whether the Federal Government is to be involved in continuing assistance to the instructional programs of universities, will be resolved."⁴⁰

Later in the same hearings on May 28, three representatives of higher education institutions and programs from Chairman Flood's home state of Pennsylvania testified on the importance of funding the IEA. Senator Schweiker of Pennsylvania also sent a letter for the record asking Rep. Flood to support funding the IEA. Professor Richard Lambert, University of Pennsylvania Coordinator of International Studies, was the spokesman for the group. He was accompanied by Professor Paul Watson, Director of the University of Pittsburgh's Center of International Studies who also represented the Pennsylvania Consortium of Universities and Colleges Concerned with International Education, and Prof. Howard Leavitt of Penn State who coordinated their international programs. Their collective

⁴⁰ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations for 1970, (1969), Part 5, Office of Education, pp. 984-85, 989, 992-3, 996, 1001.

testimony was compelling. They emphasized how well the Pennsylvania institutions of higher and secondary education had used the funds already available. They cited exciting examples of how they would use the IEA seed money to extend international studies to the rest of the educational system. They sympathized with the legislators' dilemma in a tight budget year but argued that on this "third time up," the IEA required that the "Federal Government offer a token of faith" because there was "such a high proportion of national vs. local payoffs." Most notable was the total lack of questions or comments from committee members except for the requisite recognition of fellow Pennsylvanians by Chairman Flood.⁴¹

In the overall education appropriations the House provided more money than HEW requested but they disallowed the \$2 million initial funding for the IEA. Of nine reductions made by the House, HEW appealed six in the Senate appropriations committee. Testifying to the Senate appropriations committee in November 1969, Leestma said: "We are not appealing this (the IEA) reduction."⁴² Lacking strong advocacy by the administration or higher education groups, the Senate committee did not reinstate funding for the IEA in its final appropriations for HEW.

⁴¹ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations for 1970 (1969), Part 7, Office of Education, pp. 1030-1034; quote on p. 1032.

⁴² U.S. Congress, Senate, "Letter dated February 25, 1970 from George Beckman to his Title VI colleagues," Hearings on Office of Education Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1971, H.R. 16916, Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, 91st Congress, 2nd session, April 1970, p. 294. Beckman's letter indicated that he felt the opposition to the international education programs was not in HEW but elsewhere in the administration's budgetary process.

IEA funding appeared three times in the concurrent Senate appropriations hearings, but was not raised by Leestma. As in the House committee, Senator Schweiker of Pennsylvania sent a letter supporting the IEA to Senator Magnuson of Washington, the Chairman of the Senate committee. Lincoln Gordon, President of Johns Hopkins, wrote to Chairman Magnuson urging his "wholehearted support and that of (his) colleagues... for the funding of the IEA." Mr. Gordon also asked Chairman Magnuson to reinstate the "foreign currency" funding for educational research overseas that the Nixon administration had proposed to cut. This, not the IEA, caught Magnuson's attention and he said that since it seemed to have such university support the committee should help make sure they secured it. Finally, Chairman Magnuson added to the record a proposal from Georgetown University, the University of Washington and the University of Texas system. The trio wanted to salvage the IEA with a \$250,000 experimental curriculum development project in international studies with ten universities across the country. Leestma provided a tepid but favorable evaluation to Chairman Magnuson of the trio's proposal. It was the last entry in the Senate testimony on the IEA.⁴³ And with this last whisper, the IEA funding debate ended in Congress.

By the appropriations hearings for FY 1971, there were only a few lingering references to the IEA generally by the higher education representatives. The focus within the international higher education policy arena shifted to defending NDEA

⁴³ U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1970, H.R. 13111, Committee on Appropriations, 91st Congress, 1st session, 1969, Part 4, Office of Education, pp.2912-2943.

Title VI which the administration's Budget Office had slated to close. It is time to turn to the progress of NDEA Title VI through the period, tracing it through the Higher Education amendments of 1968. This serves as a prelude to the watershed Educational Amendments of 1972 in the next period.

B. Continuing Programs of NDEA Title VI

The HEA of 1965 was silent on NDEA Title VI although it embraced and amended other parts of the NDEA's higher education provisions. Three reasons seem most likely for the HEA's silence on NDEA Title VI. First, NDEA Title VI had just been extended in 1964 through 1968 with nearly double funding by 1968. Second, federal policy makers had agreed to press for the International Education Act. Third, the higher education policy arena was focused on avoiding erosion of overall education appropriations as the Vietnam war overseas and the War on Poverty at home caused larger strains on the national budget and on the national will. At the time of the HEA hearings in 1964-65, many Title VI centers were at private research universities, i.e., AAU members with little experience in or taste for federal advocacy. The land-grants association also had many Title VI centers among its members. It was primarily occupied with technical assistance concerns and sorting out AID and USDA relationships with the Gardner report in April 1964 and the IRDC in July 1964. Most colleges and small universities were beginning to get their nose into the international education tent. Their primary institutional interests were on undergraduate issues. They wanted their associations to lobby for their share of the overall higher education federal aid and for greater student aid. The two year

colleges were growing and gaining political clout but were not yet strongly concerned with international education.

NDEA Title VI was amended twice during this period, once by the IEA of 1966 and once by the Higher Education Amendments of 1968. The IEA amendments to Title VI made little practical difference in operations but stretched Title VI's programmatic envelope a bit. The IEA made the Secretary of HEW directly responsible for Title VI which may have allowed greater policy awareness. The IEA also removed the need to justify language instruction on the basis of being readily available according to rather oblique OE decision rules. The IEA's lifting of the 50% rule made little concrete difference since Title VI funds were not growing as fast as costs of the Title VI Centers. Also, the federal share of center costs had been shrinking from roughly 20% to 10-15% since 1959. The Higher Education Amendments that passed on Oct. 16 1968, simply extended NDEA Title VI to June 30, 1971 from June 30, 1968. They provided authorizations of \$16 million for FY 1969, \$30 million for FY 1970 and \$38.5 million for FY 1971. Beyond NDEA Title VI, the amendments of 1968 added four new titles to the HEA: Networks for Knowledge to strengthen the higher education system by promoting consortia and shared electronic networks; and three titles to strengthen graduate and professional education in public service, graduate arts and sciences and law school clinical experience.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ U.S. Statutes at Large, Higher Education Amendments of 1968, October 16, 1968, Public Law 90-575, Volume 82 in one Part, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969).

The congressional authorization hearings for the 1968 amendments paid relatively scant attention to the international education programs -- little for Title VI and less to the IEA. This is not surprising since Title VI was targeted to receive less than one percent (.8%) of the FY 1969 education funds of some \$2.3 billion proposed by the administration in the amendments. OE Commissioner Harold Howe devoted a total of four paragraphs out of nearly 25 pages of his testimony to NDEA Title VI in the Senate hearings and no word at all in the House hearings. There was great attention paid to the impact of the military draft on graduate and undergraduate education. The major higher education associations were extraordinarily active -- ACE, NASULGC, AASCU, AAC, AACJC. Although each emphasized specific elements, the associations jointly promoted the following federal policies: 1) full funding of existing programs; 2) help in reducing the costs of education; 3) greater and more comprehensive student aid; 4) support for higher education facilities; and 5) movement toward greater institutional aid. AAU remained separate but expressed solidarity with the other associations. AAU spoke for graduate education, research and library funding in addition to continuing student and institutional aid. The Committee on Full Funding insisted on 100% of all education appropriations including the IEA. They were quite a forceful group but their demands were perhaps too rigid to be effective in the perennial legislative search for compromise. Included in the House record was an address to the AAC on "A Coherent Set of National Policies for Higher Education" by Alan Pifer, President of the Carnegie Corporation. It presaged the main debate over student versus institutional aid that was to overtake the policy debate in the 1970s. Pifer did not mention international education. But he did

argue that "non-selective" institutional aid was not a good thing for higher education or the nation.⁴⁵

During the 1968 amendment authorization hearings, NASULGC and AASCU spoke strongly on behalf of the federal programs for international education. NASULGC and AASCU testified and jointly published a pamphlet outlining their positions. Their highest priority was maintaining funding for existing programs. For new legislative initiatives, their priority was institutional aid through "a program of broad federal operating support for institutions of higher education" along the land grant model. They mentioned international higher education programs including the IEA, overseas technical assistance, area and language studies. They expressed concern over lack of implementation of the IEA and Section 211(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act which are discussed below. They lamented the "substantial reductions in international education and technical assistance programs by the 1st session of the 90th congress at a time when substantial expansion is clearly called for."⁴⁶

University leaders associated with Title VI Centers also testified and generated quite a letter campaign for the authorization hearings on the 1968 amendments, particularly focused on the Senate. Earl M. Aldrich of the University of Wisconsin

⁴⁵ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Hearings on the Higher Education Amendments of 1968. Subcommittee on Education, Committee on Education and Labor. 90th Congress, 2nd session, Part 2, March 1968, pp. 119-120, 165, 338-346. U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearing on Education Legislation 1968, Subcommittee on Education, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 90th Congress, 2nd session, Part 3, March 1968, pp. 874-925, 921-924; Part 6 (April 1968), pp. 2610-2612.

⁴⁶ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on the Higher Education Amendments of 1968, (1968), pp. 408-473.

Latin American Studies Center testified strenuously on behalf of Title VI. Senator Morse was a most receptive listener. Morse said that the testimony had helped "those on the subcommittee that want to see (Title VI) greatly expanded" and had helped them to stop the move to cut it back drastically or eliminate it. He saw the NDEA Title VI Latin American program linked tightly to the Alliance for Progress. In addition to testimony, 42 presidents and senior faculty and administrators from 36 universities wrote to the committee in support of Title VI. They included among others Oakland University in Michigan, Columbia, Vanderbilt, Harvard and Indiana University. Eight of them associated Title VI continuation with the need for funding the IEA. President Vernon Alden of Ohio University which had an African Studies Center summed it up nicely when he wrote: "If the International Education Act is not implemented, it will be all the more important to maintain and expand activities under the National Defense Education Act." Many of the letters used similar wording suggestive of an organized campaign. Elvis Stahr, President of Indiana University wrote one of the most direct versions of the common wording:

"The most serious problem in this program (Title VI) is inadequate financing. By their very nature Language and Area Studies require higher investment per student than most fields that do not involve technical hardware. All costs of higher education have gone up, but the costs of Language and Area Studies have risen faster than the average increase in the expense of higher education."⁴⁷

The appropriations were rockier than the authorization hearings. According to Beckman, House Appropriations Committee Chairman Flood allowed Title VI to be

⁴⁷ U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on Education Legislation, 1968, Part 2 (1968), pp. 1510-1543.

cut in half for FY 1970 but the Senate reinstated closed to the FY 1969 level.

According to McDonnell, the Nixon administration first attempted to reduce NDEA Title VI in 1970 when it requested \$4.93 million for Title VI for FY 1971.

Chancellor Posvar of the University of Pittsburgh testified that he understood that the administration wanted to reduce Title VI to \$6 million in FY 1971 and to zero in FY 1972. This was not an attack on Title VI alone but part of the administration's position against categorical programs more broadly. In FY 1971, the Nixon budget office attempted to zero out federal support to the land-grant colleges as well. They preferred a national infrastructure strategy, introducing the idea of creating a national foundation supporting innovation and research in higher education. McDonnell and her co-authors said:

"The Nixon administration opposed categorical programs and preferred to deliver federal funds as general aid with minimal targeting requirements. Given this position, Title VI became one of many small categorical programs the Administration targeted for the same fate. The rationale for eliminating Title VI was interesting because it justified this action on the basis of NDEA's original legislative intent."⁴⁸

Basically, the opponents to Title VI argued that the specialized manpower needs had been met, indeed there was an oversupply in some categories. They also

⁴⁸ McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981), p. 7, commentary pp.4-7. For the land-grant story, see Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1971), p. 211. U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Wesley W. Posvar," Hearings on Office of Education Appropriations for 1971, (1970), p.1110. Note: The strong showing from Pennsylvania led by Chancellor Posvar from the University of Pittsburgh may have helped persuade the House appropriations Chmn. Flood (D-PA) to be gentler with Title VI than he had been in other years. Note: The Nixon administration proposed the creation of a national foundation for higher education to replace categorical programs while supporting innovation in higher education. Eventually this became the Fund for Innovation in Postsecondary Education complemented by the National Institute for Education for research at all levels.

cited the fact that the universities relied on the federal program for only 10% of the costs of the centers as further justification for the withdrawal of federal funds. The argument was simple. Such a small proportion of funding could certainly be replaced from their own or other resources. This was the argument of the opponents.

The Title VI advocates raised many arguments in support of their program. Most of the arguments were presented in Beckman's letter and surfaced in various forms throughout the congressional hearings. The supporters made the following basic arguments. Title VI had made a significant contribution yet the expenditure had been "minuscule", "roughly equivalent to the cost of maintaining the American presence in Vietnam for six hours." The budget office had not listed Title VI on its list of "obsolete programs" and so should not have eliminated it. Even if there were some supply distortions, eliminating the program would effectively require rebuilding it from scratch for the next national emergency. This would be much more expensive than maintaining it. Title VI supported the President's own foreign policy goals as stated in a recent speech. If the administration could propose and fund a new "ethnic studies" program to understand the multicultural basis of U.S. society, it should be prepared to fund the complementary "language and area studies" program which created many of the tools for studying and teaching multiculturalism.⁴⁹

Whatever the substantive merits of the supporters' arguments, their activism was impressive. The mobilization to save Title VI seemed to be spearheaded by the

⁴⁹ U.S. Congress, Senate, "Letter from George Beckman to NDEA Title VI Directors dated February 25, 1970," Office of Education Appropriations H.R.16916 for Fiscal Year 1971, (1970), pp. 293-297, quote p. 294. Also, see other testimony from House and Senate appropriations hearings that year.

Title VI Center Directors. George Beckman (University of Washington) and Rhoads Murphy (University of Michigan) spent a day canvassing members and staff of "key authorization and appropriations committees." Beckman said that they were assured the academic group would "have an opportunity to present its case to the House and the Senate." They were also convinced that higher education would "have to take the initiative." Seizing that initiative, Beckman sent a letter to all the Title VI Center directors and to "another several hundred academic leaders." He provided talking points, addresses of all key congressional actors and made a strong plea for activism of the center directors as well as their university presidents. Beckman wrote:

"It is essential for your president to, where appropriate, work through national groups like the American Council on Education ... This is because NDEA Title VI is part of a broader legislative program in support of higher education. Lastly, we need to influence thinking in the White House. I am sending copies of this letter to scholars who participated in last spring's White House meeting on foreign policy problems in the hope of enlisting their support. I will ask them to write directly to President Nixon and to Dr. Kissinger (Sec. of State). Can your institution do anything to influence President Nixon and his advisers? You may recall that NDEA was the product of the Eisenhower-Nixon administration."⁵⁰

The initiative resulted in great organizational support. Many higher education associations were active: ACE, NASULGC, AAC, NAICU, AACJC, AASCU and AAHE for the institutional side; the area studies associations including AAS (Asia), AAASS (Slavic), ASA (Africa), LASA (Latin America), MESA (Middle East) for the academic side. The Full Funding Committee made strong statements supporting all

⁵⁰ U.S. Congress, Senate, "Letter from George Beckman to NDEA Title VI Directors dated February 25, 1970," Office of Education Appropriations H.R.16916 for Fiscal Year 1971, (1970), pp. 293-297.

international education programs including Title VI. The Title VI center directors and faculty wrote and testified. Area studies students testified. Most importantly, many university Presidents took a strong personal role, testifying and writing on behalf of Title VI. Foreign service officers from State and USIA cabled, wrote and testified on the importance of Title VI centers in training their officers and providing a good pool of recruits. The press called for preserving "the language centers." The SSRC provided ammunition to the Title VI defenders with a recently completed a study that confirmed the importance of the language and area studies centers.⁵¹

The supporters' efforts did not go unrewarded. Title VI funding was preserved even though it was cut almost in half. Congress appropriated \$7.17 million for Title VI for FY 1971, substantially more than the administration requested and slightly above HEW's first estimates. Without discounting the influence of other higher education forces, McDonnell attributed the success of the preservation effort to the university presidents saying: "Academics close to Nixon (viz. Daniel Moynihan and Henry Kissinger) worked with university presidents to convince the President to change the Administration's position on Title VI."⁵² They bought time, not a wholehearted endorsement. Nixon preferred national infrastructure to categorical

⁵¹ U.S. Congress, Senate, Office of Education Appropriations H.R.16916 for Fiscal Year 1971, (1970); U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on Office of Education Appropriations for 1971, (1970); New York Times, Editorial, (April 7, 1973); Richard D. Lambert, Language and Area Studies Review, Monograph #17 sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1973).

⁵² McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981), pp. 6-7.

programs. In Senate testimony, Derwood W. Lockard cited Daniel P. Moynihan's letter to President Pusey of Harvard in which Moynihan stated:

"that the President (Nixon) had directed that the administration budget for FY 1971 be amended to include funding for Title VI, and that this would be continued in FY 1972 and that 'categorical programs would not be dropped until a National Foundation for Higher education had been established and funded.'"⁵³ (emphasis added)

Congress continued to appropriate funds for Title VI even at the height of the Nixon Administration's attempts to eliminate it. It was one of the few categorical programs to survive the 1970s. Nixon secured his national infrastructure for education research in two pieces in 1972, i.e., the National Institute for Education and the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education. International education did not enter the charges or tasks of either agency. By the mid-1970s, McDonnell and her co-authors characterized Title VI as a modest but stable program.

C. Foreign Assistance Act Counterpoint

With growing activism as evidence, federal resources seemed increasingly important to the international operations of higher education especially as foundation resources shrank and general economic conditions worsened. Yet international resources were shrinking relative to the total federal funding available for universities and colleges. Within the education stream by 1970, Title VI represented 0.8% of OE program funding while in the original NDEA of 1958, Title VI represented roughly

⁵³ U.S. Congress, Senate, "Letter from Derwood Lockwood to Chairman Claiborne Pell (D-Rhode Island) of May 14, 1970," Hearings on Higher Education Amendments of 1970, S.3474, Subcommittee on Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 91st Congress, 2nd session, February, May 1970, pp. 693-698.

8.0%. In the foreign aid stream, Richardson noted a similar pattern. For AID, he said that the "university contract program has been a very small frog in a rather large and often turbulent puddle." To the universities, the AID contracts were a somewhat larger frog in a rather smaller and less turbulent puddle.⁵⁴

The numbers of contracts and funding levels help reveal the truth behind these simple metaphors. The total level of AID contract funding was large relative to the international education programs but small compared to total AID budgets. Foreign assistance appropriations fell from \$3.25 billion in 1965 to \$1.76 in 1969, the latter being the lowest level since 1956. The foreign aid funding levels bounced along the bottom for the 1965-1970 period. Yet university contracting grew. In 1964, Harold Enarson President of Cleveland State University spoke of a total of 118 university contracts in all fields in 37 countries with \$136 million in funding. By 1969, there were 291 contracts with 125 colleges and universities totalling \$202 million in 38 countries. Focused on agricultural contracts only, Long said the number grew from steadily over the period -- 42 in 1964, 50 in 1965 and 66 in 1971. This paralleled the growth of certain parts of the AID program, e.g. the Alliance for Progress and African programs, and a continued priority to technical assistance and agriculture, two of the university strengths.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Richardson (1969), p. 205.

⁵⁵ Long and Campbell (1989), p. 22; Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1968), p. 605; Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1967), pp. 75, 162; U.S. Congress, H.R., House Document No. 527, "Testimony of Harold. L. Enarson," (1966), p. 424-426. For the Title VI figures see McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981), p. 13. They showed Title VI's budget falling from an average of 7.3% from 1958-1962 to less than 1/10th of 1% of OE's total budget in 1980 but it was the only game in town. For 1969 AID contract

Richardson also pointed out that it would be a mistake to think that any AID Administrator's success rose or fell on university relations. For higher education institutions, however, much of the ease or difficulty of working productively with AID depended on the tone set by the AID Administrator and his program priorities. During David Bell's tenure from December 1962 to July 1966, the agency provided an extraordinarily hospitable environment for university work. His successor William Gaud had participated in the IRDC and Bell's other efforts to improve relations with the universities in 1964. While Gaud did not exercise active leadership on university relations issues, he did not discourage his staff's efforts. In April 1969, John Hannah became AID/Administrator under Nixon and resigned the Michigan State University presidency. He lent strong support to both the technical assistance and the research and development functions of AID which coincided directly with the universities' interests and capacities until his departure in 1973.⁵⁶

With the failure of IEA appropriations in 1967, AID and the universities sought to salvage the McGovern bill that had been allowed to wither at the prospect of the IEA. The bill's Title I summarized its intent: "A New Basis for Providing Technical Assistance through Colleges and Universities." Title II would have allowed higher education to advance its goal of "partnership" and "reciprocity" with AID fulfilling many of the recommendations of the IRDC and the Gardner report of 1964.

figures see U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Hearings on Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1971, Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, 91st Congress, 2nd session, Part 2 (March 1970), p. 93.

⁵⁶ Long and Campbell (1989), p. 317. Note: Hannah had written to President Truman to offer the universities' services in support of the Point Four program outlined in 1949.

It called for a program of grants for colleges and universities to be selected by AID based on qualifications and interests to help them establish and maintain "foreign affairs centers, institutions and departments" and "to strengthen and maintain their capabilities to carry out for AID technical assistance or research work on agricultural development problems of LDC's." It authorized \$80 million for FY 1966, \$100 million for FY 1967 and \$125 million for FY 1968. Title III of the McGovern bill encouraged AID to use existing authorities to draw on university resources more freely than previously in their agricultural and rural development programs.⁵⁷

The core of the McGovern bill was recovered in 1968 with a new authorization added to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966 under Title II, Section 211(d). The "211(d) grants" program as it came to be called, allowed AID to provide institutional strengthening grants to colleges and universities providing overseas technical and research services to AID. According to Long, the Office of Management and Budget supported AID's request for this legislative authority. The 211(d) grants received an obligation ceiling of \$10 million per year. Since funds for this program derived "directly from total AID appropriations, it required no separate appropriation and received no particular negative action in the appropriations

⁵⁷ Long and Campbell (1989), pp.161-162. Note: AID Administrator Gaud set up a special War on Hunger Bureau within AID during his tenure that focused on agriculture and rural development as well as nutrition and population programs. This interest seemed to coincide with the agricultural thrust of the McGovern bill.

process." Essentially, the agency determined the funding level for the program within their appropriation ceiling without consulting Congress.⁵⁸

The funding level was substantially below what the McGovern bill intended initially but it gave higher education a stable if modest target for supporting overseas development efforts for the first time. The indirect appropriation had the great advantage of being protected from the rather savage appropriations process of the period. It also presented a potential Achilles heel if internal agency sentiment turned against university relations. Finally, the 211(d) program was not as restrictive as the McGovern bill where agriculture had been the field of focus. The objective of the 211(d) grants were:

"To strengthen centers of competence within U.S. higher education institutions, research organizations, and other qualified entities in order to develop and/or increase the reservoir of manpower, methods, and materials that can assist AID or other agencies with long-range economic and social developmental objectives in the less developed countries."⁵⁹

In addition to the 211(d) grants, AID's Bureau for Technical Assistance had a program of research grants that were awarded largely to universities for work that was conducted on largely on their own campuses. The objective of the research program was: "To create and supply new information and methods in the science and

⁵⁸ Long and Campbell (1989) p. 163. The 211(d) grants remained in the FAA. They were renumbered 122(d) at the time of Long's writing. Long pointed out that these grants had been superseded by similar provisions in Title XII of the FAA in 1975.

⁵⁹ Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance, Office of Economic Opportunity, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 542. The catalog (CFDA) summarizes each federal program's objectives, funding and regulations to help citizens access the many federal resources.

technology fields, which can be used to promote economic and social advancement in the less-developed countries of the world." The research contracts were based on the longstanding service procurement mode in service to AID's mission rather than oriented to meet the institutional development needs of the contracting universities and colleges. Yet they had a potential for institutional strengthening since they provided overhead as well as an opportunity for research that could be both academically productive while also serving AID's mission. AID began experiments with other collaborative modes of university contracting during this period as well. They also had the potential to contribute to building institutional capacity on U.S. campuses. The "collaborative assistance contract" was designed to enlist universities in pre-planning, feasibility phases of AID program development in recipient countries. The Cooperative Agreement also was designed as a type of retainer contract from which specific services such as training or research could be purchased at a given fee as needed. Since they did not explicitly relate to developing institutional capacity, they have not been subjected to thorough analysis.⁶⁰

If the secrets of systems are in their mechanics, it may be worth reviewing the procedures for administering AID's 211(d) and research programs. There were no formal grant competition procedures or peer review processes for either program. It was up to the university to propose a project which would be reviewed by AID and rejected or accepted on its merits and its relationship to agency priorities. David Bell had commented on the difficulty of academic peer review for mission-oriented AID

⁶⁰ Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (1971), p. 543; Long and Campbell (1989); Jordahl and Ruttan (1990).

programs. While he was well disposed to the principle, he saw it as ineffective and generally not feasible. The research grants were somewhat more structured in that the Technical Assistance Bureau had a general research framework approved by the Research Advisory Council. The 211(d) grants were reviewed by the Research and Institutional Grants Committee only. The research grants were reviewed by both committees.⁶¹

Both programs allowed contracts up to five years. The research contracts typically were awarded for 18-24 months with renewal provisions up to year five depending on results. The research projects focused on specific developmental problems such as "agriculture (food production), health, population and family planning, nutrition, education, economics and other social sciences in order to make the foreign assistance programs of the agency more effective." Their reporting and monitoring requirements followed fairly standard government procedures of semiannual progress reports, annual administrative report and completion report. They ranged from \$23,000 to \$200,000 per year. The 211(d) contracts were awarded for five years with the entire funding amount available upon award. The grants ranged from \$200,000 to \$1.2 million with an average of \$300,000 for the full five year period. Their reporting requirements were the reverse of the typical pattern with a fiscal report semiannually and a progress report annually. The 211(d) grants were awarded for a wide variety of activities on campus such as "strengthening or enlarging teaching capabilities, restructurings (sic) of curricula, research capabilities

⁶¹ Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (1971), p. 542-3; Long and Campbell (1989).

at the undergraduate and graduate levels, and librarial inventories and services."

AID was careful to avoid "control of education issues" by saying that "AID does not restrict end uses of data produced under 211(d) grants." The regulations made equally clear that the campus efforts were to serve agency objectives, saying specifically: "The personnel, their methodologies and findings will be used by AID and other organizations ... to provide advisory services in the field."⁶²

Long described the unusual procedures of the 211(d) grants saying that "those grants were made with a relatively detailed plan" but the initiative rested with the universities. AID had only to approve. The university decided what it needed to strengthen its development capacity, convinced AID of the broad plan, spent the funds and justified their expenditure to AID. AID could and did disallow expenditures and the university covered the disallowed expenses from its own funds. Not surprisingly Long reported that the 211(d) program was very popular with universities because "it respected the institutions of higher education ability to make its own decisions to achieve agreed upon results." He also noted the extra attraction that the faculty could do the work at home "instead of uprooting the family for an overseas tour." However, the 211(d) contracts suffered within AID from being less immediately linked to the overseas development mission than other university contract activities. These programs also suffered from a problem common to the agency's other contract activity. How could AID "exercise its responsibility for proper stewardship of public

⁶² Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (1971), p. 452-453; Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance, Office of Economic Opportunity, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 414.

funds when contractors were asked to provide services where the final output was, in large part, beyond the power of either AID or the contractor to control?"⁶³

For FY 1971, a list of universities receiving funding through the 211(d) programs and for research projects showed that for agriculture alone, eleven universities were receiving \$5.3 million over five years to develop their technical assistance and research capacities in fields ranging from agricultural economics, land tenure and institutional development to grain utilization and watershed management. An additional \$9.5 million was programmed by AID in FY 1969-71 for 58 university research projects related to development.⁶⁴

The new programs in the foreign assistance stream had not risen to the promised levels of funding but they were steady. They had reached the same state as their counterparts in the education stream -- stable but modest.

D. Policy Implementation Effectiveness; Effectiveness in Achieving Legislative Aims *Per se*

NDEA Title VI underwent a structural shift on the measure of effectiveness associated with the degree that appropriations match authorizations. **Figure 5.1. Authorizations versus Appropriations: NDEA Title VI and IEA (1965-71)** presents the funding trends. A gap began between authorization and appropriation levels. The growing gap between intended and real funding suggests a decline in

⁶³ Long and Campbell (1989), pp. 154, 296-297.

⁶⁴ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1971 (1970), pp. 65-93. See particularly the testimony of John Hannah, AID/Administrator.

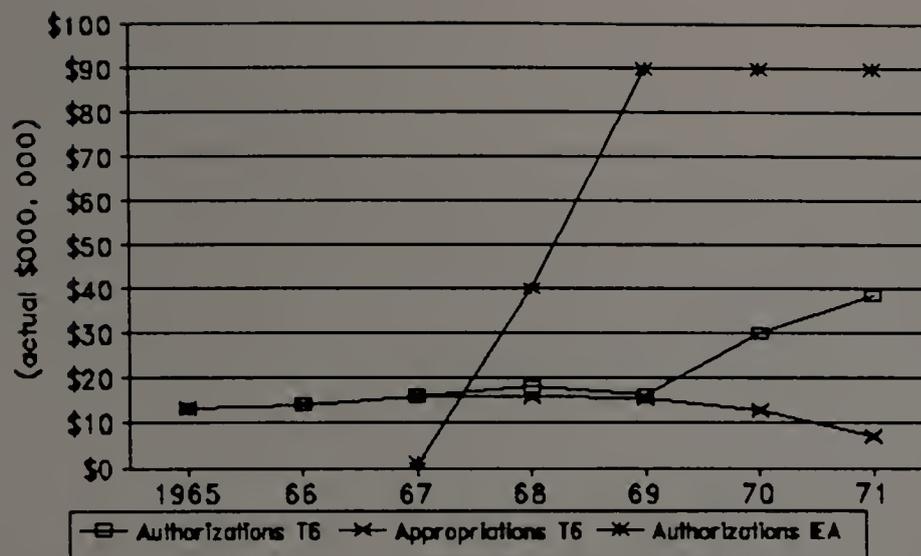


Figure 5.1. Authorizations versus appropriations:
NDEA Title VI and IEA (1965-71)

implementation effectiveness. In the first period from 1959-64, NDEA Title VI authorizations and appropriations ran in closely parallel tracks. Beginning in 1970, the two tracks veered in different directions. Authorizations moved up sharply while appropriations began to decline. Beginning in 1970, Title VI appropriations dropped to \$12.85 million bottoming at \$7.17 million in 1971. Rather than following the pattern by declining or steadying, the authorization level rose steadily reaching \$38.5 million in 1971. In just Title VI, the gap widened from near zero in 1969 to roughly \$31 million in 1971.⁶⁵

The IEA contributed to the syndrome. Although the IEA authorized funding nearly eight times NDEA Title VI levels, it never received an appropriation. The authorization levels shown were those stated in the original IEA of 1966 climbing from \$1 to \$40 to \$90 million for set up to full function. Given the adversarial

⁶⁵ Figures used U.S. Congress, Senate print 99-8, Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act: Program Descriptions, Issues, and Options, (February 1985), p. 404.

relationship with the administration and the increasing pressures on Title VI from higher education after the collapse of the IEA, congressional supporters attempted to compensate. They preserved Title VI funding at a politically possible level and passed authorizations closer to ideal levels.

Title VI survived with reduced funding. The IEA received no funding at all. With these actions, the legislature confirmed that merit and expert development goals took precedence over diffusion, citizenship and institutional support goals. In 1970 and 1971, funding for existing Title VI centers was cut across the board. The head of the Center for Vietnamese Studies at Southern Illinois University talked about using AID grant funds to replace the sudden loss of Title VI funds to maintain critical area studies and language teaching activities on his campus. Within HEW/OE, the Title VI administrators began adjusting the longer-term program rules to adapt to the reduced funding levels. By 1972, they would revamp the Title VI grants award process and attempt to achieve legislative support by adding new programs to the Title VI portfolio.⁶⁶

The HEW/OE organization for international education was battered in the budget battles as well. HEW decided to delay the creation of the CEC within the HEW secretariat as initially authorized by President Johnson's administrative order until the IEA funding was appropriated. Its establishment was postponed annually by

⁶⁶ McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981) pp. 7-8.; U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Statement of Dinho-Hoa Nguyen, Director, Center for Vietnamese Studies, Southern Illinois University," Hearings on Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act of 1980 and Related Measures, Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, 96th Congress, 1st session, Part 10: Studies and Language Development, (September 1979), pp. 22-27.

the lack of appropriations. Instead, HEW created the Institute for International Studies at the Bureau level within OE on par with the Bureau of Higher Education. This Institute administered NDEA Title VI (601) centers and fellowships, the Fulbright-Hays training grants as well as the "special currency" programs for educational research funded after passage of the IEA. Initially, the Institute did not administer the NDEA Title VI (602) Research and Studies program which was transferred to OE's Bureau of Research. By 1969, another reorganization of OE brought all the international higher education programs under the Institute directed by Robert Leestma, including NDEA Title VI (602). By 1969 the initial four horsemen of international education -- Gardner, Keppel, Bell and Frankel -- had been replaced by the Republican administration. The Nixon administration proposed to consolidate federal grant programs to make them more accessible, understandable and efficient. The Federal Interagency Committee on Education was created. It found that most of the roughly \$310 million per year of federally funded international education programs were administered by State/AID, Peace Corps and USIA. Only 6.5% of the programs was administered by OE.⁶⁷

In 1970, Congress began hearings on major revisions in the higher education legislation overall. It was not completed in 1970. Nor was it completed in 1971. Eventually the efforts resulted in the watershed Educational Amendments of 1972 where the issues of institutional versus student aid were resolved. This resolution

⁶⁷ Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1966) p.309; U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1970, H.R. 13111, (1969), Part 4, pp. 2934-35; Part 5, pp. 23-25.

removed a major bone of contention from the federal higher education policy arena. The resolution was not necessarily favorable for the international education interests. This discussion pushes us into the next period of the study from 1971-1980 when the programs in the international education stream were consolidated.

E. Issues Raised for the Next Period

There was great potential for merging the education and foreign policy streams and the graduate, professional and undergraduate interests of the international higher education policy arena with the passage of the IEA. With the failure to fund the IEA, the two streams clearly split into separate legislative and organization frameworks. NDEA Title VI was the primary vehicle for the educational stream with a preference for graduate training and research with a small opening to the professional and undergraduate interests. AID's 211(d) and research grants were the primary vehicle for the foreign assistance stream again with a preference for research and graduate training in the professions. The separation raised questions of the viability of an "international higher education policy arena." Who would be the set of regular actors working to advance common interests? Was it possible to promote international higher education programs without the pragmatic, realpolitik "national defense" rationale? The humanitarian and citizenship rationales of the IEA had failed to garner support. Was the OE strong enough as an organizational entity to administer the remaining international education programs much less withstand possible opposition from the fiscal policy agencies? Would AID embrace or scorn or simply pay lip service to the newest element of its general university relations, especially the 211(d)

program which was farthest from its own immediate interests and closest to the universities'?

The international education programs focused on a specific substantive knowledge field, a expertise development justification and/or a defense or pragmatic rationale seemed to survive or be better funded, e.g., Title VI or the AID research program. The programs with the institutional or diffusion objectives and/or a citizenship or humanitarian rationales seemed to die or receive lesser funding, e.g., the IEA or AID's 211(d) program. The preference for categorical as opposed to institutional programs was confirmed in this federal policy arena. This had implications for the higher education interest groups' strategies. The disciplinary groups or professional school associations would have a natural affinity with categorical programs. The institutional associations would have a natural affinity with institutional programs. The AAU with its research oriented membership would fall somewhat more toward the categorical side. None of the international programs focused on the politically potent "student aid" approach. The IEA came closest, but still quite a distance, by promoting the need for every student to be internationally literate in support of the country's global leadership responsibility. In the main, federal funding for an undergraduate program in African or Overseas Development Studies did not exert the same magnetism for legislators as federal funding enabling a sharecropper's child to be the first in a family to enter college.

The general mood of the country on foreign policy clearly affected the legislative mood as did the national economy. By the end of the period, the nation was in no mood to assume "global leadership" if it meant more Vietnams. The

economy was in a seemingly unstoppable inflationary spiral. Neither set of national forces augured well for international education programs.

The authorization and appropriations committees seemed to be more important to the programs' longevity and viability than the executive branch, particularly in the education stream. Despite the Presidential and top level executive support and a very positive authorizing committee, the IEA barely passed in the House floor vote and did not survive the antagonistic appropriations committee. Nor could the authorizing committees in the House or the Senate resuscitate it over the opposition of the appropriations committee, even with Executive support. The higher education associations seemed to be most effective in influencing the legislative committees when they focused on particular substantive issues or expertise needs related to foreign policy concerns. Witness the success of the Title VI directors and university presidents in salvaging Title VI appropriations by arguing the need to maintain a reservoir of technical knowledge and "manpower" in exotic languages and area studies. Similarly, the land grant association salvaged 211(d) grants to provide a similar reservoir of technical knowledge and manpower for foreign aid programs.

The inability of the internationalists to secure funding for the IEA and the near loss of Title VI funding did not augur well for the viability of federal support for higher education's international enterprise. The further loss of the foundation support raised questions of the viability of the international education enterprise as it had been constructed. Gumperz suggested that the loss of IEA and the Title VI reduction might spur more consortial activity which she saw as generally positive and a return to international studies roots. It might also spur less positive forms of competition such

as dog eat dog battles for a smaller and smaller share of federal resources. In addition to questions of impact on the higher education system's organization and institutional relationships, issues of autonomy also surfaced. If the federal government did begin to underwrite international education for undergraduate as well as graduate interests, who would allocate resources between the two? Would this effectively mean that the higher education system would relinquish another major distribution decision to the federal government instead of its own mix of market, collegial and institutional mechanisms? Federal funding for developing institutional capability for overseas technical assistance and economic development research raised similar issues of academic autonomy. At what point would federal funding of a university's agricultural curriculum or research programs affect a university's academic independence and integrity? Some of these are addressed in later chapters.

The 1965-1970 period began with the great expectations of the IEA. It ended in retrenchment. Advocates scrambled to preserve NDEA Title VI and AID support for international education. Following this retrenchment in 1969-1970, the international higher education programs were consolidated and refined in the next period 1971-1978. Many of the gains sought in the IEA filtered into Title VI. The foreign assistance stream consolidated its university relations in a separate Title of the FAA. The two streams did not merge nor even move in parallel but there was slow, nearly imperceptible forward motion in both.

CHAPTER VI

CONSOLIDATION AND REFINEMENT: 1971-1980

In the second period (1965-71), the HEA and ESEA of 1965 provided an enduring foundation for a federal presence in U.S. education. One of the Johnson administration's last acts was to sign the HEA amendment of 1968 ensuring its continuation in the incoming Nixon administration. International education policy had been prominent in the overall education debates. The ill-fated IEA was passed in 1966. NDEA Title VI was extended and expanded in 1968. Supporters fought and preserved NDEA Title VI in 1970 after the threat of zero funding from the budget office of President Nixon. In this third period (1972-80), educational debates focused again on the role of federal government in education and its costs in hard economic times. In the omnibus education legislation of 1972 and 1976, categorical programs were under attack but most were preserved, including NDEA Title VI. International education supporters focused on preservation and implementation rather than policy initiatives. By the end of this period, foreign policy and education concerns began to coalesce again around themes of economic interdependence and citizen awareness. A new Title VI was created in the HEA of 1980. It encompassed all levels of education from research universities through grade schools and ranged from languages, area studies, international studies and professional fields' international aspects. NDEA Title VI and the IEA were repealed.

The education and foreign assistance streams of the international education policy arena stayed separate over this period. Separate programs survived but did not

thrive. The relationship between the foreign affairs agencies (State, AID and USIA) with the OE that had flourished in the early and mid-60s shriveled in the 70s. The two vines were still alive but were no longer winding up the same pole. The OE focused on its domestic and student aid agenda in its Bureau of Postsecondary Education. The Bureau-level Institute for International Studies atrophied and was downgraded to division status. The foreign assistance stream supplied an unhappy paradox. The same legislative session that gave the universities full partnership in the overseas agricultural development field also shifted foreign assistance priorities away from the work that the universities were most capable of doing. At the end of the period, the Carter administration opened a small window of opportunity for mutually reinforcing programs of international education by reorganizing education, foreign assistance and public diplomacy functions. The ensuing policy debate addressed the place of international education among the newly created agencies including the Department of Education, the International Development Cooperation Agency and the International Communication Agency. Their impact on the international education policy arena would depend on the incoming Reagan administration in 1981.

