

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS BULLETIN

THE UNIVERSITY  
AND THE EMERGING FEDERALISM:  
A CONFERENCE ON IMPROVING  
UNIVERSITY CONTRIBUTIONS  
TO STATE GOVERNMENTS

*Summary, Background Papers, and Speeches*  
*Edited by Samuel K. Gove and Elizabeth K. Stewart*

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# The University and the Emerging Federalism

A conference on improving university contributions to state governments

March 1-4, 1972 Harrison House, Lake Bluff, Illinois

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In 1970 in a review article in the Public Administration Review on some recent works on state government, I commented on the need to strengthen state governments. I said that these governments must be strengthened as we had no viable alternatives. Further "it will take . . . an effort with many participants. One of the weakest links which needs to be more committed to the cause is the academic community. For the student, it must be shown that the effort is 'relevant.' For the faculty member, it must be considered respectable by his colleagues and his superior to become an expert on a state government. Just as our colleagues in international affairs become the specialists in a single country, so must persons become the expert on a state or collection of states."

From this perspective, the conference on the universities and the states was organized. A cross section of interested persons were invited to write papers, give speeches, and to participate. This volume summarizes the conference and includes the papers and speeches. No effort was made to reach a consensus because of the broad nature of the topic, and also because of the varying university-state relations found in the several states. Rather the aim of the conference was to stimulate further discussion at professional meetings of both public officials and educational organizations. It was also hoped that conferences on this topic would be organized within particular states.

The planning committee for the conference included former Governor Jack Campbell of New Mexico, William Grinker of the Ford Foundation, Professor Thad Beyle of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and John Naisbitt of Urban Research Corporation of Chicago. The latter organization served as the conference secretariat.

The undersigned was primarily responsible for organizing the papers and the speakers before and during the conference. My coeditor, Elizabeth K. Stewart of Urbana, handled the post-conference editing of the papers. The late Jeanne Lowe while a conference participant provided much assistance and also prepared a draft of the summary statement.

We thank the planning committee, the authors, and the speakers for their cooperation. And we most gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Ford Foundation.

Samuel K. Gove



## CONTENTS

<b>FOREWORD</b> .....	iii
<b>CONFERENCE SUMMARY</b> .....	1
<b>BACKGROUND PAPERS</b> .....	5
<b>THE EMERGING STATE GOVERNMENTS:     A CHALLENGE TO ACADEMIA</b>	
John E. Bebout .....	7
<b>THE PROBLEM OF UNIVERSITY INVOLVEMENT     AND COMMITMENT</b>	
Thad L. Beyle and Samuel K. Gove .....	31
<b>EDUCATION FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS AS     VIEWED FROM STATE GOVERNMENT</b>	
Richard H. Slavin and Kenneth C. Olson .....	45
<b>ACADEMIC SCIENCE AND STATE GOVERNMENT</b>	
Boyd R. Keenan .....	69
<b>SPEECHES</b> .....	83
<b>PUBLIC POLICY AND HIGHER EDUCATION</b>	
John E. Corbally Jr. ....	85
<b>STATE-UNIVERSITY RELATIONS</b>	
Francis W. Sargent .....	87
<b>THE NEED FOR LEADERSHIP</b>	
Terry Sanford .....	93
<b>WHAT STATE GOVERNMENT NEEDS (OR ASKS)     OF THE UNIVERSITY</b>	
Paul Ylvisaker .....	95
<b>WHAT IS NEEDED IS A RESTRUCTURING     OF RELATIONSHIPS</b>	
Jack M. Campbell .....	97
<b>CONDITIONS TO BE FACED</b>	
Robert Wood .....	99
<b>A LEGISLATOR'S VIEW OF THE     STATE UNIVERSITY</b>	
Charles Kurfess .....	103
<b>DEBATE:</b>	
<b>UNIVERSITIES: IVORY TOWERS OR SOCIALLY INVOLVED</b>	
Theodore J. Lowi .....	105
Norton E. Long .....	115
<b>AUTHORS AND SPEAKERS</b> .....	121
<b>PARTICIPANTS</b> .....	125





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*CONFERENCE SUMMARY*

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## CONFERENCE SUMMARY

A host of new responsibilities has been thrust on the states in recent years by our increasingly complex and dynamic society as well as by shifting intergovernmental relationships. Much of the expertise and manpower the states need to meet these new requirements may well be available on the campuses and at other policy and public service-oriented institutes associated with the universities. Among participants at the conference, there was wide, though not complete, agreement that universities are no longer isolated institutions for a student elite and scholars interested solely in the advancement of knowledge and its transmission to a new generation. Most felt that there is also a legitimate, and probably essential, mission for universities to lend some of their talents to help meet the diverse and complex problems of society, many of which must be faced at the state level.

State government has long been a neglected subject on the university campus. In contrast to the great concern with and interest in national and international affairs, the literature, teaching, and research about state government at our universities has been relatively slight. If the present situation is to be altered, most conference participants thought that change within the university and within state government would be necessary. There were suggestions that the discipline-oriented structure of the university hindered attempts to assist with current state problems — problems such as welfare, corrections and judicial reform, finance, and the environment which are multidisciplinary in nature. It was pointed out that the promotion system of the university, which is presently based almost exclusively on teaching and on research, also does not encourage, and sometimes even penalizes, those faculty who engage in public service activities at the state governmental level. Questions of academic freedom were also

discussed. To what extent can public service-oriented research be negative or critical in a politically dominated situation? Several participants also discussed the different relationships between private and state universities vis-à-vis the state legislatures. Responsibility, however, for changing the present situation should not rest entirely with the universities. Several speakers pointed out that the states should more precisely define their research and staff needs and should make an effort to become acquainted with the resources available at the universities. Thus, communications and institutional relationships between universities and state governments were topics of much discussion. Suggestions of working out alternative structures or supplementary mechanisms were also put forward.

Because of the great differences among the states and their varying needs, as well as the varying capabilities and internal structures at the universities, there is no ideal relationship between the state and the university. The conference brought out clearly the need for much state-by-state and university-by-university exploration of the problems raised at this initial national conference on the subject. It is hoped that the issues dealt with by the authors of the background papers and by the speakers may form the basis for more specific and continuing discussion and debate on how to improve university contributions to state governments.

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*BACKGROUND PAPERS*

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THE EMERGING STATE GOVERNMENTS:  
A CHALLENGE TO ACADEMIA

JOHN E. BEBOUT

PERSPECTIVE

For the better part of half a century it has been fashionable in certain academic circles to ignore or decry the states and their governments. Luther Gulick in 1933 said what many have thought or wished: "The American state is finished. I do not predict that the states will go, but affirm that they have gone."<sup>1</sup> This, of course, was in the depths of the depression which was bringing the United States government into domestic affairs on an unprecedented scale. Yet, in the nearly forty years of extension of national power and influence since then, the states and their local governments have increased their own activities — taxing, spending, employing, and providing services — in the domestic sector as never before. During most of this period, the uncritical disparagement of the states has led much of the academic community, including political scientists, to teach a truncated version of American government and of the responsibilities of American citizenship, to neglect the rich field of state-local government as an area for both "pure" and problem-oriented research, and to look down on opportunities to serve the nation through service to their states.

Laments for the states have, of course, been heard from the days of the anti-Federalists, but for the first century they were mainly in the nature of sounding the alarm against a largely imaginary threat of federal domination. In more recent years, the complaint has been voiced more loudly against the alleged misfeasance, malfeasance, and nonfeasance of state governments, and many critics have admonished the states to shape up and others have sought to conjure them away.