The legislative-executive power struggle continued in the early part of this period. Much of the struggle played out in foreign policy and education. In October 1971, for example, Congress rejected the President's foreign aid request outright. It later passed after splitting the foreign aid bill into two parts, one military and the other economic. Nixon won a second term as president in 1972 and challenged Congress boldly in 1973 -- refusing to spend congressionally appropriated funds and refusing to allow administration officials to testify before Congress. Only because of

legislation passed in May 1973, the President agreed to stop the bombing of Cambodia. In November 1973, Congress overrode Nixon's veto of the War Powers Act, effectively imposing a sixty day limit on the commitment of U.S. troops abroad without Congressional consent. In education, Congress consistently appropriated more than the Administration requested and pressured the administration to stop impounding and rescinding appropriated funds. The Full Funding Committee that had succeeded in its "Operation Override" for education appropriations for FY 1971 was in operation again for Fiscal Years 1972-74. The Committee helped secure \$1 billion more appropriations than the administration request for FY 1974 for the ESEA.¹

In 1973, the economic crisis did not abate. Wage and price controls continued. So did the OPEC oil cartel's supply restrictions. The widening Watergate scandal placed unusual pressures on normal governmental processes. As the political crisis worsened, Congress reformed its own seniority structure and began hearings on overall campaign reforms. Vice President Agnew resigned over financial corruption on Oct 10, 1973. On Oct 20, 1973 Elliot Richards resigned as Attorney General as did his deputy William Ruckelshaus in protest over the firing of Archibald Cox, independent counsel and Watergate investigator. Congress confirmed Rep. Gerald Ford (R-Michigan) as Vice President on Dec 6, 1973 and Sen. William Saxbe (R-Ohio) as Attorney General two weeks later. In February 1974, while the House of Representatives began drafting the articles of impeachment, President Nixon resigned.

¹ Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Vol. XXVII, 92nd congress, 1st session (1971), p. 21.

Ford assumed the Presidency on Aug 9, 1974. In December, Nelson A. Rockefeller was confirmed as Vice-President.²

Congress was ascendant in the legislative-executive struggle but the policy making machinery remained less than productive. The Congressional Quarterly characterized the 94th Congress of 1975 and 1976 as "legislative stalemate." In the first session in 1975, Ford vetoed 17 bills. Congress overrode four. In the second session in 1976, Ford vetoed 15 bills. Congress overrode four. Congress spent more than Ford wanted on existing social programs but did not create many new ones. One of the last override votes in 1976 boosted the Labor and HEW appropriations \$4 billion over Ford's budget request.³

In November 1976, a Democrat with few ties to the Washington political community, Jimmy Carter from Georgia won the presidential election. Although there was a Democratic majority in both houses of Congress, executive-legislative tension persisted. In his first year of office in 1977, Carter vetoed only two bills. With new leadership in both houses, the 1977 session was not very productive. The Labor-HEW appropriation was delayed by an abortion amendment. In foreign affairs, Carter included a human rights provision in the foreign aid bill which the multilateral development banks opposed because of the political strings attached. The 1978

² Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Vol. XXIX, 93rd congress, 1st session (1973), pp. 3-4; Congressional Quarterly Almanac Vol. XXX, 93rd Congress, 2nd session, (1974), pp. 3-4, 18.

³ Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Vol. XXXI, 94th Congress, 1st session (1975), pp. 3-6; Congressional Quarterly Almanac Vol. XXXII, 94th Congress, 2nd session, (1976), pp. 3-5.

session was more productive, passing a major energy bill creating a Department of Energy and a tax cut bill to relieve middle and upper income taxpayers from an increasingly regressive tax structure caused by "bracket creep". The Panama Canal treaties were ratified and the foreign aid bill passed with little conflict.⁴

In the 1979 session, the government did little to address the worsening economy. Congress was so stymied by conflicting coalitions that regular appropriations -- legislative expenses, foreign aid and Labor-HEW -- were extended with continuing resolutions. Congress approved the Panama Canal treaties implementation, aid for Turkey, and lifting sanctions on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. When Carter signed the peace accord with Egypt and Israel, Congress approved \$4.8 billion for implementation although foreign aid was still unpopular. The legislators approved Carter's new China policy but did not act on "most favored nation status." The Defense budget was allowed to rise at the rate of inflation. On the Iranian hostage situation, Congress was vigilant but not intrusive of the President.⁵

In 1979, Congress approved Carter's federal reorganization initiatives. The creation of a separate Department of Education was attributed in part to political commitments made to the National Education Association during the Carter presidential campaign. Also in 1979, the Carter administration reorganized the foreign aid and public diplomacy functions. The International Development

⁴ Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 95th Congress, 1st session, Vol. XXXIII, (1977) pp. 11, 12, 19, 22; Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 95th Congress, 2nd session, Vol. XXXIV, (1978), p.11.

⁵ Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 96th Congress, 1st session, Vol. XXXV, (1979), pp. 11-13.

Cooperation Agency (IDCA) was created to give the Peace Corps greater autonomy, incorporate AID's economic and security support functions and formally house overseas humanitarian and food relief operations of the federal government. The State Department's Bureau of Culture and Educational Exchange and the U.S. Information Agency were merged into the U.S. International Communication Agency (USICA), an independent agency within the State Department. The latter merger was designed to enable the federal government to meet its "public diplomacy" responsibilities more effectively.⁶

In 1980, Congress' Democratic majority faced strong and unified Republican opposition doing little to combat recession and spiraling inflation. Both houses approved increasing defense spending. The SALT II treaty was tabled since the USSR invasion of Afghanistan eliminated any chance of congressional approval. Foreign aid was funded under a continuing resolution for the third year. One of the few social innovations was increased direct student aid to low and middle-income college students. Trucking, railroad and banking industries were deregulated. Congress' image took a beating in "Abscam" where rich Arabs were alleged to have bribed legislators. Republicans Reagan-Bush won the presidential election in November 1980. Congressional lame ducks passed the budget and other measures.⁷

⁶ Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1979), pp. 11-13.

⁷ Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 96th Congress, 2nd session, Vol. XXXVI, (1980), pp. 12, 15.

A. Higher Education Amendments of 1972, 1976 and 1980

1. Policy Environment and Advocacy Coalitions

In the early part of the period, international education policy took a back seat to larger educational issues. Attention to international education programs focused on implementation and appropriations with the legislative and executive branches. In 1972 and 1976, higher education policy focused on resolving the debate over institutional versus student aid approaches. In both rounds, education policy was packaged in omnibus laws covering the HEA, ESEA, HEFA, NDEA and the IEA. Legislative debate focused on overall fiscal impact in difficult economic times and social impact related largely to civil rights and access to education for people of limited means. In the context of larger social policy debates, international education implementation debates focused on categorical vs. block grants vs. national foundations for education. In 1977-80 with the Carter administration, fundamental policy issues of international education were addressed again. The HEA of 1980 was amended in its own right rather than as part of an omnibus bill. A new Title VI was created within the HEA of 1980 replacing the clutter of programs under NDEA Title VI and IEA. Both of the older laws were repealed.

Despite increasingly fractious policy processes, Congress and the Executive resolved a major policy debate in the education sector in 1972. Since the passage of the NDEA in 1958, the relative merits of federal support to institutions versus support for student access to education had been debated. Federal support for educational programs that met national needs were generally accepted by Congress and managed

by the Executive through small categorical programs or national foundations.

Gladieux and Wolanin said the education amendments of 1972 resolved the debate by making clear the federal preference for supporting students rather than institutions:

"The bill's focus on students derived not from a sophisticated economic philosophy of higher education finance but from the simple conviction that the principle objects of federal policy should be consumers rather than the suppliers of higher education." "...the basic policy choice that students, not institutions, are the first priority in federal support for higher education. The legislators were concerned about institutional well-being and survival, particularly of private schools, but they determined that these concerns should not be the basis of federal policy."⁸

In their analysis, Gladieux and Wolanin found that the ideas of the economists and national commissions like Carnegie prevailed over those of the higher education associations. They said that Congress,

"pulled up short of a plan that amounted to federal revenue sharing with institutions of higher education -- across the board general operating support distributed on the basis of enrollments... Responsibility for general support of institutions, it was decided, should continue to rest with the states" and individual private institutions.⁹

This was a defeat for the institutional associations such as ACE that had supported direct institutional aid. The "Full Funding Committee" disappeared from the legislative advocacy scene after the defeat. The disciplinary and professional associations were left to advocate specific categorical or national foundation programs

⁸ Gladieux and Wolanin (1976), pp. 225-226.

⁹ Gladieux and Wolanin (1976), pp. 225-226; King (1975). Gladieux and Wolanin suggested that the 1972 HEA amendments was the first occasion that the major higher education associations including ACE, NASULGC and others collaborated on representations to Congress. They had collaborated with the NDEA Title VI hearings since the early 60s and were very active in the IEA hearings in 1965 and 1966.

of interest. The institutional associations sought common ground on larger funding issues. By 1974, there was a growing sense in the legislature that higher education was simply another group of special interests. The institutional associations had lost a fair amount of credibility in Congress.¹⁰

The policy shift toward student aid also explains part of the difficulty of securing funding for the IEA or expanding NDEA Title VI. International education advocacy may have resonated with the rhetoric of institutional support. Both Title VI and IEA emphasized the federal responsibility for supporting institutional capacity of higher education to maintain international education resources. The Administration's budget presentations subtly fed this distaste for institutional aid. Budget documents referred to categorical programs such as Title VI "institutional support." Also, the IEA and Title VI called for modifying the curriculum in specific subjects like foreign languages, history or sociology. This skated dangerously close to breaking the prohibition on federal curriculum control.

The return of international education policy to a place of some importance on the legislative stage in 1978-1980 was motivated by many factors in the larger domestic political and foreign policy arenas. The fundamental rationale for international education programs had shifted from the 1950s and 1960s focus on security and humanitarian needs to economic and citizenship needs in the 70s and 80s.

¹⁰ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Report No. 92-554 to accompany H.R. 7248, The Higher Education Act of 1971, Committee on Education and Labor, 92nd Congress, 1st Session, October 8, 1971, p. 245; Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1974), p. 9. The Full Funding Committee was not mentioned again in the Almanac after 1973 or in other legislative documents that the author reviewed.

In this period, foreign and domestic economic issues became more closely linked in legislators' and administration officials' views. There was an increasing realization of economic interdependence combined with a sense of loss of global economic preeminence. The growing domestic budget deficit was blamed partially on Vietnam War spending. Domestic inflation problems were blamed in part on rising oil prices from foreign suppliers' price cartels. Employment problems were blamed in part on foreign competition. Domestic morality was linked to foreign and economic policy as highlighted in the debates in 1974 on the Vanek amendment tying the USSR's "most favored nation" trade status to loosening Soviet policy on Jewish emigration. The congressional rescue of Chrysler in 1979 to save jobs was justified at least in part by "unfair" Japanese competition in the U.S. domestic auto market. Spurred by growing economic competition from overseas, Congress passed major trade legislation in 1979. This legislation was designed to promote free trade and reorganize federal functions between the U.S. Dept. of Commerce and the U.S. Trade Representative.¹¹

A series of hearings and studies focused attention on international education beyond the authorization committees of Education and Labor that kept NDEA Title VI and the IEA alive through the 1970s. Carter's re-organization of education and public diplomacy functions revived the discussion of the appropriate organizational home for federal programs of international education. The proposed ICA was to have authority over educating the public in the U.S. and overseas about U.S. foreign policy. The International Operations committee of House of Representatives held extensive

¹¹ Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1974), (1979).

hearings on the international education programs of federal government including the traditional NDEA Title VI and Fulbright programs and others scattered throughout State, AID, USDA and other federal agencies. The GAO reported its study of international education programs during those hearings in 1978.

The Helsinki accords early in Pres. Carter's term called for strengthening of each nation's international education programs. Three legislators who served on the Helsinki Commission, Rep. Paul Simon (IL), Dante Fascell (FL) and John Buchanan (AL) took active roles in promoting the cause of international education in the Congress. Together they urged the White House to set up a presidential commission which was done with an Executive Order on April 28, 1978. Chaired by James Perkins with Barbara Burn as Executive Director, the commission's 25 members represented a broad spectrum of interests and began work in September 1978. After studying foreign language and international studies in the U.S., their November 1979 report made 65 different recommendations and called for \$178 million in new funding for international education. Unfortunately, the final report was not available in time for the authorization hearings of 1979 amending the HEA. Also, the final report did not include priorities on the many recommendations. This made it less useful for setting appropriations for the revised Title VI created in the HEA amendments of 1980.¹²

¹² U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Testimony of Rep. Paul Simon (IL)," and "Letter and Statement of James A. Perkins, Chairman, International Council for Educational Development", Hearings on the Future of International Education, Subcommittee on International Operations of the Committee on International Relations, 95th Congress, 2nd session, July/August 1978, pp. 1-12, 385-389; McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981), pp.9-10; Strength Through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S.

Throughout the period, higher education organizations actively advocated for international education. The disciplinary associations for area studies such as Asian Studies were very active with well-organized targeted advocacy by faculty directors of centers funded by Title VI. After securing the reprieve from the Nixon administration in 1970, they regularly and strenuously defended Title VI in authorization as well as appropriations hearings every year. The area studies associations shared a sense of ownership of the Lambert study on the state of language and area studies in the U.S. which was contracted by OE's Institute for International Studies. The author, Richard Lambert, was a sociologist and a Title VI Center director of South Asian Studies at the University of Pennsylvania.¹³

The institutional associations took a less activist but still substantive stance. In 1973, ACE established an International Education Project with funding from foundations and the Department of Education and Cultural Affairs (ECA) of the State Department. By 1976, the project produced numerous studies of different aspects of international education with task forces. The studies' completion coincided with deliberations on the HEA amendments of 1976. For example, the ACE project funded a study that helped define the "Export Education Act" that ultimately was incorporated into the HEA of 1980, Title VI as a new program for international business education. By 1978, ACE had reorganized its international operation

Capability (1979) was the title of the final report of the presidential commission chaired by Perkins. A private group of citizens and educators formed the Committee on Foreign Language and International Studies (CAFLIS) for advocacy and professional development at all education levels carrying on the work begun by the Perkins commission.

¹³ Lambert (1973).

creating a Division of International Education Relations. This coincided with the NASULGC proposal in 1978 to create a Council for International Cooperation in Higher Education (CICHE) to promote coordination of collaboration among higher education institutions in the U.S. on international education. The CICHE concept was proposed by NASULGC in 1973 with eight associations as potential members: AAC, AACJC, AACTE, AASCU, ACE, AAU, NAICU and NASULGC.¹⁴

These organizational, study, and advocacy activities proved useful in preserving international education as a federal policy arena. In Congress, there was a sense that higher education leadership made it easier for the federal government to play an appropriate supporting role in international education. Rep. Fascell summarized the specific role higher education needed to play in policymaking. In seeking ways to increase funding for Title VI, Fascell said: "The academic support which is apparent across the board here needs to be targeted at specific recommendations which everyone can work to implement." Similar Congressional sentiment was exemplified by Rep. Buchanan in a discussion with Dr. Fred Burke, Commissioner of Education for New Jersey on the need for more funding for Title VI. The concern with federal intervention in the curriculum was notable. Rep. Buchanan expressed it when he said:

¹⁴ In the U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on the Future of International Education, (1978) see discussion between Rep. D. Fascell and Rose Lee Hayden of the ACE International Education Project, p. 297 and the "Statement of James W. Cowan, Director, Office of International Programs and Studies, NASULGC," pp. 344-347. Also, see U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Hearings on Higher Education Amendments of 1976, Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, 94th Congress, 1st and 2nd session (1975, 1976), p. 34.

"I have puzzled, like most people who are on the Education and Labor Committee, over how we can increase the supportive role of the Federal Government, which I think is clearly indicated, so far as money is concerned, at this point in history, and at the same time avoid... the pitfalls... in terms of paperwork and reporting requirements... I am also concerned about avoiding the pitfall of too much Federal direction, Federal curriculum content direction...

"...if the leadership could come from people like you around the country in this area of international education so that we could be supporting what you are doing, that is a much safer and perhaps better federal role."¹⁵

The private foundations also found higher education leadership important including state legislatures and private university trustees who provided base funding on which foundations built stronger international studies. Francis Sutton highlighted the importance of faculty and deans' advocacy for international research and teaching. He summed up the role of Ford's funding for international studies saying, "But the provision of means for international studies would have been of no use if there were no takers for them."¹⁶

2. Legislative Goals

Much of the IEA's legislative intent was integrated into NDEA Title VI in 1972. New undergraduate and graduate programs for international studies were added to the traditional language and area studies centers and fellowships. In 1976, a new program of "Citizen Education" was added to the Title VI umbrella to bring

¹⁵ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on the Future of International Education (1978), Buchanan-Burke discussion, p. 204; Fascell-Hayden discussion, p.293.

¹⁶ U.S. Congress, H.R., The Future of International Education (1978), "Statement of Francis X. Sutton, Ford Foundation," p. 401.

international understanding to more school and undergraduate students. The 1980 higher education amendments (HEA) repealed both NDEA Title VI and the IEA and redrew international education policy. The HEA of 1980 synthesized the goals that had been collecting like barnacles on the old Title VI flagship including those of the motorless IEA that Title VI had in tow since 1966.

a. The Education Amendments of 1972

These amendments reoriented higher education policy with a historic turn to students as the main focus of federal support. Authorization hearings began in 1970. The final bill was signed into law in June 1972. The delays were due largely to policy differences between the House and the Senate that required testy negotiations in several conference committees. Adjustments to NDEA Title VI and IEA authorizations were resolved relatively easily early in 1971. The amendments created a National Institute for Education (NIE), a fund for innovation in postsecondary education (eventually FIPSE), a program to strengthen studies of U.S. ethnic heritages and a program to expand two-year colleges among others. While most had some international wording, NDEA Title VI remained the only viable legislative program for international education.

The 1972 amendments also reoriented international education policy. They shifted NDEA Title VI significantly toward the IEA's broad goals and endorsed of the graduate training goal of the IEA. They confirmed a permanent place in the federal portfolio calling the existing network of language and area studies centers "a valuable national resource for the indefinite future." They reaffirmed the institutional capacity

building goals of the IEA and Title VI. In the House report, the legislators reaffirmed the importance of Title I of the IEA which was designed to support "...the establishment and operation of graduate centers which will be national and international resources for research and training in international studies." The committee also affirmed the importance of these programs in "providing the necessary base in American educational resources for strengthening our relations with other countries." The House committee report also reaffirmed Title VI's basic goal of producing a "reservoir of highly trained specialists in modern foreign language and area studies." The House report described legislators' intent to broaden Title VI:

"The purpose of the committee amendment is to give effect to the committee's convictions that additional emphasis should now be placed on **undergraduate education in language and area studies**. The changes made by the bill also reflect the committee's intent that **the center approach to be modified to include a more program oriented concept of language and area studies, including the study of problems international in nature.**"

"...fellowships for individuals who will be **available for elementary and secondary teaching** as well as teaching in institutions of higher education as presently provided for in the Act."

"...funds for **undergraduate travel** (may be provided) ... as part of a formal program of supervised study..." (emphasis added)¹⁷

The amendments affirmed the changes that the Title VI program administrators had introduced as they responded to the funding cuts of FY 1970 and FY 1971. The committees doubled authorized funds to support the newly created "exemplary program" in international studies that provided seed funding for innovative projects for undergraduates colleges and graduate and professional students. The amendments

¹⁷ U.S. Congress, H.R., Report No. 92-554 to accompany H.R. 7248, The Higher Education Act of 1971, (1971), pp. 37-39.

did not directly address the schools (K-12) but their direction was generally supportive of the new 15% rule OE officials introduced in FY 1972. Under the rule, 15% of Title VI Center budgets would be directed at extending international capacities to colleges, schools and the larger community to meet broader societal needs of citizen education highlighted in the IEA.

The authorizing legislation attempted to reverse the downward funding trends for NDEA Title VI and compensate for the unfunded IEA. Both laws were extended through June 30, 1975. For NDEA Title VI, \$38.5 million were authorized for fiscal years ending June 30, 1971 and 1972, \$50 million for fiscal year 1973 and \$75 million for fiscal years 1974 and 1975. Although there was little hope that the IEA would receive appropriations, the committee authorized funds for the IEA including \$20, \$30 and \$40 million for FY's ending June 1973, 1974 and 1975 respectively.¹⁸

To a large extent, the amendments mirrored the testimony of the international education advocates who testified in person and in writing at the authorization hearings. This is testament both to their effectiveness and to the underlying support in Congress. The Title VI and IEA advocates focused on preserving programmatic gains of Title VI and the IEA's principles. They also wanted to avoid further erosion of Title VI funding. They were quite sophisticated, targeting witnesses' home districts to members of the authorizing committees. The Title VI center directors and

¹⁸ U.S. Statutes at Large, Education Amendments of 1972, June 23, 1972, Public Law 92-318, 92nd Congress, Volume 86, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973). For NDEA Title VI revisions, see U.S. Code, Title 20, Education, 1970 Edition, Supplement V, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, January 21, 1971 to January 18, 1976), pp. 1492-93. For more on the 15% of Centers budgets designated for outreach, see McDonnell, Berry and Scott (1981), p. 8.

area studies associations faculty mobilized. In addition, a wide spectrum of students and educators testified, wrote or added signatures to letters to key legislators including graduate students, alumni who had received NDFL fellowships, college and school teachers who had participated in summer institutes and librarians.

The arguments of the higher education advocates reflected both emerging and longstanding trends in the international education policy arena. Indirectly, they rebutted the budget office's arguments against continuing Title VI: 1) that Title VI had fulfilled its purpose by erasing the temporary shortage of language and area experts as evidenced by a glut of PhD's; 2) that Title VI provided such a small proportion of Center funds that universities easily could replace federal support. In defense of Title VI, traditional arguments were trotted out: 1) the unique federal as opposed to state and local responsibility in education for foreign affairs; 2) the multiplier effect obtained with so few federal dollars "catalyzing" or "leveraging" state and university resources make these programs a "bargain"; 3) the preservation of U.S. "paramountcy" in worldwide scholarship on language and area studies; and 4) the importance of federal funds after the withdrawal of foundation funding.¹⁹

Two new arguments for Title VI emerged. They came to dominate the policy debates and are worth exploring. First, university language and area studies centers were a **permanent national resource** to be preserved. Second, these centers had larger public impact and domestic utility. In arguing that Title VI centers were a national resource to be preserved, the images of "pipeline" and "reservoir" countered

¹⁹ U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on Higher Education Amendments of 1970, S.3474, (1970), pp. 593-857; McDonnell, Berry and Scott (1981), p. 8.

the images of "crash course" and "temporary gap". Lea E. Williams of Brown University emphasized the importance of maintaining a "reservoir of manpower" testifying to Senator Pell (RI) that, "if the pipeline were to be blocked at this point, it might not bring immediate disaster" but at some point in several years the expertise needed to address some unpredictable issue would not be available. D.W. Stoddard of UCLA exemplified the national resource argument testifying that:

"The training and maintenance of a community of area specialist in the government and the universities takes time and money; **there are no cheap quickie solutions.**

"It was a widespread misconception in the early days of federal support of language and area programs -- a misconception to which the academic community, in its haste to acquire the federal dollar, doubtless contributed -- that this nation's shortage of competent area specialist could be cured by an intensive but brief period of training, something like teaching service station mechanics to repair a new kind of transmission. Nothing could be further from the truth. To maintain competent specialist in government, news media, foundations, and on the campuses, one must maintain a continuing program of studies in the areas concerned. **Language and area studies are by definition a job which will never be done.** New events take place, new personalities come into positions of power, new ideologies seize the imagination, and these new facts must be integrated into the fabric of what is already known." (emphasis added)²⁰

The "public impact" argument took the national resource concept beyond the production of language and area specialists and expert knowledge. It was argued that Title VI centers actively diffused this expertise to other parts of the education system and the public. They reached substantial numbers of undergraduates and professional

²⁰ U.S. Congress, Senate, "Testimony of Lea E. Williams, Director, East Asian Languages and Area Center, Brown University" and "Testimony of Dean Worth Stoddard, Acting Director, Russian and East European Studies Center at the University of California at Los Angeles," Hearings on Higher Education Amendments of 1970, S.3474, (1970), pp. 593-599, 615-616.

school students on their immediate campuses. They worked directly with other colleges and citizens groups interested in world affairs in their communities and states. They supported greater appreciation of cultural pluralism and different ethnicities in domestic society. More directly, NDFL fellowships brought minority students into the international field. Substantively, the Title VI centers also reached beyond language and area studies into transnational problems of more immediate policy interest such as urban, environmental or population issues. Title VI which funded 25% or more of international library resources on Center campuses also reinforced other federal programs such as libraries under HEA Title II. The Centers touted their direct outreach to the feeder system of primary, secondary and postsecondary education through summer institutes and public conferences. They also recast "PhD job glut" as a case of institutional diffusion. While some area studies PhD's could no longer find jobs at the major universities, they were hired readily in colleges and smaller universities.²¹

The final legislation of the 1972 amendments changed certain Title VI program details in line with the broad intentions discussed above. For Title VI centers, Section 601(a) called for graduate and undergraduate centers in international studies and the international aspects of professional and other fields as well as modern

²¹ U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on Higher Education Amendments of 1970, S.3474, (1970), pp. 594-830; U.S. Congress, Senate, "Testimony and statements of George Beckman of the University of Washington, with Ward Morehouse of SUNY and the New York State Department of Public Schools, D.W.Y. Kwok of the University of Hawaii and D. Larson of the New Hampshire World Affairs Council," Hearings on Appropriations for the Office of Education, Special Institutions and Related Agencies for FY 1972, H.R.7016, Committee on Appropriations, 92nd Congress, 1st session, Part 1 (March 1971), pp. 5-37.

foreign languages and area studies. For the first time, Centers could be funded for maintenance of capacity or new and expanding operations. Equipment also was allowed within center budgets for the first time. Neither the "exemplary programs" nor the 15% outreach rules were written explicitly into law but stayed in the program regulations with supporting statements in the House report. For the Title VI Fellowships, Section 601(b) the law said that fellows should be "available for teaching service in an institution of higher education or elementary or secondary school, or such other service of a public nature." Fellows were allowed travel "for research and study here and abroad" effectively supporting undergraduates' supervised overseas study and dissertation research abroad through Title VI for the first time. There were no substantial modifications of Section 602 on Research and Studies.²²

b. The Education Amendments of 1976

The Education Amendments of 1976 (PL 94-482) extended NDEA Title VI with no substantive changes in the basic programs authorized in 1972. The major addition was Section 603 "Cultural Understanding" in response to increasing pressure from postsecondary education and school advocacy groups traditionally distant from core Title VI funding. Also called the "citizen education" section, Section 603 aimed at increasing student awareness and understanding of "the cultures and actions of other nations in order to better evaluate the international and domestic impact of

²² U.S. Statutes at Large, Education Amendments of 1972, June 23, 1972, Public Law 92-318, (1973). Also, the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance during this period showed that OE regulations tied student research travel to language acquisition. Similarly, fellowships continued to be related to language study.

major national policies." OE was authorized to enter into grants or contracts with any "public or private organization, including but not limited to institutions of higher education, State and local educational agencies, professional associations, educational consortia and organizations of teachers." These would provide in-service training for teachers and other educators, develop informational resources and disseminate information and resources to educators and school and education officials. Projects would be conducted "as part of community, adult and continuing education programs." There were \$75 million authorized for Title VI through September 1978. The increase came with a trigger provision to protect the traditional Title VI programs. A floor of \$15 million had to be reached for Sections 601 and 602 before funds would be allowed to implement Section 603. The IEA was extended with an authorization of \$10 million through September 30, 1976 without modification. Subsequently, the IEA was authorized with "funds as necessary" rather than a specific dollar authorization level.²³

The single addition to Title VI belied multiple debates. The debates crystallized in the authorization hearings but had developed during appropriations hearings or through the studies of the higher education associations since 1972. The Administration continued its campaign to sideline Title VI. They proposed shrinking Title VI's budget further, focusing on specialist training and reducing the

²³ U.S. Statutes at Large, Education Amendments of 1976, October 12, 1976, Public Law 94-482, 94th Congress, Volume 90, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1977). The amendments were based on S. 2657 and amended the HEA of 1965 and the vocational Education Act of 1963 among others. Also, the new fiscal year became effective in FY 1976, shifting the calendar start and end dates from July-June to October-September, e.g. FY 1977 ran from Oct 1, 1976 to September 30, 1977.

authorization from \$75 to \$10 million. Ultimately, the law closely paralleled the recommendations of ACE's International Education Project. The trigger provision was a major exception. ACE had treated the citizenship and specialist components equally. This was natural for ACE as the largest umbrella association representing a wide range of universities, colleges and state education offices. The House Report recognized complementary needs for citizen and specialist education. But they gave first priority to the traditional Title VI programs albeit with outreach requirements. They opted to trigger the new citizen education program's implementation to sufficient funding "to protect those advanced instructional programs already in existence." The new section was nearly scuttled by legislators upset over a highly publicized curriculum unit on multicultural studies that reputedly showed an eskimo family leaving an elder on the ice to die. Section 603 narrowly escaped the association with such intolerable "secular humanism."²⁴

Although there was no evidence of Title VI center directors' supporting the trigger mechanism during the reauthorization hearings, later testimony revealed their argument. Speaking for the language and area studies professions, Harold A. Gould testified in 1977 that the centers had a role to play in ensuring that both the knowledge transmitted was factual and that the delivery system was effective. His

²⁴ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, House Report No. 94-1086 related to H.R.12851 on Higher Education Amendments of 1976, 94th Congress, 2nd session, (May 4, 1976), pp. 24, 42; U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony by Stephen K. Bailey and Rose Lee Hayden of ACE," Hearings on Higher Education Amendments of 1976, (1975, 1976), pp. 34-43. For the anecdote on secular humanism, see McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981), p. 9.

wording suggested both independent enthusiasm and external compulsion motivated the centers in the task. He said that:

"the centers (had) to act as a quality control mechanism, capable of influencing and in an ultimate sense, overseeing the content of what is purveyed to non-specialized segments of the American populace through outreach and Citizens' Education programs.

"Under existing guidelines, centers are being compelled to come to grips with these complex yet vital issues and are thereby being compelled to prepare themselves for the major education tasks that Citizen's Education for global responsibility entails."²⁵

One thread weaving through all of the advocates' arguments was the impact of growing global economic interdependence on all segments of society. Another common thread related to diffusion of international understanding into the citizenry emphasizing Title VI's public impact, domestic utility and role with schools and communities. Global interdependence was a major theme of the ACE International Education Project and was carried in other advocates' arguments as well. Economic and ecological viability plus strategic military and political interests all played roles in this interdependence. The term appeared twelve times in four pages of testimony by the leaders of the ACE Project. Representing eight other higher education associations ranging from NASULGC to AACJC and AAC, the ACE spokesman, Charles Saunders, outlined their official position. They proposed repealing the IEA because it had never been funded and because ACE's new proposals could be accommodated within Title VI. ACE proposed four actions on Title VI: 1) expand

²⁵ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Testimony of Harold A. Gould, Director of the Center for Asian Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign," Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations for 1978, Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, 95th Congress, 1st session, Part 8, (April and May 1977), pp. 1151.

the traditional Section 602 programs of international, language and area studies centers and fellowships; 2) explicitly add to the law centers' outreach to schools and colleges; and 3) provide full funding to the authorization level within two years; and 4) add a Citizen's Education section drawing on the IEA preamble and the Bilingual Education and Ethnic Heritage Acts for schools, teachers associations, states, colleges and universities. To further show legislative support for intercultural education in the U.S., the hearings also included in the record the 1973 testimony for "The Language Preservation Act" (HR 7310) introduced by Rep. Henry Gonzalez (TX). The bill was introduced as a concurrent bill with the 1976 HEA hearings. It was designed to complement NDEA Title VI by preserving the foreign language capabilities inherent in an immigrant nation.²⁶

Vague notions of institutional diffusion in the 1972 hearings were made very concrete in the 1976 hearings. Many institutional claimants made direct demands on Title VI including two-year and four-year colleges and state education officials in addition to ACE, the Title VI directors and the area studies associations. The new voices introduced new twists with the traditional arguments for Title VI. A new concept emerged combining "centers as a national resource" and "public impact" concepts. The Title VI center directors represented by Stanley Spector envisioned a tiered system of international education resources with traditional specialist centers with outreach programs, undergraduate centers as feeders to graduate and professional

²⁶ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony by Stephen K. Bailey and Rose Lee Hayden of ACE International Education Project," and "Testimony by Charles B. Saunders, Jr. ACE Director of Governmental Relations," Hearings on Higher Education Amendments of 1976, (February 1976), pp. 34-43, 458-459.

training, a short-term strengthening program for undergraduate, graduate and professional problem-oriented efforts, summer institutes for school teachers. To increase geographic access to international education resources, they suggested creating new centers in sparsely served parts of the U.S. such as the South or Mountain West. Rather than a glut of language and area experts as claimed by OE, the Title VI directors represented by Richard Lambert described shortages in some fields and the need to increase the language competence of existing area experts. Lambert also raised the "paramountcy" argument to a new level when he said that other major countries were adopting the U.S. center model for their programs of language and area studies.²⁷

Advocating for greater diffusion of international education resources, State Education officials such as Fred Burke of New Jersey or Ewald Nyquist of New York also lent new weight and meaning to two older Title VI arguments. The "unique federal role" in international education argument was somehow more persuasive from state rather than university officials. The "multiplier effect" argument was stronger when they referred to Title VI "leveraging" state education budgets not just university resources. Nyquist asked for the law to mandate a 50-50 split between the traditional

²⁷ U.S. Congress, Senate, "Testimony by Stanley Spector, University of Washington, St. Louis, Missouri," Hearings on Education Division and Related Agencies Appropriations for FY 1976, H.R.5901, Committee on Appropriations, 94th Congress, 1st session (March 1975), pp. 1116-1124; U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Testimony by Richard D. Lambert, Director of the South Asian Studies Center of the University of Pennsylvania representing five area studies associations," Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations for 1975, Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, 93rd Congress, 2nd session, Part 7, (May 1974), pp. 280-282.

Title VI programs and the proposed Section 603. The four year college group respected the need for specialist training centers but made three concrete suggestions related to their diffusion interests: 1) release and apply counterpart funds to liberal arts and associated colleges; 2) increase Title VI funding to its authorized level and mandate a 50-50 split between centers and international programs; 3) add a section to Title VI for teacher training not unlike the Section 603 that actually passed.²⁸

The community college group was the most radical about Title VI. Their statement of priorities for their 75th anniversary in 1975 called for full funding of Title VI and Fulbright-Hayes programs. Just before the HEA hearings, an International Community College Consortium had formed and secured seventy members in three months. Of the 1,200 two-year colleges in the U.S., many were working with economic development assistance programs of AID and the World Bank for special training of developing country nationals. Yet they found that only one had received any federal assistance. They were concerned that Title VI was burdened with mentality that made "international education a privilege of academic elites rather than a right of all able citizens. The result (was) that the populist thrust of the community colleges" could not compete on equitable grounds for Title VI funds. They had three concrete proposals for Title VI: 1) re-train or otherwise change the

²⁸ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Statement by the Association of Colleges and Universities for International and Intercultural Studies" and "Testimony and statement of Ewald B. Nyquist, New York Commissioner of Education and President of SUNY," Hearings on Higher Education Amendments of 1976, (1975, 1976), pp. 61-62, 525-533; U.S. Congress, Senate, "Testimony by Fred Burke, Commissioner of Education, the State of New Jersey," Hearings on Education Division and Related Agencies Appropriations for FY 1976, H.R.5901, (March 1975), pp. 1109-1113.

staffing of the OE/DIE to relate better with community based institutions; 2) set aside Title VI funds for community colleges "to correct the elitist track record of these programs;" 3) remove the restrictions that limit Title VI funds to degree-granting institutions which effectively barred many community colleges.²⁹ It would seem that the two-year colleges did not share the homophily with OE/DIE that other Title VI education actors did.

c. The 1980 Higher Education Act Amendments

The 1980 Amendments (PL 96-374, HR 5192) repealed the NDEA Title VI of 1958 and the IEA of 1966, creating a new Title VI "International Education Programs" of the HEA Amendments of 1980. The new Title VI was created in fairly heady times for international education. The Perkins Commission, CAFLIS, was preparing its final report. Nurtured by Rep. Paul Simon, chair of the key authorizing committee in the House, the law integrated much of the sense of CAFLIS if not its details. A House Concurrent Resolution affirmed the sense of the Congress that there was "a need to strengthen course offerings and requirements in foreign language studies and international studies in the nation's schools, colleges and universities."³⁰

²⁹ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony Jorge Perez Ponce, Director of International Programs of AACJC," Hearings on Higher Education Amendments of 1976, (1975, 1976), pp. 426-431.

³⁰ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Hearings on House Concurrent Resolution 301 on Foreign Languages and International Studies, Subcommittee on Select Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, 96th Congress, 2nd session, (September 1980), p. 2. The Concurrent resolution was sponsored by Representatives Simon, Panetta, Fenwick and de la Garza.

The Carter administration was supportive of international education and OE testimony also indicated strong support for the legislation. There was greater than usual positive attention to the link between international education and foreign policy in Congress with the parallel hearings on the President's public diplomacy initiative and the proposal to create the ICA and a new Department of Education.

In a nutshell, the new Title VI Part A continued the existing Title VI programs of graduate and undergraduate centers and programs in language, area and international studies, fellowships and research-studies. Part B added a new element, "Business and International Education." Part C provided external policy oversight by creating an advisory board for international education programs. Part C also made explicit the operational expectations of the program by defining key elements of the legislation for the first time, e.g. what a "center" is.³¹ Finally, Part C resolved the higher vs. elementary-secondary education debates. It provided separate international education resources for schools by adding "The International Understanding Act" to the ESEA via amendment and authorized funding in the ESEA rising from \$5.25 in FY 1981 to \$9 million in 1985. There was a tongue-in-cheek proposal to transfer

³¹ U.S. Statutes at Large, Education Amendments of 1980, October 3, 1980, Public Law 96-374, 96th Congress, Volume 94, Part 2, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1981). Based on H.R. 5192, this law primarily amended the HEA of 1965. The author will refer to this law as the "HEA of 1980." One of the definitions in Part C of the law was of "internationalization of curricula" for business education. This was the first time the author found the term internationalization used in the legislation.

Title VI wholesale to the ESEA but the school interests were kept within Title VI oversight but given to the elementary and secondary experts to implement.³²

The overarching policy confirmed a federal role in supporting institutional capacity for international studies by including "strong American educational resources". The goals also encompassed all levels of formal and informal training by citing the need to provide "present and future generation of Americans" with the "opportunity to develop to the fullest extent possible their intellectual capacities in all areas of knowledge pertaining to other countries, peoples, and cultures." The goals recognized the traditional rationale for international education programs, i.e., promoting "mutual understanding and cooperation among nations". The mistake of the IEA in ignoring the security goal was not repeated. The 1980 Title VI combined security and economic concerns saying, "the economy of the United States and the long range security of the Nation are dependent upon acquiring such knowledge." There was no mention of the humanitarian rationale relating education to economic development efforts or meeting emergency relief needs of peoples outside the U.S.³³

The new Title VI Part A replaced the old structure of language, area and international studies centers, exemplary programs of undergraduate and graduate programs, fellowships and research and studies. It created a three tiered system rationalizing earlier program components to better serve policy goals. First, the

³² U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Betty Bullard, Director of Education, Asia Society," Hearings on Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act of 1980 and Related Measures, (September 1979), pp. 45-51.

³³ U.S. Statutes at Large, Education Amendments of 1980, (1981), p. 1465.

graduate and undergraduate language and area centers were to serve as national resource centers for both teaching and research in foreign languages and the world areas where they were used, international studies and the international aspects of professional and other fields of study. This first tier paralleled the traditional area studies centers based mostly at large research universities with specialist production goals as well as outreach responsibilities. The first tier also was designed to absorb the graduate international studies program that had functioned separately under the "exemplary programs" since 1972. Second, international studies centers with graduate and undergraduate programs were to serve as regional resources to increase access to research and teaching on international studies focused on world affairs or geographic areas for other institutions of higher education in the region. This responded to many goals including geographic dispersion of resources, institutional diversification and citizen education. The second tier was expected to absorb the undergraduate and first professional degree international studies program that had functioned separately under the "exemplary programs." Third, the innovative "exemplary programs" were transformed into an undergraduate international studies and foreign language program to plan, develop and carry out comprehensive programs to strengthen and improve undergraduate instruction" on a given campus or across a consortia of institutions of higher education. The 1980 amendments authorized \$45 million in FY 1981 rising to \$80 million in FY 1985 to cover all three tiers. No funding priority was assigned among the tiers in the authorizing legislation.

Fellowships were integral to the first two tiers' centers rather than left to separate competitions. Both tiers' centers were allowed to apply advanced student

funding to study at the institution as well as to overseas travel effectively continuing the back door source for dissertation field research in Title VI. Also, library support was included explicitly in as an allowable category for the first time in Title VI for first tier centers. Other categories of funding support for the centers remained constant from earlier laws -- costs of visiting scholars and faculty, costs of establishing and operating the centers, costs of staff and faculty improvement, costs of teaching and research materials, and the costs of faculty and staff travel. For the third tier undergraduate program, the cost categories were the same as the centers' for instructional efforts. In addition, the undergraduate program allowed more developmental costs such as training faculty in foreign countries, planning for the expansion of the undergraduate curriculum, expanding foreign language offerings, integrating undergraduate education with Masters programs having an international emphasis, or developing an international dimension to teacher training.³⁴

The 1980 law continued the traditional Research and Studies program largely unchanged. The initial bill had overlooked Research and Studies but it was restored at the prompting of higher education advocates. The research program was expected to link school and college components of Title VI. The research program was mandated to focus on studies and surveys of modern foreign languages and "other fields needed to provide full understanding of the places in which such languages are commonly used;" effective methods for teaching and evaluating competency in languages; and the development of materials for language teaching or teacher training.

³⁴ U.S. Statutes at Large, Education Amendments of 1980 (1981), pp. 1465-1457.

A small change came in explicit instructions to the Secretary of Education to prepare and annual report to disseminate results to the larger education community.³⁵

Rep. Simon organized the authorization hearings explicitly to put together a new Title VI combining the NDEA Title VI and the IEA in the HEA of 1980. In order to explore both policy goals and legislative resource requirements, Rep. Simon focused the hearings on six issues including: 1) financial weakness; 2) adequacy of federal coordination; 3) breadth of regional coverage; 4) adequacy of coverage to national needs; 5) adequacy of language orientation; and 6) maintaining quality while reaching the larger public. The last four will be discussed here since they relate most directly to policy goals. The first two related to finances and coordination will be addressed in the next section on legislative resources and implementation. In formulating the legislation, the diversity of institutional voices so obvious at the 1976 was missing in the 1980 hearings. The CAFLIS members spoke strongly on behalf of undergraduate education in both two and four year colleges as well as other higher education, foreign language, overseas exchanges and elementary and secondary education interests. Beyond CAFLIS representatives, testimony was heard from several Title VI directors representing area studies. The Asia Society testified for elementary and secondary education interests. No one from state education agencies testified. The Office of Education was represented by the Deputy Commissioner for

³⁵ U.S. Statutes at Large, Education Amendments of 1980 (1981), p. 1467. U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Robert Ward, Director of the Center for Research in International Studies, Stanford University and member of CAFLIS," Hearings on The Higher Education Act of 1980 and Related Measures, (September 1979), p. 35.

Higher and Continuing Education, Alfred Moye, along with Edward Meador the head of DIE among others.³⁶

Much of the discussion focused on the excellence vs. diffusion issue. Edward Meador of DIE started with a statement based on bureaucratic realities that diluting center funding with the 15% outreach requirement seemed to be a worthwhile tradeoff between the two. Members of the presidential commission, CAFLIS, envisioned bolder, better funded efforts. Robert Ward, CAFLIS member, said the question represented a false dichotomy conjuring up the old arguments of "elitism versus populism and quality versus access." Ward was not alone in arguing that excellence or quality was needed at all levels but with different degrees of specialization. Ward focused on the commission's recommendations for advanced training. Even there, the commission was recommending a two tier system of centers to meet a variety of research, training and public education needs. Specifically, the commission recommended doubling the number of centers with 65-85 national centers for advance training and research and another 60-70 regional or state centers focused on graduate and professional training. Both types of centers would work with other educators in their area. CAFLIS proposed roughly \$20 million compared to the previous level of \$8 million to fund these centers. Barbara Burn, Executive Director of CAFLIS, focused on undergraduate needs, especially the community colleges where over half of the undergraduates are enrolled. Having "found a very appalling inadequacy in international studies programs in this country," Burn cited the commission's call for

³⁶ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Introduction by Chairman Paul Simon (D-Illinois)," Hearings on the Higher Education Act of 1980 and Related Measures, (September 1979), pp. 1-2.

an increase in the number of undergraduate programs like those funded under Title VI's "exemplary programs" to 200 from 25 with \$8 instead of \$1 million per year.³⁷

On geographic dispersion, there was consensus at the testimony that if more centers were created they should be targeted at regions with relatively few international education resources such as the South, Southwest and Mountain West states of the U.S. In the CAFLIS proposal, the second tier regional centers were the most legitimate subject for a geographic dispersion criteria in allocating funds.³⁸ On the access to expertise, Senator Dick Clark (Iowa) had expressed specific concern over access to expertise on Africa, a continent of increasing turbulence and U.S. involvement.³⁹ The general consensus was that the national resource centers could

³⁷ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Barbara Burn, CAFLIS," "Testimony of Robert Ward, Stanford/CAFLIS," and "Testimony of Edward Meador, OE/DIE," Hearings on the Higher Education Act of 1980 and Related Measures, (September 1979), pp. 4, 9-10, 12. For specific proposals and dollar recommendations see: U.S. U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Hearings on Departments of Labor, HEW and Related Agencies Appropriations for FY 1981, Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, 96th Congress, 2nd session, (March 1980), pp. 749-753. CAFLIS also recommended expanded fellowships for all: for graduate and professional students in all centers; for faculty and post-doctoral scholars by national competition; and more Fulbright-Hays funding for undergraduate and other exchange travel. CAFLIS also addressed library resources, language teaching at all levels and state programs for "models in international education" and teacher training. The total tab for CAFLIS recommendations was \$178 million more than FY 81 funding recommendations.

³⁸ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Harold A. Gould," Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations for 1978, (1977), p. 1151; U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Robert Ward, Stanford/CAFLIS," Hearings on the Higher Education Act of 1980 and Related Measures, (1979) p. 12.

³⁹ U.S. Congress, Senate, "Testimony of Sen. Dick Clark (Iowa)," Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and Related Agencies Appropriations for FY 1979, Committee on Appropriations, 95th congress, 2nd session, Part 4, (March 1978), pp. 1195-1201.

produce such expertise as needed but they required adequate funding and better funding security. Richard Lambert likened the typical Title VI center budget planning to the Perils of Pauline with mad dashes to Congress every year to save the program. Instrumentally, there was a need to improve the ability of the federal government to find the experts on campus when needed. Lambert also explored the language issue in depth. He posed the issue not only as one of adequacy of initial training but also of maintenance of skill. Not only did Title VI need to create new experts in the less commonly taught languages but it also need to maintain "strategic stockpiles" of expertise in them by helping existing experts retain language skills and learn new ones.⁴⁰ On the issue of the regional breadth and focus of Title VI centers, the consensus was that it was academically impossible to focus the substantial resources of a center on a single country. A subcontinental region such as North Africa might be possible but the consensus was that already was the case. Again, the sense of the hearings was that greater knowledge of the resources available would allow fine tuning for appropriate resource generation implied in Rep. Simon's question.⁴¹

Other issues also were aired during the hearings. CAFLIS members emphasized the need to re-orient Title VI programs toward all sectors of society not just education and the foreign affairs sector of government. They particularly wanted

⁴⁰ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Richard D. Lambert," Hearings on the Higher Education Act of 1980 and Related Measures, (1979), pp. 36-38. The HEA of 1988 fulfilled Lambert's dream and funded a set of national language resource centers.

⁴¹ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Robert Ward, Stanford/CAFLIS" and "Testimony of Alexander Rabinowitch," Hearings on the Higher Education Act of 1980 and Related Measures, (1979), pp. 13-14, 27-31.

to see a national advisory board drawn from and fellowships awarded to students who planned to follow careers in education, all sectors of government as well as business and the professions. The need for more attention to the international dimension of professional education filtered into many discussions. CAFLIS recommended supporting a set of international business education programs. Ward argued that Title VI had been biased toward area studies for historically valid reasons but that problem-oriented international studies programs were complementary and deserved greater support. CAFLIS recommended that the national centers have both language and area studies as well as problem-oriented international studies in roughly a 60%-40% split. These might include traditional international affairs centers or centers for science, technology and international affairs. Other functionally oriented international studies centers could help achieve an objective of many OE officials and Center Directors of linking area studies and the professional schools such as agriculture, business or education. Joseph Metz from an international studies center argued for five year grants to allow the centers' innovations to take root in the rocky soil of academia.⁴²

Although not part of the original bill outlining the new Title VI, the new International Business Education Program resulted from a parallel bill "The Export Education Foundation Act" co-sponsored by Rep. Paul Simon (IL) and Rep. Sam Gibbons (FL). The concepts in the bill were based heavily on an ACE study of

⁴² U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on the Higher Education Act of 1980 and Related Measures, (1979), "Testimony of Alfred Moye, OE," p.3, "Testimony of Robert Ward, Stanford/CAFLIS," pp. 13-15, "Testimony of Alexander Rabinowitch, Director of Russian and East European Studies, Indiana University," pp. 28-31, "Testimony of Joseph Metz, Cornell University, Director of the Center on the Study of World Food Issues," pp. 42-45.

business and international education led by Lee C. Nehrt in 1976 and 1977. The Department of Commerce and the business schools had been collaborating for several years to strengthen the international dimension of business training in the U.S. The President of the American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) testified on behalf of the bill. He expressed a distrust of the Dept of Education as the program's home and a strong preference for the Dept of Commerce rather. This was AACSB's first appearance on behalf of international education to the author's knowledge. Rather than seeking separate authorization for a national foundation with its own trust fund and operating mechanisms, the sponsors agreed to integrate the basic components of the legislation into the HEA's Title VI structure. Again, federal policy affirmed an institutional rather than a national infrastructure approach in international education. Title VI's programmatic flexibility was confirmed again. The law authorized \$7.5 million a year for five years from FY 1981 through FY 1985 for the business program.⁴³

The International Business Education Program, new in 1980, emphasized the economic rationale saying: "the future economic welfare of the United States will depend substantially on increasing international skills in the business community and creating an awareness among the American public of the internationalization of our economy." The business program sought "concerted effort" to strengthen links

⁴³ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Hearings on the Export Education Foundation Act, H.R.4526 and S.2306, Subcommittee on Select Education of the Committee of Education and Labor, 96th Congress, 2nd session (April 1980). The bill was introduced first in June 1979, co-sponsored by Paul Simon of Illinois and Sam Gibbons of Florida.

between "business schools, language and area studies programs, public and private sector organizations, and United States business in a mutually productive relationship that benefits the Nation's future economic interests." The preamble listed a variety of organizations that needed to join in these strengthened relationships such as world trade councils, chambers of commerce, State departments of commerce as well as businesses and universities. The preamble cited the types of activities envisioned, calling for "provision of suitable international education and training for business personnel in various stages of professional development."⁴⁴

The new Business Program encouraged innovative links between higher education and business. The program aimed at enhancing both higher education's international business capacity and businesses' ability to engage in commerce overseas. The fifty percent rule applied to this program. The program required signed agreements between the applying partners from higher education and business or business-related organizations. The law insisted these funds "supplement and not supplant activities" already conducted by the institution of higher education. The law allowed program funds to support a wide range of activities: 1) curricular innovation to meet the needs of nontraditional, part-time and mid-career students of business; 2) public information programs on U.S. economic interdependence and the role of U.S. business in the global economy; 3) internationalization of curricula of two-year, four year colleges and undergraduate and graduate business schools; 4) area studies and international studies programs; 5) export education programs with trade organizations;

⁴⁴ U.S. Statutes at Large, Education Amendments of 1980 (1981), pp.1467-1468.

6) research and development of teaching materials, including languages, for business students; 7) student and faculty fellowships for training and education in international business; 8) development of training opportunities for junior business and professional school faculty in international perspectives; 9) develop research programs on international issues of common interest to higher education and business.⁴⁵

d. Summary of Legislative Goal Developments

This review of legislative goals related to international education shows federal higher education policy evolving over the 1970s to embrace an expanded role by 1980. As a GAO report indicated, Title VI underwent a structural shift around 1970. It transited from being a planned response to a national emergency to becoming the focus of national resources for meeting social and market demand for understanding and managing interdependence, trade, security and other international issues.⁴⁶ The legislated policy retained a strong emphasis on area studies focused on languages and a knowledge of the regions and countries in which they are used. But it had grown to include transnational issues addressed by international studies. A specific transnational issue, business, was being addressed explicitly. The policy retained its

⁴⁵ U.S. Statutes at Large, Education Amendments of 1980 (1981), pp.1468-9. On page 1470 "export education" was defined as "educating, teaching and training to provide general knowledge and specific skills pertinent to the selling of goods and services to other countries, including knowledge of market conditions, financial arrangements, laws and procedures."

⁴⁶ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony by Elmer Staats, Comptroller General, General Accounting Office," Hearings on the Future of International Education, (August 1978), pp. 60-61.

focus on training specialists for academic work but had grown to include specialist and professional training for government and private sectors as well as general citizenship education and public information. All educational levels and parts of the higher education system were explicitly included in one program or another, from research universities to two-year colleges or independent professional schools of business. The separation of higher education from elementary and secondary education had been clarified with the amendment of the ESEA transferring the 1976 "Cultural Understanding" program. Still, the gap was expected to be bridged with the Research and Studies program which addressed all educational levels.

3. Legislative Resources

Rep. Simon explored two legislative resources in his questions about financial weakness and federal coordination during the HEA of 1980 reauthorization hearings. Funding and an a welcoming implementation environment in the executive branch are two key resources for effective legislative implementation. Clarity of causal theory as expressed in legislative expectations and criteria for participant selection are key policy resources for implementing agencies and clients alike. Flexibility for program administrators along with clear and open communication channels among legislative overseers, executive policymakers and program administrators and program participants are also key resource for effective legislative implementation. Funding continued to be a serious problem over the period. Over the period, legislative expectations and implementation criteria were refined and strengthened and administrative flexibility was preserved. The executive environment and relations

between the executive and legislative branches ranged from hostile to neutral over the period with a brief positive interlude in the late 1970s.

a. Legislative Resource Debates 1971-76

In the early and mid-1970s, international education programs shifted from boon to bane within the federal education agency, HEW/OE. Title VI funding authorizations grew to match expanding policy mandates and proliferating programs. Appropriations did not grow to match expanding authorizations. A statement in 1970 by Senator Pell, powerful chair of the Senate Education and Labor Committee and friend of international education, foreshadowed what was one of the most acute problems of Title VI in this period. He said:

"We face the problem that no matter how sympathetic this committee or the Senate is to your program in authorizing it, all the authorization does is to provide ceilings as to the money that can be appropriated and spent. We can't provide it in full, but we can provide policies. The Appropriations Committee must be convinced in the end."⁴⁷

"Policy making by appropriation" became the hallmark of the first part of this period for two reasons. First, the budgets were tighter with economic stress in the nation. Second, the legislature fought the Nixon-Ford administration's attempts to alter the structure of government. Much interesting policy advocacy and debate around international education programs occurred in the appropriations committees, especially the Senate where the sympathy for international education was greater than in the House. International education advocates sharpened their arguments against the

⁴⁷ U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on Higher Education Amendments of 1970, S.3474, (1970), p. 597.

flint of the appropriations committees annually as they pressed for renewed and increased funding in opposition to the administration's proposals to reduce funding. The Sen. Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor and Education was chaired by Sen. Warren Magnuson (D-Washington), a legislative "angel" and protector for the international education agenda (Title VI, Fulbright-Hayes and blocked currencies). Sen. Magnuson expressed considerable frustration with "legislation-by-appropriation" replacing the deliberative policy processes of authorization committees.⁴⁸

The larger structural debate focused on the appropriate ends and means of federal education policy. The "ends question" was answered with the 1972 Education Amendments priority to student over institutional aid. The debate on the "means question" continued. What was the appropriate vehicle to apply federal resources to achieve specific national purposes in education? the traditional categorical grants to institutions or capable organizations in the state and private non-profit sector? block grants to the states? national infrastructure like the proposed NIE and FIPSE? The Nixon administration favored block grants and national infrastructure over categorical programs in virtually all instances except the program to strengthening developing institutions of higher education, which also tended to be historically black colleges and universities. The Nixon administration promise to save Title VI in 1970 was tied its transfer into NIE or FIPSE, the two national infrastructure units that were created in 1972. The Title VI advocates opposed the move of Title VI programs to either

⁴⁸ U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare and Related Agencies Appropriations for FY 1974. H.R. 8877, Committee on Appropriations, 93rd Congress, 1st session, Part 6: Nondepartmental witnesses, (July 1973), pp. 5056-5082.

NIE or FIPSE on the grounds that Title VI would be treated as a short-term program to introduce another educational innovation rather than as an on-going national resources. Rose Hayden suggested another argument in that neither NIE nor FIPSE had any substantive interest in international issues. This was validated in part by the fact that none of FIPSE's 400 projects between 1973 and 1978 focused on international education.⁴⁹

The categorical-block grant battle haunted Title VI's implementation and funding over from 1971 to 1977. Title VI was the target of many skirmishes over Congressional funding and administrative rescissions in the appropriations process. In 1970, Senator Pell foreshadowed the fights to come. In response to Title VI advocates arguing for categorical grants and against block grants proposed by the administration, Senator Pell said:

"This is the case not only in your programs but many programs; the administration, as a general rule, wants to consolidate the various programs into block grants. We, in the Congress, want to keep a finger on programs, particularly in our individual committees, to make sure that the policies and priorities set by the Congress are carried out. This is the sort of thing we work out compromises on and have done so in past years."⁵⁰

What Senator Pell could not foresee was how unwilling the Nixon-Ford administration would be to "work out compromises" as others had in the past. During the Nixon-Ford years, OMB and HEW/OE consistently attempted to erase

⁴⁹ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Rose Lee Hayden, ACE," Hearings on the Future of International Education, (1978), p. 277.

⁵⁰ U.S. Congress, Senate, Hearings on Higher Education Amendments of 1970, S.3474, (1970), p. 598.

categorical programs. Congress consistently protected and funded some, notably the international education programs. For example, in the FY 1976 budget, the administration proposed cutting Title VI to \$8.6 from the \$11.3 million appropriated by Congress in FY 1975. Since OE had asked to rescind \$2.7 in FY 1975, they argued that \$8.6 represented level funding for Title VI. Considering the HEA scheduled for renewal in 1976, the OE recommended cutting the authorization for Title VI from \$75 to \$10 million as a realistic figure. Congress declined the opportunity. A remarkably amicable exchange over Title VI between Commissioner Terrell Bell, Mr. Hastings of the OE and Rep. O'Hara who chaired the hearing illustrates the debates over rescissions and appropriations in education. Rep. O'Hara emphasized that no OE rescission had been approved:

"Rep. O'Hara: Have you ever had a rescission approved.

"Mr. Hastings: In education, I don't believe yet.

"Commissioner Bell: Not during my two year tenure, Mr. Chairman, but we are still hoping.

"Rep. O'Hara: Well, I want to have that noted.
(and later in the discussion...)

"Rep. O'Hara: Well, Mr. Commissioner, I don't want to create a mutual admiration society here, but I would say that your testimony again was a remarkable defense of a bad policy, and I congratulate you."⁵¹

The university representatives were less delicate in their description of the administration's tactics related to international education. In testimony on the

⁵¹ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on Higher Education Amendments of 1976, (1975 and 1976), pp.802-803. Not all of the exchanges that the author found in the eight years of legislative debate on these issues were so amicable. A lengthier, more cutting exchange between HEW Sec. Matthews and Chairman Daniel Flood occurred during the FY 1977 House appropriations hearings. See U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriations for 1977, Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, 94th Congress, 2nd session, Part 2, (February 1976), pp. 44-45.

international education programs, they accused the Nixon-Ford administrations of flouting the will of Congress by strangling Title VI with staff and funding cuts. There was general praise for DIE staff actually administering the programs. In testimony to Congress, Harold Gould Director of the Asian Studies Center at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign exemplified the feeling. He called DIE as "a small unit within the labyrinth of HEW." Gould found "unfair to the excellent staff" a cut of 25% in DIE staff in 1975 at the same time the number of centers grew from fifty to eighty. DIE was threatened with more staff cuts each year. Gould suggested that these changes were "not simply prudent management. They reflect(ed) a belief that DIE (was) a burden that OE (did) not want to bear." The administration proposed funding cuts of 40% for DIE programs when proposing 10-15% cuts for other categorical or student aid programs. Ward Morehouse, Director of the Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies of the New York State Department of Education, summarized the notion that such cuts in Title VI reflected an actively sinister tactic when he testified:

"Unable to kill the program through the appropriations route, the Administration is now trying to bring about its demise by a slow but relentless process of strangulation. The technique is a simple one: cut staff until the Division responsible for administering the Program of Language, Area, and International Studies is no longer able to spend the money appropriated to it or makes serious errors of program judgement because of inadequate staff, leading to one or two 'scandalous' situations which are bound to have adverse repercussion on the Hill (i.e., in Congress)."⁵²

⁵² U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Harold A. Gould," Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriations for 1978, (1977), pp. 1147-1155; U.S. Congress, Senate, "Testimony of Ward Morehouse," Hearings on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and Related Agencies

As funding declined, international education programs were downgraded regularly within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). HEW, its Education Division and their programs were embattled during much of the period, especially during the Nixon administration. The organizational constraints of international education programs were not unlike the overall problems facing the Office of Education within HEW during the period. OE was creaking under its growing program responsibilities made worse by reduced administrative budgets. Operating authority was largely divorced from policy-making and budgeting. This was caused in part by the 1972 Education Amendments' attempt to strengthen the Education Division of HEW by placing an Assistant Secretary of HEW over the Commissioner of Education. ACE suggested this strategy backfired, saying:

"...the resulting reorganization actually diminished the authority of the Commissioner by placing a new bureaucracy between the Commissioner and the Secretary. At the same time, responsibility for most education programs was retained in the Office of the Commissioner, rendering the Assistant Secretary virtually powerless without program authority."⁵³

Similar organizational disjunctures in international education had repercussions in many spheres of Title VI program implementation. In 1971, OE ran all of its international education programs through the Institute for International Studies including representation with international education organizations, liaison with other

Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1977, H.R. 14232, Committee on Appropriations, 94th Congress, 2nd session, (March 1976), Part 8, pp. 5949-5955.

⁵³ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Charles B. Saunders, Jr., ACE Director of Governmental Relations," Hearings on the Higher Education Amendments of 1976, (1975, 1976), pp. 461-462.

federal agencies and the operational programs such as Title VI. The Institute operated within the Office of Education as a Bureau headed by a Deputy Assistant Secretary of Education with direct access to policy processes in HEW and the Office of Management and Budget. In 1974, the Institute was downgraded to divisional status within the Bureau of Postsecondary Education. The renamed Division of International Education (DIE) continued only two operational branches, one for NDEA Title VI programs and the other for Fulbright-Hays and the Ethnic Heritage programs. The representational functions related to international education were absorbed into the Commissioner's office.

The Title VI program was increasingly incongruous with the overall OE mission. As McDonnell pointed out, Title VI was a merit-based categorical program aimed at institutions and advanced students rather than an income-based entitlement program aimed at entry level students. Compared to formula-based student or state programs typical of the Bureau of Postsecondary Education, the Title VI programs were labor intensive with professional staff involved in ongoing grant relations and organizing national peer review panels. DIE was distant from the core mission and modus operandi of OE. It also lacked program resources representing less than one-tenth of one percent of OE's total budget. With few program resources and no policy staff, DIE relied on the Bureau of Postsecondary Education to represent its programs within the agency, with the Office of Management and Budget and with the Congress. McDonnell found that DIE was "isolated from relevant policy decisions." She also observed that DIE staff occasionally attempted to contact legislative supporters directly. Such contacts tended to exacerbate already tense relations of DIE within the

Bureau. Despite the difficulties of DIE within OE and its general level of overwork, McDonnell's study found that the DIE staff maintained mutually respectful relationships with the higher education community.⁵⁴

b. Legislative Resource Debates 1977-80

Organizational location is a key legislative resource. Much congressional attention focused on the appropriate location of international education programs during the Carter years because of the creation of the new Department of Education and the "public diplomacy" agencies, especially the ICA. Also, during the Carter administration, international education briefly recuperated within HEW/OE. After a rocky first year, international education became a priority for OE. There was joint action between congress and the administration on international education with the presidential commission on language and international studies (CAFLIS). The structural problems of DIE's location within the Bureau of Higher and Continuing Education while not resolved but were mitigated by the supportive political and administrative context.⁵⁵ Both the Carter administration and the Commissioner of Education supported international education. The Education Commissioner Ernest Boyer who was formerly head of the Carnegie Corporation appeared and testified before Congress strongly defending international education, especially at the K-12

⁵⁴ McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981), pp. 13-15, 91-98. These findings were borne out in the author's review of legislative testimony.

⁵⁵ The Bureau of Postsecondary Education was changed to Higher and Continuing Education.

levels. His activism confirmed McDonnell's suggestion that Boyer helped secure the funding for Title VI's Section 603, Citizen Education for the first time in FY 1979. This support filtered through the layers of HEW/OE. Unlike earlier years in the period, the DIE director regularly joined other OE staff at legislative hearings on higher education.

By 1978, the stature of HEW's overall programs was partially restored during the Carter administration. The Carter administration proposed and achieved a reorganization of government social programs and "public diplomacy" programs of foreign affairs agencies. By the end of the period, HEW's functions were split. The Departments of Education and of Health and Human Services replaced HEW. In foreign affairs, the International Communication Agency (ICA) and the International Development Cooperation Agency (IDCA) were created within the State Department. IDCA combined AID and federal overseas humanitarian relief operations under a single agency. ICA replaced the Education and Culture Bureau of State. Created in April 1978, ICA had three tasks: 1) to sponsor scientific, cultural and educational exchange with other countries; 2) to help the U.S. government to understand foreign public opinion for U.S. policy making purposes; and 3) to educate U.S. citizens about the world to enrich our own culture and to understand how to address problems with other countries. This last task of ICA raised potential conflicts with ED over administration of the international education programs.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on the Future of International Education, (July, August 1978).

The creation of a separate Department of Education and new "public diplomacy" agencies with the foreign affairs stream opened the door for a debate on the appropriate location of international education programs within the overall federal structure. Was the proper institutional home for international education programs in the Department of Education, State or elsewhere? The hearings on International Education of 1978 chaired by Rep. Dante Fascell of the House International Operations Subcommittee were reminiscent of the International Education Task Force hearings headed by Rep. John Brademas in 1965 leading up to the IEA in the Johnson administration. The 1978 hearings were initiated in the foreign affairs rather than the education side of the legislature as in 1966. In both cases there was strong presidential leadership. In 1965-66, it was Pres. Johnson's impetus to link his domestic social agenda with the humanitarian side of his foreign policy agenda. In 1978, it was Pres. Carter's impetus to reorient the foreign affairs agenda toward "public diplomacy" with clear links into his domestic education agenda. In 1978, more pragmatic than humanitarian interests were aired in the hearings. In both a broad range of foreign affairs and education agencies were involved with more in 1978 from the commercial, trade and science interests rather than from foreign aid as in 1966. Both research and teaching needs were addressed in 1978 unlike the 1966 hearings which focused on teaching.⁵⁷

The hearings also addressed the structural place of international education within the new Department of Education. Status at the bureau level and the resulting

⁵⁷ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on the Future of International Education, (July, August 1978).

structural protection for international education programs and policy within ED were thought to be for three reasons. First, it would enable ED to play a serious role in an invigorated effort of the U.S. government post-CAFLIS to address international education issues broadly in concert with other members of the coordinating council. Second, it would enable ED to provide policy guidance on diffusing international education to all levels and types of domestic education programs. It would help avoid the boundary problems since international education ideally affects all levels and groups. Third, it would be important in enabling ED to augment international education resources from other ED sources such as NIE or FIPSE in order to expand Title VI and Fulbright-Hayes programs among others. Rose Hayden expressed the organizational need frankly, saying:

"...an International Bureau should be established ... Without structural protection, international education is doomed in a domestic education agency which accords no funding nor policy priority to what it sees as an illegitimate competitor for funds. Without administration support, Labor-HEW subcommittees are unlikely to be sympathetic to a foreign-affairs-related educational effort. Twenty years of our checkered past can only be projected into 20 years of a checkered future."⁵⁸

Hayden took an activist stance with the committee members. She asked them to intervene with floor amendments to legislation creating the new Department of Education that had passed out of the House and Senate authorization committees. She noted that neither version gave attention "to either the priority or structural placement of international education in the new department." Her advocacy was valiant. The

⁵⁸ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Rose Lee Hayden, ACE," Hearings on the Future of International Education, (1978), pp. 279-80.

legislation passed but with no mention of either priority or structural placement of international education within the Department of Education.⁵⁹

The conclusions of the 1978 hearings on International Education were fairly straightforward. Formal education programs primarily for U.S. students and citizens but focused on international education, such as Title VI and the academically oriented Fulbright-Hayes programs, were administered by ED. Informal education on international affairs and education of non-U.S. nationals were administered by ICA. ICA coordinated all international education efforts for the U.S. government, both formal and informal, including programs administered by ED, NSF, AID, State, CIA, Defense and other federal agencies. Contributing to the information aired at the hearings were a series of GAO studies. They were completing studies of different elements of federal international education programs (Title VI, the East-West Center and U.S. exchange and training programs).

Some of the issues and arguments that surfaced in the Fascell hearings merit a quick review. They responded directly to the issues of federal coordination that Rep. Simon raised in the reauthorization hearings for the Title VI. HEW's Assistant Secretary for Education, Mary Berry, emphasized OE's mission to develop U.S. institutional capacity for international education. Chairman Fascell questioned her on the potential role for the Federal Interagency Council on Education (FICE) that Berry chaired to coordinate international education. Since ICA was already represented on FICE, Berry thought it would not be difficult. Later in the session after Berry had

⁵⁹ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Rose Lee Hayden, ACE," Hearings on the Future of International Education, (1978), pp. 279.

departed, Hayden of ACE opined that FICE was not suitable to the role. FICE was composed of 28 domestic agencies with strictly a domestic coordinating council with 12 domestic subcommittees that seldom if ever saw an international agenda item. Hayden proposed that ICA lead, perhaps jointly with OE or ICA solo, chair a federal council for international education. ICA's Reinhardt and Ilchman in separate testimony confirmed Hayden's concept of a separate federal council. Although many of the legislators were keen to have an inventory of expertise and educational resources provided by such a council, GAO's Elmer Staats said it was nigh on logistically impossible. The consensus was that having a strong coordinating council that promoted regular consultation and free flow of information on international education issues and programs would provide similar information and greater utility overall. Such an effort would have responded to Rep. Simon's need for better information about the availability of area expertise. It was not likely to come from DIE and Title VI but might come from a larger entity with wider scope.⁶⁰

The 1980 Title VI clarified legislative intent on diffusion and equity issues in three different forms: 1) expanding diversity of institutional participation with the higher education system; 2) expanding geographic coverage within the U.S.; and 3) expanding the subject matter to include foreign languages, international and area

⁶⁰ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on the Future of International Education, (July, August 1978). Dante Fascell (FL) who chaired the hearings and John Buchanan (AL) who served on this committee as well as the Education Committee both sponsored CAFLIS. See testimony of Mary Berry pp. 268-274, Rose Lee Hayden, ACE pp. 275-294 with reference to FICE on p. 282, Elmer Staats, Comptroller General of the U.S., pp. 57-65, John C. Reinhardt, Director of ICA, pp. 12-52, Alice Ilchman, Associate Director for Education and Cultural Affairs, ICA, p. 224-258.

studies as well as the professions. For the first time, the legislation provided explicit criteria to enforce its equity intent in a section on equitable distribution of funds for Title VI. It stated that "excellence" was to be the criterion used in the selection of national resource centers at major research universities. For the other two programs designed to draw on the entire range of institutions of higher education, the criterion of excellence was to be applied "in such manner as will achieve an equitable distribution of funds throughout the nation." The national resource center program was limited only to institutions or consortia of institutions of higher education. The other two programs could be open to other scholarly, professional or non-profit educational associations if they could make "an especially significant contribution to attaining the objectives of this section." These equity instructions ensured that diffusion of institutional capacity was enshrined in the basic philosophy and policy of Title VI.⁶¹

Despite the clarity of legislative intent of the HEA Amendments of 1980 for FY 1981-1986 reinforced by the CAFLIS report, the budget request for FY 1981 for international education programs (Title VI and Fulbright-Hayes) largely ignored congressional direction as submitted by OMB and the newly created Department of Education (ED). The budget emphasized specialist production with a 35% increase in Title VI and a 135% increase in the Fulbright-Hayes programs administered by ED. Under Fulbright-Hayes, they proposed more than doubling doctoral dissertation and faculty research awards and more than quadrupling Group Projects Abroad with its

⁶¹ U.S. Statutes at Large, Education Amendments of 1980, (1981), pp. 1465-1467.

focus on teachers. The budget called for strengthening the Title VI Centers program with a 55% funding increase spread across fewer International Study Centers, down from 85 to 80, with an average increase in center budgets from \$95,000 to \$156,000 per year. The strengthened centers would encompass foreign languages, area and international studies and continue their outreach efforts with 15% of their Title VI budgets. The budget proposed rolling the exemplary programs in international studies, undergraduate and graduate, into the centers program phasing out direct funding for undergraduate programs. It also called for a 24% funding increase for NDFL fellowships and proposed renewing summer language institutes for graduate students and faculty.⁶²

Representatives Simon and Panetta, both of whom served on the President's Commission (CAFLIS), wrote a letter protesting the proposed budget to Rep. Natcher who chaired the appropriations hearings. They applauded the \$30 million level requested (up from \$20 million) as a "step in the right direction" to "revitalizing this important program." Simon-Panetta preferred a spending pattern based on the draft authorizing legislation and the CAFLIS recommendations as they outlined in a letter:

"We are concerned... about the division of funds provided for international education.... The general thrust of the OMB-ED budget, Mr. Chairman, is exactly the opposite of the changes recommended by the President's Commission and the new Title VI of the Higher Education Act (International Education) as passed by the House and the Senate Education Subcommittee. Candidly, Mr. Chairman, we believe that the nation would be better served if the program funds were allocated in a way which maintained the current

⁶² U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on Departments of Labor, HEW and Related Agencies Appropriations for FY 1981, (1980), pp. 833-839.

number of Centers, increased the graduate and undergraduate programs and added additional emphasis to the K-12 program. We simply do not understand the justification for the current budget figures." (emphasis added)⁶³

Member of the appropriations committee not particularly allied with international education expressed displeasure with the proposed budget as well. Rep. Robert H. Michel (R-IL) did not find the budget justification persuasive, especially because it emphasized graduate over undergraduate education reinforcing "the ivory tower group of educators who relate mostly with each other and not with the nation at large." He admonished the ED officials to strengthen their arguments on Title VI:

"You better strengthen the record on that one, because that's a significant increase and we've got to be looking at items where we can make some savings, all up and down the line here. And I noticed that one was quite dramatically increased. And if there's good justification for it, that's one thing. It it's just, you know kind of haphazard, well, let's pile on a little more money that isn't all that good a justification for it."⁶⁴

Alfred L. Moye, Deputy Commissioner of the Bureau of Higher and Continuing Education responded to the legislators' questions on the Title VI budget request. His responses were less than inspiring but fairly well informed. No one from DIE was present. Commissioner Boyer who had left some time earlier was replaced by a specialist in career education who had served on several international

⁶³ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Letter from Representatives Simon and Panetta to Chairman Natcher dated March 4, 1980," Hearings on Departments of Labor, HEW and Related Agencies Appropriations for FY 1981, (1980), pp. 756-757. The HEA was signed in October 1980 but the legislation had been voted out of the authorizing committees in 1979. The CAFLIS report was released in November 1979 emphasizing diffusion.

⁶⁴ U.S. Congress, H.R., Hearings on Departments of Labor, HEW and Related Agencies Appropriations for FY 1981, (1980), pp. 743-744.

commissions. Moye said the budget reflected "a short-term strategy to increase the supply of specialists." Moye asserted a "critical national need for more trained specialists in language and area studies as demonstrated by recent world political events." He noted the number of center faculty who had testified before Congress and advised government during the recent Iranian and Afghanistan crises. He reminded the committee of the outreach requirement in center budgets "so that we do not fall prey to the criticism that the centers don't reach the general public." He cited CAFLIS' finding that the national network of centers was being damaged by "the unremitting financial pressure" and some were "in danger of imminent collapse." Moye said that the budget had been prepared prior to the CAFLIS report and so that although the ED budget "did not respond totally... the proposed increase was a good first step."⁶⁵

The appropriations committee enforced the authorizing legislation's intent to some extent. Undergraduate international studies programs retained separate funding from centers. The single tier of centers that was funded included all of the fields and levels of education called for by the two-tier system authorized in the legislation. Both the undergraduate and graduate international studies exemplary programs were rolled into the Centers program with a proportion of funding reserved for them by OE regulation. This conflict over administration budget requests and legislative mandates conjured up the program's embattled days of the Nixon-Ford administration with Congress and the higher education activists.

⁶⁵ U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Alfred E. Moye," Hearings on Departments of Labor, HEW and Related Agencies Appropriations for FY 1981, (1980), pp. 743-755.

Buried deep within HEW's Bureau of Higher and Continuing Education, DIE was overstuffed, overworked and held distant from the policy process of OE as well as distant from the higher education clients by lack of operating funds. By 1980, OE itself had little interest in such a small categorical program in a field far removed from its other programs. For the previous ten to twelve years, OE had been in the middle of a bitter struggle between the Congress and the White House with OMB to erase Title VI from the federal budget. By the end of the Carter administration, lack of attacks on Title VI had not yet translated into active support for IE within HEW/OE. Witness the final budget gambit on Title VI of the Carter administration for FY 1981!

Over the entire period, legislators continued to give OE substantial latitude or "programmatically flexibility" as they had from the beginning. This continued to be an important legislative resource especially when tied to clearer statements of legislative purpose. By 1980, the legislators provided the strongest guidance yet. The criteria clearly combined excellence of research resources with dispersion of teaching resources. Definitions were provided for the first time to clarify legislative intent in terms of different program elements such as international studies versus area studies. The causal theory clearly involved a dual or triple purpose program of specialist production and generalist education plus special attention to the emerging professions related to foreign affairs such as business. This program was to be based in institutions of higher education and linked to higher education associations and community resources rather than through a national foundation or individual student or faculty support. The federal education agency was to administer the international

education programs designed to meet education institutional capacity building needs in support of a widening group of foreign affairs interests. The foreign affairs agencies would address shorter term training needs, exchange and programmatic research but not education capacity building.

c. Summary of Legislative Resources and Implementation

With the 1980 amendments, Title VI counted some key legislative resources enabling effective implementation. There was a dedicated core of supporters within the legislature and the higher education system. There were clear operating guidelines and causal theory. There was a strong positive relationship between the legislative sovereigns on the authorization committees, the higher education participants and the program administrators within OE/DIE. Several legislative resources required for effective implementation also were missing in 1980. Funding was the most obvious gap. By 1980, Title VI funding was worth half of what it was in 1960 when the program's goals were narrower and the country had not been suffering from decades of inflation. The second gap was in policy-administration links. HEW/OE was not receptive to the task. The communication links among program administrators within HEW/OE, executive policy makers in HEW and OMB and program clients in higher education were weak and often combative.

Legislators can resolve such problems with close oversight, by relocating a program to a more receptive agency or relocating a program with its home agency. Any of these actions was difficult since Title VI had such a small budget and did not generate much political attention. Also there was resistance within the administration.

Finally, inaction was more likely to preserve the program than high profile action such as reorganization in an often hostile legislature. Even with the opportunity in the newly created agencies of ED and ICA, international education programs were not moved to a safer station.

B. Foreign Assistance Counterpoint: FAA amendments of 1975

The foreign assistance and education policy streams of federal support for international higher education merged to create the IEA in 1965 and 1966. The failure of the IEA marked the distinct separation of the two policy and advocacy streams. It also marked the beginning of strengthening grants for higher education institutions involved in the foreign aid enterprise. The last two phases of the AID case follow the thread of these strengthening grants from a relatively small program from 1967-1974 and a substantially more ambitious effort after 1974, though less effective in the end. This final segment is discussed below.

The 1973 amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shifted U.S. development assistance away from capital projects toward meeting basic human needs. This effectively shifted funds out of the institution-building programs where universities were involved in developing local capacity with health, education and agriculture ministries in developing countries. Funds began to flow into integrated rural development projects where non-profit organizations held field advantages over universities. Ruttan indicated that one response to this shift was to create new forms of university cooperation with AID. With substantial input from land-grant college faculty and representatives, Senator Hubert Humphrey and Representative Paul

Findley secured the Freedom from Hunger and Famine Prevention Action of 1975 as an amendment, Title XII, to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. Ruttan summarized the three new mechanisms introduced by Title XII as establishing: 1) the Board for International Food and Agricultural Development (BIFAD) with members from universities and the general public to oversee the work of the AID-university partnership; 2) a grants program to strengthen the capacity of universities to carry out international development projects; and 3) establish the Collaborative Research Support Programs (CRSP) to support research on constraints on food production and to develop strategies to overcome these constraints in LDC's and the U.S.⁶⁶

While Title XII marked substantial legislative commitment to supporting the institutional role of land-grants in the overseas development business of the federal government, it had mixed implementation success. AID management treated BIFAD as little more than an advisory body rather than its "board of trustees" for overseas agricultural activities. The strengthening grants were a partial success. The grants were used well by the universities in terms of creating courses and training students but few AID field projects took advantage of their skills. As a proportion of all sectors within AID, agricultural funding declined over the period and the field demand for university institution building projects eroded from 42 in 1982 to 8 in 1988. The CRSP initiative broke new procedural and substantive ground by providing for peer-review grants for universities involved in food and nutrition

⁶⁶ Jordahl and Ruttan (1991). Also, the author confirmed these thoughts with a review of a draft of Chapter 10 of a book on U.S. development assistance that Vernon Ruttan at the University of Minnesota, Department of Agriculture and Applied Economics was in the process of writing in 1992.

development research. They proved quite successful in terms of university response and research results.⁶⁷

After 1971, the number of university agricultural contracts fell off -- from 66 in 1971 to 34 in 1974. According to Long, there were three direct reasons for this decline. First, within the university community there was opposition to the Vietnam policy and many of the universities contracted to AID were accused of providing cover for CIA operations. Second, AID had shifted from grant to loan financing and many of the host governments were reluctant to use their own money, i.e. the loaned money, to pay high priced technical advisors whether from universities or other sources. Third, AID encouraged host-country contracting rather than AID contracting which caused problems for many state and land-grant universities. As state institutions, many were prohibited from working for a foreign government. For a while, NASULGC took a position opposing AID's host country contracting policy.⁶⁸

Part of the decline was caused by a shift in the foreign aid legislative arena. Dissatisfied with corruption in the recipient countries and the failure of macroeconomic policy to address social needs in the developing countries, foreign aid policy shifted to focus on basic human needs. Called the "New Directions," the 1973 amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shifted U.S. development assistance away from capital toward meeting basic human needs. This effectively shifted funds out of the institution-building programs where universities were involved

⁶⁷ Jordahl and Ruttan (1991); Long and Campbell (1989).