The possibility of this development was seen by the authors of *The Federalist*. Madison observed: "If . . . the people should in future become more partial to the Federal than to the State Governments, the change can only result from such manifest and irresistible proofs of a better administration, as will overcome all their antecedent propensities. And in that case, the people ought not surely to be precluded from giving most of their confidence, where

<sup>1</sup> Luther Gulick, "Reorganization of the State," *Civil Engineering* 3 (August 1933):421.

they may discover it to be most due. . . .”<sup>2</sup> Madison recognized weaknesses in existing state governments and remarked that “. . . it may be pronounced with assurance, that the people of this country, enlightened as they are with regard to the nature, and interested, as the great body of them are, in the effects of good government, will never be satisfied, till some remedy be applied to the vicissitudes and uncertainties which characterize the State administrations.”<sup>3</sup> Part of the remedy, of course, was to be the moderating influence of the new federal system to be set up under the Constitution. Part of it, however, was to be in the continual or periodic updating of state constitutions and laws advocated by Jefferson, who once wrote that it is important “to strengthen the state governments. . . . The only barrier in their power [against federal encroachments] is a wise government. A weak one will lose ground in every contest.”<sup>4</sup>

The fact is, of course, that neither the first state constitutions nor those that have emerged after nearly two centuries of tinkering provide, generally speaking, anything like the basis for active and effective government that the men of 1787 gave to the nation. De Tocqueville expressed the opinion that “the Federal Constitution is superior to any of the state constitutions,” a condition to which he attributed certain “practical consequences. . . . An attentive observer,” de Tocqueville continued, “will soon notice that the business of the Union is incomparably better conducted than that of any individual state. The conduct of the federal government is more fair and more temperate than that of the states; it has more prudence and discretion, its projects are more durable and more skillfully combined, its measures are executed with more vigor and consistency.”<sup>5</sup>

#### THE MANACLED STATE

Three-quarters of a century after de Tocqueville, Professor Henry Jones Ford of Princeton University, in a paper presented at one of the early meetings of the American Political Science Association, warned that the states were forcing centralization in Washington because they had so trussed themselves up with constitutional complexities and limitations that they were unable to respond to the new governmental needs of the time. He asserted that we had created a new kind of polity, “the manacled state.” It is significant that Professor Ford took this pessimistic view even though he was writing in the Progressive Era when a number of states were actually blazing

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Hamilton, John Hay, and James Madison, *The Federalist and Other Constitutional Papers*, ed. E. H. Scott (Chicago: Albert, Scott and Co., 1894), no. 46, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 37, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *Jeffersonian Principles*, ed. James T. Adams (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1928), p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Phillips Bradley, 2 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 1:153, 156.



new trails in social legislation and economic regulation that have since been followed—and broadened by other states and by the national government. Others uttered similar warnings, but it was not until the depression of the thirties that large numbers of political scientists began writing off the states altogether and treating the study of state government as too frivolous or fruitless a subject for serious minds. Before the depression, the obvious primacy of state and local government in domestic affairs and the reformist inclinations of many academics led to production of an impressive spate of books and articles on state and local affairs and to involvement of leading academics in such reform efforts as the Short Ballot Movement, the National Municipal League, the Civil Service Reform League, and their local counterparts.

Since 1932 the national government has held the spotlight continuously. Washington, more than ever before, except during World War I, was the focus of the most exciting and portentous events. The federal government was assuming leadership in dealing with an increasing range of urgent domestic problems, and this was enough to divert a great deal of the attention of academics and others from the more ordinary and humdrum concerns of the state capitol and city hall. The truth is that presidential and congressional politics and the doings of the nation in a more limited range of matters—foreign affairs, war and defense, handling of westward expansion and the public lands, regulation of foreign and later of interstate commerce, and management of the currency—have from the beginning been a magnet for ambition and talent and have tended to divert attention that would otherwise have been given to the politics and government of the states.

This fact and others having to do with the limited extent and resources of each state are now, and always have been, more important basic reasons for state deficiencies than the defects in their constitutions and governmental structures. In fact, the latter are no doubt attributable in part to the former. Too seldom have state pride, which exists in greater or less degree in all states, and the kind of state defensiveness that is expressed in the slogan “states’ rights,” been reflected in a zeal for responsible state government. The fact is that, protected from the outside world and from one another by the encompassing arm of the federal union, the states have, from the very beginning over indulged themselves in a characteristic American luxury. That luxury is distrust of government, engendered during the colonial period by the contest with the king and nurtured by the frontiersman’s natural dislike for imposed restraints. Professor R. K. Gooch advanced “the thesis that the whole complexus of American political institutions is based on and shot through with distrust, fear, and the assumption of bad faith. This is true in even greater degree in the governmental arrangements of the several states. It is, for example, encountered in connection with what is probably the most pressing practical problem of reform which is before the peoples of the American states

at the present day. This is the problem of administrative reorganization. Every effort at improvement in this respect is met by vigorous opposition, which, when it is articulate, takes the form of objection to placing real power in the hands of responsible agents of government. It is assumed that where power is found, their abuse of the power is to be feared.”<sup>6</sup>

The first thirteen states started out with strong legislatures and weak governors. The violation of the separation of powers principle in the dependence of governors on the legislatures troubled people after that principle had been fully formulated by John Adams, written into the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, and embodied in the Constitution of the United States. But as states amended their constitutions to make governors nominally independent, they fractionized the executive branches, partly out of primeval fear of the king and partly under the influence of democratic theory or the demands of special interest groups. As a result, even to this day, only a handful of states, of which New Jersey and Alaska are prime examples, have given their governors a constitutional position *vis-à-vis* state affairs remotely comparable to that of the president in national affairs.

In the meantime, the states were learning that legislatures, even if controlled by the annual elections prescribed by Adams as the hedge against tyranny, were not necessarily wise and virtuous. Dr. Franklin B. Hough, physician, forester, historian, and editor of the *Convention Manual* and annotated constitution for the New York Constitutional Convention of 1867, described the impact of this discovery on the evolution of state constitutions. He pointed out that the movement to limit the power of state legislatures to commit various kinds of mischief and folly was sweeping the country.<sup>7</sup> The growth of population, the coming of railroads and industry, and the emergence of cities and towns crying for incorporation had led to demands for legislation that offered opportunities for political benefits undreamed of in a simpler age. Consequently, the people, in their wisdom or distrust by the middle of the second half of the last century, had imposed a whole battery of “thou shalt nots” on their legislatures respecting taxation and finance, private corporations, local governments, and other matters. As time went on some similar limitations, especially in the fiscal area, were imposed directly by the constitutions on local governments. In due course, all this led in many states to legislation by constitutional amendment. So “the manacled state” had arrived. Constitutional limitations were the instruments, but the cause was in the popular attitude toward state governments, engendered by experience. As one commentator said of the making of the present Texas Constitution, “The

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<sup>6</sup> R. K. Gooch, “The American Constitutional System and Faith,” *The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* 9 (1928):12-13.

<sup>7</sup> Franklin B. Hough, “Constitutional Limitations,” *Harpers Monthly Magazine* 46 (1873):576.

framers of the Constitution of 1876 made certain that the government which they created would be weak enough to be safe.”

Yet, the need for more government was becoming inexorable. Elihu Root, in an often-quoted address before the Pennsylvania Society in 1906 put this very clearly when he said: “It is useless for the advocates of State rights to inveigh against . . . the extension of National authority in the fields of necessary control where the States themselves fail in the performance of their duty. . . . the people will have the control they need either from the States or from the National Government; and if the States fail to furnish it in due measure, sooner or later constructions of the Constitution will be found to vest the power where it will be exercised — in the National Government.”<sup>8</sup>

It is only fair to recall that efforts of some states to cope with new economic and social problems were then being thwarted by the current application of the Fourteenth Amendment. The new “constructions of the constitution” predicted by Mr. Root would belatedly change that situation too. However, the progressive nationalization of the economy and of the social and economic systems would put more and more matters requiring public regulations and services beyond the competence of states acting alone. An early illustration is the problem of corporate combinations or trusts. Stung by Lincoln Steffens’s unflattering depiction of New Jersey as “the traitor state” on account of its liberal corporation laws that had made it “the mother of trusts,” progressives sought remedial legislation. Finally, as a result of the leadership of Woodrow Wilson, the strict “seven sisters acts” were passed. These acts proved to be more useful in providing a record on which Governor Wilson could rise to the presidency and in enriching the coffers of other states to which the incorporation business moved than in curbing trusts. The trust busting business was, of course, one in which only the United States government could indulge with any hope of success. It is against this background and the utter inability of the states to meet the crisis of the depression that the tendency of academics and others to write off the states must be understood.

By way of comparison, it might be observed that the private banking and investment systems, which have never been without their scandals, were in even worse disarray in early 1933 than the states. Judging, however, by the behavior of millions of depositors and investors they still command a strong vote of confidence, albeit by virtue, in part, of federal laws and the FDIC and the Securities and Exchange Commission. Like the states, these and other elements in the private sector have been shored up by the exercise of national power. In view of the private enterprise bias in our national ethic, it may

<sup>8</sup> Elihu Root, “Address of the Honourable Elihu Root [12 December 1906],” *Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society* (New York: The Pennsylvania Society, 1907), pp. 34–35.

not be surprising if the laying on of federal hands has done more to sustain the reputation of private business than that of the states.

### THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF THE STATES

What validity is there, then, in the title of this paper: "The Emerging State Governments: A Challenge to Academia"? Are the state governments "emerging," and, if so, what is the nature of their challenge? I believe that the evidence shows that the states are in a period of unusually rapid and upward change. This movement on the part of the states is an aspect of accelerated evolution in our complex federal system in which the nature, function, and future of no single part can be understood without reference to its relations with the other parts. The peculiar essence of our system has always been in the interrelationships of function, structure, and power and their impacts on the direction of change. Woodrow Wilson put the matter very well at the beginning of a chapter on "The States and the Federal Government":

The question of the relations of the States to the federal government is the cardinal question of our constitutional system. At every turn of our national development we have been brought face to face with it, and no definition either of statesmen or of judges has ever quieted or decided it. It cannot, indeed, be settled by the opinion of any one generation because it is a question of growth, and every successive stage of our political and economic development gives it a new aspect, makes it a new question.<sup>9</sup>

Note Wilson's focus on the states and his emphasis both on the cardinal importance of the question of state-federal relations and on the evolutionary character of it, which defies any attempt to fix it at a given point in time. Wilson then points out that "the war between the States established at least this principle, that the federal government is, through its courts, the final judge of its own powers." In the last analysis, he says with respect to federal power, "the only limits likely to be observed by politicians are those set by the good sense and conservative temper of the country."<sup>10</sup> Many years later, after the virtual capitulation of the Supreme Court to the New Deal and the great increase in the use of federal spending power to shape local and state action to national purposes, Wilson's conclusion was confirmed in the Kestnbaum Report of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, submitted to the president in 1955. This conclusion, I might observe, had taken a long time seeping into the teaching and the "literary theory" of the Constitution. In fact, it was difficult for several members of the commission and for the president who had appointed them to accept.

What does it portend for the states that virtually the only limits on federal power are "those set by the good sense and conservative temper of the

<sup>9</sup> Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911), p. 173.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 178-79.

country"? In view of laments over supposed federal encroachments on states' rights before the governmental explosions and judicial revolutions of the twentieth century, one might suppose that the states would now be so far down the road toward desuetude that it would be fairly safe to repronounce Luther Gulick's funeral statement of 1933. If I read the signs correctly, nothing could be wider of the mark. I conclude, rather, that the performance of the states in our changing partnership federalism is probably more crucial to the effective governance of the country than ever.

#### **MOUNTING CONCERN FOR THE STATES**

One evidence of the continuing if not the increasing importance of the states is the fact that academic disdain for them as subjects of study and teaching has begun to recede. There have for some years been building up both an increasingly sophisticated academic understanding of our whole system, including the state-local component, and a growing willingness to turn that understanding to practical account. I hasten to add that my criticism of academia for a long period of neglect of state government does not mean that the subject has ever been totally ignored. For example, the depression of the thirties saw the burgeoning of bureaus of public administration and governmental research in both public and private universities. The strength of this movement in the South, partly stimulated by the TVA, is one reason why state and local governments in that area have significantly improved their competence in the last generation. Many examples could be cited of the great importance to particular states of long standing symbiotic relationships with university agencies and professors. It is hard to imagine what New Jersey would have done without the Princeton Local Government Surveys directed by John Sly for a quarter of a century, or what it would now do without the Bureau of Government Research and other agencies at Rutgers. I am not at all sure that Illinois would have its new, much improved constitution had it not been for the Institute of Government and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois.

Mounting academic interest in the states is just one indication of an increasing national concern for state competence and improvement. This concern reflects what I believe to be a settled national policy to retain a working federalism in which the states continue to play a major role in virtually all aspects of domestic government and an auxiliary role in national defense. The historical background and a rationale for this policy were set forth in the Kestnbaum Report. The deep roots of this policy are attested by the use of the states and their local governments to assist in the achievement of expanding national purposes throughout the era that began with the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt. They are attested quite as significantly by an emerging and expanding coalition of civic forces that is beginning to organize the



concerted national drive to ready "the states to discharge greater responsibilities," called for by the Kestnbaum Commission. They are attested also by the fact that the states are responding to the challenge.

In spite of Daniel Elazar's writings to the contrary, we have since 1933 been going through a protracted revolution that has substantially changed the nature, but not the fact, of our federal system. Whatever it may be called — cooperative, creative, synergistic, or new — the essence of it is a vast increase in the practice of partnership or intergovernmental responsibility among national, state, and local governments in the operation of the system. Although there were precedents for partnership federalism from the earliest days, the increase in the practice of it and the abandonment of the principle of dual federalism amount to a change in kind rather than one merely of degree. Be that as it may, the new system represents an orderly and natural outgrowth of the system established by the founders and is altogether compatible with the constitution that they wrote. Perhaps the only amendment that has played a vital role in this development has been the income tax amendment, although it is true that recent applications of the Fourteenth Amendment have helped to bind the states, however unwillingly in some cases, into the partnership role in the pursuit of national goals. In any case, Morton Grodzins, Daniel Elazar, and their disciples are among the political scientists who have recently made a great contribution to the understanding that we still are a nation of states. The important point here is that the new federal system is making exacting new kinds of demands on the state governments, as it is on the national government, and that we are in the halting early stages of the effort to meet these demands, an effort that needs all the help it can get from academia and from the benign civic forces of America.

The administrations of President Johnson and President Nixon have brought an unprecedented extension of the horizons of the national interest in domestic affairs in such broad areas as education, health, economic opportunity, other aspects of welfare, civil rights, law enforcement, transportation, and environmental maintenance. Although there has been talk of a federal "take-over" of welfare, it has not happened, and if it did, it is likely that the state-local apparatus would still be employed in delivery of largely federally financed services. If we except the Veterans Administration, farm subsidies, oil depletion allowances, and small programs like VISTA and the Job Corps, the only fully nationalized welfare program of any consequence is Social Security, and that is a simple insurance and check-writing operation. In general, all of the federal initiatives have increased and complicated, while in some ways assisting, the states' task of government. "Revenue sharing" with no strings or very loose strings, if and when it comes, will tax still further the states' capacity to govern well in their own and the national interest.

Fortunately, the national concern for state competence has moved some-

what beyond the primitive personnel and accounting requirements attached to early grants simply to insure their faithful expenditure according to law. The assistance for local planning provided by section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954 was a harbinger of things to come in the form of federal requirements and money for planning at local, regional, and state levels for various program and coordinative purposes. These grants have begun to provide support for strengthening the arm of general government, notably, in some states, to bring about the first significant staffing of the governor's office, and in others, like Massachusetts, to finance studies leading to major governmental reorganization.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, a novel hybrid agency representing all levels of government, has devoted a major part of its attention to studies, recommendations, and models directed toward increasing the states' structural and fiscal capacities for meeting the challenge presented to them by the Kestnbaum Commission. National study commissions on civil rights, riots, crime and law enforcement, and urban problems have urged more active and effective state involvement in the solution of the problems with which they were concerned. Recent "intergovernmental acts," notably, the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act and Intergovernmental Personnel Act, have demonstrated the practical concern of the Congress for the need to strengthen the general governmental capacities of the state-local system.

The voluntary civic activity in behalf of state improvement has been building up momentum for the last fifteen years or more. Long established organizations like the National Municipal League, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the League of Women Voters, the Committee for Economic Development, and the National Association of Manufacturers have increased their attention to state governmental improvement. The National Municipal League, founded in 1894 as a municipal reform organization, now devotes well over half of its resources to the states. Newer organizations like the Urban Coalition and Common Cause have come to recognize that they cannot attain their objectives unless the states play their strategic role more effectively. In the few years of its existence, the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures has encouraged and assisted citizens and legislators in various states to make progress in modernizing one of the most outmoded segments of our whole governmental system. The Citizens Conference and the National Municipal League have also demonstrated the effectiveness of well-organized, inter-university comparative research in such matters as legislative organization, reapportionment, and the process of constitutional revision.

Private foundations have invested a considerable amount of money in voluntary civic activity working for the improvement of state government and in research on the states — such as former Governor Terry Sanford's

study of American states that produced, among other useful outcomes, *Storm Over the States*, an argument and a manual for state improvement. The American Assembly has conducted since 1955 three of its national assemblies and sponsored dozens of follow-up regional assemblies on the states and their problems.

Spurred by the climate of the times, the states' own voluntary organizations, the Council of State Governments and the National Governor's Conference, have responded by a series of studies and task force reports reinforcing the principal recommendations from other sources for strengthening, what I have called, the "strategic middle" of our system.

There never before have been so many organizations and persons, inside and outside the public sector, devoting so much time and talent to the effort to strengthen the states. Whether or not this should be flattering to the states, it is impressive evidence of a determined public purpose to continue to maintain and enhance the states. This, emphatically, is not a negative states' rights movement. It is a movement to increase the capacity of the states for positive service in the national interest.