⁶⁸ Long and Campbell (1989), p. 22.

in developing local capacity with health, education and agriculture ministries in developing countries. They also were less responsive to the technical and scientific solutions that the universities were most capable of providing. Funds began to flow into integrated rural development projects where non-profit organizations held field advantages over universities. Nonprofit organizations, community organizing groups and private consulting firms were more effective in implementing programs to alleviate the immediate problems of the "poorest of the poor." They could shift staffs relatively quickly to adjust technical and organizational support for these community-responsive projects.

Ruttan indicated that one response to this policy shift was to create new forms of university cooperation with AID. With substantial input from land-grant college faculty and representatives, Senator Hubert Humphrey and Representative Paul Findley secured the Freedom from Hunger and Famine Prevention Action of 1975 as an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (Title XII). President Ford signed the BIFAD legislation in 1975. Ruttan summarized the three new mechanisms introduced by Title XII as establishing: 1) the Board for International Food and Agricultural Development (BIFAD) with members from universities and the general public to oversee the work of the AID-university partnership; 2) a grants program to strengthen the capacity of universities to carry out international development projects; and 3) establish the Collaborative Research Support Programs (CRSP) to support research on constraints on food production and to develop strategies to overcome these constraints in both the LDC's and the U.S.

Title XII marked substantial legislative commitment to the institutional role of land-grant universities in the overseas development business of the federal government. The AID Administrator Daniel Parker and the Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz shared an interest in creating a permanent funding base for LDC oriented research on agriculture, natural resources, food and nutrition systems. They needed the political clout of the land-grant colleges to secure congressional support for a new foreign aid initiative. Parker proposed a the Collaborative Research Support Program (CRSP) to bring together U.S. and LDC researchers and scholars around common research problems by subject rather than by region, e.g. potato research not Bolivian crop research. Rep. Paul Findley boosted the cause by producing a bill to expand the institution building and agricultural college development activities of AID using the talents of the U.S. land-grant colleges. There was substantial support in Congress for this noble if somewhat Quixotic transfer of the successful U.S. land-grant into the developing world as a proven engine of agricultural economic growth and rural prosperity.⁶⁹ In the end, NASULGC and AID staff drafted the legislation that combined the two concepts in the Findley-Humphrey bill that ultimately became Title XII. Title XII also provided the vehicle for continuing the U.S. commitment to support up to 25% of the core funding of the Centers for International Agricultural

⁶⁹ Long and Campbell (1989) p. 208. Per Long, Findley who was from the Land of Lincoln (Illinois) held perhaps too romantic a notion of the impact of Pres. Lincoln's land-grant colleges on the U.S. trajectory of economic development. Still, Findley served on both the Agriculture and the Foreign Affairs Committees and had observed both U.S. and LDC farming operations. Long also suggested that Findley based his bill almost entirely on the experience of the U.S. colleges' experience in helping to build the agricultural research and extension system in India around their colleges in the 1960s. That was a special case, not often repeated elsewhere.

Research (CIAR's) such as the rice institute (IRRI) in the Phillipines or the maize and wheat institute (CIMMYT) in Mexico. This policy had begun under John Hannah in the early 1970s.⁷⁰

Despite the impressive confluence of legislative, executive, state and higher education interests in passing the legislation, Title XII had mixed implementation success. The lack of explicit Congressional guidance on new agency processes, no new funding and little new program authority left serious gaps in BIFAD's policy and administrative implementation arsenal. AID management generally treated BIFAD as somewhat ill-suited advisory body rather than as its "board of trustees" for overseas agricultural activities as envisioned in the legislation. Title XII had a negligible impact as a spur to university led institution building projects for agricultural universities and research and extension services overseas. Not only did agricultural funding decline proportionate to all AID sectors over the period and the field demand for university institution building projects eroded from 42 in 1982 to 8 in 1988. CRSP was the bright spot. The CRSP initiative proved quite successful in terms of eliciting enthusiastic university support and producing useful research results. The CRSP grants broke new procedural and substantive ground for AID by providing for peer-review mechanism for grants for universities to conduct research on relevant food and nutrition topics. The strengthening grants to U.S. universities were a partial

⁷⁰ Long and Campbell (1989) pp. 190-208, 236-7. The CIAR's were established with heavy funding from the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations roughly contemporaneously with the domestically based area studies initiative of the Ford Foundation. The CRSP program ensured state government support by requiring they provide 25% of the CRSP domestic funding. This helped avoid creating a CRSP on tropical plants in a place like Montana while promotomg a CRSP on wheat in a more likely place like Colorado.

success. The universities used the grants well to create courses and train students but few AID field projects took advantage of the skills.⁷¹

BIFAD strengthening grants proved to be a case of serendipitous institutional capacity building for international education. The original Title XII legislative intent matched AID's interests completely. Originally, these grants were to strengthen the AID-responsiveness of universities that already were delivering technical assistance, training and research services for AID's overseas agricultural and rural development programs. The primary beneficiaries would be those already working for AID, primarily the 1862 land-grant universities. Depending on campus needs, the grants might fund language training with appropriate technical vocabulary, support library or course development for AID trainees and research projects or allow overseas research projects of graduate students. The program shifted away from this initial intent with pressure from the "have not" agriculturally oriented colleges and universities including the 1890 land-grants, including the seventeen historically black colleges, the sea grant colleges, state colleges and others that had basic capabilities to contribute. The last group was added in part to avoid excluding private colleges. The program was administered with the same extraordinary flexibility as the 211(d) grants they succeeded. AID funding covered roughly 33% of the program costs while the participating universities covered the remaining 66%.⁷²

⁷¹ Jordahl and Ruttan (1991); Long and Campbell (1989), p. 201

⁷² Long and Campbell (1989), pp. 241, 243, 251.

For a relatively low investment, the program generated solid results. Between 1979 and 1990, 58 institutions of higher education had received strengthening grants or similarly structured follow-on grants. Typically, the grants lasted for five to seven years providing enough time for innovations to take root. From 1976 to 1979, the curricular results included: 133 new agricultural science and policy courses and another 232 courses modified to address developing country challenges as well as 89 new language courses. In addition to 85 courses in Spanish and French, Arabic, Portuguese and Indonesian also were included in the list of language courses with vocabulary adapted to development work. The grants also supported faculty development, research conferences, overseas graduate research for 99 students and another 40 on campus plus faculty research on campus and overseas. In the 1980s, some of the grants were given to pairs of 1862 and 1890 land-grant institutions.⁷³

C. Policy Implementation Effectiveness:
Effectiveness in Achieving Legislative Aims *Per se*

McDonnell saw Title VI as developing a "schizophrenic quality" in the 70s. It attempted to preserve the elitist, merit-based goals of specialist production and advanced research centers of the original Title VI. It also absorbed the egalitarian, diffusion goals of generalist and professional education and citizenship development authorized by the IEA. Indeed, Title VI may have become schizophrenic for many of the same reasons individuals develop dual personalities. It was faced with multiple expectations and conflicting stimuli from legislators and OE administrators while also

⁷³ Long and Campbell (1989), p. 243.

stressed by shrinking resources. Title VI administrators could not refuse the legislature's extra mandates yet they had no extra resources to maintain old mandates while developing new ones. Richard Lambert dubbed the two problems "the perils of Pauline" and "slash and burn programming." As perils of Pauline, he placed the annual race of international educationists to Congress to save Title VI from death by funding cuts. As slash and burn, he placed the proliferation of programs without new funding forcing new programs to grow only in the ashes of old ones.⁷⁴

One success of the period was the preservation of categorical grants for international education and avoiding block grants or being blended into an even less hospitable home agency like FIPSE. Others were not so successful. The land-grant colleges categorical program was moved out of HEW/OE to USDA in order to preserve it within a more hospitable implementing agency. The public service internship program did not survive. A closely related success was in preserving funding for Title VI programs authorized as a categorical program. While there was never a strong enough voice to convince a large block of legislators to provide permanent or larger funding, the international education advocates were able to satisfy the key legislative sovereigns and "angels" on the appropriations and authorization committees. They rallied to preserve Title VI with White House officials in 1970 and 1971 and throughout the toughest of the legislative-executive budget debates during the Nixon-Ford and into the Carter years.

⁷⁴ McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981); U.S. Congress, H.R., "Testimony of Richard D. Lambert," Hearings on the Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act of 1980 and Related Measures, (1979), pp. 11-12.

Despite this able and loyal support, international education programs did not flourish. They were kept from dying. Large and growing gaps between authorizations and appropriations characterized NDEA Title VI throughout this period. **Figure 6.1. Authorizations versus appropriations: NDEA Title VI and IEA (1972-80)** presents these trends.⁷⁵ The gap between resources and rhetoric for

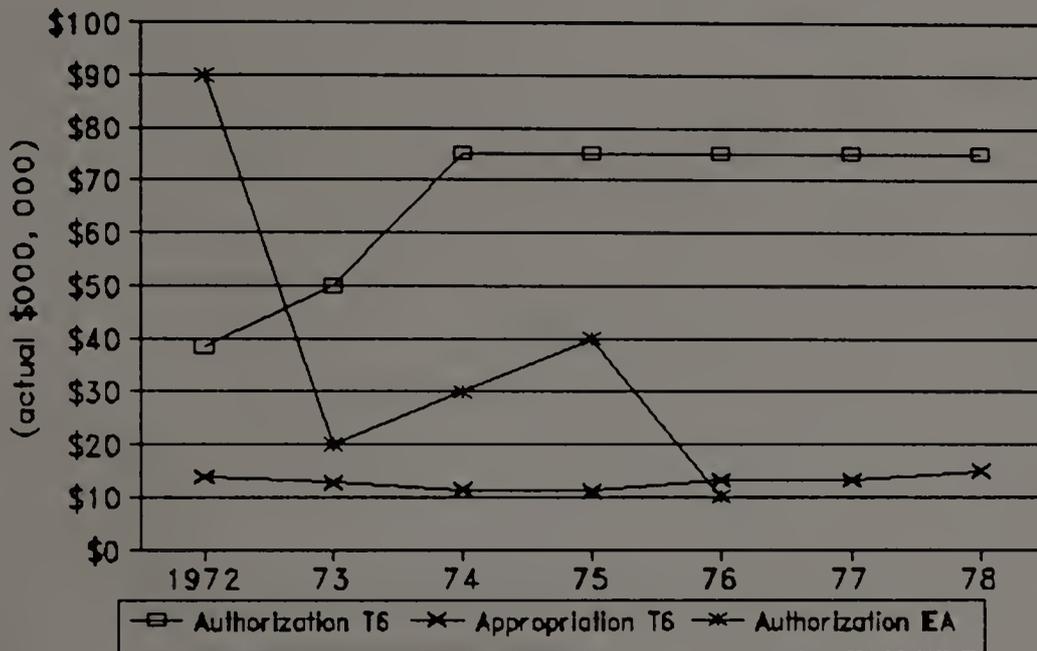


Figure 6.1. Authorizations versus appropriations:
NDEA Title VI and IEA (1972-78)

Title VI continued its steep increase until it stabilized at roughly \$50 million in 1974. The unfunded IEA fed the resources-rhetoric gap. The IEA eventually left authorizations "as necessary" rather than as a specific dollar level. Similarly, the Title VI gap stabilized at such a high level as to minimize unreal expectations by potential program beneficiaries. Only the most romantic would believe that a \$50

⁷⁵ U.S. Congress, Senate print 99-8, Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act: Program Descriptions, Issues, and Options, (Feb 1985), p. 404.

million gap would be closed and the program fully funded. With authorizations stable at \$75 million, the slowly rising appropriations nibbled away at the gap. Considering only Title VI, the gap ranged from near zero in 1969 to between \$17 and \$62 million in 1970 to 1978.

The 1980 Title VI attempted to bring authorizations closer to likely appropriations. Rather than leave the authorization level at the desirable but unattainable \$75 million level, the committee reduced it to \$45 million in FY 1981 intending that it grow to \$80 million by FY 1986. There was a request that all 1980 legislation be authorized with "sums as necessary" rather than specific funding targets. When questioned by Senator Simon, Deputy Education Commissioner Moye saw no problem with the "sums as necessary" wording "in this positive environment" for international education programs. The higher education representatives, however, argued strenuously for a specific dollar level both for a philosophical target and for leverage in appropriations hearings. They felt that the message of fairly high authorization levels had helped keep Title VI from losing even more ground in the budget battles of the Nixon-Ford years.⁷⁶

Program underfunding tended to pit different parts of the international education community against each other -- graduate vs. undergraduate, research vs. teaching, area vs international studies vs. foreign languages, two-year vs four-year

⁷⁶ U.S. Congress, H.R., Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act of 1980 and Related Measures, (1979). See the "Testimony of A.L. Moye, Deputy Commissioner of Higher and Continuing Education" pp. 2-4, "Testimony of Robert Ward, Stanford University" p. 35 and "Testimony of Barbara Burn" pp.9-11. Burn indicated that Title VI had lost as much as 50% of its real spending power since 1960.

colleges, research universities vs. colleges. The Title VI center directors and the area studies associations were strong and reliable advocates for Title VI. They deserve primary credit for preserving Title VI funding. Still they could hardly advocate for fuller diffusion at their increasingly hard pressed Centers' expense. ACE did a good job with its International Education project in the mid-70s and later research and study efforts to bring together different groups of higher education and state education officials and institutions to agree on information based strategies. Still the authorizing committees kept expanding the mandate to meet the justifiable needs and interests of international education at all levels and among all types of groups. Since funding rarely followed the authorized program expansion, tensions could hardly be reduced. Yet in 1980, a new coalition of Business schools, the Dept of Commerce and new legislative sponsors were able to create a new Title VI program WITH new resources. This provided a glimmer of hope that Title VI could expand to meet different needs.

The overall program results in terms of specialist production and citizen/generalist education may be seen as a qualified success. For specialists training and a reservoir of expertise, the foundation was solid if smaller than ideal or even optimal. By 1980 there was a functioning network of multi-purpose centers formed around a core of graduate teaching and research. While opinions varied, basically there seemed to be sufficient "experts" on different parts of the world and their principal languages. Transnational issues were being addressed at international studies comprehensive centers. For the citizens education or diffusion goal, the comprehensive center served both graduate and undergraduate students, some serving undergraduates only. With the 15% requirement, there was some outreach from the

centers to larger community and educational system but the "Citizens' Education" section was functioning minimally. The undergraduate seed projects were highly successful if too few. The innovations they introduced tended to continue at the institution and/or among peer institutions.⁷⁷ Geographic or institutional dispersion across the U.S. was known anecdotally since DIE had lost the capacity to report on it. World regions dispersion known throughout the program and were variously subject to complaint and change.

The organizational arrangements within HEW/OE for implementing Title VI were dismal. DIE was unable to secure a high enough place with OE or the newly created ED to preserve full functioning as it had known it under the Institute for International Studies in the previous period. There were serious gaps in communication links with policy makers of HEW/OE and OMB. There were serious shortcomings and lack of interaction across bureaus within OE because of DIE's location within the Postsecondary Bureau, later called the Higher and Continuing Education Bureau. Progressive weakening of DIE within HEW/OE kept it from meeting legitimate requests of legislators or constituents for evaluative information or for the services it was designed to provide, e.g. for inventory of expertise or distribution of research interests of Center faculty. The location of international education programs within the federal executive structure between education and foreign affairs agencies was difficult to judge. International education programs stayed within education as its mission suggested was most appropriate. Yet the lack

⁷⁷ McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981), pp. 121-136.

of coordination across foreign affairs and education agencies involved in international education suggested serious shortcomings in the arrangements. While there was some demand for coordination of international education efforts and information among agencies and in Congress there was little if any executive leadership. Such leadership certainly was not like to rise from OE. It was highly unlikely from long-suffering AID. It might have been expected from the new ICA. Only time would tell.

Through all the micro- and macro-implementation debates of this period, the Title VI administrators within DIE continued implementing the programs. They consistently retained the respect of the great majority of their higher education clients. Homophily was characteristic of the relations between the lower level federal administrators of the programs and the international higher educationists. The relationships at the higher federal levels were less sympathetic and even combative. By the end of the period, the relationships were less combative but the sense of mutual admiration and support that characterized the relationships in the first period and into the second period had not returned.

After the near death of Title VI in 1971, DIE administrators adjusted to the sharp cut in Title VI appropriations and the expansion of the legislative mandate triggered by the IEA. They re-directed the program, cut funding for existing centers and programs and established new procedures. With the Educational Amendments of 1972, legislative testimony began referring to these changes in Title VI as Phase II. Phase III began with the Educational Amendments of 1976. In each of these Phases, DIE adjusted the rules to implement the new and on-going programs mandated in the

authorizing legislation with the resources provided by the appropriations committees. Until 1977, they were under threat of rescission from their own administration, too.

In Phase II, the Title VI administrators introduced national peer-review competitions on a bi- or triennial basis for Centers rather than annually renewing contracts for Title VI grants. This competitive process aimed at ensuring that "the best" received Title VI grants. Many existing centers lost Title VI funding completely. While the traditional centers and fellowships were losing funding, new programs were competing for the shrinking Title VI funds. A new program for undergraduate and problem oriented graduate studies activities in international studies called the "exemplary programs" began in 1972 as an extra program aimed at two and four year colleges and professional schools. These programs were funded for two years at individual institutions and for three years for a consortia of institutions. They were expected to introduce lasting international education innovations into the institutions' curricula and provide examples for all of higher education. In 1973, West European studies was added as an eligible region of study spreading the traditional center funding across yet another world region. In Phase III, outreach to educators beyond the Title VI center's campus was required to be funded with 15% of a center's grant budget. By 1979, OE detailed criteria for the competitions including target regions of study and geographic dispersion of center grants in the U.S.⁷⁸

The centers and fellowships programs were most affected. In 1970 and 1971, funding was cut by 25% or more for existing centers but the number of centers was

⁷⁸ McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981), pp. 7-8, 76, 116; Gumperz (1970); Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (Spring 1979).

preserved. Under Phase II, the number centers was cut to 50, removing grants from 38 institutions. Over the period, the shift away from traditional centers was notable. After a dip to fifty in 1972, the numbers recuperated but never to Phase I levels. Also the Title VI share of center budgets dropped from 10-15% in 1970 to 6-8% in the late 70s. Compare FY 1969 with FY 1978 program data. For FY 1969, Title VI funded 129 language and area studies centers (107 for academic year and 22 for summer programs); 2361 fellowships in 51 different universities; and 149 research and studies projects. For FY 1978, Title VI funded 99 Centers for academic year (80 language and area studies, 13 undergraduate and 6 graduate international studies); 828 fellowships; and 23 research and studies projects.⁷⁹

While the new initiatives diluted Title VI's impact, they also helped preserve Title VI. Title VI administrators were able to rally support from different interest groups and satisfy legislative supporters. By the end of the period, geographic dispersion, innovation and institutional diffusion were strong imperatives in higher education policy. Because of Title VI's experiments with the undergraduate and professional international studies programs, DIE staff could claim to be part of the diffusion effort. McDonnell's study found that 42% of the Title VI seed projects in the "exemplary programs" were institutionalized to some extent. This gave Title VI bragging rights in the innovation arena since continuation rates for comparable federal seed programs were much lower. Although the outreach requirement was not

⁷⁹ Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (1970 to 1980); McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981), p. 8.

welcomed uniformly by all Title VI Centers, it gave participating institutions stronger grounds on which to defend their right to awards.⁸⁰

The Fellowships program also was cut severely in total numbers and value per award at the same time the criteria for eligibility expanded the pool of likely applicants. The criteria shifted from a focus on "trained specialists in language and area studies" to meeting the "needs of American education, government and business for experts in foreign languages, area studies and world affairs." Again, less money was expected to meet a broader range of national goals. In 1972 there were 2,200 awards for academic and summer study. In 1973, there were 1,110. This dropped to an average of 818 per year for 1974-1979. The lack of summer fellowships in those years effectively removed undergraduates and post-doctoral students. The value of awards shrank as well. Academic year awards went from covering tuition, stipend and dependents allowance to covering tuition and stipend only. From 1972 to 1979, flat rates removed tuition differentials from OE's award calculations and shifted allocation decisions to participating schools. In 1979, the flexible rate fellowship returned allowing a range of tuition and stipend levels. In FY 1980, summer awards were finessed back into the program so long as summer language study was equivalent to a full academic year's work. The basic award procedure remained the same throughout the period. Institutions of higher education applied for fellowship awards through national competitions based on peer review around set criteria. They

⁸⁰ McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981), pp. 121-136.

received a quota of awards, conducted their own competitions, recommended finalists to OE and administered the awards.⁸¹

The Research and Studies program was cut the most severely of the three traditional Title VI programs. In FY 1969, 149 projects were funded with \$2.5 million between new and continuing efforts. In FY 1971, 46 projects were funded with \$615,000. By FY 1979, the funding level had crept up to \$970,000 keeping pace with inflation. In FY 1972-74, the P.L. 480 foreign currency program funded an additional 8 projects with \$137,000. Projects ran 12-18 months averaging from \$13-\$24,000 each. Over twenty years of operation, the Research and Studies program funded some 800 projects which produced a significant proportion of critically needed language materials. Title VI Research and Studies grants were awarded through nationwide peer review competitions. Federal agencies could apply directly to the Commissioner of Education for contract work through the program. Schools and private businesses rarely applied and were seldom represented on grant lists. From 1959-1967, most grants for developing materials in critical languages were awarded to universities and colleges. Most grants for surveys of research, training and materials development needs were awarded to the associations, e.g., the ACLS, the MLA and the Center for Applied Linguistics. McDonnell found that 88% of the program's funds went to these two groups between 1959 and 1979. After 1967, the number of university projects fell off steeply while the number of association projects remained constant. While some of the decline came from changes

⁸¹ Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (1970 to 1980). For quote, see CFDA (1976).

within the academic fields involved, by 1971 the decline in university participation was clearly related to funding cutbacks. Following its traditions, OE funded MLA and the Center for Applied Linguistics to review language needs between 1972 and 1974. The resulting national conference in 1974 titled "Material Development Needs in the Uncommonly Taught Languages: Priorities for the Seventies" provided recommendations that were in effect through 1979 in the Research and Studies Program. Some complained the recommendations were based on too narrow a spectrum of academics since there had discussion at regional conferences due to funding constraints.⁸²

While the other parts of Title VI were evaluated regularly by the appropriations committees and the authorizing committees, the Research and Studies program languished. Neither set of legislative committees seemed to place much priority on the Research and Studies Program of Title VI. In the 1980 reauthorization hearings, it had been left out of the revised legislation completely until higher education advocates raised the issue. The higher education community felt the Research and Studies grant process of Title VI was fair and OE staff's technical support was useful, although many grumbled about cumbersome paperwork for relatively little money and poor scheduling of competitions. Academics found the general dissemination process abysmal and legislators concurred requiring regular reporting with the 1980 law. There were no funds or mechanisms to distribute

⁸² Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (1970 to 1980); McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981), pp. 137-140. Note their table of distribution of Research and Studies funding by year and recipient organization.

materials or articles developed under different program rubrics of the Title VI centers or fellowship programs. The contracts process also was viewed less than favorably. The direct contracts were efficient they did not seem fair. The OE commissioner could contract fairly large studies based on a relatively simple request from federal agencies while the academic grantees had relatively cumbersome procedures for small awards. There was also a sense that the Research and Studies program funded more language enrollment surveys than were necessary. McDonnell found satisfaction with the Research and Studies in setting the research priorities for the program.⁸³

D. Epilogue: Subsequent Initiatives and Actions (1981-88)

The 1981-88 period during the Reagan-Bush administration saw a radical shift in rhetoric as well as some substantive changes. With Reagan, federal education policy shifted away from the federal back to state level. Astuto and Clark summarized the Reagan thrust with great alliteration: "The cornerstone of the new federalism was devolution. ...decentralization, deregulation, diminution and disestablishment were the procedural tools for achieving devolution."⁸⁴ The Reagan administration recommended but never succeed in closing ED and shifting all education programs to other agencies, e.g., Title VI to State and student loan programs to Treasury. But the federal apparatus for higher education did not suffer

⁸³ McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981), pp. 140-142, 150-152. The peer review panels were particularly complicated to organize since their makeup depended on the mix of subject matter proposed over which OE had no *a priori* control.

⁸⁴ Astuto and Clark (1991), p. 496.

as badly as did the schools'. Partly due to presidential requests as well as legislative additions, Hauptman found federally supported research at universities:

"nearly doubled during the Reagan years, or over 35 percent in real terms. This is much faster than during the Carter years... (when it grew) ...less than 10 percent in real terms." "Federal appropriations for non-entitlement student aid programs grew slightly in real terms during the Reagan years, **contrary to most press reports**, as Congress largely rejected the Reagan proposals. Total funding for federal student aid declined in real terms, however, because of developments in three entitlement programs. ... GI Bill spending fell as fewer veterans were eligible to use the benefits. The phase out of Social Security benefits... and declines in market interest rates caused GSL interest subsidies to fall."⁸⁵ (emphasis added)

Real funding levels for direct higher education programs began to level off in the late 1960s. The states began assuming more of the costs of higher education into the 1970s and 80s. Finally in the late 80s both sources began to decline in real terms.⁸⁶ Funding of international side of higher education followed a similar pattern with the difference that state programs were not likely to substitute for international programs as they would student aid or library programs. HEA Title VI and Fulbright funding declined in real terms while maintaining fairly constant levels in current dollars. AID funding to universities for research and technical assistance declined. AID funding for participant training rose with Reagan's policy to bring Central Americans and other nationals from geopolitical hot-spots to the U.S. for training, much at technical and two year colleges as well as to other parts of the higher

⁸⁵ Hauptman (1991), p. 117.

⁸⁶ Hauptman (1991). For greater depth on federal financing in the 1970s through the 1990s, see "Section IV. Budgetary Efficiency: The Federal and State Commitment in the Face of Severe Federal Budget Deficits" in Finifter, Baldwin and Thelin (1991), pp. 109-162.

education system and non-profit or consulting organizations. AID continued its strengthening grant program in various forms, adding partnerships between the older land-grant universities and the historically black land-grant and state universities.⁸⁷

On the higher education side, the international programs under HEA Title VI maintained a relatively low but slowly growing level of funding related to the additional programs for undergraduates and business education. The Reagan administration did not try to kill Title VI overtly. In Title VI, priority was given to specialist production which required less funding than meeting the diffusion goals. Yet the undergraduate program continued. By FY 1983, the international business program authorized in 1980 was funded and operating. The HEA of 1980 remained the basic legislative framework until it was amended in 1986. The HEA of 1986 modified the legislative structure only modestly, mandating two types of centers rather than the more complicated three tiers envisioned in 1980. The undergraduate international studies and the international business programs were continued to provide seed project funding. Support for new national language resource centers and for special periodicals collection in Title VI institutional grantees' libraries were added in 1986 as well. At the end of the period in 1988, the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act sponsored by the Department of Commerce added a major new international business education initiative and resources to Title VI. Administered by the Department of Education's international education unit, the program was designed to link research universities' expertise in languages and area studies with business

⁸⁷ For the AID strengthening grants, see Long and Campbell (1989), pp.239-252. Long indicated that IDCA never functioned as more than a shell agency.

schools' international curricula. With the addition of the international business program, most elements of the IEA were being implemented with less marginal funds than in earlier periods.⁸⁸

Volatility continued to characterize the relationship between authorizations and appropriations for the HEA/NDEA Title VI in 1979-86. **Figure 6.2. Authorizations versus appropriations: NDEA/HEA Title VI (1979-86)** presents these trends. After 1986, funds were authorized "as necessary," not in specific target amounts. NDEA Title VI and the IEA were repealed and rolled into the HEA Title VI consolidating

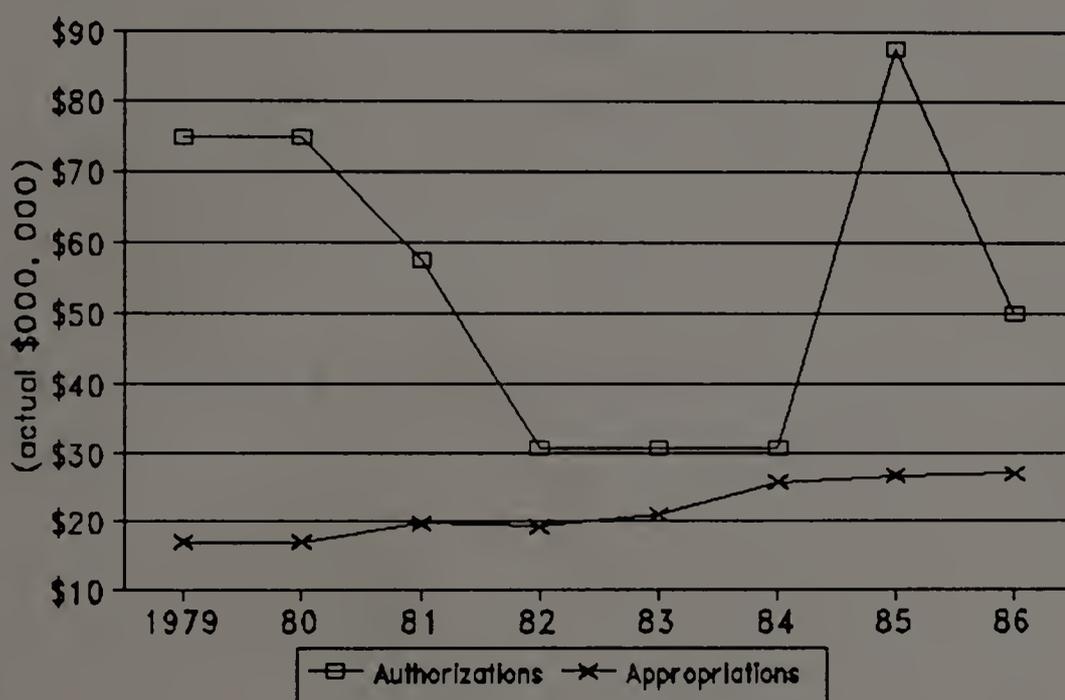


Figure 6.2. Authorizations versus appropriations: NDEA/HEA Title VI (1979-86)

the educational stream. Afterward, the resources-rhetoric gap began to shrink. From 1982-84 a flat \$30.6 million ceiling was imposed on authorizations in a larger budget agreement in Congress. The actual authorization levels fluctuated but only once came

⁸⁸ McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981).

close to the appropriation level -- \$45, \$50, \$60, \$70, \$80 million for 1982-86.

After the controlled period, the authorization level spiked and dipped. The appropriations levels for the expanded Title VI rose steadily but still not enough to keep pace with inflation.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ For the trend data, see U.S. Congress, Senate Print 99-8 (Feb 1985), p. 404. For the agreement on ceilings, see Congressional Quarterly Almanac (1981).

CHAPTER VII

PROGRAM INFLUENCE ON THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

The two policy streams affected the internationalization of the U.S. higher education system in different ways. The full fabric of the education program NDEA Title VI, its legislative intent and resources focused on building institutional capacity for international expertise and generalist training within the U.S. higher education system. A thread of similar intent for building institutional capacity for international expertise was woven through foreign assistance programs. To understand the programs' effects on the internationalization of the U.S. higher education system, Section A provides a narrative overview of the two case programs' effectiveness in implementing federal policy and their congruence with the internationalization ideal. Sections B and C provide a graphic and narrative review of U.S. higher education institutions participation and funding patterns in both programs in aggregate and in Title VI's major institutional subprograms.

A. Policy Implementation Effectiveness and Congruence with the Internationalization Ideal

Before exploring the aggregate impact of the two federal programs on the higher education system, this section questions their policy implementation effectiveness based on the methodology outlined in Chapter 3. It reviews the five factors conditioning implementation effectiveness: adequate causal theory; clear and consistent objectives; implementation compliance structure; committed and skillful

implementing officials; and political support from interest groups and sovereigns. Each program's congruence with the three main elements of the internationalization ideal is discussed: program elements; institutional elements; and diffusion elements. The primary focus is on Title VI with reference to AID as a counterpoint for comparison.

1. Adequate Causal Theory

The causal theory of the two federal programs derives from the overarching rationale for federal support for international education. The larger rationale for a given policy was mapped onto the institutional structures and operating wisdom of higher education to create the specific programs' causal theory. According to the underlying theory, the fuzzier the causal links the harder to implement policy effectively. International education is not easy to specify in terms of clear, programmable results and show neat links between education and the effectiveness of U.S. foreign policy much less the overall position of the U.S. in the world or the state of developing countries. With that caveat, let's turn to defining the causal theory for international education.

The underlying rationale of federal policy supporting higher education's international enterprise has transited from meeting national needs in security, humanitarian assistance and economic competitiveness.¹ The early Title VI legislation focused on the national security rationale. Without a specific legislative

¹ The rationale of cultural exchange was served with individually oriented federal programs like the Fulbright or USIA programs not the Title VI and AID programs.

mandate, the early AID programs gave higher education a key role in meeting U.S. humanitarian goals overseas. With the IEA in the mid-60s, legislative policy confirmed higher education as deserving on-going support to maintain institutional capacity to meet the nation's foreign security and humanitarian goals through expertise and knowledge generation as well as citizen education. Lack of funding indicated that the IEA overreached the national will on such a sweeping role for international education. Throughout the 1970s, the policy debate focused on program mechanisms and levels of federal support -- relative priority on graduate versus undergraduate training in Title VI and higher education versus other institutions in AID programs. By the mid-1970s, the economic competitiveness rationale was framed as part and parcel of national security. This provided additional impetus to the 1980 legislation that expanded the focus of the Title VI programs into supporting innovations in international business education and links between the traditional Title VI centers and the business community. The humanitarian assistance rationale which had nurtured AID's role with higher education was not an obvious part of this larger merger of economic and security rationales. Still, the Title XII legislation attempted to translate the domestic economic role of the U.S. land grants into a more economically oriented development effort of the U.S. government overseas.

The Title VI program began in 1959 with Language and Area studies Centers and Graduate Fellowships. The Center/Fellowship model of Title VI fit the emerging model of the interdisciplinary research and graduate training within the research universities for international and area studies. This fit the national security rationale neatly. The Center model also fit the enclave institutional pattern that was seen in

Chapters 2 and 3 as one of the most effective campus structures to apply external funding to institutionalize innovation. To meet the demand for diffusion to other parts of the education system, the Centers received Title VI funding for summer institutes for college faculty and school teachers. After failing to secure IEA funding and later attempts to terminate international education funding completely, Title VI provided one of the few on-going federal vehicles to support international education. It was pressured to provide more direct support for the rest of the higher education system and responded with new programs, i.e., IS/Graduate, IS/Undergraduate. Within the traditional Centers, an on-going "outreach" component was created with the requirement that 10% of each Center's Title VI resources. This effectively recognized the traditional diffusion role of the research universities and the appropriateness of the Center model for them while giving more direct access to resources to other institutions in the higher education system. The new programs departed from the Center model and adopted the curricular innovation model in vogue for education innovation in the late 1960s and 1970s, i.e. short pump-priming grants that would introduce new programs that the institutions would be able to sustain. This dual-model system has continued in Title VI programs through the 1990s. Over the entire thirty year period, Title VI provided a steady if relatively small stream of resources for many core elements of the international enterprise of higher education.

In the case of AID, in the 1950s the universities offered one of the few resources for overseas development work. The emphasis of U.S. development assistance on institution building projects in health, education and agriculture matched the talents of the universities. The land-grant institutions saw overseas development

as a natural extension of their domestic mission. They overcame the difficulties of very different operating environments of universities and AID by establishing special long-term, flexible contracting and cooperative working arrangements. By the mid-60s, the causal theory of foreign assistance had shifted away from institution building to integrated rural development and other strategies. The comparative advantage of universities diminished for U.S. development work beyond applied research and some training officials from countries participating in AID programs. The higher education community continued to press AID for support for institutional capacity building for research and advanced training to meet longer term U.S. foreign assistance goals. After the failure of the IEA to be funded, AID assured a measure of security for the universities with 211(d) grants to support institutional strengthening efforts in line with AID's mission-oriented work. The passage of Title XII/BIFAD in 1975 and its continuation into the 90s showed continuing support for some level of university participation in overseas development assistance work, albeit much reduced from the central role of the 1950s. In the context of overall foreign assistance budgets, there was a continuing low level of direct support from AID for institutional capacity building in higher education. Yet when compared to Title VI resources, AID provided a relatively high level of total and average project funding for those institutions of higher education sector able to work with AID.

2. Clear and Consistent Objectives

a. General Implementation Effectiveness

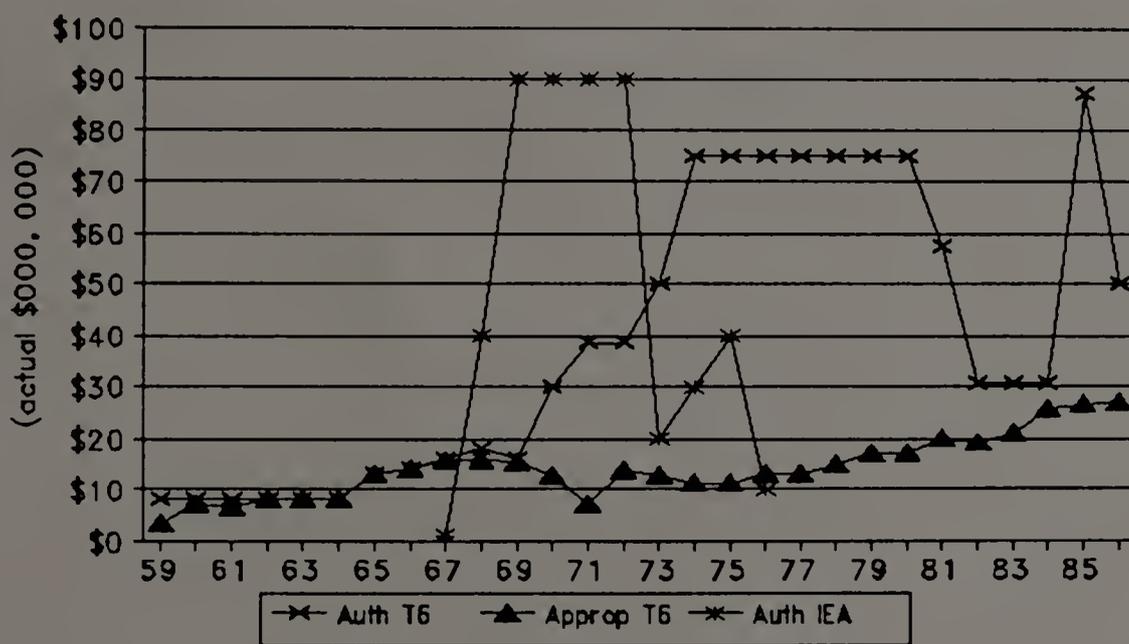
The intent of federal programs is embedded in legislative authorizations, legislative appropriations and executive regulations and program guidelines. The theory suggests that consistency across all objective-related elements are important for effective policy implementation. AID programs' effectiveness was hobbled by lack of explicit objectives. Beyond the ill-fated IEA, there was very little legislative debate, no separate authorizations or appropriations and little explicit executive regulation of AID policy objectives vis a vis higher education. The stated objectives for AID working with higher education has been to meet the agency's mission of providing overseas development assistance. Yet in practice, higher education has played a much larger role in shaping AID's programs and received much more than simply payment for work performed. For programs related to institutionalization of international capacity in higher education, the system interactions with AID are most revealed by their mechanics rather than their stated objectives. These are discussed briefly with the other conditional factors below.

By contrast, Title VI program objectives were widely debated in all phases of policy making and implementation. The core objective of expertise and knowledge generation and maintenance has been clear and consistent since the beginning of the program in 1959. Its relative priority and merit has been debated but reaffirmed consistently. Diffusion of expert knowledge to other parts of the education system has been a second corollary objective consistently but less clearly articulated than the

expertise objective since 1959. The diffusion objective has been interpreted to include a wide range of groups and issues such as dissemination of curricular materials, development of primary and secondary school capacity, college faculty development, undergraduate program development, internationalization of professional and technical education. With lack of growth of funding, the tension between the two objectives, creation vs. diffusion or expert vs. generalist, has played out in appropriations and locus of control decisions.