#### **RESPONSE OF THE STATES**

How are the states responding? The following summary appears in a 1969 report by the Rutgers Urban Studies Center to HUD:

We have seen the reversal of the movement which resulted in . . . the manacled state, a state so trussed up with self-imposed constitutional limitations and so enfeebled by the fractionization of power and responsibility that it could not meet the new demands upon government of a changing society. The subsequent trend toward unleashing the states and raising their competence to govern has been slow, spotty, and subject to occasional backsliding; but the trend is unmistakable. Stronger governors, better organized state administrations, more representative and better staffed legislatures, more productive tax systems, more modern fiscal administration, improved local charters and greater freedom for local initiative, advance in professionalization of the civil service, progress in intergovernmental cooperation — all are indicative of the fact that the states are not static in the face of change.<sup>11</sup>

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in its annual reports and in its series on state action on local problems regularly documents state developments of the kind noted above. While the last year has been rather barren of actual progress in Washington, as distinct from talk and proposals, toward improving the functioning of the federal system, important gains have been made in a number of states. In the face of federal cutbacks at least three-fifths of the states raised taxes in 1971 and by the end of the year only ten states lacked a full-fledged income tax. Minnesota gave an im-

<sup>11</sup> *The Roles of the States in Solving Urban Problems*, Center for Urban Social Science Research, Report to HUD (New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University, 1969), pp. 48-49.



pressive demonstration of the classic role of the state as innovator in an unprecedented overhaul of its state-local tax and fiscal system which reversed the customary overemphasis on local taxes that results in both tax and service inadequacies and inequities. The state of Minnesota has assumed a great deal more direct responsibility for raising taxes of all kinds for all purposes and has increased and reordered the distribution of funds, so as to reduce fiscal disparities among school districts, strengthen the fiscs of cities and counties, and reduce the local property tax burden.

One index of the vigor and thrust of efforts at adjusting state capacities to changing conditions is the rate and direction of constitutional change. We have noted that during the latter part of the last century the main motive in much constitutional revision was to curb the capacity of the state to do harm by limiting the legislature's fiscal and other powers. The thrust of recent constitutional revision is quite the other way: to increase the capacity of the state to do things that need to be done.

The period since the 1955 Report of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has seen more state activity in constitution writing or rewriting than any other similar period except that of Reconstruction and the period of expansion between 1836 and 1850. Considerably more than two thirds of the activity has been during the decade of the sixties, an indication of the accelerating pace of constitution improvement efforts.

In the fifteen years between 1955 and 1969, nineteen constitutional conventions were held in thirteen states. . . . The proposals of thirteen conventions were approved by the voters. . . .

During the same period there were more than sixty constitutional commissions of various kinds in thirty-seven states for various periods of time, at least fifty of which were at work in the sixties.<sup>22</sup>

It is my conclusion that there have been more positive results from this activity than most people realize. However, at the present rate, it will be a long time before a modern de Tocqueville could give most state constitutions a high rating in comparison with the United States Constitution. One of the problems lies in the fact that constitutional revision is either a haphazard process of individual amendments to meet narrow objectives or an occasional attempt at general revision by inexperienced people. The National Municipal League, with the help of a number of able academics, is trying to make up for this lack of experience by its program of comparative studies and reports on the politics and process of constitutional revision, a resource that has been lacking throughout American history.

Perhaps it will help to clarify the challenge of the emerging role of the states if we look briefly at a number of broad areas in which the behavior of the states is critical to the performance of our whole system.

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<sup>22</sup> John E. Bebout, *The Problem of the Texas Constitution* (Arlington, Texas: Texas Urban Development Commission, 1971), p. 21.

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The basic function of any government is the maintenance of a modicum of order, and of any civilized government, the administration of even-handed and effective justice. This has always been, and is now, primarily the responsibility of the states. According to all accounts, present performance falls so far short of meeting popular demand that it contributes significantly to the current disillusionment with all government and with the American dream. Useful as they are, no amount of Law Enforcement Assistance Administration planning, money, education, or demonstrations will reorganize the antediluvian state courts, socialize the "correctional" system, bring dignity back into "law enforcement," depoliticize and humanize detention and prosecution proceedings, and integrate all these elements in a genuine system for the *administration* of justice that serves the true interests both of the public and of those unfortunate enough to be caught in the web of the law. Nor will any federal power rid the criminal laws of the fifty states of the inherited relics of the ignorance and prejudice of past ages that overload the courts, make hypocrites out of those who enforce the law, and make young and old wonder about the relationship between law and morality. Supreme Court decisions may continue to draw wavering guidelines that will help or hinder improvement at one point or another in the system of criminal law and justice, but they can not really redirect and restructure it. Neither will any power likely to be exercised by the United States introduce greater dispatch, certainty, and equity in the administration of the ordinary civil justice that takes the place of private war over conflicting rights. Theoretically, the Congress might some day find that the burden of litigation over motor accidents, for example, so encumbers interstate commerce as to justify a federal take-over. However, some states are beginning to move toward no fault insurance, and recurring suggestions for taking this and other matters out of the ordinary courts of law suggest that state by state meliorative action is much more likely.

This whole area of civil and criminal justice has been shamefully neglected by social scientists, especially by political scientists. The tendency has been to leave it to the lawyers, who have a vested interest, and to a small handful of reformers. This is not to say that much has not been done by way of exploring the need and the possibilities for reform, beginning about the time of Roscoe Pound's design for a unified court system and going back to the reform of the English court system in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The American Bar Association and the American Judicature Society have developed helpful models. Federal leadership has been and can continue to be useful. The Wickersham Commission created by President Hoover produced monumental studies that still have much useful material in them. More recently, other *ad hoc* federal commissions and the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations have brought parts of the subject up to date. As

Chief Justice Burger has shown, the federal judiciary can provide some leadership and set an example for rationalizing the system. A number of states and the commonwealth of Puerto Rico have pioneered in unifying the courts, and others have set good examples in other areas, but no state has put together a sufficiently comprehensive package to make a large impact on one of the most backward areas of American government — an area that is critical for the civic morale of the country.

One would be tempted to suggest that we know what ought to be done, so why don't we do it? Academia has a largely unmet responsibility for helping to resolve this dilemma. There is still new ground to be explored. There is need for research, state by state, to validate and adapt improvements that have been tested by experience elsewhere. An important, largely neglected task is study of the political process by which reform in this area may be achieved against resistant traditions and vested interests. Finally, there is an immense need for more and better professional and public education on this whole subject. The educations given to lawyers, judges, prosecutors, correctional officers, policemen, social workers, doctors, educators, public administrators, politicians, and voting citizens need to be reexamined, to some extent be redirected, and to be greatly extended in the form of continuing education. There are special problems that need to be researched connected with the effort to make justice a reality for the poor, and more especially, for direct participation by properly trained students and practitioners both of law and of social work. These responsibilities must be shared by many academic departments, professional schools, extension agencies, and research institutes. A university that simply responds to current demand by setting up a program in "police science" is just nibbling at one small edge of this many-sided subject.

#### **PEOPLE PROBLEMS**

Developments in technology and the dissemination of knowledge have served to magnify and intensify two other sets of problems that are testing the capacity of all our governments as never before. These may be roughly described as people problems and resource and environmental problems. Obviously, they intersect at many levels. Both sets of problems relate to subjects that have traditionally been primarily in the sphere of state responsibility. Federal involvement in many aspects of these areas has been inevitable and will surely increase. Yet there is no reason to believe that the role of the states will not be crucial to the success of national efforts to reduce inequalities in opportunity and to make it possible for all people to live decently in sound social and physical environments, whether in city, suburb, or country.

Striking academic testimony is presented on many, though not all, aspects of the current and potential activities and practices of the state of Massachusetts that bear on the problem of poverty in *The State and the*

*Poor*.<sup>13</sup> The fourteen principal authors and numerous other persons who contributed to the book were drawn from at least thirteen different departments or schools in four universities in the Boston area and represented as many as nine disciplines and professions. The book makes well thought out proposals for improving the state's attack on poverty on many fronts: jobs and training, public assistance, housing, transportation, health, and education. The extent of the state's antipoverty involvement is indicated by the findings of Ann Friedlaender<sup>14</sup> that in 1968 all governments spent more than a billion dollars in Massachusetts for a variety of antipoverty purposes, of which the state raised 37 percent and spent 53 percent. The federal government contributed 62.2 percent, and local governments only 0.7 percent.

However, the main case for the states as major factors in promoting the general welfare through service to the human needs of the American people — for education, health, recreation, transportation, culture, and security — does not rest on their performance in the struggle against special deprivations suffered by a minority. In fact, the intrusion of the federal government into the whole field of "welfare" has been largely directed at alleviating the lot of this minority, which means that the states have been left with by far the major responsibility for those governmental activities demanded by a modern society to sustain the good life for all its people. The national government will no doubt always be responsible, as Professor Beer suggests, for basic public policies bearing on the well-being of all — "for instance, maintaining economic equilibrium, promoting economic growth, managing the labor market, redistributing wealth among groups and regions."<sup>15</sup> It will certainly also do more in support of commonly needed services in education, health, transportation and, one hopes, the esthetic and cultural amenities. Such increased federal activity, however, is a far cry from a complete "takeover" of the states' role. In fact, it may well enhance that role in absolute terms and at the same time, if we learn how to manage partnership federalism wisely, give the states more room for innovative action.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

Has the recent discovery of ecology, with its indication of the national, not to say global and even galactic, scope of the problems of our physical environment rendered the states obsolete in this area? Air and water pollution recognize no state boundaries. Settlement and land use policies, or nonpolicies, may create dust bowls or destroy biological nurseries so as to impair the eco-

<sup>13</sup> Samuel H. Beer and Richard E. Barringer, eds., *The State and the Poor* (Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, Inc., 1970).