Authorizations grew consistently over time in an effort to support an expansion of programs to meet both objectives. Appropriations fell well below authorizations consistently, forcing choices between the two basic objectives. **Figure 7.1.**

Authorizations versus appropriations: NDEA/HEA Title VI and IEA (1959-86)



**Figure 7.1. Authorizations versus appropriations:
NDEA/HEA Title VI and IEA (1959-86)**

shows the Title VI funding history and the growing gap between authorizations and appropriations. As the gap grew, effectiveness declined. Note particularly the drop in

1971 when the Nixon administration attempted to zero-out Title VI entirely. After 1971 the number of higher education institutions participating in Center and Fellowship programs dropped precipitously and never recovered to previous levels. This reflected not only the dramatic decrease in funding but also the shift in the causal theory of Title VI. Ironically, the greatest attrition from the Centers program occurred among the comprehensive universities and four-year colleges just as Title VI adopted explicit institutional diversity objectives in 1972.²

The Centers and Fellowship programs have embodied the creation and expert elements of the Title VI objectives. The other Title VI programs-- Research/Studies, IS/Graduate, IS/Undergraduate, IE/Business -- have embodied the diffusion and generalist objectives. The locus of control for implementing both objectives resided primarily in the Centers in the first period of Title VI. From 1959-1971 in addition to their own research and graduate training programs, the Centers implemented the institutional diffusion objective by running summer institutes and providing fellowships for refresher training for college faculty and school teachers. The Research/Studies program supported the knowledge element of the diffusion objective in both periods. It focused on language materials in the first period. From 1972-1988, the locus of control was split. The new Title VI programs actively sought to create new points of institutional capacity across higher education's international

² Catalog of Federal Assistance (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), 1969-1988 published annually provided appropriations data. Authorization amounts for 1959-1985 were taken from U.S. Congress, Senate print 99-8, Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act: Program Descriptions, Issues, and Options, (February 1985). After 1985 authorization levels were approximated from obligation data in the CFDA. All data were checked against legislative appropriations and authorization hearings.

landscape. The Centers continued to support the research and graduate training programs for the expertise objective. They retained some responsibility and control over the institutional diffusion objective by directing 10% of their budgets toward outreach. Research/Studies continued its knowledge diffusion role albeit with much smaller funding than in the first period.

Figure 7.2. NDEA Title VI funding by major programs (1969-88) shows the broadening goals of Title VI by the changing program funding year by year. It

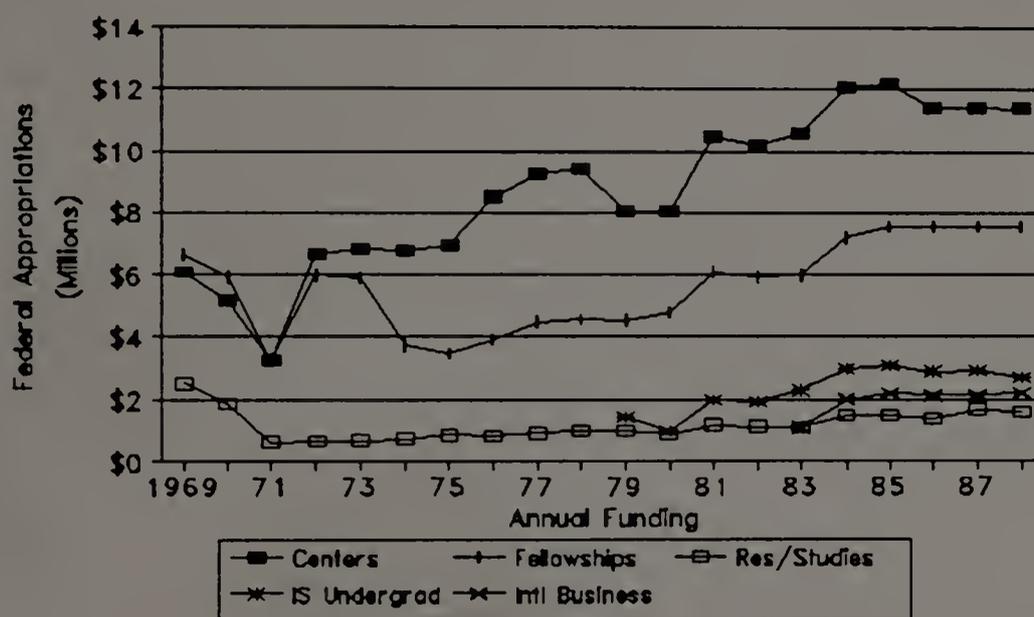


Figure 7.2. NDEA Title VI funding by major programs (1969-88)

makes clear the expansion from the goal of creating and supporting specialist-production centers and fellowships to include explicit support for undergraduate and international business programs. It suggests that Research and Studies as well as Fellowships were the two program categories that lost ground in order to make room for the new programs. The Centers maintained their predominant funding levels

relative to the other programs but their total funding was cut substantially in real terms.³

In 1972, two new Title VI programs under the general rubric of "exemplary programs" provided entry to new groups in the higher education system. The new programs did not appear in Figure 7.2 until 1980 because their funding was embedded in the Centers appropriations until then. The International Studies/Graduate (IS/Grad) increased the number of participating professionally oriented institutions of higher education, mostly in the research university and special institution categories. IS/Graduate ended in 1980 replaced by the regional and national centers created in the HEA/Title VI legislation. The International Studies/Undergraduate program provided two year grants for curricular or other international education innovations targeted at the undergraduate curriculum. While many research and doctoral granting universities took advantage of the program to strengthen their undergraduate programs, the program also expanded the number of comprehensive universities, four-year and two-year colleges participating in Title VI programs. The IS/Undergraduate program continued through 1988 and beyond. Professional education was recognized

³ Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (1969-1989) provided the appropriations data by program for all years except 1972. For 1972 Centers and Fellowship data, see "NDEA Language and Area Centers: Distribution of Federal Support (1959-1972) (Table I)," Language and Area Centers Section, Division of Foreign Studies, Institute of International Studies, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, (Washington, D.C. 20202, June 1972); "Graduate Fellowships Distribution by Institution and Area Profile, FY 1959-68, FY 1969-74," Division of International Education, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, (Washington, D.C. 20202, undated). For the Research and Studies program for 1972, the author extrapolated between 1971 and 1973 levels. Not graphed were \$1.6 million in 1979 and \$2.2 million in 1980 appropriated for "Cultural Understanding", Section 604. See Appendix B for full data sources for Chapter 7.

in the 1980 legislation with the creation of the International Business Education program (IE/Business). Modeled on the two year IS/Undergraduate program grants, the IE/Business program again helped bring a wider range of colleges and universities into the Title VI tent. In particular, two-year colleges took advantage of the IE/Business program both as solo institutions and as consortia.

b. Congruence with the Internationalization Ideal

The Title VI programs addressed virtually every element of the internationalization ideal specified in Chapter 3. Title VI covered all but two of the program elements with a heavy emphasis on teaching foreign languages and promoting interdisciplinary curricular development across social sciences and humanities for international and/or area studies. Faculty mobility was supported in both directions. Title VI supported visiting faculty and researchers from overseas and also U.S. faculty to travel for research and lecturing overseas. The public service element was present in all of the Title VI subprograms in one guise or another since 1959. Student mobility and links between development cooperation and academic activities were the two program elements slighted in Title VI. On student mobility, there were a few ways that program rules were designed to bend and allow Title VI funds to support student travel for language or dissertation research overseas.

Of the institutional elements, Title VI was perhaps strongest on the requirements for institutional commitment and faculty leadership. Organizationally, colleges and universities participating in Title VI programs, especially the Centers, had to demonstrate their ability to coordinate the breadth of academic activities

required for the increasingly competitive grants. While specific structures were not mandated, the campus structures tended to reflect the two modes that Henson found most effective -- central administration leadership or strong faculty coordination mechanisms. Title VI had a mixed record on the institutional factor, resources. Title VI was excellent in terms of leveraging campus resources of all types but fell down on consistency in its own funding levels. The zig zag pattern of funding especially for Centers and Fellowships as well as the short-term funding for the IS/G and IS/Undergraduate programs reduced their effectiveness. The weakest institutional element in Title VI was dissemination, especially in the Research and Studies Program. Another dissemination activity offset this, however. After 1972, the Title VI "exemplary programs" began to attempt explicitly to diffuse international capacity to more types of institutions of higher education and fields, e.g. undergraduate colleges and professional fields.⁴ In terms of system linking behavior, Title VI was encouraging to neutral. Title VI funds could be used for association memberships, professional meetings and meetings of Title VI program leaders. Through the Fellowships program, Title VI helped to sustain the *traegerin* effect. With Title VI's real funding losses, the diffusion impact of the Fellowship program was slowed even more than the trickle typical of this diffusion mode. After 1972, collaboration across institutions was actively encouraged within the Title VI framework by providing

⁴ McDonnell, Berryman and Scott (1981) found the institutionalization record of IS/Undergraduate projects superior to similar federal education programs aimed at inducing innovation through the 1970s.

higher funding levels to consortia both of similar institutions (horizontal) and of a mix of institutional types (vertical or state system).⁵

In terms of the internationalization program elements, the AID programs that explicitly focused on institutional capacity building for development assistance insisted on the element of linking development cooperation to academic activities. There were few if any restrictions on or requirements for academic programming beyond a demonstrated capacity to meet AID's programming needs. Most AID supported 211(d) grants and others provided amply for student and faculty mobility and applied research in the substantive fields associated with the development field, e.g., agriculture, education, health or engineering. Many of the curricular ties came in foreign languages and courses for training AID-funded participants or advanced courses for professionals and scientists.

The bulk of the AID projects in which higher education institutions participated tended to match relatively few of the elements of the internationalization ideal directly. In the 50s and early 60s, the AID relationship with higher education seemed to fit most of the elements. By the mid-sixties, AID programs tended to focus on mission-oriented capacities within higher education, heavily on applied research capacities and training for foreign government development officials. Only the string of strengthening grant programs from 211(d) to Title XII kept an explicit internationalization intent alive within the AID program orbit. The strand of international capacity building for U.S. higher education never was lost completely.

⁵ This seems to have worked quite well. Of the 82 consortia over the entire study period, 69 of them were found in Title VI programs.

The institutional participation data described in depth later in the chapter suggest that a segment of the higher education system may have helped maintain and build their international programs with AID resources. Of the 403 institutions and consortia of higher education that participated in Title VI programs since 1969, 113 also had substantial involvement with AID programs.⁶ AID's maintenance of an internationalization friendly thread combined with generally high level of resources relative to Title VI indicated some degree of favorable impact on the internationalization of the higher education system. To be sure, AID's programs had less explicit institutionalization intent for domestic higher education. Yet, the Hegelian effect of the sheer weight of funding cannot be discounted. The higher education system received seven times more funds from AID in twenty years (1969-88) than from Title VI in thirty years (1959-88). AID provided \$2,073,948,000 from 1969-1988 directly to 216 U.S. higher education institutions and consortia involved in foreign aid work in the U.S. and overseas, compared to \$327,031,000 from Title VI from 1959-1988 to 403 institutions and consortia.⁷

⁶ Of the 38 Research Universities that received a positive score on Afonso's index of internationalization, all but one participated in both AID and Title VI programs.

⁷ These figures are based on direct contracts and grants with colleges, universities and consortia of them. It does not include subcontracts through other institutions. Many cooperative agreements were excluded as well as discussed further into the chapter. The basic source was "Report No. W-442, AID Financed University Grants and Contracts," Agency for International Development, Department of State, (Washington, D.C.: March 31, 1968 - September 30, 1988). See Appendix B for full citations of AID data sources.

In isolation, large doses of AID funding did not necessarily help to internationalize a participating university or college.⁸ In most instances, the only expectation from AID was that the participating institution provide the requisite development-oriented service with little or no expectation that the recipient apply the AID resources to any larger academic international effort. Yet, in those 113 cases where there were other Title VI grants which required clear internationalization intent and implementation, such levels of AID funding had the potential to make a material difference. Many of those participating in both programs were from the research university group, 77 institutions or 68% to be exact. Doctoral and comprehensive groups were represented with 18 and 15 institutions or 16% and 13.3% respectively. Only two four-year colleges and one consortium, the University of Wisconsin system participated in both programs at some point over the 1968-88 period. Afonso argued that such combinations in the research universities did not correlate with a high degree of internationalization in her index. Yet the dual program participation indicated some intent to build international capacity or at least use it without necessarily reflecting the level of interconnection suggested by the internationalization ideal. Henson argued that AID participation was an indicator of intention to internationalize and was often used by institutions that were beginning to develop their international capacity. In that case, the other institutions beyond the research group would have been expected to exhibit more of the characteristics Afonso sought with her index which did not go beyond the research universities.

⁸ In the legislative testimony there were instances when academic witnesses said they had fallen back on AID funds when Title VI funds were cut suddenly.

3. Implementation Compliance Structure

Four components come to play in effective compliance structure: legislative and executive oversight is open to clients and supportive sovereigns; compatibility as evidenced in peer review selections processes and adaptive implementation that encourages experimentation and creativity; profitability as evidenced in a sufficient level of resources and leveraging of other sources, links with resource controlling stakeholders and long-term commitment; transmissibility as evidenced in encouraging multiple linking networks including institutional and disciplinary ones.

The legislative oversight function for all international education was made difficult by the split between the two natural constituencies in the foreign affairs and education committees. Foreign assistance rarely found widespread support in the Congress for any program including those of higher education. The education committees found it easier to find consensus with the larger Congress and higher education constituents. International education advocates found it difficult to argue their institutional case against student oriented programs like financial aid.⁹ Nonetheless both Title VI and AID university programs found champions in the legislature and in the executive agencies. Title VI had strong support in both legislature and executive in the 1959-65 period. Executive support declined precipitously in the Nixon era and continued to bump along the bottom through the 1970s. Legislative and higher education interests combined to preserve the program.

⁹ At the risk of stating an obvious political fact, universities and colleges can not vote. Nor can developing country constituents served by universities under AID contracts vote. Students and their parents can.

Title VI Center Directors, the area studies associations and the major institutional associations had formed an advocacy block of some substance. They were supported by legislative "fixers" like Brademas, Quie and Magnuson. On the AID side, NASULGC formed the core support from the academic side later joined by AASCU. Because the AID-supported international education efforts never received explicit legislative direction or separate appropriation, their supporters had to defend their interests within the agency's operations largely without the oversight of friendly legislators. One of the key failings of the Title XII legislation was not making explicit the working relationship and authorities between BIFAD and AID administrators.

In terms of compatibility, both Title VI and the early AID programs with higher education scored high. The educators and federal administrators worked within strong personal networks and shared goals until the programs outgrew the early comraderie. Indeed, in the early days higher education institutions were credited with helping AID set up a central contracting mechanism to regularize the heavy flow of work with the universities. After the failure of the IEA and the sharp cutback in funding in 1971, Title VI shifted to a peer review process for all of its grants on a regularly announced schedule, considered positive in terms of compatibility. Title VI also scored fairly high on adaptive implementation processes despite natural grumbling about reporting requirements. For AID, peer review was deemed incompatible with the agency's mission-oriented programming except in the case of

competition for the science-based CRSP program.¹⁰ For the 211(d), CRSP and other direct institutional support grants, the AID programs scored high on adaptive implementation and encouragement of local adaptation and experimentation. Similarly, the cooperative agreement mechanism earned high marks on compatibility since it was designed specifically to meet the bend the needs of AID programming to the response capacity of the universities.¹¹ The adaptive score was reversed on the bulk of the AID contracts and grants with higher education which ran according to contracting and monitoring procedures designed for all AID suppliers such as consulting firms and equipment suppliers not just for higher education.¹²

On profitability, Title VI performed better than AID programs despite AID's overall higher total resource levels. Title VI provided new resources while insisting that participating institutions leverage other internal resources. Title VI tended to meet both institutional and individual needs of international programs. For example, Title VI would cover half of the administrative costs of a grant program relieving an institutional burden while providing research or teaching support providing direct

¹⁰ As discussed in Chapter Five, it was paradoxical that David Bell, one of the AID Administrators most sympathetic to universities' role in development, argued against peer review for AID's university grants. He knew it was highly desirable from the higher education perspective and very difficult from the AID perspective.

¹¹ The cooperative agreement functioned as a retainer. It specified types, levels and quality of services that AID would procure at a later date. The specific cost details were negotiated within this overall framework on a case by case basis.

¹² It seemed that the AID procedures were so cumbersome yet the work was so attractive that several groups of universities banded together to create the special administrative operations needed to translate between university and AID operating systems and scheduling requirements, e.g., MUCIA, CID, SECID.

incentives to individual faculty. Often Title VI applicants needed to develop or strengthen links with key stakeholders to provide matching resources for the international program on campus. Title VI's longevity as a program and its multiple year funding opportunities in most programs helped to reduce the opportunity costs and risks inherent in developing international programs. Finally, Title VI tapped the emulation factor associated with quality and status incentive because of the heavy participation of research universities and elite colleges in the early years of Title VI and the continuing presence of the research universities.

AID's programs rated high on the raw profitability factor of funding volume. Since many of the AID participants were research universities, the emulation factor also operated here. Other aspects served as disincentives at institutional and/or individual levels. The mission-oriented nature of much AID programming left little room for experimentation or research autonomy for faculty or students. Project schedules and overseas venues seldom meshed with regular academic teaching schedules or promotion/tenure processes. The typical mission-oriented selection process of "contract bidding" rather than peer review also functioned as a disincentive. These operating incompatibilities could be overcome with good will and serious leadership on both sides of the campus-AID equation but they certainly reduced the "profitability" of the otherwise well funded AID projects. One might speculate that the larger funding might have been needed to offset the relatively low overall profitability and compatibility of higher education's participation in AID programs.

4. Committed and Skillful Implementing Officials

The Office of Education was a wonderfully receptive site for the original NDEA Title VI program in 1959. Title VI was a feather in its cap and a significant source of new revenues and status with an elite program. Similarly, higher education projects were a boon to the early development assistance officials in the 1950s and 1960s. The collaboration of the cluster of international education advocates within higher education, OE and AID reached its peak with the preparation and passage of the IEA. Afterwards, they followed separate paths. The international education and Title VI programs were progressively downgraded within OE, losing both staff and policy access. Through the 70s and 80s, the Title VI programs were preserved despite increasing attention and preponderant resources going to student aid and institutional strengthening. A small core of dedicated professional staff retained strong ties with the Title VI higher education constituents. An occasional burst of policy attention such as occurred during the Carter administration with the Perkins or CAFLIS report helped to raise the program's profile occasionally with the OE and later USEd. With the creation of the Dept of Education in 1980, another opportunity to raise the profile of international education programs within the agency was lost. The incoming Reagan administration's frontal assault on the newly formed agency kept all but survival issues off the organizational menu. As foreign assistance became increasingly embattled with other foreign policy debates in the late 60s and 70s, the higher education programs went lower on AID's priority list. The international education programs of AID received a burst of attention with Title XII in the mid-70s just as an agency policy shift directed major resources away from university suitable

programming. Throughout the period, ACE and NASULGC among other higher education associations worked hard to preserve the programs and strengthen their support within the legislature.

5. Political Support from Interest Groups and Sovereigns

The Title VI Center directors and the Area Studies Associations along with the institutional associations, especially ACE and NASULGC were key actors operating on behalf of Title VI and AID's international education programs. Larger constituency groups were slow to form but gradually they began to enter the debate and garner resources. The most prominent example came from the business schools and AACSB that actively advocated for the creation of the IE/Business program of Title VI. The four-year colleges from the earliest days advocated for an undergraduate component for Title VI. Their efforts combined with the entrance of the two-year colleges and the CAFLIS report helped carve out a permanent undergraduate presence in Title VI embodied in the IS/Undergraduate program. More diffuse interests of the primary and secondary school community combined sporadically, e.g. the Asia Society testimony or the New Jersey or New York Commissioners of Education testifying in Congress. With the leadership of the Education Secretary Ernest Boyer, they won additional federal resources for the IE Understanding Initiative targeting schools. On the legislative side, earlier angels and fixers included Representatives Brademas and Quie in authorizations and Senator Magnuson in appropriations. Later in the study, they were replaced by new

legislators on the scene, Representatives Simon and Fascell and Senator Morse from the education and international affairs policy streams in Congress.

B. Aggregate Participation Patterns in the Two Federal Programs

Diffusion and sustainability are key issues for internationalization. Both surfaced in various forms throughout the legislative debates. Diffusion effects of the programs may be indicated by the number of higher education institutions and consortia participating in the programs. They will be called grantees or participants although many of the relationships were based on contracts or cooperative agreements. No subcontractors or sub-grantees are included. Consortia may be vertical like a state system or horizontal like a group of two year colleges. Sustainability effects may be indicated by the level of funding and the continuity of participation over time for grantees. For funding, both total funding by group and average grant funding will provide overall indicators. The number of grant years serves as a gross measure of continuity and frequency of participation. Since most Title VI grants were awarded on an annual basis, the total number of grant years is much higher than for AID. AID projects typically were funded for multiple years, slightly over three on average but with great variation year to year and project by project.¹³

¹³ The data sources are described in detail in Chapter Three with summary tables of the data guides used to prepare the graphs in Appendix A. The full set of federal reports from which original grantee data were drawn are listed in Appendix B. Particular characteristics of the data are described as needed in the text.

The study group represented roughly 14% of the higher education system. Of 2803 secular institutions of higher education, 424 individual institutions of higher education plus 82 consortia participated in one or both of the two federal case programs. The aggregate analysis covers 1969-1988 for both programs with the aggregate Title VI data covering the early period of 1959-68 as well. The participation analysis carries through 1987 even though the legislative analysis ends with 1980. Given the normal lag factors built into the legislative implementation cycle, no significant policy changes were introduced until 1986 with the renewal of the Higher Education Act. In large measure, the appropriations and implementation debates from 1980 through 1987 followed the policy and organizational lines drawn in the 1980 legislation.

Legislators tended to apply three criteria in their policy choices that paralleled diffusion concerns: 1) regional spread within the U.S. for the obvious political reasons of reaching a maximum numbers of constituents; 2) equity between public and private education sectors for the traditional constitutional reasons of non-interference with state and private sector rights; and 3) institutional diversity for the reasons of basic fairness and in response to vocal and well-argued higher education interests. The chapter turns first to the overall characteristics of the entire participating population on these three dimensions: regional spread, ownership balance, and institutional diversity. The ownership and institutional diversity dimensions are compared to the system's overall characteristics of 2803 secular institutions of higher education using the 1976 Carnegie Classification listing as a baseline. The focus is on the secular institutions since only two religious oriented

colleges were reported as participating in either program, both early in the history of Title VI for fellowship grants for foreign language study. Each dimension is explored in terms of numbers of participants for the basic diffusion effects as well as funding levels as a check on diffusion impact and a view of sustainability impact. The total study population combining Title VI and AID participants is addressed first and then the Title VI program is addressed in somewhat more depth.

1. Regional Dispersion

One of the policy objectives of Title VI from the 1960s was equitable regional dispersion of program resources within the U.S. Although the author did not discover explicit interests in her cursory review of the AID programs' intentions, regional dispersion is a common goal of much education legislation. The study group was identified by geographic location by state within the U.S. as well as Puerto Rico. The states were grouped into four regions -- West/Southwest (WSW), South/Southeast (SE), Northeast (NE) and Midwest (MW). Many consortia were regional in scope spanning two or more states. When a consortia grantee spanned two regions, they were classified as national (N). The grantees whose primary work was overseas with little domestic educational base were not included in the study group.¹⁴

¹⁴ See Table A.2 for the regional classification guide used in the study. See Table A.3 for the guide to classification of the study group. Grantees not normally recognized as institutions of higher education were included in both programs, e.g. consulting firms such as Medex, research and training institutes such as the East-West Center or educational associations such as the Foreign Language Teachers Association. As a rule they are not included in the aggregate analyses unless affiliated with a specific institutions of higher education, e.g., University of Maryland and CAFLIS. Research and training institutes were included when recognized in the Carnegie Classification, otherwise not.

Regionally within the U.S., the overall study group was distributed roughly a quarter per each major region. **Figure 7.3. Regional location of grantees in education and AID programs** displays graphically this superficially equitable geographic distribution of the study group of 506 grantees. The distribution is not

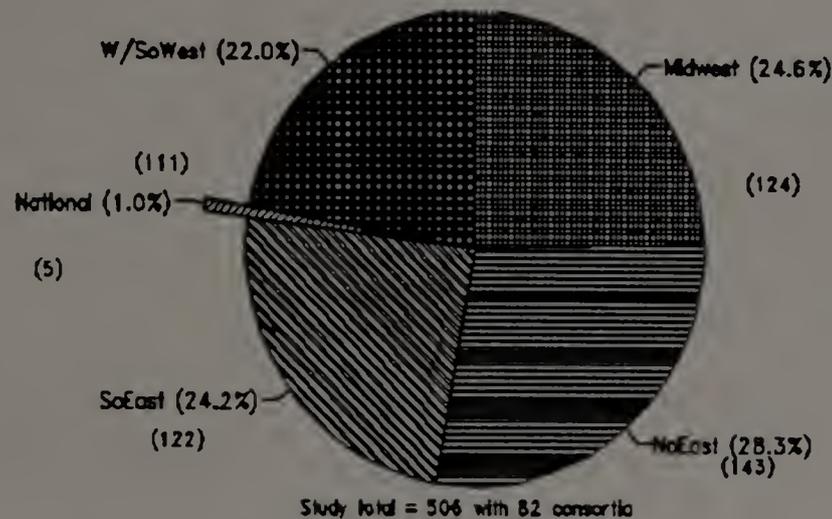


Figure 7.3. Regional location of grantees in education and AID programs

weighted for population or other factors. There was a slight concentration of number of grantees in the Northeast with 28% while the West/Southwest compensated with less than a quarter of the total grantees. The Midwest and the Southeast were balanced with 24% each. Most consortia were clearly part of one of a given region, e.g. the South East Consortium for International Development (SECID). There were five consortia designated national in scope representing 1% of the total participants. One AID consortium with region unknown was removed leaving n=505 here.

Figure 7.4. Regions represented by program shows that the 403 Education grantees were clustered more densely in the Northeast and the Midwest while the 216 AID grantees were clustered more densely in the South/Southeast and

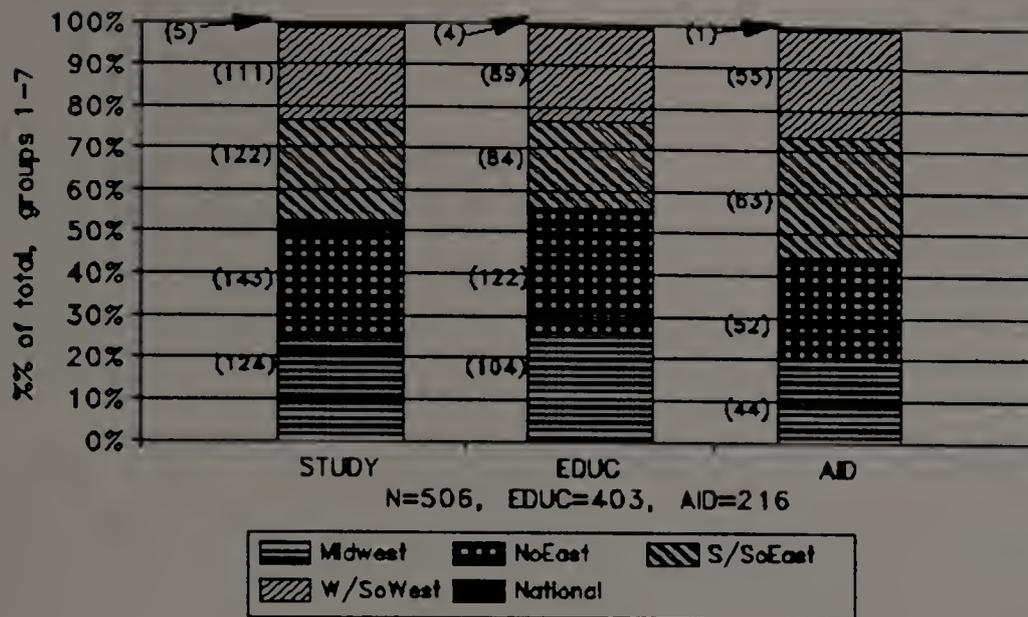


Figure 7.4. Regions represented by program

West/Southwest. The density of Education participants in the Northeast and their overall preponderance in the study group explains the relative overall density in the Northeast. Looking only at the number of institutions participating at one time or another at any level over the study period, there seemed to be a fair degree of balance in the geographic distribution of access to federal support for the international enterprise of higher education.

The thin reed supporting any argument for regional balance breaks under the weight of further evidence. **Figure 7.5. Regional funds distribution** below reveals substantial regional differences by program. Percentage comparisons are used to adjust for the large gap between AID and Title VI funding totals, i.e., \$327 million over thirty years in Title VI vs. \$2,073 million over twenty years from AID. Title VI was most heavily weighted toward the Northeast and Midwest with 65.5% of its total resources in those two regions. AID funding was more evenly distributed than the Education funding but was heaviest in the Midwest (29.6%). The West/Southwest

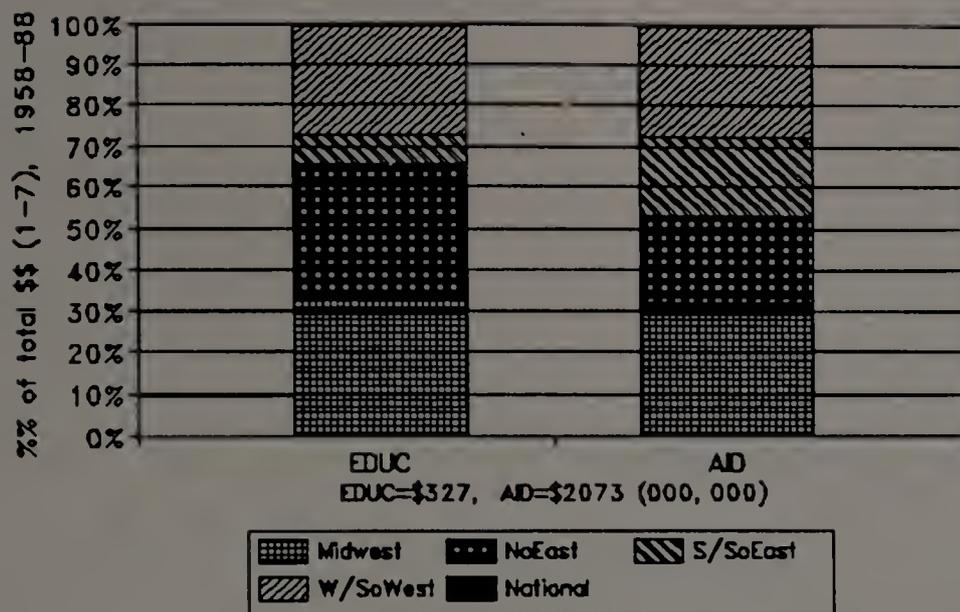


Figure 7.5. Regional funds distribution

region received slightly more than a quarter of the funding (27%) from both programs. The predominance of the Midwest and Northeast in Title VI would shift if the data were broken into pre-1972 and post-1972 periods. In the later period, the total resources were distributed more equitably across the new programs which tended to move into new areas, institutionally and geographically.

The South/Southeast region was the lowest in total funding from both programs, especially in Title VI with the Southeast receiving only 7.2% of the total funding. The greatest number Two other indicators confirmed the Southeast as the least of the regions for Title VI programs. The Southeast was short in total grant years and the average funding per grant for Title VI. This may have been explained by a higher proportion of the Southeast's Title VI grants coming under the newer programs, IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business. Since many comprehensive, four-year and two year colleges were represented in the Southeast, part of the resource shortfall may also be explained on the basis of institutional type. A more mixed picture

emerged for the Southeast in the AID program sphere. In AID programs, the Southeast had the highest number of institutional grantees and nearly the same total grant years (23.6%) as the other regions. Yet they had the lowest average grant and the lowest total funding levels. The lower funding levels could simply reflect lower costs rather than a pattern of benign neglect since the institutional measures are high to average compared to other regions.

2. Ownership Equity

In terms of ownership patterns, there were slightly more public (52%) than private (48%) institutions in the national system of 2803 institutions. In the study group of 424 institutions of higher education as seen in **Figure 7.6. Study group ownership**, public ownership accounted for 57% while private accounted for 40.1%

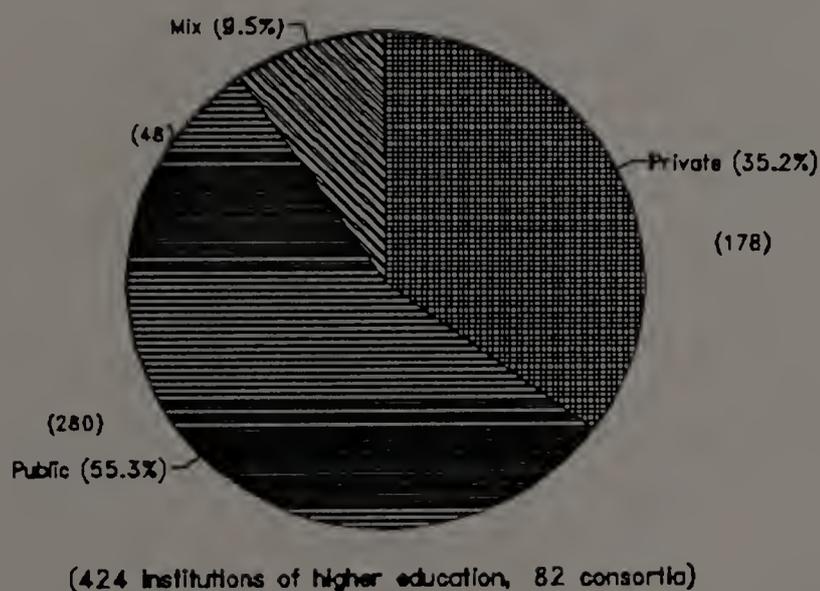


Figure 7.6. Study group ownership

without the 82 consortia which were public, private or a mix of the two. Adding the consortia brings the total grantees to 506 shifting the balance toward public sector.

To begin to understand the larger public proportion in the study group relative to the system overall, let's look at the ownership patterns in the two case programs. Remember that there were 216 AID participants and 403 in Title VI. **Figure 7.7. Ownership of grantees by program** shows that the Title VI group was somewhat heavier on the public side with a private-public split of 36.2% - 54.6%. The AID

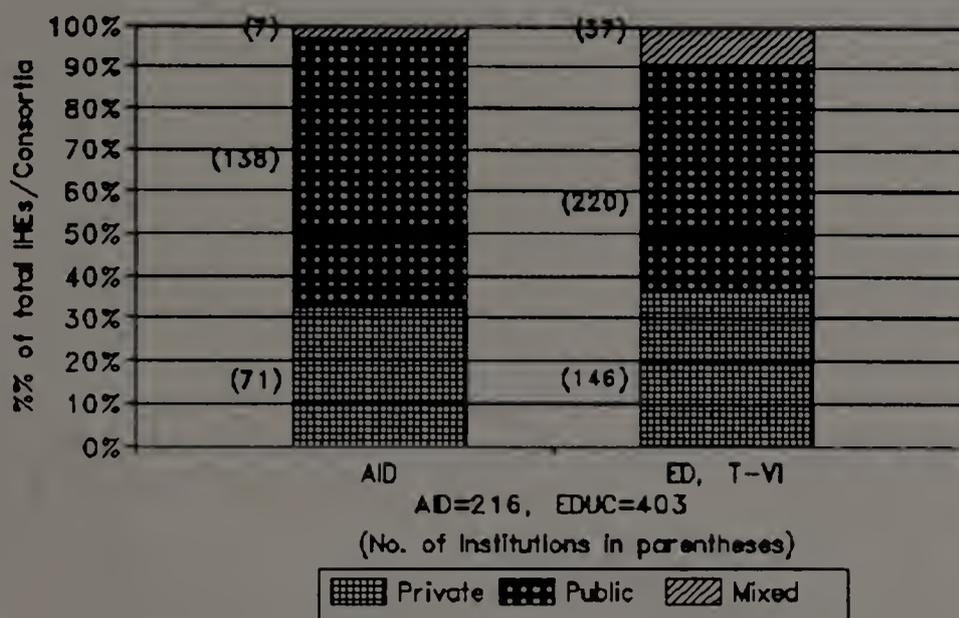


Figure 7.7. Ownership of grantees by program

group was heavier on the public side with a private-public split of 32.9% - 63.9%. It is perhaps most remarkable that the balance in the AID programs was not heavier on the public side given the legislative history of AID funding for higher education and the key advocacy roles of NASULGC and later AASCU. AID also had fewer consortial participants, thus less mixed ownership than Title VI.

The ownership profile of the overall system exhibited dramatic variations across different groups of higher education institutions. First, consider **Figure 7.8. Ownership of grantees by classification group** as an orientation to the ownership patterns within the study group by institutional type. With nearly 100% coverage of

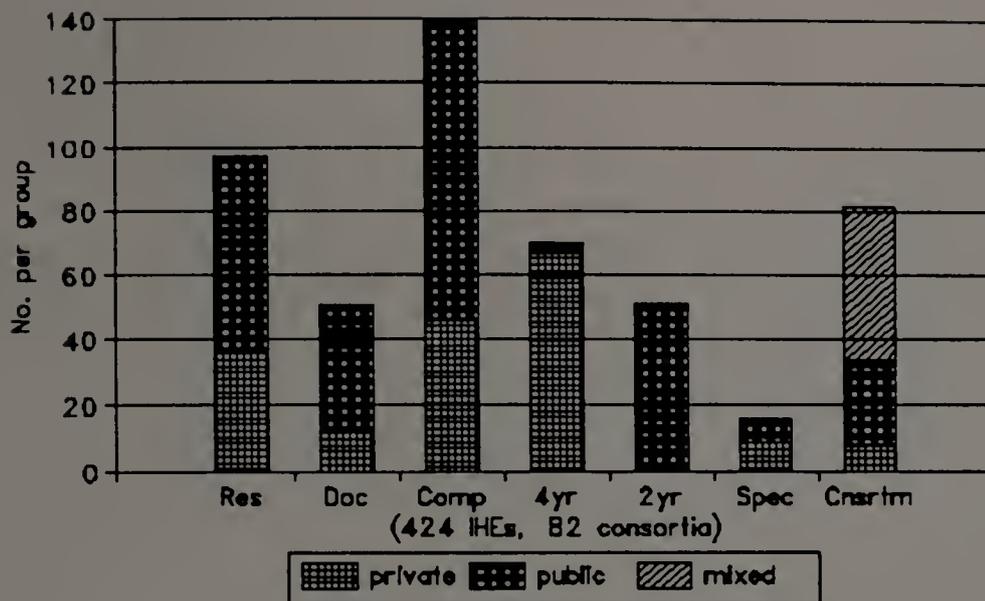


Figure 7.8. Ownership of grantees by classification group

their group, the ownership patterns of the research universities in the study fit the system profile exactly, i.e., 63% public, 37% private. The doctoral and comprehensive groups in the study were respectively ten and seven percentage points higher on public ownership than their counterpart groups in the system profile. This contributed a bit to the public skew in the overall study group. The four-year group was almost entirely private (95.7%), fitting the system profile closely since 98% of all four year colleges were private. The two year group in the study was 100% public. The one-sided coverage seems less extreme knowing that the comparable system profile was 80% public. Still the extra 20 percentage points in the study tallies helped to skew the study data toward the public side. The special institutions group also contributed to the public emphasis in the study data. The special group was 44% public, 19 percentage points higher than its system counterpart of 25% public. Virtually all the special institutions were involved in the AID programs with their stronger roots in the land-grant network. The ownership patterns exhibited in

number of grant years tracked closely these institutional participation or appearance rates.

The funding indicators revealed some interesting twists on the ownership patterns of the two case programs. Both total and average grant funding confirmed a greater presence of public over private institutions in the two programs, most particularly in the AID group. **Figure 7.9. Funding by type of ownership** shows the proportions of total funding graphically. Some 37% more of the Title VI funds

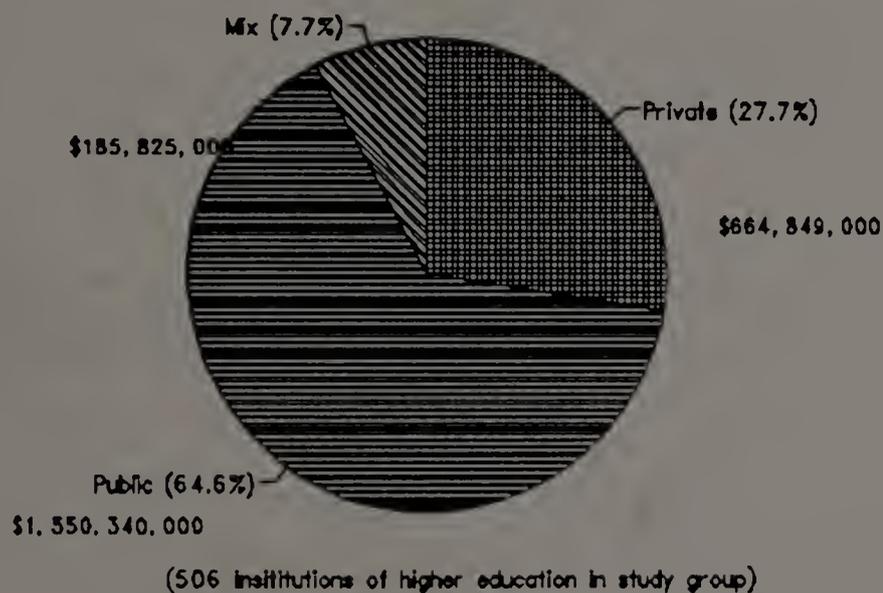


Figure 7.9. Funding by type of ownership

went to public than to private grantees while 2.57 times as much of the AID funds went to public as to private grantees. A slightly lower average grant level for the public grantees in both program may have reflected lower costs generally possible in colleges and universities with state support.

One surprising tidbit came from a separate analysis of average grant funding. In the combined AID and Education data consortial grants averaged \$1,471,000 while the mixed ownership consortial grants were substantially larger averaging \$2,532,000.

Two facts explain the pattern. First, three of the mixed consortia were also in the top twenty largest grant recipients of AID. Second, the majority of the 82 consortia participated in Title VI's IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business programs which had relatively small grant resources, total and average. They effectively lowered the average grant level for the combined data of AID and Education programs.