<sup>14</sup> Ann F. Friedlaender, "Fiscal Prospects" in Beer and Barringer, eds., *The State and the Poor*, p. 283.

<sup>15</sup> Samuel H. Beer, "Introduction: Poverty and the State," in Beer and Barringer, eds., *The State and the Poor*, p. 24.

logical balance that is of concern to the nation or the world. These facts are inexorably drawing the national government into the environmental act. Yet, the whole pattern of federal involvement has been one of partnership, with all possible emphasis on state-local responsibility for adapting and carrying out programs conceived in terms of national goals and standards, and with a large degree of leeway for state initiative. Even when the president and Congress are ready to relate the commitment of national resources more realistically to the magnitude of the problem, it is likely, from past experience, that we will still try to make maximum use of the states and their local government in carrying out the programs of control and public works required to accomplish the national purpose. Upon examination, if it can be made to work, there is much logic in this strategy. Impairment of air, land, water, or organic life and the waste of scarce resources occur at particular places. Accordingly, the measures to prevent impairment, often in the form of public works or of regulations, must be applied at those places. The specific remedies are in some measure a function of the existence and general behavior of the state and local governments on the spot, and, in terms of American tradition, it is most natural to call on those governments for action compatible with the national interest.

The control of pollution and waste of land, dry as well as wet, caused by inappropriate use is now belatedly recognized as vitally important to environmental maintenance. This might seem curious, since for many years the United States government has been involved in the control of land, not only in the vast public domain and national forests, but also in the soil conservation program. Primary responsibility and virtual plenary power over land use, however, have always rested with the states, and they have been most backward in exercising it. Save for a few exceptions, most of them very recent, they have denigrated this power in the form of delegation of zoning powers to municipalities, which, by and large, have used them ineffectually.

In 1971 the president of the United States introduced in the 92nd Congress a proposed national land use policy act "to establish a national land use policy; to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make grants to encourage and assist States to prepare and implement land use programs for the protection of areas of critical environmental concern and the control and direction of growth and development of more than local significance; and for other purposes." Section 101(a) reads in part: "The Congress hereby finds and declares that decisions about the use of land significantly influence the quality of the environment, and that present State and local institutional arrangements for planning and regulating land use of more than local impact are inadequate . . . [and impair] ecological, cultural, historic, and aesthetic values . . . [damage] flood plains and shorelands . . . [induce] disorderly development and urbanization . . . [and impede] control of air, water, noise, and other pol-



lution . . .”<sup>16</sup> and do other kinds of damage to the national interest. The act itself is essentially hortatory and depends on program development and program management grants, backed up by technical assistance and a qualified promise of conformance of federal projects and activities with state land use programs to persuade the states to get into the business of land use management. The president has also suggested a sanction in the form of a percentage cut in federal grants for certain purposes to states that fail to produce acceptable land use programs.

It is not surprising that states have either ignored this subject or approached it in a most gingerly fashion. American reverence for the right of private property in land and the jealous concern for local self-government have usually stopped serious consideration of state land use controls. There are signs, however, that we may be entering a new era. The Council on Environmental Quality has just issued a report entitled *The Quiet Revolution in Land Use Control*, by Fred Bosselman and David Callies.<sup>17</sup> The authors date the beginning of the quiet revolution to the passing of the Hawaii Land Use Law in 1961. They report on this and other innovative legislation since then in a number of states, including Vermont’s Environmental Protection Law, California’s legislation for the Bay Area, Minnesota’s legislation for the Twin Cities area, Massachusetts’s “antisnob zoning law” and wetlands protection program, Maine’s Cite Location Law affecting the location of large commercial and industrial developments, Wisconsin’s shoreland protection program, Colorado’s Land Use Act, New Jersey’s Meadowlands Development Commission Act, Delaware’s Coastal Zone Act, and acts in other states designed for the protection of wetlands and other fragile areas threatened by development, such as the Lake Tahoe basin area for which the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency has been created by interstate compact. The authors also call attention to the change in emphasis in local zoning practices from their almost exclusive focus on preserving land values for private owners to a broader concern for social and ecological effects of local land uses.

It is admitted that most of these state laws are too new or too tentative to permit definitive conclusions about their effectiveness, but Bosselman and Callies are sure that

This country is in the midst of a revolution in the way we regulate the use of our land. . . . The *ancien regime* being overthrown is the feudal system under which the entire pattern of land development has been controlled by thousands of individual local governments, each seeking to maximize its tax base and minimize its social problems, and caring less what happens to all the others.

The tools of the revolution are new laws taking a wide variety of forms but each

<sup>16</sup> U.S., Congress, Senate, proposed *National Land Use Policy Act of 1971*, S. 992, 92d Cong., 2d sess., 1971.

<sup>17</sup> Fred Bosselman and David Callies, *The Quiet Revolution in Land Use Control*, Council on Environmental Quality (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971).

sharing a common theme — the need to provide some degree of state or regional participation in the major decisions that affect the use of our increasingly limited supply of land.<sup>18</sup>

If this is anywhere near true, the adoption of the national land use policy act could give this revolution real impetus, especially in view of the fact that a number of organizations, including the Council of State Governments, the American Society of Planning Officials, and the American Law Institute, are developing ways to help the states deal with this problem.

It has long seemed to me that qualified academics have neglected this area, perhaps because they thought that traditional attitudes, political road-blocks, and constitutional limitations interdicted any hope of significant change. It now seems that this is not true. As Bosselman and Callies indicate, there is immediate need for creative work on legal, economic, and administrative means to speed this revolution. Finally, it seems clear that the states are the key. It will surely be a long time before the national government assumes general responsibility for the direct regulation of land usage throughout the country, unless the states completely fail to meet the challenge.

#### THE STATE-LOCAL SYSTEM

The state-local governments are today, as they always have been, the system through which most of the services and controls of domestic government are delivered to the people. The fact that they are being increasingly used to achieve nationally determined goals and purposes makes them even more important to the serious student and to citizens generally.

As I have intimated, when I talk about state government I am really thinking about local government as well, or about "state-local" government. The states, are in theory and in fact, wholly responsible for the local governments through which they have chosen to exercise the major part of their responsibilities. The Kestnbaum Commission's discovery that we had evolved a sort of *de facto* three level federalism, with all levels interacting directly with one another, does not negate this fact. Rather, it makes the states' role *vis-à-vis* local government even more important because the way the state handles that role greatly affects the outcome of programs directly important to the nation. The discovery of three level federalism is partly responsible for features of the Intergovernmental Cooperation and Intergovernmental Personnel Acts and for an increasing number of federal requirements for state or regional planning and review. It is also responsible for studies of substate regionalism currently being conducted by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and other groups.

If the national government were to assume the power over local government that Parliament has in England, federalism would be destroyed and the

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

states would be dead. Since this almost certainly will not happen, we can expect continued efforts, by control over direct national spending and by court decisions mandating fiscal and service equity, to nudge the states toward the kind of rationalization of their local governmental systems that can be accomplished by national action in England and is being approached by provincial action in Ontario. The net effect of forces developing within the states is in the same direction, but to the extent that these national and local forces do not lead to significant alteration of the structure of local "self-government" they will surely lead to assumption of greater direct service and control responsibilities by the states themselves. At the same time, the demand for more effective citizen access and participation at the community level points to the need for political invention to give new meaning to the old Jeffersonian notion of the sovereignty of the citizen, whether it be expressed through a "ward republic," or by means of some "advocacy" mechanism more or less independent of established bureaucracies.

#### **INFORMATION AND COORDINATION**

The national government has two needs that we have not yet discovered how to meet: (1) a better system for obtaining information from all levels and sections of government for the development of national policies; and (2) a better way to coordinate, adapt, and focus activities of all sectors and levels so as to achieve national objectives. The states, in turn, have the same unmet needs — needs which must be met if partnership federalism is to carry the country successfully through the years ahead. As seen from a national perspective, they are set forth in the following statement:

In summary, if the failures of political power are to be remedied and effective popular government sustained over the long run then:

Measures must be taken to insure consistency between national and local priorities as determined by elected representatives of each level of government and, to this end we must improve the flow of information to and from the policymaking center in Washington, while at the same time pushing administrative authority out of Washington into the various regions of the country closer to the people served.

If this decentralization is to work better in the future than it has in the past, national policies must be better coordinated in order to end both recessions and inflation; long-range planning must be promoted along with the long-range commitments under Federal programs that will enable State and local governments to function efficiently in adapting national policies to local differences in values, preferences and priorities.<sup>19</sup>

A very similar statement, with obvious variations, could equally well be directed to the states. Indeed, specifications for a restructuring of state-regional-local relations in Connecticut for such purposes were spelled out in

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<sup>19</sup> *Restoration of Effective Sovereignty to Solve Social Problems*, Report of the Subcommittee on Urban Affairs of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress (U.S. Government Printing Office, 6 December 1971), p. 7.



a paper by Norton Long for the Connecticut Commission on the Necessity and Feasibility of Metropolitan Government in 1966.<sup>20</sup> Because of their strategic position at the middle of partnership federalism and their control over the whole state-local system for the generation of information and the delivery of services for all levels of government, the meeting of these needs puts special demands upon the states. There could be no greater challenge to academia than to help the states meet this challenge.

#### THE DEMAND FOR EQUITY

Recent decisions by both state and federal courts mandating greater equity in the financing and delivery of educational services give new dimensions and urgency to the problems outlined above. The New Jersey case, incidentally, demonstrates the importance of state constitutional provisions because the court based its conclusions on two provisions, one mandating an efficient system of free public schools, the other an equivalent of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Presumably, if the state supreme court affirms the decision as expected, it will be the law in New Jersey, whatever the U. S. Supreme Court may do with cases based on the federal Constitution.

It seems probable that we are entering an era in which the states will be impelled to pay much more attention to fiscal and service equity. Meeting the equity requirement will tax our ingenuity in adapting our institutions and practices to the ends of justice and opportunity for all without forcing equality at the level of mediocrity. The states' response to the school desegregation decisions was flawed by resistance which discouraged creative efforts at substantial compliance. Consequently, eighteen years later the country is still in turmoil over their meaning and the courts continue to engage in judicial legislation on the subject. So, too, with reapportionment. Partly, perhaps, because of unnecessarily strict time limits and other criteria set by the courts, but chiefly because most states were not politically and intellectually ready for the job, the reapportionment decisions have led to a protracted period of judicial legislation, and the opportunity for genuinely creative restructuring of the legislative institution has been partly wasted. Fortunately, work by the National Municipal League provided the legislatures with information upon which decisions could be based that they never would have obtained for themselves. In addition, the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, concentrating on other aspects of legislative organization and management, has helped some of the reapportioned legislatures improve themselves in other ways.

The role of the courts in these matters should not be deplored. It was

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<sup>20</sup> Norton E. Long, "The Role of State Government in Regional Development," in *The States' Biggest Business: Local and Regional Problems*, Policy Papers for the Connecticut Commission to Study the Necessity and Feasibility of Metropolitan Government (Connecticut Legislature, January 1967).

necessary, constructive, and has helped to revive the states. In the case of school desegregation, and other equal rights cases, it has ended a period of stasis in which the states, as well as the Congress, were turning aside from some of the basic issues of our society. They are now engaged. As a result of reapportionment, we see a new readiness on the part of many legislatures to deal with matters hitherto protected by "no trespassing" signs erected by interests favored by the established pattern of representation. The very fact that legislatures *must* now face reapportionment every ten years is unsettling to the *status quo*. One important result has been that fear of reapportionment through constitutional revision no longer blocks efforts to modernize state constitutions.

Hopefully, the entry of the courts into the problem of school support and the possibility of their dealing with other aspects of fiscal and service equity will find the states ready to respond with more creativity than they did to the earlier judicial initiatives. It would be appalling if we were to tempt the courts to get into the business of writing state aid formulas and tax laws and redrawing school districts and other local boundaries. These matters are, in essence, a legislative function. In our system, only a legislature, representative of the people, well staffed, informed, and enjoying the time for deliberation, can exercise these functions properly. Consequently, we now have a new and urgent reason for pushing ahead with the strengthening of state legislatures, as well as governors where they lack the necessary prerequisites for effective policy leadership.

There are signs that the states, despite their weaknesses, may be ready to respond with some energy to the demand for equity in the support of school, and possibly of other services. For one thing, the past combination of tax and spending practices hurts almost everybody in one way or another, not just the poor, the ethnic minorities, or those in the central cities. Only a few very wealthy suburbs or industrial enclaves are advantaged by present arrangements. Accordingly, even before a single school finance case has reached the Supreme Court, Minnesota has acted and other states are moving to comply. Prompt, imaginative action, by enough legislatures taking somewhat different approaches, could avert potential and perhaps irreparable damage through excessive judicial legislation — or through action by Congress unduly limiting state discretion as a condition for receiving massive federal support for schools.

Let me suggest some of the problems posed by the demand for equity. Do we know enough about education to be sure what produces either quality or equality? Are we sure enough about what we mean by equality of opportunity to settle for a rigid set of national standards, measured by dollars, student population, numbers of poor people, and the like, governing expenditures for education throughout the country? It would surely be unfortunate to leave experimentation to the private schools that are already in financial difficulty or to the sometimes whimsical vagaries of the demonstration grant

process. Again, in a philosophical vein, how far does democratic theory require that government go in promoting or insuring equality of opportunity? In a mixed economy like ours, some people are bound, by virtue of their family or economic setting, to have “more equal” opportunity than others. Are we ready, in the name of equality, to deprive our state and local communities of the right that historically our public sector pluralism has afforded to compete for excellence in education or in other areas even at the cost of spending more money or providing a somewhat higher level of opportunity than other communities not similarly endowed or motivated? I do not presume to answer all these questions, but to suggest, rather, that we should not be required to answer them simultaneously. The more vigorously the states proceed to wipe out the outrageous fiscal and service inequities that now exist and to assure to everyone a good basic education designed to enable him to discover and develop his own capacities, the less likely it is that we will be forced into improvident decisions beyond the reach of present wisdom.

The nature of the issues raised is such that they can stretch the knowledge and the power of thought and inquiry of many sections of academia, including the humanities and all those largely concerned with philosophy, morals, and religion. Now is the time for them to rally in an effort to help the states to find their role and their strength to play it.

#### **TOWARD A MORE VITAL STATE POLITICS**

If the states rise in any significant degree to this challenge, there will be spill-over benefits of great importance. William Colman, in an editorial in the *National Civic Review*, suggests that it would speed the time “when land-use decisions by county and municipal governments are not dominated and skewed by concerns of whether residential development is going to pay its way in local school taxes.”<sup>21</sup> By the same token, unless the United States government makes the mistake of assuming too large a share of the cost of education, states that have maintained unproductive state tax systems, without a progressive income tax, will be forced to revise them. This should lead to a more equal tax effort among the states and make it easier to devise a fair scheme for general revenue sharing if and when the time comes. The public dialogue, occasioned by the search for equity, should be enlightening and cleansing in its effect and lead us back to a more vital and fundamental state politics — a politics engaged with issues of substance and of concern to all people. In other words, by broadening the arenas in which certain issues are considered and by redirecting the dialogue to the common need for equity, it should generate a politics more concerned with the general interest and less with advantages for special interests.

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<sup>21</sup> William Colman, “School Finance: A Challenge and a Chance,” *National Civic Review* 60 (1971):540.

For a long time, one of the most baffling questions confronted by apologists for the states has been the question of the nature of state politics. I think it cannot be denied that, by and large, state politics tends to be less vital and meaningful to most people than national politics. This is partly because national politics is often the politics of no less an issue than the issue of survival, or at least of prosperity, which concerns everyone deeply. There is also the high drama of the national election. The health of any system of free government depends greatly on the vitality of the political process through which men and measures are brought together in the act of governance. If a city, state, or nation operating on the republican principle is to be well governed, it must be able to engage participating citizens and responsible political leaders in productive discussions about vital public issues. Consequently, a major, perhaps the central question, about the future of the states has to do with their ability to mobilize political dialogue and action relevant to the great concerns of their citizens. To put the question in other words, Are all or most states of the Union capable of a lively, challenging political life built around state issues of broad concern calling for state action? If they are not, they will probably survive — at best, as somewhat inconvenient but passive purveyors of national programs; at worst, as increasingly irrelevant and disorderly intruders on the national political dialogue. My hopeful suggestion is that the decisions handed down by the Warren Court and a series of acts of Congress are so altering the ground rules of American politics and so changing the roles and important elements of the governmental structures of the states, and so broadening their effective constituencies, that a more vital state politics may be in the making. The way in which the states face the equity issues may provide the acid test of this hope. It deserves the close attention and helpful guidance of serious students of politics.

Ever since the New Deal, it has seemed natural to citizens to look directly to Washington for answers to major problems. That was where the big money and the most highly visible and commanding leadership seemed to be. This overlooked the fact that the biggest money for domestic government was still coming from the state-local sector and that no major domestic problems were being attacked without state-local involvement. For a while, we were beguiled with the thought that after the war in Vietnam was over a huge “peace dividend” would soon be available for home front purposes, some of which, to be sure, might be “shared” with the states.