3. Institutional Diversity

While policy makers tended to focus on the first two indicators of diffusion, the higher education analysts tend to focus more on measures of institutional diversity. This is perhaps the most direct measure of diffusion, i.e. the range of institutions participating in the two case programs. Not only the different appearance rates but also the level of funding received will be considered. The Carnegie Classification are used to standardize grantees into groupings to describe institutional diversity. In the graphs, the "special" group is comprised largely of stand alone professional schools, e.g. schools of medicine, law or education.

As shown in **Figure 7.10. Proportion of system covered by study grantees by classification group**, no group of institutions was unrepresented in the study. The expert emphasis of both programs was confirmed in greatest coverage concentrated in the upper ranges. Virtually all (99%) research universities in the system were covered by these two federal programs over the study period. System coverage dropped in stair step fashion through the system with nearly 60% of the doctorate granting universities, roughly a quarter of the comprehensive universities, an eighth of the four year colleges reaching a floor of a twentieth of the two-year colleges and

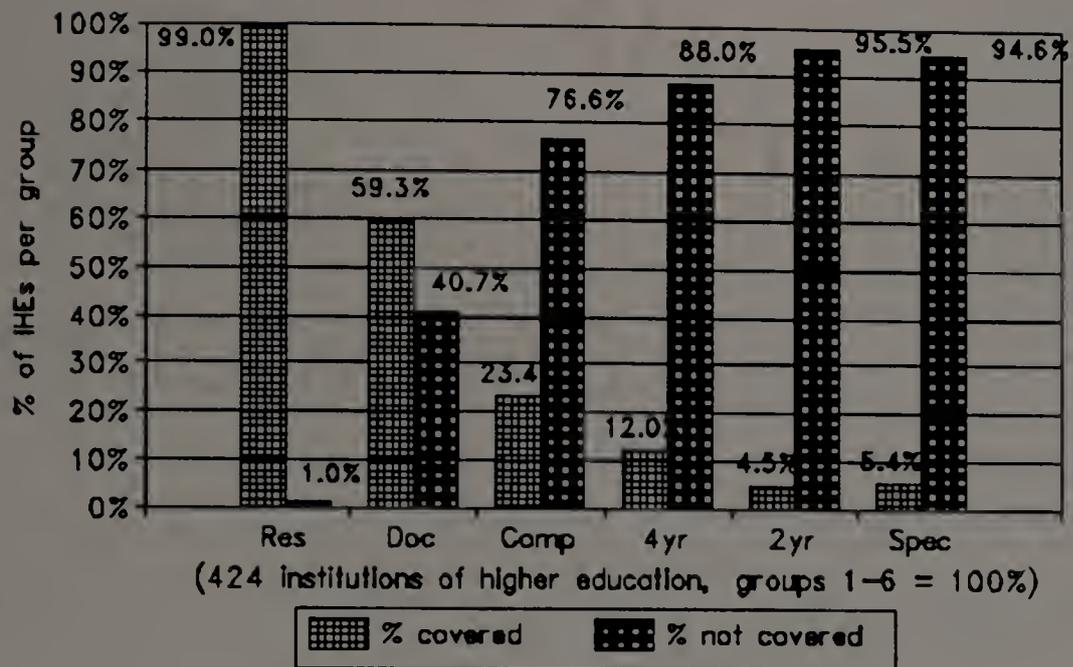


Figure 7.10. Proportion of system covered by study grantees by classification group

special institutions.

Figure 7.11. Institutional diversity -- study grantees by group versus system wide groups provides a clearer picture of the study group's representativeness in the simple terms of number of institutional participants. The graph compares the institutional diversity of grantees with that of the overall system by comparing study and system numerators proportionate to their own denominators. The interior percentages represent the proportion of each group. For example, 18.5% of the 506 grantees in the study were research universities while 3.5% of the entire system was in that group. There is no parallel in the Carnegie groupings to the 82 consortia in the study group. The relatively heavier concentration of the study in research and doctoral universities relative to their proportion in the system coincides with the specialist emphasis of both programs. It also reflects the historical development of international capacity across the higher education system over the thirty years of the study. The relatively low proportion of four year and two year colleges in the study

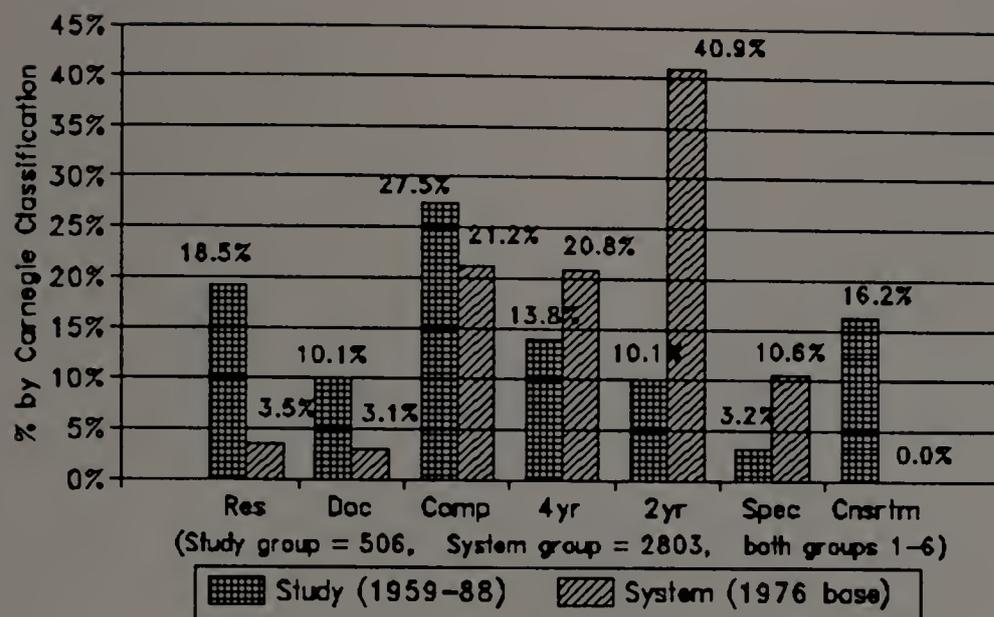


Figure 7.11. Institutional diversity -- study grantees by group versus system wide groups

is not surprising. Undergraduate education became an explicit and integral part of the Title VI program only after 1971 and retained the smallest of interest in the AID framework.¹⁵ Interestingly, the graphs reveal that a larger proportion of the study population (30%) was drawn from comprehensive universities and colleges than was the case for the system overall (21%). Many of these institutions participated in the Title VI IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business programs, a testament to those programs' impact on institutional diversity. Also, a fair number of comprehensives provided services for AID in participant training and other areas. This resonated well with the level of effort of NASULGC and AASCU to expand the reach of AID's institutional development programming and the Gray amendment which promoted greater inclusion

¹⁵ Two-year college participation in AID programs is understated. The data includes only activities reported with funding. Many AID cooperative agreements for training services were reported without dollar amounts. Cooperative agreements allow AID and participating colleges to agree to general terms of engagement and costs. Actual funding was not reported in the W442 reports although it may have been substantial. Several two year colleges were excluded for this reason.

of historically black colleges and universities in federal programs.¹⁶ The relatively high level of consortial activity in the study would seem to confirm the utility of integrationist strategies to overcome meet the relatively high entry and maintenance requirements of international programs with the higher education institutions themselves and of meeting the specific challenges of gaining entry into either of the two programs.

In Figure 7.12. **Distribution of federal funds by type of institution**, the emphasis on the research universities was more marked. Three quarters of the

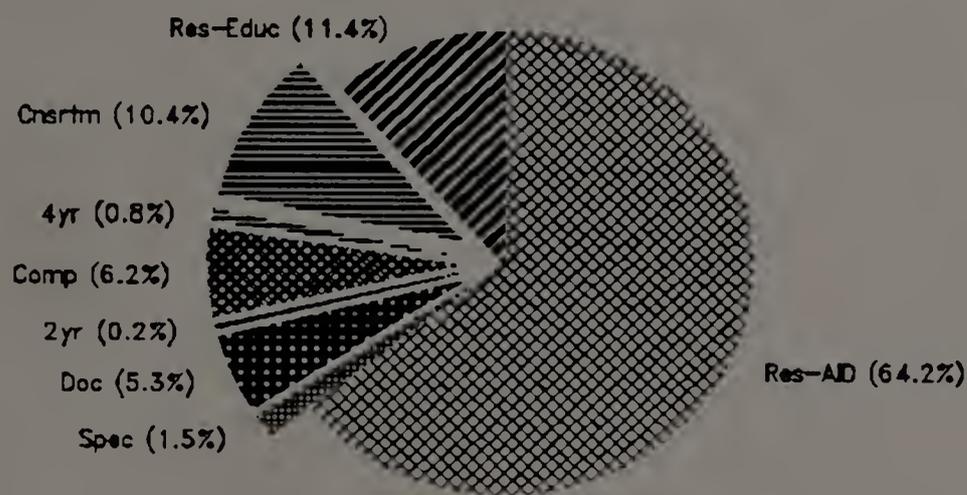


Figure 7.12. **Distribution of federal funds by type of institution**

funding (\$1.8 billion) from the two programs went to research universities over the thirty year period. Of that, the lion's share (85%) came from AID programs. This coincided with the programs' emphasis on knowledge and expertise creation. It also reflected the longer time span covered by the Education programs in the data set from

¹⁶ Long and Campbell (1989).

1959-1988. The pre-1972 period of Title VI was explicitly and nearly totally focused on specialist training and research tasks natural to the research universities.

The remaining six groups of institutions received one quarter of the total funding from both programs or roughly \$.6 billion. **Figure 7.13. Distribution of program funds beyond the research universities group** requires careful reading since it uses two different scales. AID's larger funding is represented on the left at a scale ten times that of Education. Consortia were the third largest recipient of funds,

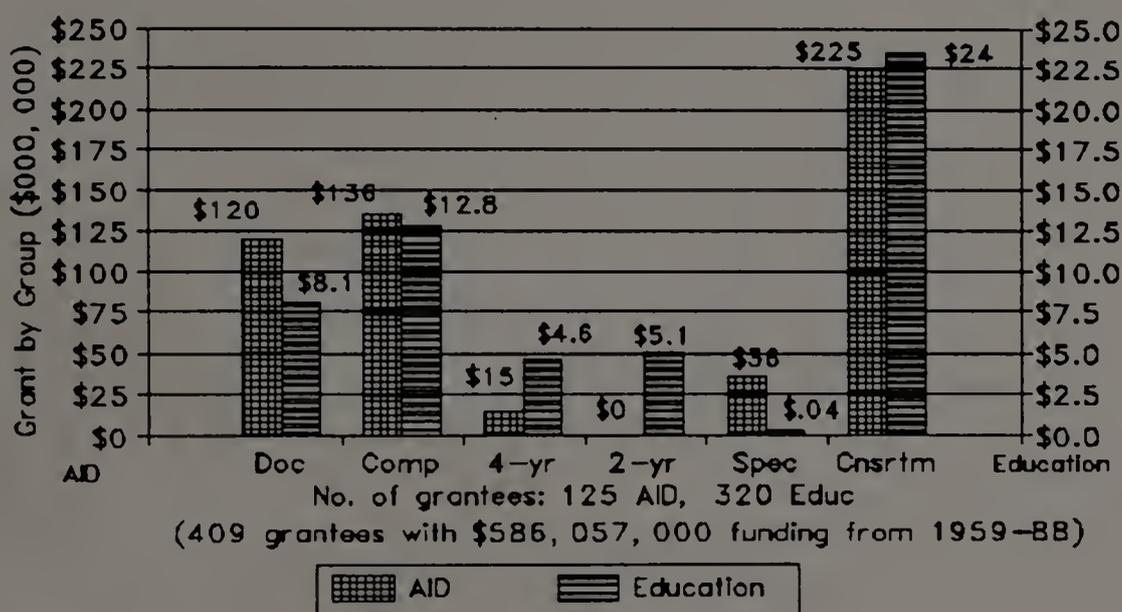


Figure 7.13. Distribution of program funds beyond the research universities group

receiving almost as much of the overall pie (10.4%) as the education portion to the research universities (11.4%). While the bulk of the consortial funding came from AID, most of the consortial grantees were within the Education program. The doctoral, comprehensive, consortia and four-year institutions received more funding from AID than from Education programs by factors of 14.8, 10.6, 9.4 and 3.3 respectively. This pattern of greater concentration of AID funding highlights the programs' different philosophies and goals. AID largely sought expertise while the

Title VI programs after the 1970s also sought institutional dispersion beyond the research universities. The special institutions received almost 100% of their funds from AID, a fact that coincided with the professional emphasis of much of AID's work with higher education. The two-year colleges received virtually all of their funding from the Education programs. This was due in part to the under reporting bias in the data set for AID two-year participants. It also reflected the Title VI program's explicit institutional dispersion goals after 1971.

The sustainability indicators of average grant funding and average grant years reaffirmed the patterns established with institutional participation and overall program funding. They also brought into sharper focus some of the underlying patterns. The average grant for research universities under Title VI was \$62,000 and under AID was \$914,000. The total number of grant years for research universities was 4,414 under Title VI and 1,687 under AID. Following the research university emphasis, the average grant for the doctoral, comprehensive, four-year and two-year colleges was smaller than the average grant (\$62,000/Title VI, \$914,000/AID) for the research universities by 30-70% for both AID and Education programs. The number of grant years also followed this pattern. It held true for the relatively few special institutions in the Title VI program as well. The two year colleges' pattern was a bit surprising. Although they were most distant from the research university in the classification and in their overall functions and clientele, their average grant size of \$43,000/grant was closer (nearly 70%) than any of the other groups in the Title VI program.

The general pattern of research university predominance did not hold true for special institutions in the AID program or for consortia in either Title VI or AID

programs. In the AID program, the professional schools included in the special group the average number of grants was very low but the average funding per grant was high (\$1,082,000), 18% above the average grant of research universities. This was consistent with AID's problem focus. Two medical schools dominated in the category. Meharry Medical College and Eastern Virginia Medical School were reported with \$24,412,000 and \$9,547,000 in two and fifteen grants respectively. In both programs, the number of grant years for consortia was similar to doctoral and comprehensive institution but their total and average funding levels were much higher. Not only did consortia receive over 40% more total funding than the other groups, their average grant funding was higher than the research universities, by a whopping 61% for AID and 47% for Title VI grantees. This fits with the expectations outlined in the literature review. Consortial behavior confirmed international education and grant seeking as resource intensive activities leading to collaborative, integrative strategies among higher education institutions. Both federal case programs provided extra funding which encouraged this useful pattern. By enhancing both compatibility and profitability, it contributed to program congruence with internationalization agendas that may have existed within participating institutions.

C. Institutional Diversity of Participants in the Title VI Program

Title VI had specific internationalization goals from the outset, primarily though not exclusively oriented toward specialist training and knowledge creation through the Centers and Fellowships programs. After 1971, Title VI shifted a portion of its resources to other programs aimed explicitly at generalist and professional

training and diffusing international capacity into other parts of the higher education system, i.e., IS/Graduate, IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business. The changing mix of institutional groups participating in each of these programs will be analyzed to understand better their influence on diffusion in the wake of the IEA and the 1971 Title VI cuts.

Beginning with the principal and longest standing programs, **Figure 7.14.**

Institutional diversity of grantees in Title VI centers program shows the restructuring of the participant mix in the Centers program. Before the sharp funding

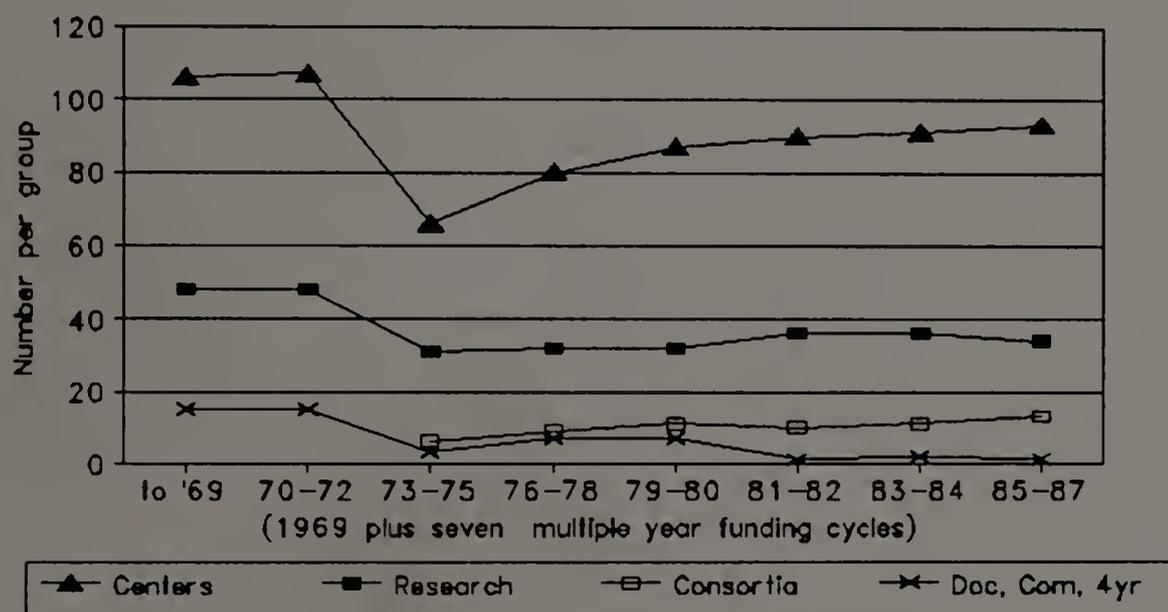


Figure 7.14. Institutional diversity of grantees in Title VI centers program

cuts in 1971, the program had funded up to 106 centers based in 63 universities and colleges. Of the participants, roughly 75% came from research universities with 25% coming from other groups including doctoral, comprehensive and four-year institutions. The 1973-75 cycle was the first grant period to reveal the impact of the cut on overall participation patterns. The number of centers dropped by 35%. The research universities participation also dropped 35% from 48 to 31 grantees. The

other groups dropped a disproportionate 80% from fifteen to three center grantees. Consortia entered the program for the first time. Through 1980, the mix held steady at 65%, 18%, 14% respectively of research universities, consortia and other institutions. After 1980, the other institutions participation dropped to near zero. The few that carried through may be worth noting. Ohio University, a doctoral university, lost Center funding for Africa studies but obtained it for Southeast Asian Studies through 1980. Portland State University, a comprehensive university, carried through 1978 with Middle Eastern Studies funding but not its Eastern European funding. Bucking the trend, San Diego State University received its first grant in the 1976-78 cycle for Latin American Studies. It was the lone comprehensive university to participate continuously in the Centers program through 1988.

In the 1983 and 1985 cycles, 70% of the center grants were in research universities and 28% were in consortia. Many of the consortia were anchored in research universities. Consortial participation grew steadily from six in the 1973-75 cycle to thirteen in the 1985-87 cycle. Consortia were a natural integrative response by higher education institutions to the sharp drop in funding for the Title VI Centers program. There was also evidence of consolidation of regional areas Centers at the research universities that continued in the program. Most of the consortia were formed as horizontal collaboratives by similar universities within relatively easy commuting distances from each other. For example, New York University and Princeton began rotating administrative responsibility for a shared Middle Eastern Studies Center between their respective campuses. Similar arrangements occurred between the University of Illinois and the University of Chicago for Latin American

Studies. Other consortia were formed vertically by a institutions from different groups, e.g. University of California/Berkeley (Res U) and UC/Santa Cruz (Doc U) for a combined center in South and Southeast Asian Studies or the University of Florida (Res U) and Florida International University (Comp) in Latin American Studies. The University of Wisconsin system began its experiment with sharing international studies resources with a combined Latin American Studies center with University of Wisconsin Madison (Res U) and Milwaukee (Doc U) campuses. The lone Title VI Center consortia with four-year colleges occurred in Massachusetts with Amherst and Smith Colleges initially. After the initial shared East Asian Studies Center, they expanded to include the other private colleges and the University of Massachusetts into the five college program.

There was also evidence of growing concentration of funding among the Center grantees. After maintaining a ratio of 1.7 centers per grantee through the 1970s, the ratio rose to 1.9 per grantee in the 1980s. The average funding available in the Centers program rose from \$393,000 per cycle in the 1973 through 1979 cycles to \$543,900 per cycle in the 1980s cycles. The 80s grant levels were boosted substantially in the 1985-87 cycle when the total rose to \$727,700. Even these funding increases did not return the grantee universities to the funding level participants had enjoyed in the 1959-1970 period of the program much less compensate for the effects of rampant inflation through the 1970s. The concentration of the Title VI Center resources within the research university group was not inconsistent with the natural resource allocation patterns of the higher education system. The research universities were most likely to have the capacity to mount the

kinds of programs required of the Centers in the face of shrinking grant resources. The research universities consortial response to the Centers program further supports that conclusion.

The Fellowship program paralleled the participation patterns in the Centers program. The Fellowships were targeted at students of the less commonly taught languages and area studies. Before the 1971 cuts, the diversity of institutional participants in the Fellowship program had begun to broaden a bit. From 1959-1969, the mix was 87% -13% with the majority of participants from the research universities and the rest in other institutional groups (doctoral, comprehensive and four-year). In 1970-72, the mix shifted to 76% - 24% respectively between research universities and the other groups. After 1972, the research universities predominated with 85% to 91% of the grantees. The remaining fellowship grantees were found in the doctoral universities group with only two exception in the 1979-80 grant cycle.

The IS/Graduate program was one of the two elements under the "exceptional programs" rubric that the Title VI administrators introduced in 1972 to respond to the policy directions of the IEA. It added a transnational or problem-oriented window to the other programs oriented toward foreign languages and area studies. The topics of the grants reflected the professional orientation with thirteen focused on overseas development issues, 7 on business and trade issues and other on public health and population, comparative urban policy or education issues. This program in some ways seemed to parallel the 211(d) grants created by AID. Both IS/Graduate and the 211(d) grants helped higher education institutions build capacity around economic development themes. The IS/Graduate program was overtaken by the 1980 HEA

which rolled the international studies component into the revised program of national and regional Centers. It may have paved the road for the IE/Business program also authorized in 1980.

The IS/Graduate program was the smallest of the Title VI programs in volume of funding. It provided 58 two and three year grants to 45 institutions of higher education and consortia. The average grant of \$60,000 under the IS/Graduate program was substantially smaller than the Centers or Fellowship grants but larger than those of the IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business programs. **Figure 7.15. Funding per group in the Title VI IS/Graduate Program (1972-80)** displays graphically the mix of institutional participation. The research university participation was

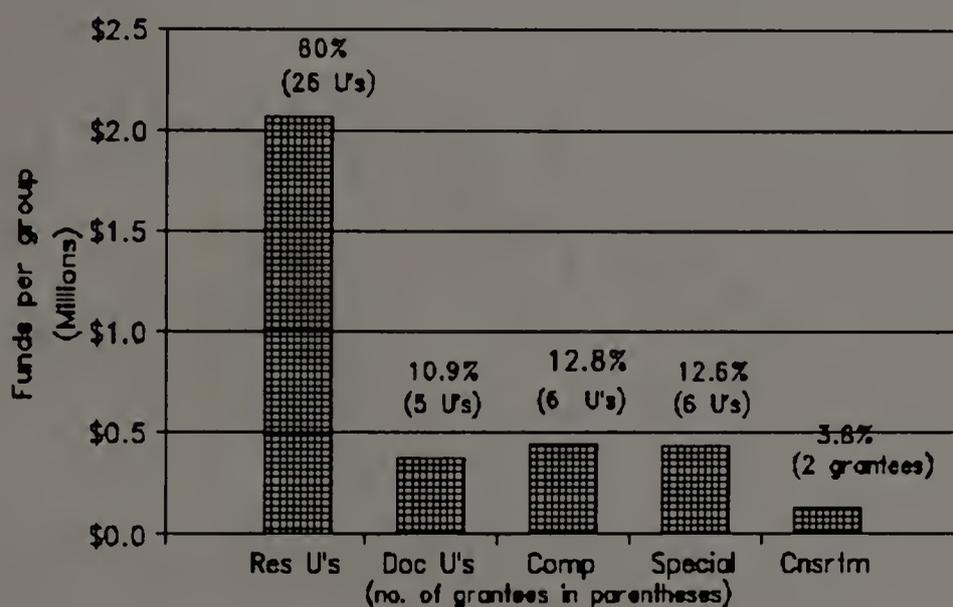


Figure 7.15. Funding per group in the Title VI IS/Graduate program (1972-80)

predominant with 60% of the funding but the dispersion pattern was interesting. The doctoral (11%) and comprehensive (13%) groups appeared regularly. The special group (13%) had the highest profile of any Title VI program including professional

schools of law, administration, business, education and medicine/public health. Of the two consortial participants, one was in medicine and public health with Harvard and the University of Connecticut. The other focused on business and was a broad gauged alliance of colleges and universities in the Southwest based at the University of Oklahoma.

The IS/Undergraduate program was the second of the two elements of the "exceptional programs" introduced in 1972 to respond to the policy directions of the IEA and the generalist training impetus within Title VI grantees. It provided two to three year grants to assist universities and colleges to strengthen their international capacity including faculty, curricula or administrative systems related to foreign languages, area studies or problem-oriented themes generally under the international studies rubric. The RAND evaluation of Title VI conducted in 1980 found this to be one of the most successful programs of the time in institutionalizing the innovations in terms of program permanence on campus after the grants stopped flowing.¹⁷ The HEA of 1980 confirmed the utility of the IS/Undergraduate program and authorized its continuation virtually unchanged. The HEA of 1980 also created the IE/Business program along the same lines as the IS/Undergraduate program with short-term grants to engender and solidify international innovations in the field of business education. The IE/Business program received its first funding in 1983.¹⁸ Because of their

¹⁷ McDonnell, Berryman, Scott (1981).

¹⁸ The HEA of 1986 expanded the IE/Business program to include Centers for International Business Education and Research (CIBER). This was a hybrid of the IE/Business and Center programs. In its first cycle, CIBER funding was double that of the first five years of the IE/Business program. "Centers for International Business

similarities in funding arrangements and other characteristics of their participation, they have been analyzed comparatively. The results are presented together below.

Figure 7.16. Grantee diversity in Title VI IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business programs reveals much greater institutional diversity than in the other Title VI programs. This suggests a fair degree of success in meeting the explicit innovation diffusion goals of these two programs. Research universities participated

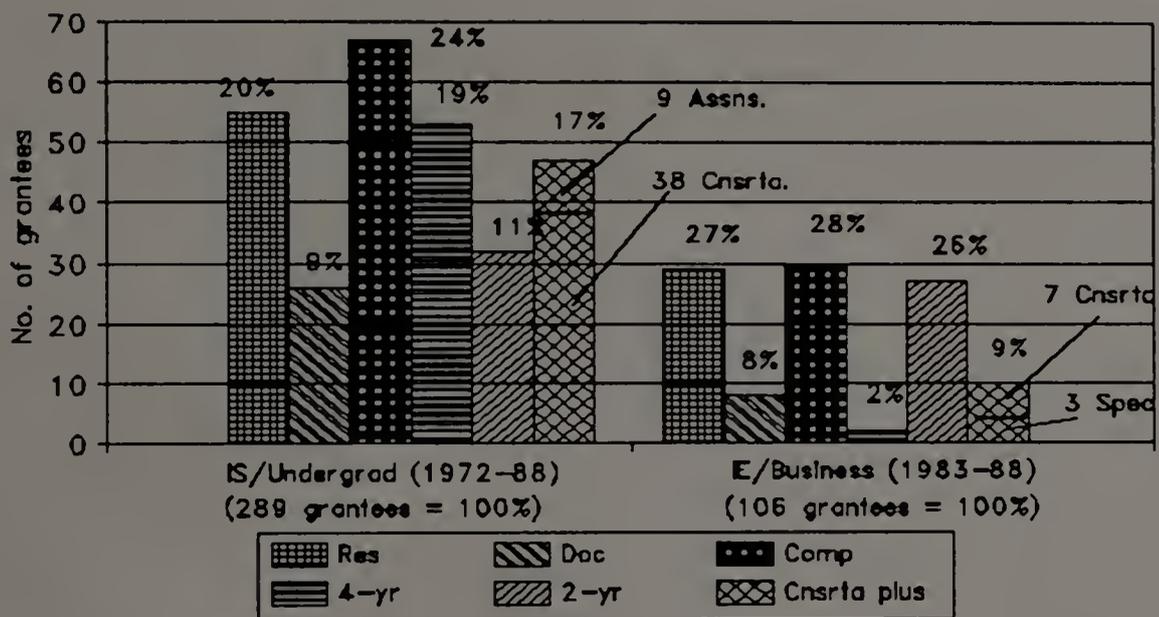


Figure 7.16. Grantee diversity in Title VI IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business programs

but did not predominate. The doctoral group was low in both programs. These institutions may have been the most affected by the reduced access to Title VI funding from the older Centers and Fellowship programs since they seemed to garner little Title VI funding from these two newer program windows.

Education Cumulative Funding List 1989-92", authorized under Title VI, part B of the Higher Education Act, U.S. Department of Education, (Washington, D.C., 20202, undated). For full source information on IE/Business see Appendix B.

The author can but speculate on the reasons. Following Garvin's arguments, the doctoral universities may have been more involved in bread-and-butter survival strategies to maintain their existing relatively expensive graduate training and research programs. This would have precluded them from expanding an interdisciplinary effort such as IE. Alternatively, they may have felt that the Centers and Fellowships program were more appropriate targets yet fairly inaccessible. A comparison of applicants with grantees would begin to answer this question but the author has grantee data rather than applicant data.

The comprehensive university group had the highest participation rates in both programs with 24% of the IS/Undergraduate and 29% of the IE/Business program. The foreign language and first professional degree business programs of these institutions seemed a particularly good fit for the programs. Several of the comprehensive universities and four year colleges that had participated in the Centers program before 1973 participated in the IS/Undergraduate program. This suggests that such new programs succeeded in some measure in replacing some of the access to Title VI funding lost from the Centers program. The four-year colleges participated strongly in the IS/Undergraduate program but not the IE/Business program. There was a particularly good fit for the IS/Undergraduate program with the four-year colleges interest in strengthening and modernizing the international dimension of their traditional liberal arts programs. For the two year colleges, these were the first two programs to provide access to Title VI funding. The two-year colleges represented 26% of the grantees in the IE/Business program and a respectable 11% in the IS/Undergraduate program. Many used the IE/Business program grants to improve

foreign language teaching and adapt curricula to the international market needs of local and state businesses.

Consortial participation patterns merit special attention. The "consortia plus" column in Figure 7.16. represents both vertical and horizontal consortia, special institutions and associations. Only three stand alone professional schools appeared in the special institutions group, all three in the IE/Business program. This stands in contrast to the professional schools within the research universities which took advantage of the IE/Business program to internationalize their curricula or faculty. Nine associations such as the American Council for Teaching Foreign Languages and the Association of Asian Studies were funded under the IS/Undergraduate program. This was the only Title VI program beyond the Research and Studies Program to fund associations. The associations spanned the world of higher and secondary education, harking back to Title VI's roots and impulses spurred within the IEA. The associations' participation further confirmed the seriousness of the IS/Undergraduate program in fulfilling its diffusion objectives for generalist education. The majority of the participants in the "consortia plus" category in both programs were typical consortia of institutions of higher education. In keeping with the greater diversity in these programs' participants, as many of these consortia were formed by groups of two-year colleges or comprehensives and four-year colleges as were anchored in research universities. Interesting institutional combinations occurred that confirmed the potential for diffusion impact of the overall mix of Title VI programming. The Pennsylvania Council for International Education (PACIE) with 6-55 institutions of higher education at different times and links to secondary education was anchored at

different times at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, a comprehensive, and at the University of Pennsylvania, a research university with a long Center track record.

The other three indicators reveal a more mixed pattern of institutional dispersion than these simple participation rates indicated in Figure 7.16. above. As shown in **Figure 7.17. Funds by institutional group in Title VI IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business programs**, total funding was substantially higher for "consortia plus" group in the IS/Undergraduate program and for the research universities group in the IE/Business program. In the IS/Undergraduate program, consortia and

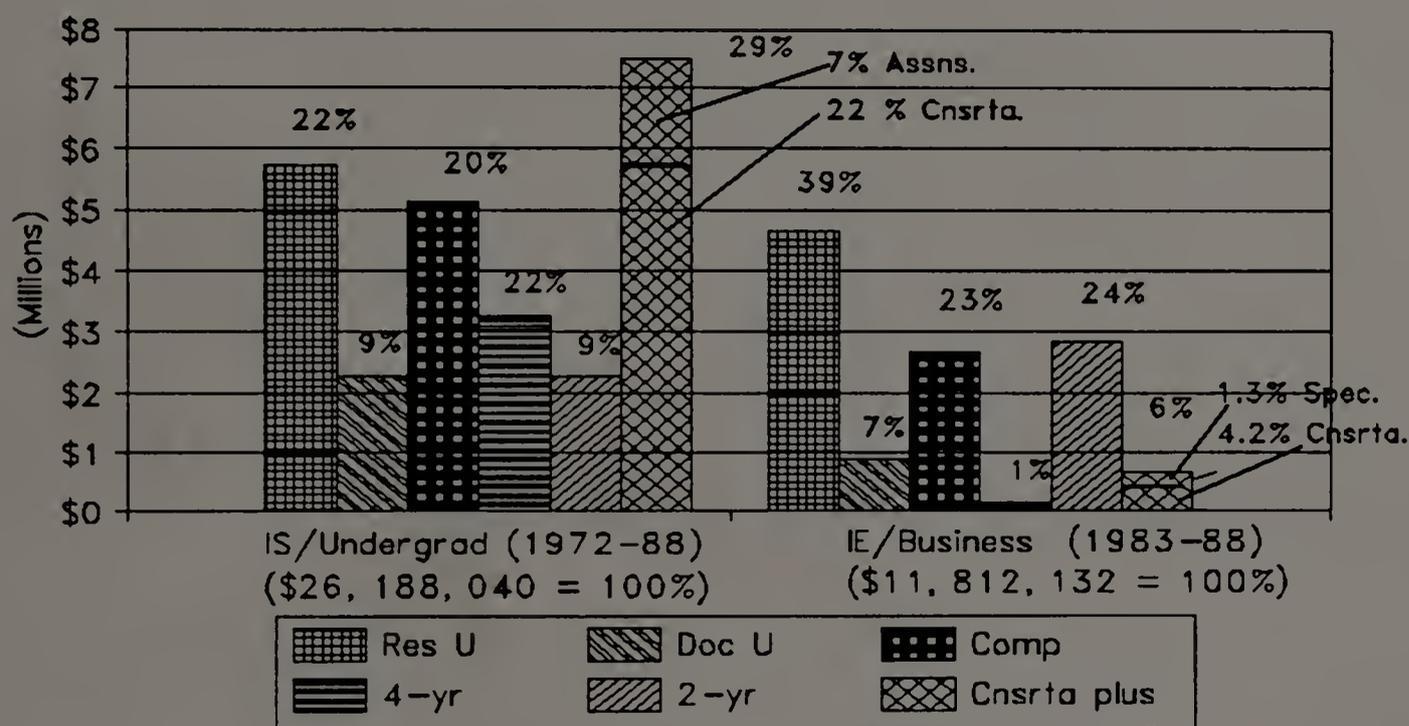


Figure 7.17. Funds by institutional group in Title VI IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business programs

associations' share of total funding was 29%, a full 12 points higher than their simple participation rate of 17%. Their share of grant years was 20.3%, higher by 4 percentage points than their simple participation rate. Their average grant of \$55,165 was 40% higher than the IS/Undergraduate program average of \$39,087.

Interestingly, the doctoral university group received less of the total but their average grant was the second largest at \$39,385 in the IS/Undergraduate program.¹⁹

In the IE/Business Program, the research universities received a somewhat larger share than their simple participation rate indicated but not as much greater as the consortia in the IS/Undergraduate program. The research universities received 39% of the total IE/Business funding, twelve points above their simple participation rate of 27%. Their share of grant years was 33%, higher by 6 percentage points than their simple participation rate. Their average grant of \$69,545 was 19% higher than the IE/Business program average of \$58,188. Interestingly, the two-year colleges received the next highest average grant at \$54,470 with the comprehensive group right behind with an average grant of \$54,326. This pattern of greater concentration of resources in the research universities fit the overall Title VI pattern yet it was substantially mitigated by the large participation of comprehensive and two year college groups. Compared to the IS/Undergraduate program, the greater concentration was more natural in the IE/Business program which had a large natural constituency in the research and doctoral university groups' business schools. It was consistent with the program's goals that several research universities applied these resources to internationalizing their business education programs, e.g., University of South Carolina, Michigan State University or the University of Maryland/College Park. These could be expected to serve the *traegerin* effect in business school networks. An example of this classic academic diffusion tradition was the Berkeley

¹⁹ "Consortia plus" included consortia of institutions of higher education plus higher education associations and special/professional schools.

Roundtable in International Economics which was funded in part with IE/Business grants for six years in the early 1980s.

The relatively greater funding for consortia and associations in the IS/Undergraduate program seemed to provide an incentive pattern congruent with the profitability needs of institutions to join forces in their internationalization efforts. Most notable were the many community colleges that banded together with consortial grants, primarily in the IS/Undergraduate but also in the IE/Business program. The statewide Pennsylvania initiative (PACIE) that was led alternately by a research university and a comprehensive university, was within the top twenty in total funding under the IS/Undergraduate program. The University of Minnesota which was a major recipient of Centers grants anchored a consortium with five area colleges that received four grants ranking it fourteenth in total funding under the IS/Undergraduate program. The University of Arizona and other Center recipients played similar roles in their states and regions within the IS/Undergraduate program. The incentives also seemed to fit the needs of key influentials, the disciplinary associations, in the overall internationalization of the system of higher education. For example, the American Council for Teaching Foreign Languages was number one in IS/Undergraduate grant funding and number of grants with 12 grants totalling nearly \$800,000. The International Studies Association and the Asian Studies Association, Inc. also worked in consortia with specific institutions as well as system-wide with substantial numbers of IS/Undergraduate grants.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary and Response to Initial Guide Questions

Several strong professional and personal interests motivated this study. These interests were synthesized into a single initial guide question: "How has the recent history of the federal relationship with higher education, anchored in cases of specific federal programs, affected the institutional capacity of the U.S. higher education system to sustain and expand its international dimension, to internationalize?" This academically naive question was translated into two more rigorous research questions that guided the analysis.

1) How effective have the federal case programs been in achieving their legislative aims *per se*? The question was addressed using the framework for analyzing the effectiveness of policy implementation. Legislative history provided the basic study methodology with data from legislative hearings, laws and supplementary secondary materials. The federal education policy stream was analyzed with an in depth case of NDEA/Title VI from 1959-1988. The foreign affairs policy stream was addressed as a counterpoint with the case of the Agency for International Development (AID) for 1969-1988. The cursory AID legislative history extended back to 1959. The case study analysis highlighted changes in the overall policy arena and advocacy coalitions, legislative goals and resources and implementation mechanisms including federal organization for international education programs.

2) What do higher education participation patterns in the case programs reveal about the effectiveness of these federal case programs and their impact on the structure and capacity of the international dimension of the higher education system?

The question provided a relatively simple proxy of the diffusion effects of the programs across the system. Participation and funding patterns were analyzed on the basis of institutional diversity, ownership balance and regional dispersion.

Participation data were analyzed in aggregate over both the Title VI and AID programs from 1969-1988. The participation data for all Title VI education programs was analyzed in some detail for the same period. The participation analysis provided a cross check on the legislative history. The participation patterns were compared to the stated goals of the programs, larger federal policy interests and the diffusion requirements discussed in the literature review.

To summarize the findings, the results of the analysis are translated into responses to the initial guide question. The initial guide question was broken into two sets of questions in Chapter 1 each taking different perspectives, i.e. of the federal programs or of the higher education participants. This arrangement presumed that the study would reveal that higher education held a different perspective on certain basic issues than the federal programs would. The assumption proved wrong. It turned out that the perspective of diffusion in higher education served as a mirror image of the perspective of public policy effectiveness. For the more factual and descriptive questions, the answers were the same from either perspective. For the questions designed to test parts of a theory, again the answers did not depend on either policy or higher education perspective. The questions have been combined to make the

responses intelligible. The interpretation and implications of the answers would certainly vary by the perspective of the respondent. In this case, the perspective taken humbly is of the author alone based on her findings.

Question 1) How have federal programs related to different groups of the more than 3000 institutions of higher education in the U.S., ranging from research universities to community colleges?

Answer: You may recall the quote from Clark Kerr in Chapter 2 where he described two waves of federal education policy after World War II. The first wave focused on excellence and advanced training and research. The second wave focused on equity and access beginning at the turn of the decade between the 1960s and the 1970s. Both Title VI and the AID programs were born in the excellence period. Without legislative guidance on its relationships with higher education, AID shifted the composition of its participating institutions under pressure from the higher education community, especially in the 1980s after Title XII and with the passage of the Gray Amendment. Institutional diversity in AID's programs was constrained by its mission-orientation. Title VI's legislative mandate was adjusted in 1972 and again in 1980 to accommodate the additional goal of institutional and ethnic diversity. The Centers grantees, mostly research universities, were the initial gatekeepers for the rest of the higher education system controlling funds for summer institutes for teachers and faculty while also retaining the bulk of the program's funding. Title VI administrators had begun responding to pressure from all types of institutions of higher education earlier than the legislative change four year colleges and undergraduates in the grantee pool. Title VI funding shrank at the same time its

mandate on institutional and program diversity expanded. The Centers helped to retain their share of the shrinking pie by allocating 15% of their budgets to the new mandates, i.e., to outreach to the larger public and teachers in schools and colleges. The new programs of Title VI, IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business, provided resources directly to other groups in the higher education system. The Centers retained some of their gatekeeper role for schools through the outreach programs.