A number of things have happened to raise legitimate questions about the reliability of Uncle Sam as the source of all domestic blessings. The go and stop and hesitate nature of the “war on poverty,” the crusade against hunger, the Model Cities gambit and other programs inaugurated with large promise but modest funding and short time tolerance have demonstrated that the national political calendar and priority schedule may have effects as capri-

cious as those of the states. The trend of the last few years toward a less productive, more regressive federal tax system, while state systems were being strengthened, carries its own warning. One wonders how long this trend may continue in view of the attitude expressed in the following words of President Nixon in his latest budget message: "Power in its most specific sense is spending power. My own choice between Government spending and individual spending has been clear and consistent: I believe some of that power should be taken from the Federal Government and returned to the individual."<sup>22</sup> This may just be rhetoric, but again this may not. Finally, it should be observed that the so-called new federalism, in so far as it differs from earlier versions of partnership federalism, puts more stress on state responsibility and initiative. While I question some of the tactics connected with this shift in emphasis, I am not sure that it is not basically wise, at least in this time, for a country so large and diverse as ours.

It seems clear, therefore, that if we are to have the kind of active, dynamic government we need to meet our domestic problems, we must try to get more of the dynamism from the states, at least for the crucial period immediately ahead. The possibility of achieving this looks good enough to justify a major effort by all good citizens with all the help academia can give it. Although a few states feel that their own fiscal resources have been stretched close to the limit, all or most states could do much more with a fully developed, balanced tax system. The authors of *The State and the Poor* concluded that Massachusetts, a high tax effort state, could, with appropriate fiscal and administrative adjustments, spend considerably more in poverty related programs without short-changing others. Federal action to assume virtually complete responsibility for financing welfare, on which there now seems to be wide agreement in principle, some rationalization of federal grant programs, and such incentives for better balanced state tax systems as have been suggested by the ACIR would make it considerably easier for the states to meet both the fiscal and the political challenges of the future.

One advantage of federalism is the multiplicity of locales where initiative may be exercised in anticipation of or in response to new needs. We may be very fortunate because we do not have to rely on a single center of power and innovative action in Washington. The states, if they meet this challenge, can prod the national government just as effectively as it prods them.

#### **THE CHALLENGE TO ACADEMIA**

The challenge of the states to academia is to all of its parts and in all of its capacities. One neglected reason why all of academia should be more

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<sup>22</sup> Richard M. Nixon, "Budget Message of the President," *The Budget of the United States Government: Fiscal Year 1973* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 8.



concerned with the states lies in the special relationship between higher education and state government. State universities and colleges are themselves part of state government. Indeed, they are the most distinctive, if not necessarily the finest, creations of the states. Private institutions are becoming increasingly involved with state government as they seek public financing and state agencies seek to rationalize the whole public-private system of education. Yet, very little systematic attention has been paid by scholars either to university-state relations or to the internal government of the universities.

The state's need from academia is for help in solving problems. Since most problems do not fall neatly within the purview of a single discipline or profession, the state needs interdisciplinary approaches in research, in education for politics and the public service, and in technical assistance in applying knowledge to particular situations, especially those requiring political invention or reform. These needs, which are, of course, matched by the needs of the national government, call upon the universities to make much greater efforts to overcome the built-in obstacles to genuine interdisciplinary endeavors. Since the most pressing problems of partnership federalism, in general, and of the states, in particular, are institutional, this puts a very heavy claim on the social sciences and on related professions, such as law, social work, and public administration to work together. The claim extends to the sciences and to technology, especially for help in such areas as transportation, environmental maintenance, housing, and health. In these and other areas, the collaboration should extend across the spectrum of the social and physical and natural sciences and the humanities, because issues of technological and institutional feasibility and political or moral acceptability cannot be fully disentangled. In responding more fully to this challenge, academia would also be helping to free itself from self-generated inhibitions and self-fabricated bonds that keep it from achieving its own best potential.

## THE PROBLEM OF UNIVERSITY INVOLVEMENT AND COMMITMENT

THAD L. BEYLE and SAMUEL K. GOVE

We start by stating our biases. As students of state government, we are concerned about this level of government, and we believe that state governments need to be turned around if our federal system is to survive. We can be classified as "state's righters" but not in the negative sense of that term. We believe that state governments must play a more important role in programs aimed at solving society's problems and that the federal government simply cannot handle all the problems of the nation. Ideally we would restructure state governments and particularly their boundaries. In many states because of the irrational boundaries there is no sense of community and consequently it is virtually impossible to develop a consensus. If there were some possibility that Rexford Tugwell's United Republics of America might be adopted, then we probably would be less concerned about our states. Since there is no realistic alternative to state governments in the foreseeable future, we must concern ourselves with strengthening this level of government.

Let us get out another bias. We believe the academic community is partly responsible for the troubled condition and the poor public image of state government. On many campuses the teaching of state government is not well done. Often the textbooks may be faulted because they emphasize structure, and, rather than effective understanding of the political process at the state level, meaningless generalization comes from simultaneous discussion of all fifty states.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this kind of academic training, few of the ablest students express any interest in state government as a career goal. Similarly, few students aiming toward the academic profession specialize in state government studies.

We should like to address our remarks to another problem — faculty involvement in state governmental problem solving. We feel that generally there has not been sufficient use made by state policy makers of the talent

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, we had a "generalization" problem in writing this paper. We are talking about fifty state governments and their universities. Thus our comments, questions, and suggestions will not apply to all states. We probably need a discussion on the state of — and its universities taking into account the state's history, political structure, culture, and so forth. Hopefully, such individual state discussions will grow out of this conference.

on our campuses. There are many reasons for the low level of interaction between state government and university faculty but perhaps the most important is that on most campuses such activities are not included in the reward system. In addition, the university generally, is not organized in a way to encourage contacts and open communications. These latter concerns — rewards and university organization — are the main thrust of our paper. These are, of course, internal matters within universities. Solutions to them may go a long way toward resolving the basic division between state government and universities.

Fundamental to our thinking and to the development of this paper is our belief that faculty assistance in the solution of problems of our states is an important aspect of university public service. Unfortunately, although university officials recite the trilogy of teaching, research, and public service as being the three equal missions of the university, in the real world public service takes a back seat.<sup>2</sup> The faculty member who spends much of his effort on public service, especially at the state governmental level, finds he is not well rewarded, and more importantly, he is not well accepted by his colleagues. In spite of statements to the contrary, publication in the learned journals is still the mark for measurement in most academic circles, and frequently the more abstract the work, the more esteem. We want to change that a little by having public service of university level caliber rewarded. Hopefully in time it will also be accepted in academic circles and in professional associations.<sup>3</sup>

One other point. We believe that for some time higher education has needed to be more responsive to public service programs. Although we do not look on public service as a public relations effort in these troubled times

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<sup>2</sup> Public service is a broad term that has different meanings to different people. Although there is no wholly satisfactory definition, we have chosen the one used in a recent Massachusetts report ("Report of the President's Committee on the Future University of Massachusetts" (Boston, Mass., December 1971), p. 90.) as approaching closest to our ideas:

"Having examined the academic side of the University, we turn now to its public service role. Public service as we define it includes three major areas:

- advice, information, and technical assistance to business, government, neighborhood groups, and individuals on problems which the University has competence to assist in solving;
- research toward the solution of public policy problems, whether by individual or groups of faculty members or by the formal institutes and centers of the University;
- conferences, institutes, seminars, workshops, short courses and other non-degree-oriented upgrading and training for government officials, social service personnel, various professional people, business executives, and so on."

<sup>3</sup> We also realize that a fourth major role has developed within the university context — that of administration. While this cannot be conceptualized as a "mission" of the university equal to the teaching, research, and public service missions, rewards are made to those who perform this role, and these rewards can be equivalent or greater than those provided for the other roles.



for higher education, we do not deny that effective public service *may* result in better public relations. But we think that higher education should now and will have more responsibility for conducting effective public service programs, especially for our state governments.

#### **MUTUAL TRUST AND COMMUNICATIONS**

One reason that state governments do not utilize academicians more is a lack of communication. The state officials do not understand in what ways academicians can be of assistance. And the academicians often do not understand the problems of state officials. The communication problem is real, and in addition there is sometimes a certain amount of jealousy on the part of state officials, who occasionally feel insecure.

Difficulties also arise because of the difference between governmental and academic time. The governmental official who wants to utilize the services of a faculty member must adjust his needs to the latter's semester schedule, teaching duties, and research and publication deadlines. Conversely, the faculty member may be able to contact legislators, for example, only when the legislature is in session.