The research universities have provided the main pillar of participation in the two federal case programs over the thirty year period studied. They have been ideally suited to meeting the most fundamental and longstanding goal of federal policy related to international education, i.e., to ensure an on-going pool of expertise and advanced knowledge about the rest of the world in the U.S. The research universities have been the primary source of graduate training, faculty expertise and research capacities in response to national needs for security, humanitarian and economic assistance, trade and economic relations and global economic competitiveness. The other institutional groups in the higher education system -- doctoral and comprehensive universities, four year and two year colleges and specialized institutions -- have become increasingly important actors in the federal programs beginning in the 1970s and more fully in the 1980s. Their inclusion coincided with the structural shift in federal policy goals to include the preparation of U.S. leadership for international roles through support for generalist and professional higher education. All parts of the higher education system have been engaged in responding to this newly identified need of internationally aware citizens and leaders by providing

undergraduate and professional training. Increasingly, all groups have come to play a role in meeting the national needs in terms of global economic competitiveness.

The two year colleges have had their highest participation in Title VI programs. The two year colleges participation in AID programs was understated in the data set because of their heavy participation in training programs that were reported without funding amounts. Professional schools had their highest participation in AID programs although professional schools housed within research universities also were present in Title VI programs. Higher education associations only participated in the Title VI program. Consortia of higher education institutions participated in both programs, more frequently in Title VI programs but with more funding per consortia in AID programs.

Question 2) What fields, disciplines and professions have been targeted or ignored by the programs?

Answer: Field preferences break down along program lines. Between the two programs with their very different disciplinary emphases and needs, it seems that virtually all academic fields have been addressed. There was even some evidence that the leadership of the research universities identified as most internationalized in Afonso's index targeted the two programs to build different parts of their institution's international capacity.

Title VI began with a heavy emphasis on foreign language learning, especially the non-western or less commonly taught languages. While languages have remained a cornerstone of Title VI, the social sciences and history have been longstanding targets and beneficiaries of the area studies support through Centers and Fellowships

program nearly from the beginning and through the IS/Undergraduate programs later.¹ International studies and international affairs have had ambiguous status within Title VI somewhere between area studies and the professions. International studies has been a separate category of the Centers and Fellowships programs since the 1970s. The professions have been latecomers to and relatively under represented in Title VI. Business education has been the primary target of professional education programs of Title VI with the IE/Business program since 1983. Other professions such as law, public health or public policy were targeted in the short-lived IS/Graduate program. The Centers and Fellowships programs have been encouraged to strengthen links with the professions since the 1970s. The natural sciences largely have been ignored in Title VI.

AID programs focused on fields supportive of their overseas development mission. This coincided with a number of professional fields such as agriculture and natural resources, education, public health, medicine or engineering. These professional fields have strong ties into the social sciences especially economics and anthropology as well as into the natural sciences especially biology or environmental sciences. AID's research and technical assistance programs worked most closely with these fields. Foreign languages when included were likely treated as an adjunct to graduate training or faculty development related to the larger AID program. AID's participant training programs in the U.S. for officials of AID clients overseas often

¹ The study focused on institutional rather than disciplinary issues of internationalization. Neither the legislative history nor the participation data were disaggregated by world region so the author cannot comment on particular relationships of either case program with any particular area studies group.

included support for programs in teaching English as a foreign language. The humanities beyond foreign languages largely have been ignored in AID programming.

Question 3) How have federal programs related to the public and private sectors of the U.S. higher education system?

Answer: The U.S. higher education system is split roughly 52%-48% between public and private institutions. In the larger federal education policy arena, there was an active attempt at even handedness between public and private sector institutions. Neither of the two case programs had any explicit preference for private or public sector institutions. Both programs had greater public sector participation than the overall system ownership pattern would suggest. Title VI was within two percentage points of the system ownership profile. AID showed a heavier public participation rate, higher by nine percentage points than the system profile. In line with the greater frequency of appearance, total funding also went more heavily to the public sector institution than to the private. This pattern was much more pronounced among AID participants than Title VI participants. In both programs, the average grant was lower for public than for private institutions most probably because of lower costs at the public institutions.

Part of the public emphasis may be explained by the use of percentages which overstated the distribution of participation in the study group relative to the total system. This was discussed in Chapter 7. Also the system profile did not include consortia which made up roughly 16% of the total study group. The relatively greater public sector participation may have larger explanations, e.g., preference by program administrators, greater interest by public sector institutions or simply a better

fit for the goals of the program. The study identified the pattern but did not provide sufficient comparative data to draw any conclusions about possible causes. It would be useful to apply more rigorous statistical analysis to see if the bias was significant toward the public sector of higher education especially in the AID program .

Question 4) How have federal programs related to higher education in different regions within the U.S.?

Answer: Equitable regional dispersion of programs and resources was a goal of federal education policy overall. Title VI programs received explicit legislative guidance to seek regional balance in 1964 after several years in operation. With the addition of the diffusion goal in 1972 and its reinforcement in 1980, regional and institutional equity were explicit legislative criteria for the new programs under Title VI. The Centers and Fellowships programs continued with a national resource focus. Their selection criteria were based first on merit and capacity and second on equity and dispersion issues. AID programs did not fall within the general education policy arena and the foreign affairs arena tended to work on criteria of capacity and merit rather than equity or dispersion. Still, AID tended to be concerned with regional distribution in all of its domestic contracting as part of its need to argue for political support from Congress.

The aggregate data from both programs showed a well balanced regional distribution pattern with institutional participation at roughly 25% per region in four regions of the U.S. Broken down by program, the institutional participation distribution by region was less balanced. Title VI participants clustered more densely in the Northeast and Midwest. AID participants were more dense in the

West/Southwest and the South/Southeast regions. When broken down by total funding, the regional distribution pattern was markedly imbalanced. The West/Southwest region was notable for the equal treatment by both Title VI and AID programs since it received roughly 27% of both programs' funds. The Midwest received most funding under both programs with the Northeast close behind. The South/Southeast region received the least funding. The low 7% of Title VI total funding in the region had several possible explanations. Lower funding could be explained in part by long term participation trends. The IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business programs had the greatest Southeastern participation but came late in the study. Historically, a minority of Centers and Fellowships participants which secured the highest average grants came from the region while a relatively higher proportion of participants came from the newer Title VI programs with lower average grants.

A breakdown of the data into shorter periods might reveal more balance in the eighties. The data did not permit further explanation of other causes for the Title VI shortfall in the Southeast. For AID the funding proportion of roughly 23% came close to the region's share of institutional participation. The lower funding may have been explained by lower costs typical of the region.

The regional distribution pattern analysis proved less definitive than the ownership analysis and so should be used cautiously. The author was not able to generate a baseline system profile of regional distribution of institutions of higher education comparable to the ownership profile. Still, she has not seen such an attempt at regional distribution analysis in other parts of the literature. The McDonnell study indicated that Title VI had not been able to conduct such analyses in

the 1970s because of staffing and operating cutbacks. Perhaps this study will spark more definitive work in this area. One of the questions for future research might relate to the Title VI programs in the South/Southeast. A comparison of applications received compared to grants awarded by region or a more detailed state-by-state analysis might be part of such an analysis. A more rigorous statistical analysis of the regional distribution of the study group relative to the overall system would help verify the significance of the funding differences by region.

Question 5) What does the legislative history and pattern of university and college participation in federal programs suggest about the historical diffusion of international capacity across the higher education system?

Answer: This is a fair question in terms of system impact but not in terms of program evaluation for the entire twenty to thirty year period of the study. Neither the AID nor the Title VI programs had any explicit institutional or geographic diffusion intentions in the early years of the programs. After 1970, Title VI explicitly sought both. AID implicitly supported both but did not explicitly seek them in most of its work with higher education institutions. The study focused on Title VI and provided a relatively strong basis for answering this question for Title VI. Answers for AID programs would be sketchy because the study did not review in depth the AID programs that specifically targeted institutional development of higher education, the 211(d) and subsequent similar grant programs.

AID primarily benefitted the research universities and specialized institutions or professional schools. There may have been some emulation and *traegerin* effects to the rest of the higher education system. In one of AID's later institutional

development programs, research universities were encouraged to pair with comprehensive or doctoral historically black institutions in a direct diffusion effort. Also, AID programs tended to support the research and practical training elements of university programs rather than the undergraduate teaching element. Partly because of the culture of the academic research community, AID supported a fair amount of conference and workshop activity that helped to diffuse techniques and ideas among participants. There was a fair level of consortial activity among some of the major AID participants. This reflected comparative advantages among different institutions, building strengths through shared financial and administrative resources that otherwise might not have existed in the U.S. higher education system, e.g. tropical agriculture or aquaculture research capacities.

Title VI focused on institutional capacity building from day one. The research universities were the primary beneficiaries through the longstanding Centers and Fellowships programs. Both actively promoted emulation and *traegerin* effects, both of which were identified as important elements in higher education diffusion of innovation. Fellowship recipients were expected to pursue academic careers, i.e. be the *traegerin* of international studies. Title VI provided various incentives over the years to expand the diffusion impact of the Centers. They supported faculty attending professional conferences and Title VI Center Directors meetings to share information. In the early years, the Centers participants could nearly double their Title VI funding by organizing summer institutes for college faculty and teachers. Also in the early years, Title VI administrators touted the serendipitous infection of the social sciences with foreign language and area studies interests because of the magnetic pull of the

language oriented Centers and Fellowships programs. In the late 1960s, 25% of Title VI Centers grants were going to institutions outside the research group.

After the funding cuts in 1971 and the program's restructuring, Title VI's new exemplary programs targeted resources directly to professional and undergraduate institutions. Other studies showed that these were among the most successful of federal programs at institutionalizing innovations they funded, a solid testimony to their diffusion impact. Through the tight budgets of the 1970s and 1980s, the Centers and Fellowships were preserved at a minimal level and managed to preserve an operating network among the research universities. The Centers allocated 15% of their budgets to outreach efforts, mostly with schools less with the colleges. As with AID, many universities formed consortia to apply Center resources to mutual advantage. Title VI explicitly encouraged consortial efforts by providing higher average grant levels in the Centers as well as in the IS/Undergraduate and IE/Business programs. These two programs reached relatively far into the higher education system through four year and two year colleges as well as comprehensive universities. They also supported higher education disciplinary associations to provide new materials and conduct faculty workshops and other clear diffusion efforts. Lack of funding not lack of demand seemed to be the only constraint on the program's diffusion impact. The Research and Studies program provided important support in the early years of Title VI in language materials development and diffusion. In later years as its budget was cut to make way for the other programs, Research and Studies shrank to a useful but not significant diffusion mechanism.

Question 6) What does the legislative history and participation pattern analysis suggest about federal programs' effects on the sustainability of internationalization efforts of clusters of individual universities and colleges?

Answer: This study confirmed Henson's conclusion that campus leadership from both administrators and faculty is the strongest determinant of successful internationalization. Funding alone does not make a vital international education program. Faculty or administrative leaders at universities or colleges could tap either of the two case programs to sustain their internationalization efforts. Title VI was far more compatible and ultimately more profitable a federal resource than AID for campus leadership. This assertion requires further explanation.

The literature review showed that smaller doses of funding for well-focused, compatible programs over longer periods were the most effective way for government programs to help institutionalize innovations in higher education. Title VI fit the pattern fairly snugly. The AID program funding levels were substantially higher than Title VI's but the programs tended to be harder to administer and less certain than Title VI in terms of either continuity or results. Overseas technical assistance contracts for AID were among the most difficult and least certain arrangements for universities. Host country contracting proved nearly impossible for many state universities. Participant training was among the most compatible and most certain of AID funded higher education activities. Research efforts fell somewhere in between depending on the scope, purpose and location of the research effort. In terms of compatibility, peer review was a natural mode of operation for universities and colleges. Title VI was entirely peer review even in its early contract days. AID used

peer review regularly only in its CRSP program of high level applied research.

Further study is needed to understand the different impact of the three types of AID work funded in universities, i.e., training, research and technical assistance.

The literature review indicated that adaptive programming was more effective than structured programming of government resources in programs requiring substantial creativity and experimentation by the participating institutions of higher education. Title VI programs provided great programmatic flexibility with goals related fairly clearly to both program and institutional elements of the internationalization ideal. The AID institutionally-oriented programs such as the 211(d) grants were even more flexible than Title VI but their goals generally addressed a much narrower section of the program element of the internationalization ideal. The lack of institutional guidelines in the AID programs may have hindered their effectiveness in contributing to internationalization efforts. Again, the literature review suggested that the more ambitious the goals, the more likely they would be implemented successfully. By providing ambitious and serious goals to participants, Title VI met this condition more fully than did AID with its *laissez faire* approach to institutional guidance for its projects in the U.S.

B. Comments on the Study Methodology

The legislative history case study methodology proved useful in exploring the implementation effectiveness of federal policy in the international higher education arena. Its reliance on documentary evidence was a drawback. Especially with the contemporary nature of the programs, many of the key actors in the programs'

evolution are still vigorous, e.g. John Brademas who was the point person for the IEA legislation or MacGeorge Bundy who was the President of the Ford Foundation as the ITR program ended. Interviews with some of these actors who were key in shaping the policy arena would have strengthened the analytic power of the legislative history. Similarly, many of the administration officials responsible for implementing the programs in Education and AID today were involved in earlier phases of the case programs. Interviews with them would have provided additional nuance and reduced potential misinterpretation of facts. With the time constraints of the author, the documentary evidence was perhaps all the data that could be collected realistically. While it provided a wealth of insight, future research would be well served by in-depth guided interviews.

The study began by posing a working hypothesis: the more congruent the federal programs have been with the internationalization goals of the higher education system, the more effectively they will have sustained and diffused international capacity within and across the system. The study began by making explicit the notion of an internationalization ideal for the U.S. higher education system. This heuristic device was to serve as a proxy for the higher education system's goals. This proved too large an assignment for the proxy.

The legislative history revealed the complexity of and variety of interests of the many parts of the higher education system. The possible combinations and permutations of the internationalization ideal within the different groups made moot the notion that a single ideal could encompass all goals. Still the ideal provided a listing of the various elements that were included in different goals of the main groups

within the higher education system. While the ideal could not be applied so simply or systematically as hoped, it provided a useful guide to the areas where the federal case programs could focus to advance the international capacity of the system. Both case programs were selected for their explicit interest in building international education institutional capacity. In fact, congruence with the internationalization ideal was very high with the Title VI program and lower with the AID programs. Afonso's index and Henson's research provided a useful starting point for specifying the larger system ideal which made no pretense of being a tested model. A refined model of internationalization could serve as useful basis for future research on these themes.

The study methodology was based on the assumption that internationalization could be studied as an institutional development phenomenon in higher education. While recognizing its strong faculty and curricular elements, the author presumed it could be addressed from an institutional rather than a disciplinary perspective. This proved to be less than completely true. Much of the most effective advocacy with congress and the executive came from the disciplinary associations rather than the institutional associations. The initial bias of the study downplayed the disciplinary associations in the literature review and may have diminished the value of the narrative and textual data. Also, the narrower focus kept the author from exploring the regional differences in the focus of the programs themselves, e.g. program concentration on East Asian studies as relative to African or Latin American Studies.

The study would have been strengthened with greater statistical rigor in the participation analysis. Yet the study's descriptive statistics provided a "first" in the literature to the author's knowledge. The descriptive statistics were sufficient to

verify general influence of the case programs and validate the effectiveness conclusions from the legislative history.

C. Recommendations for Further Research

Throughout the study and in the responses to the initial guide questions, a number of recommendations for further research surfaced. Three basic directions were identified for further research. First, the study could be extended in time, both the legislative case study and the participation analysis. Second, additional programs could be included in both parts of the analysis. Third, both sets of analysis could be expanded methodologically.

On the time dimension, the legislative history could be extended through 1988 or 1992 when new legislation came on stream in international education. The participation analysis also could be extended to 1992. Such an extension would test rather than assume a lag factor as the current study does. An extension backward into the 1950s would allow for an in depth case study of the transition from the Ford Foundation ITR program to the federal programs. This would enable the researcher to explore links between private philanthropy and the international education policy arena and higher education.

On methodological additions, the documentary legislative history could be complemented by in-depth interviews with key actors in the policy arena including legislators, education and AID officials and higher education leaders from associations and campuses. This would provide more nuance to the policy implementation analysis and triangulate insights drawn from legislative sources with other major

actors in the policy arena. Similarly, more disaggregated analysis of the participation data would strengthen its overall usefulness as a guide to policy and also help reveal the total impact of the federal programs on the higher education system. Additional statistical analysis would help determine the significance of some of the differential coverage identified in the aggregate. Disaggregation of the data into shorter time periods would strengthen ties between participation patterns and changing legislative intent. Studying the participation data by world region or substantive theme, e.g. Eastern Europe of business or environment, also would provide insight into the curricular and disciplinary dimensions of federal program impact.

On program additions, the legislative history could be extended to include the detail of the AID programs rather than simply the counterpoint provided in this study. Such an analysis might shed light on the fuller interests of the foreign affairs policy stream in the international education policy arena. A case study of the Fulbright-Hays program over the same period would provide another useful extension of the legislative history. Since the Fulbright-Hays program was implemented by the same federal education office as Title VI for the entire period, its inclusion would round-out the implementation effectiveness analysis. The addition of these two case studies would allow researchers to draw more insightful lessons from and about the education and the foreign affairs streams actions and interactions within the international education policy arena. The addition of Fulbright-Hays would complicate the participation analysis since it focused on individual exchange rather than institutional programs. Yet tracing the home institutions and career paths of Fulbright scholars would add substantially the understanding of the *traegerin* effect on participating

institutions and the larger links with the general institutional diffusion processes associated with Title VI. It also would contribute to understanding the disciplinary dimensions of the internationalization processes operating in higher education.

D. Lessons for the Future

The research was intended to contribute to understanding one of the contextual and strategic factors shaping the internationalization processes of the national higher education system in the U.S. The lessons of the historical development between federal programs and higher education may help people responsible for shaping the next phase of the national higher education system's response to the pressures of the era of interdependence. The last general question posed in Chapter 1 begs a speculative answer: What do the lessons from study suggest for the federal role in the future internationalization of U.S. higher education? At the risk of speculating beyond the study's findings, allow the author to respond.

Does higher education still need federal or other support for internationalization? Goodwin and Nacht argued that the U.S. higher education system is not developing its international capacity fast enough to help the nation meet the increasingly complex global challenges. They argued that the nation had to help higher education to address these challenges quickly. In this argument was a tacit assumption that federal leadership would play a key if not solo role. Otherwise the U.S. would again "miss the boat" at its peril.

This study has identified other times that the U.S. has missed the boat. The IEA was perhaps the most obvious missed opportunity. Larger political, educational

and economic forces worked to keep the IEA from achieving its promise of providing ongoing federal support for international innovation in all parts of the higher education system. At the time of the creation of NIE and FIPSE in 1972, how different would international education have been if international issues had been given special recognition and bureaucratic status in either new entity as ACE spokespersons argued? At the end of the Carter administration, one might argue that had there been some catalytic agent equivalent to Sputnik the policy streams may have coalesced in 1980 into another program as potent as the NDEA in 1959. One can only speculate on the possibilities had the policymakers of 1979 and 1980 found a way to weave together the new Title VI passed in the HEA amendments of 1980, the creation of the new Department of Education, the emphasis on public diplomacy and the creation of the new agencies within the State Department of USICA and ICA. What if instead of rolling the Export Foundation Act into Title VI as the IE/Business program, the federal government had created a larger international education foundation or endowment along the lines of NSF or NEH? The "what if" opportunities are numerous in this field.

Based on this study, the author cannot confirm or deny Goodwin and Nacht's premise that international capacity has been created fast enough or well enough to meet the nation's needs to meet global challenges. She can say that there was substantially stronger capacity in 1988 than existed in 1959 or 1965 or 1980. She can also affirm that this capacity did not stop developing in 1988 when the study ended. The addition of two major new programs to the federal international education stable for higher education suggests that the international education policy arena has become

stronger since 1988. The author would argue that such strengthening in federal policy has mirrored growing strengths and direction within the higher education community related to international education.

On the part of higher education, the author can confirm that international education and internationalization have become a regular part of the higher education value system. The study suggests that international education and internationalization have become a good thing even if they are not necessarily done or done well by all institutions of higher education. The study also confirms that international education is expensive and requires strong leadership and support. In-depth area studies or international affairs or international business training is resource intensive both in time and money. Because interdisciplinary programs typical of international education are expensive, there is a danger that they might be lost or shrunk as higher education again enters another era of shrinking budgets. In the past, external support has helped academic leaders to argue their case and leverage existing resources to preserve or build international programs on campus. Legislators have been most receptive to higher education initiatives when presented with a common front. It is well beyond the scope of the study to know if the higher education associations, both institutional and disciplinary are prepared to mount such a battle. It is beyond the ken of the author to predict how receptive the policy arena would be to such an initiative. Yet the lessons of the study suggest that the mid-1990s political environment will not be terribly hospitable with the U.S. President focused on domestic policy and severe fiscal pressure on all levels of government.

This study developed the premise that there is an international higher education policy arena. Despite early reluctance, the U.S. Congress made clear over time that the federal government has a special responsibility to support international education as a substantive field beyond the more limited constitutional role of the federal government in education overall. Certainly the policy arena was forming in the early days of the NDEA. It crystallized around the IEA and sputtered along in the IEA's wake. Since 1980, it has continued to grow if not flourish. The existence of an international higher education policy arena presumes there a core set of issues is addressed, program resources are committed to them and an on-going policy commitment exists toward them. Such a policy arena has been very fluid. It has included not just Title VI proponents and the Education Department officials but also foreign affairs interests with AID, Fulbright-Hays programs, international business and Department of Commerce and the newest Senate sponsored program of Boren fellowships and grants. Virtually all parts of the higher education community participate to some extent in this policy arena through the institutional associations based in Washington, D.C.

Yet it is legitimate to question whether an on-going policy arena really exists. Some of the core issues that confront the international higher education policy arena may also be the interests that divide it and effectively emasculate it. The primary educational issues cannot be limited to higher education since the feeder programs in schools are crucial. Some of the major actors blend both worlds, e.g., the Asian Studies Association, CAFLIS or ACE itself. Yet combining school and college issues historically has not been very productive in the federal legislative arena. Also,

policy formulation is divided between foreign affairs and education legislative committees which makes it difficult to identify the legislative leadership in the policy arena. The task of forming legislative leadership for the policy arena becomes more complicated as the scope of foreign affairs expands to include more than military and security or diplomacy or foreign assistance issues to include business, trade, commerce and immigration. The complications are compounded as the scope of international education expands along similar lines. Paradoxically, the very expansion of complexity of international affairs and international education that makes both policy and education difficult increases the demands on and within the policy arena for action.

Traditionally, some catalytic event has been required to knit together the loose strands floating within the policy arena into the full fabric of a new policy or program. The IEA showed that good will and idealism, academic and presidential support were not enough to catalyze a major new international education initiative. Is it possible as Goodwin and Nacht suggested that competition from overseas to U.S. higher education will provide the catalyst? How would the policy arena mobilize in response? Other research to understand the strength and development of an international higher education policy arena would be needed to answer such questions.

Without a legislative catalyst or major new policy or program initiative it may be useful to speculate on the organization of the federal programs supporting international efforts of higher education. Three ideas have surfaced regularly over the history of the two case programs. They are presented in descending order of observed federal commitment to the policy arena: creation of new national

infrastructure; better linking across existing programs; and greater demand from higher education shifting resources in existing programs.

One organizational suggestion that has been raised regularly relates to the appropriate instrument to administer international education programs within the federal government. Representative Brademas in the early 1960s asked if a national foundation such as the NEH might not be a better vehicle to implement Title VI rather than individual colleges. The Nixon administration planned to integrate international programs into the NIE and FIPSE structure but that administration's motives were suspect after they tried to kill Title VI in 1970 and 1971. With the export foundation proposed in 1980, the idea of national infrastructure rather than categorical programs was raised again. Also, the idea of a foundation or endowment that would combine all of the higher and elementary and secondary international education efforts was raised in the context of an integrated program to encompass Title VI, Fulbright-Hays and other institutional or individual programs of international education. The recent success of the Boren program to set up a trust fund might augur well for reviving the national foundation strategy. Or it may simply prove that a powerful legislator's backing is crucial to any major international education initiative.

With executive branch leadership, links could be strengthened between the foreign affairs and education agencies. Much of the dynamism leading up to the IEA came from the secretary and deputy secretary level of these agencies with White House encouragement. Without such high level leadership, such links are less likely. The introduction of the new CIBERs program into the Title VI umbrella through a

legislative initiative sponsored by the Department of Commerce bodes well for such linking efforts. The creation of a separate operating home under the Department of Defense rather than under the Title VI umbrella for the new Boren program counters the Commerce example of linking potential.² Barring new programs, new national infrastructure or better linking across programs, it may be possible that concerted advocacy from higher education could result in an increase in resources available for existing programs such as Title VI. Funding existing Title VI programs at the \$90 million level proposed for the IEA in 1966 would provide a nearly unimaginable boost to the internationalization efforts underway in the higher education system. Concerted higher education demand might also help shift existing programs toward international concerns. Neither NIE nor FIPSE have special international windows but their existing program guidelines do not preclude internationalist applications. The study suggests that the operating strategy has been more likely to occur than the concerted advocacy strategy within the higher education system.

In conclusion, the history of federal international education programs with higher education shows federal commitment growing to a solid but low level. The federal programs have played an important role in supporting the internationalization efforts of participating higher education institutions but they have not provided substantial enough resources to a large enough portion of the higher education system

² There were special budget agreements that precluded transferring funds from the intelligence accounts that had been tapped to fund the Boren program for international education. However, once the budget agreements lapsed the program was not transferred to USDE even though it was legally possible. Later, Vice President Gore's task force report on government efficiency recommended that the Boren program be transferred. As of this writing, no action had begun to implement that recommendation. The author is familiar with the program as a member of a Boren program working group.

to have had a singular influence on internationalization processes overall. Strong advocacy from higher education from both disciplinary and institutional associations has been necessary over the years to bolster legislative commitments and preserve program resources. Barring some catalytic agent or a strong unified advocacy effort from higher education, the prospects are not bright for a stronger federal role in institutionalizing international capacity in the U.S. higher education system in the near future. Higher education will continue to internationalize. It could move more quickly and effectively with extremely modest increments in federal support.

To close with the metaphor that opened the study, the nation is not likely to "miss the boat." Higher education is working to ensure that the U.S. catches the boat, slowly but surely. Federal policy makers have both reason and duty pushing them to support higher education's international efforts. As in the past, higher education must continue to stake its claim on federal resources. As in the past, higher education cannot expect a rising tide of federal resources to lift its internationalization efforts even with strong rhetorical winds. Bold would be the researcher to predict the catalytic agent that could turn national rhetoric into a *tsunami* of resources for international education.

The questions of the past press into the future. How will the mix of hope and fear inspired by global forces affect the international education federal policy arena? How much of the higher education fleet will find fuel for internationalization in federal programs?

APPENDIX A
CLASSIFICATION GUIDES TO THE STUDY GROUP

Table A.1. Summary of Carnegie Classification over three periods

	1970		1976				70-76		1987					
	Total	%	Public	Priv	Total	%	#	%	Public	Priv	Total	%	#	%
Research Univ I	52		29	22	51		-1	-1.9%	45	25	70		19	37.3%
II	40		33	14	47		7	17.5%	26	8	34		-13	-27.7%
Total	92	3.5%	62	36	98	3.5%	6	6.5%	71	33	104	3.4%	6	6.1%
100%			63.3%	36.7%					68.3%	31.7%				
Doctoral Univ I	53		38	18	56		3	5.7%	30	21	51		-5	-8.9%
II	28		19	11	30		2	7.1%	33	25	58		28	93.3%
Total	81	3.1%	57	29	86	3.1%	5	6.2%	63	46	109	3.5%	23	26.7%
100.0%			66.3%	33.7%					57.8%	42.2%				
Comprehensive U I	323		250	131	381		58	18.0%	284	140	424		43	11.3%
II	133		104	109	213		80	60.2%	47	124	171		-42	-19.7%
Total	456	17.3%	354	240	594	21.2%	138	30.3%	331	264	595	19.3%	1	0.2%
100.0%			59.6%	40.4%					55.6%	44.4%				
4-year College I	146		0	123	123		-23	-15.8%	2	140	142		19	15.4%
II	575		11	449	460		-115	-20.0%	30	400	430		-30	-6.5%
Total	721	27.3%	11	572	583	20.8%	-138	-19.1%	32	540	572	18.6%	-11	-1.9%
100.0%			1.9%	98.1%					5.6%	94.4%				
2-year College	1063	40.3%	909	237	1146	40.9%	83	7.8%	985	382	1367	44.4%	221	19.3%
100.0%			79.3%	20.7%					72.1%	27.9%				
Special/Profl														
medicine	43		32	19	51		8	18.6%	32	24	56		5	9.8%
public health	26		1	25	26		0	0.0%	2	38	40		14	53.8%
engineering	32		8	38	46		14	43.8%	8	23	31		-15	-32.6%
business	28		1	33	34		6	21.4%	1	43	44		10	29.4%
art	50		5	50	55		5	10.0%	4	59	63		8	14.5%
law	14		1	15	16		2	14.3%	1	18	19		3	18.8%
education	9		3	25	28		19	211.1%	1	6	7		-21	-75.0%
other	23		19	15	34		11	47.8%	17	35	52		18	52.9%
corporate	0		0	0	0		0	na	0	21	21		21	na
non-traditional	na		3	3	6		6	na	na	na	na		na	na
Total	225	8.5%	73	223	296	10.6%	71	31.6%	66	267	333	10.8%	37	12.5%
100%			24.7%	75.3%					19.8%	80.2%				
Secular total	2638	100%	1466	1337	2803	100%	165	6.3%	1548	1532	3080	100%	277	9.9%
			91.2%						90.9%					
.....														
Religious instns	199	7.0%	0	269	269	8.8%	70	35.2%		309	309	9.1%	40	14.9%
Total			0%	100%					0%	100%				
All category total	2837	100%			3072	100%	235	8.3%			3389	100%	317	10.3%

Table A.2. Regional classification guide

All U.S. states except Alaska plus Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia were represented in the study group.

Midwest		Northeast	
-----		-----	
IA	Iowa	CT	Connecticut
IL	Illinois	DC	District of Columbia
IN	Indiana	DE	Delaware
KS	Kansas	MA	Massachusetts
MI	Michigan	MD	Maryland
MN	Minnesota	ME	Maine
MO	Missouri	NH	New Hampshire
ND	North Dakota	NJ	New Jersey
NE	Nebraska	NY	New York
OH	Ohio	PA	Pennsylvania
SD	South Dakota	RI	Rhode Island
WI	Wisconsin	VT	Vermont
---		---	
12	states	12	states

South/Southeast		West/Southwest	
-----		-----	
AK	Arkansas	AZ	Arizona
AL	Alabama	CA	California
FL	Florida	CO	Colorado
GA	Georgia	HA	Hawaii
KY	Kentucky	ID	Idaho
LA	Louisiana	MT	Montana
MS	Mississippi	NM	New Mexico
NC	North Carolina	NV	Nevada
PR	Puerto Rico	OK	Oklahoma
SC	South Carolina	OR	Oregon
TN	Tennessee	TX	Texas
VA	Virginia	UT	Utah
WV	West Virginia	WA	Washington
---		WY	Wyoming
---		---	
13	states	14	states

O = Overseas
 N = National
 R = Regional
 U = unknown

MW = Midwest
 NE = Northeast
 SE = South/Southeast
 WSW = West/Southwest

Table A.3. Summary classification guide for study participants

Count by		Location		Owner-ship	CC in...		Federal Program		Institutions participating in federal programs
Group 1-9	1-7	Region	State		1976	1987	AID	ED	
Research Univ (1.1, 1.2).....									
1	1	WSW	AZ	public	1.1		AID	ED	Arizona, U of
2	2	NE	MA	private	1.1		AID	ED	Boston U
3	3	WSW	CA	private	1.1		AID		Cal Inst of Tech
4	4	WSW	CA	public	1.1		AID	ED	Cal, U of/Berkeley
5	5	WSW	CA	public	1.1		AID	ED	Cal, U of/Davis
6	6	WSW	CA	public	1.1		AID	ED	Cal, U of/LosAngeles
7	7	WSW	CA	public	1.1		AID	ED	Cal, U of/SanDiego
8	8	MW	OH	private	1.1		AID	ED	Case Western Reserve
9	9	MW	IL	private	1.1		AID	ED	Chicago, U of
10	10	WSW	CO	public	1.1		AID	ED	Colorado St U
11	11	WSW	CO	public	1.1		AID	ED	Colorado, U of/Boulder
12	12	NE	NY	private	1.1		AID	ED	Columbia U
13	13	NE	NY	private	1.1		AID	ED	Cornell U
14	14	SE	NC	private	1.1		AID	ED	Duke U
15	15	SE	FL	public	1.1		AID	ED	Florida, U of
16	16	SE	GA	public	1.1		AID	ED	Georgia, U of
17	17	NE	MA	private	1.1		AID	ED	Harvard U
18	18	WSW	HA	public	1.1		AID	ED	Hawaii, U of/Manoa
19	19	MW	IL	public	1.1		AID	ED	IL, U of/Urbana-Cham
20	20	MW	IA	public	1.1		AID	ED	Iowa, U of/Iowa Cty
21	21	NE	MD	private	1.1		AID	ED	Johns Hopkins U
22	22	NE	MD	public	1.1		AID	ED	MD, U of/Coll Pk
23	23	MW	MN	public	1.1		AID	ED	MN, U of
24	24	NE	MA	private	1.1		AID		Mass Inst Tech (MIT)
25	25	SE	FL	private	1.1		AID	ED	Miami, U of (FL)
26	26	MW	MI	public	1.1		AID	ED	Mich St U
27	27	MW	MI	public	1.1		AID	ED	Mich, U of
28	28	MW	MO	public	1.1		AID	ED	Missouri, U of/Columbia
29	29	SE	NC	public	1.1		AID	ED	NC St U
30	30	SE	NC	public	1.1		AID	ED	NC, U of
31	31	NE	NY	private	1.1		AID	ED	New York U
32	32	MW	IL	private	1.1		AID	ED	Northwestern U
33	33	MW	OH	public	1.1		AID	ED	Ohio St U
34	34	WSW	OR	public	1.1		AID	ED	Oregon St U
35	35	NE	PA	public	1.1		AID	ED	Penn St U
36	36	NE	PA	private	1.1		AID	ED	Penn, U of
37	37	NE	PA	public	1.1		AID	ED	Pittsburgh, U of
38	38	NE	NJ	private	1.1		AID	ED	Princeton U
39	39	MW	IN	public	1.1		AID		Purdue U
40	40	NE	NY	private	1.1			ED	Rochester, U of
41	41	NE	NY	private	1.1		AID		Rockefeller U
42	42	WSW	CA	private	1.1		AID	ED	SoCal, U of
43	43	WSW	CA	private	1.1		AID	ED	Stanford U
44	44	WSW	TX	public	1.1		AID	ED	Texas A&M U

45	45	WSW	TX	public	1.1		AID	ED	Texas, U of/Austin
46	46	WSW	UT	public	1.1		AID	ED	Utah, U of/Salt Lake
47	47	NW	WI	public	1.1		AID	ED	WI, U of/Madison
48	48	NW	MO	private	1.1		AID	ED	Wash'ton U/St Louis
49	49	WSW	WA	public	1.1		AID	ED	Wash'ton, U of/Seattle
50	50	NE	CT	private	1.1		AID	ED	Yale U
51	51	SE	AK	public	1.2	2.1	AID		Arkansas, U of
52	52	SE	AL	public	1.2		AID		Auburn U
53	53	NE	MA	private	1.2		AID	ED	Brandeis U
54	54	NE	RI	private	1.2		AID	ED	Brown U
55	55	WSW	CA	public	1.2	1.1	AID		Cal, U of/Riverside
56	56	NE	PA	private	1.2		AID		Carnegie Mellon U
57	57	NE	DC	private	1.2	2.1	AID		Catholic U
58	58	NW	OH	public	1.2			ED	Cincinnati, U of
59	59	WSW	CA	private	1.2			ED	Claremont Grad School
60	60	NE	CT	public	1.2	1.1	AID	ED	Conn, U of
61	61	SE	GA	private	1.2		AID	ED	Emory U
62	62	SE	FL	public	1.2		AID		Florida St U
63	63	NE	DC	private	1.2		AID	ED	George Washington U
64	64	NE	DC	private	1.2		AID	ED	Georgetown U
65	65	SE	GA	public	1.2	1.1	AID	ED	Georgia Inst Tech
66	66	NE	DC	private	1.2	1.1	AID	ED	Howard U
67	67	NW	IN	public	1.2	1.1	AID	ED	Indiana U/Bloomington
68	68	NW	IA	public	1.2		AID	ED	Iowa St U of S&T
69	69	NW	KS	public	1.2		AID	ED	Kansas St U of Ag&AppSci
70	70	NW	KS	public	1.2		AID	ED	Kansas, U of
71	71	SE	KY	public	1.2	1.1	AID	ED	Kentucky, U of
72	72	SE	LA	public	1.2	1.1	AID	ED	Louisiana St U A&M
73	73	NE	MA	public	1.2		AID	ED	Mass, U of/Amherst
74	74	NW	OH	public	1.2	2.1		ED	Miami U of Ohio
75	75	SE	MS	public	1.2		AID	ED	Mississippi St U
76	76	NW	NE	public	1.2		AID	ED	Nebraska, U of/Lincoln
77	77	WSW	NM	public	1.2	1.1	AID	ED	New Mexico, U of
78	78	WSW	OK	public	1.2		AID	ED	OK St U/Stillwater
79	79	WSW	OK	public	1.2		AID		OK, U of
80	80	WSW	OR	public	1.2		AID	ED	Oregon, U of
81	81	NE	NY	private	1.2			ED	Rensselaer Polytech
82	82	NE	NJ	public	1.2	1.1	AID	ED	Rutgers U
83	83	NE	NY	public	1.2	1.1	AID		SUNY/Stonybrook
84	84	NW	IL	public	1.2			ED	Southern IL U/Carbondale
85	85	NW	MO	private	1.2	2.1	AID		St. Louis U
86	86	NE	NY	private	1.2		AID	ED	Syracuse U
87	87	SE	TN	public	1.2	1.1	AID	ED	Tenn, U/Knoxville
88	88	NE	MA	private	1.2	2.1	AID	ED	Tufts U
89	89	SE	LA	private	1.2		AID	ED	Tulane U
90	90	WSW	UT	public	1.2		AID	ED	Utah State U/Logan
91	91	SE	VA	public	1.2	1.1	AID	ED	VA Poly Inst (VPI)
92	92	SE	VA	public	1.2	1.1	AID	ED	VA, U of
93	93	NE	VT	public	1.2	2.2	AID	ED	VT, U of/St.AgColl
94	94	SE	TN	private	1.2	1.1	AID	ED	Vanderbilt U
95	95	SE	WV	public	1.2		AID	ED	W VA U

96	96	WSW	WA	public	1.2		AID	ED	Washington St U
97	97	MW	MI	public	1.2		AID		Wayne St U
Doctoral Univ (1.1, 1.2).....									
98	1	SE	AL	public	2.1			ED	Alabama, U of/Tuscaloosa
99	2	NE	DC	private	2.1	1.2	AID	ED	American U
100	3	MW	IN	public	2.1			ED	Ball St U
101	4	NE	MA	private	2.1		AID	ED	Boston C
102	5	MW	OH	public	2.1			ED	Bowling Green St U
103	6	WSW	CA	public	2.1		AID		Cal, U of/SantaCruz
104	7	WSW	CA	public	2.1	1.2		ED	Cal, U of/StaBarbara
105	8	SE	SC	public	2.1		AID		Clemson U
106	9	NE	NH	private	2.1	2.2	AID	ED	Dartmouth C
107	10	NE	DE	public	2.1	1.2	AID		Delaware, U of
108	11	WSW	CO	private	2.1		AID	ED	Denver, U of
109	12	NE	NY	private	2.1			ED	Fordham Univ
110	13	WSW	TX	public	2.1		AID	ED	Houston, U of
111	14	MW	IL	public	2.1	1.1		ED	IL, U of/Chicago
112	15	WSW	ID	public	2.1		AID	ED	Idaho, U of
113	16	NE	PA	private	2.1			ED	Lehigh U
114	17	NE	ME	public	2.1	2.2	AID		Maine, U of/Orono
115	18	WSW	MT	public	2.1		AID	ED	Montana St U/C
116	19	WSW	MT	public	2.1	2.2	AID	ED	Montana, U of
117	20	NE	NH	public	2.1		AID	ED	NH, U of (Durham)
118	21	WSW	NM	public	2.1	1.1	AID	ED	New Mexico St U
119	22	WSW	CO	public	2.1		AID		NoColorado, U of
120	23	MW	IL	public	2.1			ED	Northern IL U
121	24	MW	IN	private	2.1		AID		Notre Dame, U of
122	25	MW	OH	public	2.1		AID	ED	Ohio U
123	26	NE	NY	private	2.1	2.2		ED	Polytech Inst/Brooklyn
124	27	NE	RI	public	2.1	1.2	AID	ED	Rhode Island, U of
125	28	WSW	TX	private	2.1		AID	ED	Rice U
126	29	SE	SC	public	2.1	1.2		ED	SC, U of/Columbia
127	30	NE	NY	public	2.1	1.2		ED	SUNY/Albany
128	31	NE	NY	public	2.1			ED	SUNY/Binghamton
129	32	MW	IL	public	2.1	1.2	AID	ED	So IL U/Carbondale
130	33	WSW	TX	public	2.1		AID		Texas Tech U
131	34	MW	OH	public	2.1			ED	Toledo, U of
132	35	SE	VA	public	2.1	1.2	AID	ED	VA Commonwealth U
133	36	MW	WI	public	2.1			ED	WI, U of/Milwaukee
134	37	WSW	WY	public	2.1	1.2	AID	ED	Wyoming, U of
135	38	MW	OH	public	2.2	2.1	AID		Akron, U. of
136	39	WSW	AZ	public	2.2	1.2		ED	Arizona St U (Tempe)
137	40	NE	MA	private	2.2		AID		Clark U
138	41	NE	NY	private	2.2			ED	Hofstra U (NY)
139	42	MW	IL	public	2.2			ED	IL St U (Normal)
140	43	WSW	CA	private	2.2		AID	ED	Loma Linda U (CA)
141	44	MW	MO	public	2.2		AID		Missouri, U of/Rolla
142	45	SE	NC	public	2.2			ED	NC, U of/Greensboro
143	46	WSW	NV	public	2.2		AID		Nevada, U of
144	47	MW	ND	public	2.2		AID		NoDakota St U of A&S
145	48	MW	SD	public	2.2	3.1	AID		SoDakota St U/C of A&M Arts

146	49	MW	SD	public	2.2		AID	ED	SoDakota, U of
147	50	SE	FL	public	2.2	2.1	AID		SoFlorida, U of
148	51	MW	MI	public	2.2	2.1	AID		Western Mich U

Comprehensive Univ (3.1, 3.2).....

149	1	SE	AL	public	3.1		AID		Alabama A&M U
150	2	SE	AL	public	3.1		AID		Alabama at Birmingham, U of
151	3	SE	MS	public	3.1	3.2		ED	Alcorn St U (MISS)
152	4	SE	NC	public	3.1			ED	Appalachian St U (NC)
153	5	MW	MN	public	3.1			ED	Bemidji St U (MN)
154	6	MW	IL	public	3.1			ED	Bradley C/U (IL)
155	7	NE	PA	private	3.1	4.1		ED	Bucknell U
156	8	NE	NY	public	3.1			ED	CUNY
157	9	NE	NY	public	3.1			ED	CUNY/C of Staten Island
158	10	WSW	CA	public	3.1			ED	Cal St Poly/Pomona
159	11	WSW	CA	public	3.1		AID	ED	Cal St Poly/SLO
160	12	WSW	CA	public	3.1			ED	Cal St/Chico
161	13	WSW	CA	public	3.1			ED	Cal St/Dominguez Hills
162	14	WSW	CA	public	3.1		AID	ED	Cal St/Fresno
163	15	WSW	CA	public	3.1		AID		Cal St/Fullerton
164	16	WSW	CA	public	3.1		AID		Cal St/LA
165	17	WSW	CA	public	3.1		AID		Cal St/Sacramento
166	18	MW	OH	private	3.1			ED	Capital U (OH)
167	19	NE	CT	public	3.1			ED	Central CT St U
168	20	SE	FL	public	3.1	3.1		ED	Central FL, U of
169	21	MW	MO	public	3.1			ED	Central MO St U
170	22	NE	PA	public	3.1		AID		Clarion St C
171	23	MW	OH	public	3.1	2.2	AID		Cleveland St U
172	24	WSW	CO	public	3.1			ED	Colorado, U of (Denver)
173	25	MW	IL	private	3.1			ED	DePaul U
174	26	NE	PA	private	3.1	2.2		ED	Duquesne U
175	27	MW	MI	public	3.1		AID	ED	Eastern Mich U
176	28	NE	PA	private	3.1	3.2		ED	Elizabethtown C
177	29	MW	IN	private	3.1			ED	Evansville, U of
178	30	MW	MI	public	3.1		AID		Ferris St U
179	31	SE	FL	public	3.1		AID		Florida A&M U
180	32	SE	FL	public	3.1		AID	ED	Florida Intl U
181	33	SE	VA	public	3.1		AID		George Mason U
182	34	WSW	WA	private	3.1			ED	Gonzaga U
183	35	MW	IL	public	3.1			ED	Governor's St U (IL)
184	36	SE	LA	public	3.1			ED	Grambling St U
185	37	SE	VA	private	3.1		AID		Hampton U/Inst
186	38	SE	PR	private	3.1		AID		Intl C (PR)
187	39	NE	NY	private	3.1			ED	Ithaca Coll
188	40	SE	MS	public	3.1		AID		Jackson St U
189	41	MW	OH	private	3.1			ED	John Carroll
190	42	NE	PA	private	3.1			ED	LaSalle C
191	43	NE	NY	private	3.1		AID	ED	Long Island U
192	44	NE	MA	public	3.1			ED	Lowell, U of
193	45	SE	LA	private	3.1		AID		Loyola U of New Orleans
194	46	SE	VA	private	3.1	3.2		ED	Lynchburg C
195	47	NE	MD	public	3.1	2.2		ED	MD, U of (Balt Cty)
196	48	MW	MN	public	3.1			ED	MN, U of/Duluth

197	49	MW	MI	private	3.1		ED	Madonna C
198	50	NE	NY	private	3.1		ED	Manhattan C
199	51	MW	MN	public	3.1		ED	Mankato St U
200	52	WSW	CO	public	3.1		ED	Metropolitan St C
201	53	SE	TN	public	3.1	2.2	AID	Middle Tenn St U
202	54	SE	MS	public	3.1	3.2	AID	Miss. Valley St U
203	55	MW	MO	public	3.1	2.1	ED	Missouri, U of/St Louis
204	56	SE	KY	public	3.1		AID ED	Morehead St U (ky)
205	57	NE	MD	public	3.1		AID	Morgan St U
206	58	SE	NC	public	3.1		AID	NC A&T St U
207	59	SE	NC	public	3.1		ED	NC, U of/Charlotte
208	60	MW	NE	public	3.1		AID ED	Nebraska, U of/Omaha
209	61	NE	NY	private	3.1		AID	Niagara U
210	62	WSW	AZ	public	3.1	1.2	ED	NoArizona U/Flagstaff
211	63	SE	FL	public	3.1		ED	NoFlorida, U of
212	64	MW	MI	public	3.1		ED	Oakland U
213	65	MW	OH	private	3.1		ED	Ohio Wesleyan U
214	66	SE	VA	public	3.1		AID ED	Old Dominion U
215	67	NE	NY	private	3.1		AID ED	Pace U
216	68	WSW	WA	private	3.1		ED	Pacific Luth'n U
217	69	NE	PA	public	3.1		ED	Pitt, U of/Johnstown
218	70	WSW	OR	public	3.1	2.2	ED	Portland St U
219	71	WSW	TX	public	3.1		AID	Prairie View A&M U
220	72	SE	PR	public	3.1		AID ED	Puerto Rico, U of
221	73	SE	PR	public	3.1		ED	PuertoRico,U of/Mayaguez
222	74	NE	CT	private	3.1		ED	Quinnipiac C
223	75	SE	SC	public	3.1		AID	SC St C
224	76	SE	SC	public	3.1		AID	SC, U of/Coastal Carolina
225	77	NE	NY	public	3.1		ED	SUNY/Brockport
226	78	NE	NY	public	3.1	1.2	ED	SUNY/Buffalo
227	79	NE	NY	public	3.1		ED	SUNY/Fredonia
228	80	NE	NY	public	3.1		ED	SUNY/Plattsburgh
229	81	MW	MI	public	3.1		ED	Saginaw Valley St C
230	82	WSW	TX	public	3.1		AID	Sam Houston U
231	83	WSW	CA	public	3.1		AID ED	San Diego St C/U
232	84	WSW	CA	public	3.1		ED	San Francisco St U
233	85	WSW	CA	public	3.1		AID	San Jose St U
234	86	WSW	WA	private	3.1		ED	Seattle U
235	87	NE	NJ	private	3.1		ED	Seton Hall U (NJ)
236	88	SE	AL	public	3.1		ED	So Alabama, U of/Mobile
237	89	WSW	OK	public	3.1		ED	SoEastern OK St U
238	90	SE	LA	public	3.1		AID	SoWestern LA, U of
239	91	MW	MN	public	3.1		ED	St Cloud St U
240	92	NE	PA	private	3.1		ED	St Joseph's C/U (PA)
241	93	MW	MN	private	3.1	4.1	ED	St Olaf C
242	94	SE	TN	public	3.1		AID	Tennessee St U
243	95	WSW	TX	public	3.1		AID	Texas A&I U
244	96	WSW	TX	public	3.1		AID ED	Texas Southern U
245	97	WSW	TX	public	3.1		ED	Texas, U of/El Paso
246	98	NE	NJ	public	3.1		ED	Trenton St C
247	99	WSW	TX	private	3.1		AID	Trinity U (TX)
248	100	SE	AL	private	3.1		AID ED	Tuskegee U

249	101	SE	VA	public	3.1		AID	VA St C/U	
250	102	SE	GA	public	3.1		ED	Valdosta St C	
251	103	NE	PA	private	3.1		ED	Villanova U	
252	104	SE	NC	public	3.1		AID	W Carolina U (NC)	
253	105	NW	WI	public	3.1		ED	WI, U of/LaCrosse	
254	106	NW	WI	public	3.1		AID	WI, U of/Riverfalls	
255	107	NW	WI	public	3.1		AID	ED	WI, U of/Stout
256	108	SE	NC	private	3.1		AID	Wake Forest U	
257	109	SE	FL	public	3.1		ED	West Florida, U of	
258	110	NW	IL	public	3.1		AID	Western IL U	
259	111	SE	KY	public	3.1		ED	Western Kentucky U	
260	112	WSW	WA	public	3.1		ED	Western Wash St C/U	
261	113	NW	KS	public	3.1		ED	Wichita St U	
262	114	NE	NJ	public	3.1		ED	Wm Paterson C	
263	115	SE	PR	private	3.1	NA	ED	World U (Hato Rey)	
264	116	NW	OH	public	3.1		AID	Wright St U	
265	117	NW	OH	private	3.1		AID	Xavier U (OH)	
266	118	NW	OH	private	3.2	4.1	ED	Antioch C/U	
267	119	SE	SC	private	3.2	4.2	AID	Benedict C	
268	120	WSW	WA	public	3.2	3.1	ED	Central WA U	
269	121	NE	PA	public	3.2		ED	Cheyney St C	
270	122	WSW	MT	public	3.2	3.1	ED	Eastern Montana C	
271	123	SE	GA	public	3.2		AID	Fort Valley St C	
272	124	SE	NC	private	3.2	4.2	ED	Johnson C. Smith U	
273	125	WSW	OK	public	3.2		AID	Langston U	
274	126	NW	IA	private	3.2	4.1	ED	Luther C	
275	127	SE	GA	private	3.2	4.2	AID	Morris Brown C	
276	128	NW	IL	public	3.2		ED	Northeastern IL U	
277	129	NE	NY	public	3.2		ED	SUNY/Cortland	
278	130	NE	NY	public	3.2		ED	SUNY/New Paltz	
279	131	NE	NY	public	3.2	3.1	ED	SUNY/Potsdam	
280	132	SE	LA	public	3.2	3.1	AID	Southern U/C of A&M	
281	133	SE	NC	private	3.2		ED	St Augustine's C	
282	134	NE	NY	private	3.2	4.1	ED	St Lawrence U	
283	135	NW	WI	private	3.2		ED	St Norbert C	
284	136	NE	NY	private	3.2	4.1	ED	Union C (NY)	
285	137	NE	NY	private	3.2	4.1	ED	Utica C of Syracuse U	
286	138	NW	OH	private	3.2	4.2	ED	Wittenberg U	
287	139	SE	LA	private	3.2		AID	Xavier U of Louisiana	

Four Year Colleges (4.1, 4.2).....

288	1	NW	WI	private	4.1		ED	Beloit C
289	2	SE	WV	private	4.1		ED	Bethany C
290	3	NE	NY	private	4.1		ED	Colgate U
291	4	NE	CT	private	4.1		ED	Conn C
292	5	NW	IA	private	4.1		ED	Cornell C
293	6	SE	NC	private	4.1		ED	Davidson C (NC)
294	7	NW	OH	private	4.1		ED	Denison U
295	8	NE	NJ	private	4.1		AID	Drew U, Chas R.(+Med)
296	9	NW	IN	private	4.1		ED	Earlham C
297	10	SE	FL	private	4.1		ED	Eckerd C

298	11	NE	NY	private	4.1		ED	Eisenhower C
299	12	MW	IN	private	4.1		ED	Goshen C
300	13	SE	NC	private	4.1		ED	Guilford C
301	14	MW	MN	private	4.1		ED	Gustavus Adolphus C
302	15	NE	MA	private	4.1	AID		Hampshire C
303	16	MW	MI	private	4.1		ED	Kalamazoo C
304	17	MW	IL	private	4.1		ED	Knox C
305	18	MW	WI	private	4.1		ED	Lawrence U
306	19	WSW	OR	private	4.1		ED	Linfield C
307	20	MW	MN	private	4.1		ED	Macalester C
308	21	NE	NY	private	4.1		ED	Manhattanville C
309	22	NE	VT	private	4.1		ED	Middlebury C
310	23	NE	MA	private	4.1		ED	Mt Holyoke C
311	24	MW	OH	private	4.1		ED	Oberlin C
312	25	WSW	CA	private	4.1		ED	Occidental C
313	26	SE	TN	private	4.1	4.1	ED	Rhodes C
314	27	NE	PA	private	4.1	AID		Swarthmore C
315	28	SE	VA	private	4.1		ED	Sweetbriar C
316	29	NE	PA	private	4.1	4.2	ED	Thiel C
317	30	NE	CT	private	4.1		ED	Wesleyan U
318	31	NE	MA	private	4.1	AID		Williams C
319	32	MW	MI	private	4.2		ED	Adrian C
320	33	SE	AK	private	4.2		ED	Arkansas C
321	34	SE	NC	private	4.2		ED	Belmont Abbey C
322	35	SE	NC	private	4.2		ED	Bennett C
323	36	MW	KS	private	4.2		ED	Bethel C
324	37	SE	SC	public	4.2	3.1	ED	C of Charleston
325	38	SE	WV	private	4.2		ED	Davis & Elkins C
326	39	SE	VA	private	4.2		ED	Emory & Henry C
327	40	NE	NY	private	4.2		ED	Finch C
328	41	SE	TN	private	4.2	AID		Fisk U
329	42	MW	IL	private	4.2	NA	ED	George Wms C
330	43	MW	IL	private	4.2		ED	Greenville C
331	44	MW	IL	private	4.2	3.2	ED	IL Benedictine C
332	45	MW	ND	private	4.2		ED	Jamestown C
333	46	SE	AK	private	4.2	AID		John Brown U
334	47	NE	PA	public	4.2	AID	ED	Lincoln U (PA)
335	48	NE	MD	public	4.2	AID		MD, U of/Eastern Shore
336	49	SE	VA	private	4.2		ED	Mary Baldwin C
337	50	NE	NY	private	4.2		ED	Marymount C
338	51	NE	NY	private	4.2		ED	Marymount Manhattan (NY)
339	52	NE	PA	private	4.2	3.2	ED	Mercyhurst C
340	53	SE	GA	private	4.2	6 AID	ED	Morehouse C + Med School
341	54	NE	VT	private	4.2		ED	Norwich U (VT)
342	55	MW	OH	private	4.2		ED	Ohio Wesleyan U
343	56	SE	AK	private	4.2	AID		Philander Smith C
344	57	MW	IL	private	4.2	3.2	ED	Rosary C
345	58	SE	AL	private	4.2	AID		Selma U
346	59	NE	PA	private	4.2		ED	Seton Hill
347	60	SE	NC	private	4.2	3.2	ED	Shaw U
348	61	SE	NC	private	4.2		ED	St Andrews Prsbtn C
349	62	MW	IN	private	4.2		ED	St Joseph's C (in)

350	63	WSW	OK	private	4.2		ED	Stillman C
351	64	WSW	TX	private	4.2		ED	Texas Lutheran U
352	65	NE	NY	private	4.2	3.1 AID		Touro C
353	66	SE	VA	private	4.2		ED	VA Union U
354	67	SE	NC	private	4.2		ED	Warren Wilson C
355	68	NW	OH	private	4.2		ED	Wilmington C
356	69	NE	PA	private	4.2		ED	Wilson C
357	70	NE	VT	private	4.2		ED	Windham C

Two Year Colleges (5).....

358	1	WSW	CO	public	5		ED	Arapaho CC
359	2	NE	NJ	public	5		ED	Bergen CC (NJ)
360	3	SE	FL	public	5		ED	Brevard CC (FL)
361	4	NE	NY	public	5		ED	Bronx CC (NY)
362	5	NE	NJ	public	5		ED	Brookdale CC (NJ)
363	6	NE	NY	public	5		ED	Broome CC (NY)
364	7	SE	FL	public	5		ED	Broward CC (FL)
365	8	NE	MA	public	5		ED	Bunker Hill CC
366	9	WSW	ID	public	5		ED	C of So Idaho
367	10	NE	NY	public	5		ED	C of Staten Island (NY)
368	11	NE	MD	public	5		ED	Catonsville CC (MD)
369	12	SE	NC	public	5		ED	Central Piedmont CC (NC)
370	13	NW	IL	public	5		ED	Central YMCA CC (Chic, IL)
371	14	NE	MD	public	5		ED	Charles County CC (MD)
372	15	WSW	CA	public	5		ED	Coastline CC (CA)
373	16	SE	FL	public	5		ED	Daytona Beach CC
374	17	NE	DE	public	5		ED	Delaware Cty CC
375	18	NW	KS	public	5		ED	Donnelly C (KS)
376	19	WSW	TX	public	5		ED	El Paso CC (TX)
377	20	NW	IL	public	5		ED	Elgin CC (IL)
378	21	NE	NY	public	5		ED	Erie CC (NY)
379	22	NE	MD	public	5		ED	Essex CC (MD)
380	23	SE	FL	public	5		ED	Florida JC/Jacksonville
381	24	WSW	HA	public	5		ED	Hawaii, U of/Honolulu
382	25	NW	KS	public	5		ED	Johnson CC (KS)
383	26	SE	GA	public	5	3.1	ED	Kennesaw C (GA)
384	27	NW	IA	public	5		ED	Kirkwood CC (IA)
385	28	NW	IL	public	5		ED	Loop CC/City C of Chicago
386	29	WSW	CA	public	5		ED	Los Medanos C (CA)
387	30	SE	FL	public	5		ED	Miami Dade JC
388	31	NE	NJ	public	5		ED	Middlesex CC (NJ)
389	32	NW	IN	public	5		ED	Monroe CC
390	33	WSW	OR	public	5		ED	Mt Hood CC (OR)
391	34	NE	NY	public	5		ED	NY City Tech C (CUNY)
392	35	WSW	WA	public	5		ED	No Seattle CC (WA)
393	36	NW	MN	public	5		ED	Normandale CC (MN)
394	37	NW	IL	public	5		ED	Oakton CC (IL)
395	38	WSW	CA	public	5	AID		Pasadena City C
396	39	WSW	AZ	public	5		ED	Pima CC (AZ)
397	40	SE	PR	public	5		ED	PuertoRico JC/Mayaguez
398	41	SE	PR	public	5		ED	PuertoRico JC/RioPiedras
399	42	NE	NY	public	5		ED	Rockland CC (NY)

400	43	WSW	CA	public	5		AID		San Diego CC
401	44	WSW	CA	public	5			ED	San Jose CC (CA)
402	45	SE	NC	public	5			ED	SoEastern CC (NC)
403	46	NW	MO	public	5			ED	St Louis CC (MO)
404	47	NW	MI	public	5			ED	Suomi C (Mich)
405	48	WSW	NV	public	5			ED	Truckee Mdws CC (NV)
406	49	SE	FL	public	5			ED	Valencia CC (FL)
407	50	WSW	CA	public	5			ED	Vista C (CA)
408	51	WSW	CA	public	5			ED	West Valley St C (CA)

Special/professional institutions (6).....

409	1	NE	NY	private	6		AID		Albany Med C
410	2	SE	GA	private	6	2.2	AID		Atlanta U (Med)
411	3	WSW	CA	public	6	1.1	AID		Cal, U of/SanFran (med)
412	4	NE	NY	private	6	1.1		ED	Columbia U/Tchrs Coll
413	5	NE	NH	private	6			ED	Dartmouth (Med School)
414	6	SE	VA	private	6		AID		Eastern VA Med School
415	7	SE	FL	private	6		AID		Embry-Riddle Aero. U
416	8	NE	NY	public	6	2.2		ED	Fashion Inst Tech
417	9	SE	FL	private	6	2.2	AID		Florida Inst of Tech
418	10	SE	GA	public	6			ED	Georgia St U/Law
419	11	NW	IL	public	6			ED	IL, U of (Law School)
420	12	NE	MD	public	6		AID		MD, U of/Balt (med)
421	13	NW	WI	private	6		AID		Med Coll. of Wisconsin
422	14	SE	TN	private	6		AID		Meharry Med C
423	15	WSW	CA	private	6			ED	Monterey Institute
424	16	WSW	AZ	private	6			ED	Thunderbird Grad Bus

Consortia (7).....

425	1	WSW	AZ	mixed	7			ED	AZ Ctral cnstm for IE
426	2	WSW	AZ	mixed	7			ED	AZ, U of + 10/12 IHEs
427	3	NE	NY	mixed	7			ED	Adelphi U/Nassau CC
428	4	NW	MN	public	7			ED	Arrowhead CC Region
429	5	NE	NJ	public	7			ED	Bergen CC + 6 CC's
430	6	NW	KS	mixed	7			ED	Bethel C (Assd Cs Ctrl Kansas)
431	7	NW	IA	mixed	7			ED	BriarCliff+8 MidAmer C's
432	8	NW	N	mixed	7			ED	CISE (OhioSU/USCarolina)
433	9	WSW	CO	mixed	7			ED	CO, U of/Blder/UDenver
434	10	NE	CT	public	7			ED	CT, U of + 4 St C's
435	11	WSW	CA	public	7		AID		Cal St System
436	12	WSW	CA	mixed	7			ED	Cal, U of/LA/RAND
437	13	WSW	CA	public	7		AID		Cal, U of/system
438	14	WSW	CA	public	7			ED	Cal, U/Berkeley/StaCruz
439	15	NW	MN	private	7			ED	Carleton + St. Olaf C's
440	16	NW	IA	mixed	7			ED	Central C + 3 2yr C's
441	17	SE	VA	mixed	7			ED	Central VA tri-C cnstrtm
442	18	N	NY	public	7			ED	City U of NY/CCNY
443	19	N	NY	private	7			ED	Cncl Intercltrl Stds/Prms
444	20	U	U	mixed	7		AID		Cnstrtm for Intl Activities
445	21	NE	NY	mixed	7			ED	Columbia U/NYU/CUNY
446	22	WSW	R	mixed	7		AID		Consrtm Intl Dev(CID)
447	23	N	N	mixed	7		AID		ConsrtmIntlFish/AcquaDev

448	24	NE	NY	private	7	ED	Cornell U/Syracuse
449	25	NE	R	mixed	7	ED	Cornell/Pitt, U of
450	26	WSW	TX	public	7	ED	Dallas Cty CC's (7)
451	27	NW	NE	mixed	7	ED	Doane C+2 Nebraska Cs
452	28	SE	NC	mixed	7	ED	Duke U/UNC/NCSU
453	29	NE	MA	mixed	7	ED	Five C-Amherst w/ Smith+
454	30	SE	FL	public	7	ED	Florida, U of/FIU
455	31	NE	DC	private	7	ED	Georgetown U/JHU
456	32	NE	R	mixed	7	ED	Georgetown U/SUNY-Bing
457	33	SE	LA	mixed	7	ED	Grambling + 5-10 HBCUs
458	34	NE	R	mixed	7	ED	Harvard/UConn Hlth Schools
459	35	WSW	HA	public	7	ED	Hawaii CC System
460	36	WSW	R	public	7	ED	Hawaii, U of + AFPI
461	37	WSW	HA	public	7	ED	Hawaii/Hon+Kapiolani CC
462	38	NW	IL	mixed	7	ED	IL St U/IL Wesleyan U
463	39	NW	IL	mixed	7	ED	IL, U of/U-C/UChicago
464	40	N	N	mixed	7	ED	IS Assn(CISE, USCarolina)
465	41	NW	IA	public	7	AID	Iowa St U + U of Iowa
466	42	NW	IA	mixed	7	ED	Iowa, U of + 4 U/C's
467	43	NW	KS	public	7	ED	Kansas, U of/KSU
468	44	SE	KY	public	7	AID	Kentucky CC System/UKy
469	45	N	N	public	7	ED	MD,U of + UCStaBarbara
470	46	NW	MN	mixed	7	ED	MN, U of + 5 C's
471	47	NE	VT	private	7	ED	Marlboro C/Schl Intl Trg
472	48	SE	MS	mixed	7	ED	Mississippi S U + 3 U/C's
473	49	NW	MI	mixed	7	ED	Mich St U/Detroit Law
474	50	NW	R	mixed	7	AID	Midam Intl Ag Cnsrt
475	51	NW	R	mixed	7	AID	Midwest U Cnsrtm (NUCIA)
476	52	SE	MS	mixed	7	ED	Millsaps C + 4 B-schls
477	53	NE	NJ	mixed	7	AID	NJ Marine Cnsrtm
478	54	WSW	R	mixed	7	ED	NWIE cnsrtm/Highline CC
479	55	N	N	mixed	7	ED	Natl Cncl FLIS/U MD
480	56	WSW	NM	public	7	ED	New Mexico, U/NMSU
481	57	NE	R	private	7	ED	New York U/Princeton
482	58	SE	FL	public	7	ED	NoFlorida, U of & FL JC
483	59	NE	MA	public	7	ED	NoShore CC & 15 CCs
484	60	SE	VA	mixed	7	ED	Old Dom'n U/Hampton U
485	61	WSW	OR	public	7	ED	Oregon Intl Cncl (state U/Cs)
486	62	NE	PA	mixed	7	ED	PACIE/UPenn + 6-55 IHE's
487	63	NE	PA	mixed	7	ED	PACnsrtm IE/Indiana U (PA)
488	64	WSW	R	private	7	ED	Pacific Lutheran & 3 U
489	65	SE	NC	mixed	7	ED	Pembroke St U/NC Cnsrtm
490	66	SE	R	mixed	7	AID	SE Cnsrtm for Int Dev
491	67	NE	NY	public	7	ED	SUNY CCs(36)/Rockland CC
492	68	NE	NY	public	7	AID	SUNY system,
493	69	NE	NY	mixed	7	ED	SUNY/Buffalo+Cornell
494	70	WSW	R	mixed	7	ED	SWCISFLD/Pima CC+3-18
495	71	WSW	CA	mixed	7	ED	SoCal, U of/UCLA
496	72	WSW	R	mixed	7	ED	SoWest alliance/OK, U of
497	73	NW	MO	public	7	ED	St Louis JC Dist/Meramec CC
498	74	NE	PA	private	7	ED	St Vincent/Seton Hill
499	75	WSW	CA	mixed	7	ED	Stanford U/UCBerkeley

500	76	SE	LA	public	7	AID	Sulsu Cnsrtm Intl Dev
501	77	WSW	TX	mixed	7	ED	Texas Lutheran U+5 IHE's
502	78	SE	VA	mixed	7	ED	UVA/Chrltsvl+FL Assn VA
503	79	NE	R	public	7	ED	VT, U of/U of Maine/SUNY Plattsburgh
504	80	MW	WI	public	7	AID	ED WI, U of/system
505	81	SE	WV	mixed	7	ED	WVA, U of + 17 IHEs
506	82	NE	CT	mixed	7	ED	Yale U/UConn

Other/miscellaneous (8).....

507	1	N	N	private	8	AID	a-Am C of OB/GYN
508	2	N	N	private	8	AID	ED a-AmAssn C's Tchr Ed.
509	3	N	N	private	8	ED	a-AmCouncil Tchq ForLang
510	4	N	N	private	8	ED	a-AmCouncil Tchrs of Russian
511	5	N	N	private	8	AID	a-Amer C Nurses&Midwives
512	6	N	N	private	8	ED	a-Assn for Asian Studies Inc
513	7	MW	IL	private	8	ED	a-IL ForLang Tchr Assn
514	8	N	N	private	8	ED	a-Natl Cncl For Lang & IS (NY)
515	9	N	N	private	8	ED	a-Natl Comm Intlzg Ed Satellites
516	10	U	U	unknown	8	AID	c-Resource Systems Inst
517	11	U	U	unknown	8	AID	ct-MEDEX Group
518	12	O	O	unknown	8	AID	o-Am.Comm. Weizman Inst
519	13	O	O	unknown	8	AID	o-Am.Friends/Chung-Ang U
520	14	O	O	unknown	8	AID	o-Amer U in Cairo
521	15	O	O	unknown	8	AID	o-Anatolia Coll
522	16	O	O	unknown	8	AID	o-Beirut U
523	17	O	O	unknown	8	AID	o-Beirut/American U of
524	18	O	O	unknown	8	AID	o-Singapore U of
525	19	WSW	WA	private	8	AID	r-Carnegie Inst of Wash
526	20	U	U	unknown	8	AID	r-Ctr for Study of Hum Rights
527	21	NE	DC	private	8	AID	r-Inst MEast Peace&Devl
528	22	NE	DC	unknown	8	AID	rc-Center for Democracy
529	23	NE	MA	private	8	AID	rc-HarvardInstIntlDevel (HIID)
530	24	NE	DC	private	8	AID	rc-Intl Cnsrtm Gov Fin Mgt
531	25	NE	DC	private	8	AID	rc-Intl. Council on Fam Plg
532	26	NE	NY	private	8	AID	rc-Population Council
533	27	SE	NC	unknown	8	AID	rt-Carolina Pop. Ctr.
534	28	U	U	unknown	8	AID	rt-Ctr for LA Devt Studies
535	29	WSW	CO	unknown	8	AID	rt-Denver Research Inst
536	30	WSW	HA	public	8	AID	rt-East-West Ctr
537	31	N	N	private	8	ED	rt-Ed Testing Service (NJ)
538	32	NE	MA	private	8	AID	rt-Educ Dvpt Ctr, Inc.
539	33	NE	NY	private	8	AID	rt-Inst of Public Admin
540	34	NE	MA	unknown	8	AID	rt-N.England Ctr for CE.
541	35	WSW	NM	unknown	8	AID	rt-New Mexico Solar Inst
542	36	NE	DC	public	8	AID	rt-Smithsonian Instit
543	37	N	N	private	8	AID	t-Am. NEast Ed. and Trg (NY)
544	38	U	U	private	8	AID	t-Dunwoody, Wm Hood Ind Inst
545	39	N	N	private	8	ED	t-Japan Society (NY)
546	40	N	MA	private	8	AID	t-LASPAU
547	41	U	U	unknown	8	AID	t-Opport. in Craftsmanship
548	42	NE	DC	public	8	AID	t-USDA, Grad School
549	43	N	N	unknown	8	AID	u-Amer Schools Oriental Res

550	44	0	0	unknown	8	AID	u-Fndtn Escuela Intl
551	45	0	0	private	8	AID	u-Jesuit Sem. Mission Bureau
552	46	0	0	unknown	8	AID	u-Lacaze Academy

Religious (9).....

553	1	NE	PA	private	9	ED	Dropsie C (rel)
554	2	N	N	private	9	ED	Hebrew Union C (OH,NY)

Count of study participants by group:

	AID	ED	TOTAL
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count w/ 1-9 groups....	254	414	554
count w/ 1-7 groups....	216	403	506
count w/ 1-6 groups....	202	334	424
count w/ 8,9...	38	11	48
count w/ 7 only...	14	69	82

Notes to the classification guide:

ownership: y=public; n=private non-profit; u=unknown; z=mixed public and private; p=private for-profit or proprietary institutions. Cornell University has both endowed/private and state/public colleges. It will be labeled "private" for the purpose of analysis.

Region: The geographic location of participating institutions in the U.S. Regional composition and key letters are listed in Table A.2: Regional Classification Guide.

Classification: 1-5 reflect Carnegie ratings for Research universities (1) Doctorate granting U's (2), Comprehensive U/C's (3), Four year colleges (4) and Two year colleges (5)

--6 combines all of Carnegie's special/professional category

--7 includes consortia (horizontal groups) and state systems (vertical groups)

--8 includes institutions not normally included in "higher education" per Carnegie's classification but provided research/education services to federal programs including associations, overseas colleges, consulting firms, etc. When an institution defied categorization, it was included here.

The sub-markers for group 8 are: a = association, c = consulting, r = research, t = placement of trainees, o = overseas institution, u = unknown mission

--9 includes religious training colleges.

The CC76 is used unless otherwise stated specifically. When the Carnegie classification included a professional school under the home institution, so did the author. An exception was made for Columbia Tchr College.

In CC87 it was grouped with the main university but separate in CC76.

For analysis, its grants were grouped with Columbia University (1.1).

Federal programs: Each of these federal programs have reported substantial IHE involvement. AID=services to host country institutions for AID programs as well as services direct to AID in the U.S. or overseas; ED=activities under any one of the NDEA/HEA Title 6 programs.

Note: When the data was not sufficient to identify a particular IHE, the author analysed other available data to make an educated guess. When such refinement was not possible, the data was not included in the analysis. When individual IHE's were not named but rather the entire system, the data was attributed to the entire system, e.g. "SUNY system." This permitted the fullest data to be used. It also understated the individual IHE's effort within that particular system, e.g. SUNY Buffalo or Stonybrook as the lead for a SUNY system project. When a grant or contract was reported with no funds it was not included in the analysis. This underreports cooperative agreements especially for training services.

APPENDIX B

DATA SOURCES ON INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATION

1) Reports on funding for NDEA/HEA Title VI programs

Title VI: The Centers Program Reports

NDEA Language and Area Centers: Distribution of Federal Support (1959-1972) Table I). Language and Area Centers Section, Division of Foreign Studies, Institute of International Studies. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Washington, D.C. 20202, June 1972.

NDEA Centers for International and Language and Area Studies: Distribution of Federal Support, 1973-76 Table IA. International Studies Branch, Division of International Education. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Washington, D.C. 20202, July 10, 1975.

NDEA Centers for International and Language and Area Studies, 1976-79 Table IA. International Studies Branch, Division of International Education. Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Washington, D.C. 20202, June 1978.

NDEA Centers for International and Language and Area Studies, 1979-81 Table IA. International Studies Branch, Office of International Education. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C. 20202, undated.

HEA Title VI National Resource Centers for International Studies 1981-83 Table IA. Centers and Fellowships Branch, Division of Advanced Training and Research. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C. 20202, September 1982.

HEA Title VI Resource Centers for International Studies 1983-85 Table IA. Center for International Education, Advanced Training and Research Branch. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C. 20202, undated.

HEA Title VI National Resource Centers for International Studies 1985-88. Center for International Education, Advanced Training and Research Branch. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C. 20202, May 22, 1987.

Title VI: The Fellowships Program Reports

Graduate Fellowships Distribution by Institution and Area Profile, FY 1959-68, FY 1969-74. Division of International Education. Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Washington, D.C. 20202, undated.

NDEA Title VI Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships and Area Profile, FY 1975-79. Division of International Education. Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Washington, D.C. 20202, October 1979.

HEA Title VI Programs for Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships, 1981-83. Division of Advanced Training and Research. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C. 20202, undated.

HEA Title VI Programs for Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships, 1983-85. Center for International Education, Division of Advanced Training and Research. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C. 20202, May 23, 1984.

HEA Title VI Programs for Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships, 1985-88. Center for International Education, Division of Advanced Training and Research. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C. 20202, June 2, 1987.

Title VI: Graduate International Studies Program Report

NDEA International Studies Programs at the Graduate Level: Distribution of Federal Support, 1972-80 Table IC. International Studies Branch, Division of International Education. Office of Education. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Washington, D.C. 20202, undated.

Title VI: Undergraduate International Studies Program Reports

Title VI International Studies Programs at the Undergraduate Level: Distribution of Federal Support, 1972-81. Office of International Education. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, November 1980.

Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Programs, 1981-82. Office of International Education. Office of Postsecondary Education, U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, July 1981.

Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Programs, 1982-83. International Education Programs. Office of Postsecondary Education. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Title VI HEA Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Programs, 1983-84. International Education Programs. Office of Postsecondary Education. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Title VI HEA: Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program, 1984-85 New Awards and Non-Competing Continuations. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Statistical Summary for the Title VI Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program -- Fiscal Year 1985. CFDA No. 84.016. Abstracts of New Projects and Non-Competing Continuation Projects 1985-86. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Statistical Summary for the Title VI Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program -- Fiscal Year 1986. CFDA No. 84.016. Abstracts of New Projects and Non-Competing Continuation Projects 1986-87. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Statistical Summary for the Title VI Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program -- Fiscal Year 1987. CFDA No. 84.016. Abstracts of New Projects and Non-Competing Continuation Projects 1987-88. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Statistical Summary for the Title VI Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program -- Fiscal Year 1988. CFDA No. 84.016. Abstracts of New Projects and Non-Competing Continuation Projects 1988-89. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Title VI: Business and International Education Program and Centers for International Business Education Program Reports

Abstracts of Proposed Grant Activities Business and International Education Program (84.153 Title VI, Part B, Higher Education Act, 1983-84. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Abstracts of 1984-85 New Awards. Business and International Education Program Title VI, Part B, Higher Education Act. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Abstracts of 1985-86 Awards. Business and International Education Program Title VI, Part B, Higher Education Act. Center for International Education. Office of Postsecondary Education. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Abstracts of 1986-87 Awards. Business and International Education Program (84.153) Title VI, Part B of the Higher Education Act. Center for International Education. Office of Postsecondary Education. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Abstracts of 1987-88 Awards. Business and International Education Program Authorized under Title VI, Part B of the Higher Education Act. Center for International Education. Office of Postsecondary Education. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Abstracts of 1988-89 New and Second-Year Awards. Business and International Education Program Authorized under Title VI, Part B of the Higher Education Act. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

Centers for International Business Education Cumulative Funding List 1989-92. Authorized under Title VI, part B of the Higher Education Act. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, D.C., 20202, undated.

2) Reports on funding for AID-university programs

Campbell, Frank. A.I.D./U.S. University Contracts Providing Technical Assistance to Host Country Governments and Institutions. Database prepared for Long, Erven and Campbell, Frank Reflections on the Role of A.I.D. and the U.S. Universities in International Agricultural Development. U.S. Agency for International Development. Rockland, Maryland: Statistica, Inc., September 5, 1989.

Report No. W-442. AID-Financed University Contracts. Contract Services Division. Agency for International Development. Department of State. Washington, D.C. 20523. Series of reports individually dated: March 31, 1968, June 30, 1968, December 31, 1968, June 30, 1969, June 30, 1970, December 31, 1970, June 30, 1971, December 31, 1971.

Report No. W-442. AID-Financed University Contracts. Office of Contract Management. Contract Support Division. Agency for International Development. Department of State. Washington, D.C. 20523. Series of reports individually dated: June 30, 1972, December 31, 1972, June 30, 1973, December 31, 1973, June 30, 1974.

- Report No. W-442. AID-Financed University Contracts and Grants. Office of Contract Management. Contract Support Division. Agency for International Development. Department of State. Washington, D.C. 20523, undated. Individual reports in the series listed grants and contracts active during the periods: January 1, 1976 through June 30 1976, October 1, 1976 through March 31, 1977, April 1, 1976 through September 30, 1977, October 1, 1977 through September 30, 1978, October 1, 1978 through September 30, 1979.
- Report No. W-442. AID-Financed University Contracts and Grants. Office of Contract Management. Contract Support Division. U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency. Agency for International Development. Department of State. Washington, D.C. 20523, undated. Individual reports in the series listed grants and contracts active during the periods: October 1, 1979 through September 30, 1980, October 1, 1980 through September 30, 1981, October 1, 1981 through September 30, 1983, October 1, 1983 through September 30, 1984, October 1, 1984 through September 30, 1985.
- Report No. W-442. AID-Financed University Contracts and Grants Active During the Period October 1, 1985 through September 30, 1986. Office of Procurement. Procurement Support Division. U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency. Agency for International Development. Department of State. Washington, D.C. 20523, undated.
- Report No. W-442. AID-Financed University Contracts, Grants and Cooperative Agreements. Office of Procurement. Procurement Support Division. U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency. Agency for International Development. Department of State. Washington, D.C. 20523, undated. Individual reports in the series listed grants, contracts and cooperative agreements active during the periods: October 1, 1986 through September 30, 1987, October 1, 1987 through September 30, 1988.
- U.S. Academic Institutions and AID Estimated Volume of Business and AID Funding for FY 1988 and 1989. Report prepared by the Office of Research and University Relations, Bureau of Science and Technology, Agency for International Development. Washington, D.C., January 1990.

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