Adding to the division between state officials and academicians have been certain bad experiences in the past. One of us spoke to a conference of state legislative research directors recently and suggested that we should work on improving communications and relations. The reception was cool, to put it mildly. It became obvious that the record of the academic community had not been good. The legislative people pointed to academicians who did not finish projects, academicians who had misused data, etc. One wondered which of his colleagues had been the culprits. Some university activity in the name of public service would seem to be a public disservice. One is tempted to talk about the need for a code of academic responsibility. Or perhaps, the university should take the responsibility to police its colleagues involved in external public service.

In a report by a national organization to a new state research institute on welfare problems we found the following example of the attitude in some quarters toward university research. Again the "bad track record" of university research was recited, and the state agency was cautioned not to get universities involved. Because the report states the situation succinctly we quote from it at some length:

Even under very desirable conditions, it is hard to get policy relevant research from universities. . . . Hence the . . . Institute [a new state agency] should be very leery of any large dollar commitment to a university for general research support of its operation. This does not suggest that the universities should be avoided in seeking research help, or even that the Institute should avoid any kind of extended institutional relationship. It may well make sense to establish an institutional relationship with the universities particularly in terms of low-cost support of doctoral disserta-

tions as an entrée[e] to them for discussing the Institute's problems, and perhaps future recruiting. But any large-scale funding would not appear to be a promising approach.

... It should be... added that these generally negative observations are... meant to provide some caveats concerning the bad track record of university researchers in meeting the needs for policy relevant research in social areas. There are possible differences between public policy research organizations and universities in meeting the more immediate research needs for social agencies such as the... Institute. It is true almost by definition that universities, particularly the regular departments but also special institutes if their staff members have teaching commitments, are at some disadvantage in mounting an immediate research effort. Public policy research organizations that can use staff people full-time without the nagging problems of teaching commitments and that are committed to service and less to publishable academic-type articles and books than the universities do have some on-paper advantages. While such organizations may be more responsive than universities, they have produced no magic formula for yielding highly relevant social policy research. The best advice still seems to be to bargain hard while recognizing that the public policy research organizations may be somewhat more flexible and somewhat more oriented toward policy work than the universities.<sup>4</sup>

These examples, the negative attitudes of legislative research directors and the cautioning advice of a national association, point to the existence of real problems. What seems to be needed is better communications between the two worlds, and more importantly, the development of mutual trust. Significant service will not be given by the universities to state government when the two sides do not have confidence in each other.

We should not leave the impression that all the public service relations between universities and state governments are bad. This is, of course, not so. In some of the professional schools, such as agriculture, engineering, and health services, relations have been long and cordial. Highway departmental officials talk to and consult with civil engineering departmental personnel on campus, as do agriculture departments in state government with colleges of agriculture. There are undoubtedly other examples of close collaboration between state agencies and campuses, but our general impression is that the contacts are few, that in many parts of the campus, particularly the hard sciences, academic relations are much closer with the federal government than with state government.

Many colleges and universities have specialized agencies on their campuses devoted to studies of state and local governmental problems. These are, in fact, quite numerous. A University of California (Davis) publication, "A Directory of Governmental, Public and Urban Affairs Research Centers in the United States," lists 140 institutes, bureaus, and centers at both private

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<sup>4</sup> "Research and Analytical Alternatives and Strategies for the Illinois Institute for Social Policy," mimeographed (National Planning Association, August 26, 1970), chap. 1, pp. 7-8.

and public higher educational institutions.<sup>5</sup> Some of these appear to be organizations which exist only on paper, some are research divisions of teaching departments, but others have large staffs and function quite independently. Some are doing what we would consider university-level public service and research; but others perform low level activities that could better be performed by state agencies or community colleges. Some are closely involved in university research and teaching activities; others are very remote from accepted academic circles. As a generalization, these agencies have limited missions and fall far short of performing needed services for state governments.

Public universities — and the increasing numbers of private universities that receive state aid — face the problem of working with one source of their financial support. Since the public university is part of state government and its executive branch, a public service research project which results in criticism of a particular state program may be regarded as criticism of one state agency by another. Such a situation can only widen the credibility gap between state government and the universities. In a related problem, public universities must decide how to charge state governments — the hand that feeds them — for public service rendered. The trend seems to be to make public service activities as nearly self-supporting as possible. Should this self-support also be applied to state governmental public service?

At one time some university administrators somewhat unrealistically looked on higher education as a fourth branch of government. The emphasis was on university autonomy, sometimes with a special constitutional proviso. The complete independence of the public university has never really existed in this country, at least in comparison with some foreign universities. The trend — which we consider unfortunate if misused — is certainly toward more state government involvement in the internal affairs of the university. However, with the development of the mutual confidence that we deem essential, the changing administrative relations should pose no troublesome dilemma. After all, the public service contributions that we suggest will be performed by faculty members and not primarily by administrators.

Earlier we mentioned that on some parts of the campuses there are closer relations of a public service nature with the federal government than with the states. This is somewhat surprising as the main source of tax revenue for higher education still comes from state sources. In 1970 state and local sources were \$6.3 billion and federal sources, \$2.4 billion. On the other hand, state and local contributions for research and development in 1968 were \$225 million; federal contributions for all higher education research and development were \$1.5 billion. It is, of course, the research and development money

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<sup>5</sup> Robert P. Haro, *A Directory of Governmental, Public and Urban Affairs Research Centers in the United States* (Davis: Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, 1965).

that fosters close relations between the federal government and academicians. The lure of research and development money raises a problem: Should a university get involved in a project only if funds accompany it? Our answer is no, but we need to develop some guidelines.

We were impressed with the guidelines set forth by a university administrator recently. He suggested four criteria that can and should make service a respectable, proudly stated function through which universities can assist in solving the most acute problems of our time:

1. The university itself must decide what to do: it should not be pressured, told, or bought.
2. The university should undertake activities that will have some professional significance for itself and its faculty, with some feedback to help its teaching and to guide its research.
3. The university must not confuse itself with public policy-making bodies (political parties, legislatures, elected officials, and government agencies).
4. The university, remembering that it is on tap and not on top, should confine itself to knowledge and its uses, as distinguished from power and its uses.<sup>6</sup>

The administrator who developed these guidelines said he thought that if they were followed, we would not have to worry about the university being politicized — a concern of many opponents of an extensive university commitment to public service.

Much has been written in academic circles on the issue of neutrality or partisanship. Lowi, for example, says

The first principle should of course be that government shore up universities rather than exploit them. But this needs clarification, because most government people feel that shoring up is what they are doing now. Government demands for university services, however, even when purchased generously enough to allow a lot of piggy-back "pure" research, should be seen simply as a more sophisticated version of century-old agrarian demands for courses in pickle-packing and pie-baking.<sup>7</sup>

We find the remarks of former Governor Smylie closer to our position when he said:

The American society increasingly turns to the universities to aid with the problems and needs facing the country. [I have suggested earlier] some courses of action for a university which is willing to accept increasing responsibility for moving ideas along the road to action, the responsibility for learning how to develop the knowledge needed and to apply useful knowledge in the solution of society's major ills. We

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<sup>6</sup> Unpublished remarks by Eldon Johnson at a conference on "The States and the Urban Crisis," Illinois Beach Lodge, Zion, Illinois (January 14-16, 1971): sponsored by the American Assembly of Columbia University, the Department of Political Science, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, and the Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of Illinois.

<sup>7</sup> Theodore J. Lowi, "Higher Education: A Political Analysis," *Liberal Education* 56, no. 2 (May 1970):253.

have said that a university cannot be true to its own values if it does not accept these responsibilities. So let us now "set every sail" for university service — for as John Corson said "If not the university, what agency will accept the responsibility for seeking out and applying the new knowledge that will shape the society in which our grandchildren live?"

It is but one more case of not what they can do for us . . . but rather what we can do for them!<sup>8</sup>

We believe that there will be problems when faculty get involved in problem-solving research. They obviously will get into controversial areas. They may have to take a stand on birth control or changing sexual mores that is counter to current public opinion and present this stand to state officials, such as legislators. But the university can avoid politicization if it makes clear at all times that there is no *university* position on any issue. We do not believe such involvement in public service activities for state government will lead to the *degradation of the academic dogma*. Rather, we believe that this involvement will strengthen the teaching and research components of the university itself as well as the outside world.

Now let us turn to two intra-university areas that we believe must be changed if universities are to undertake effective public service for our state governments.

#### **ORGANIZATION AND REWARDS**

The questions we pose in this paper sometimes run counter to widely held fundamentals in our universities: individual academic autonomy and the diffusion of power throughout the university community, and the existing reward system.

Under the universities diffuse system of responsibility and authority, measures of effort, effectiveness, and quality had to be devised. The administration and funding authorities needed information on which to base their decisions for the allocation of resources across the campuses. Of the three functions the university fulfills, it was easiest to measure the teaching function — course load, contact hours, number of students, number of majors, and number of graduates. These data could be aggregated into degree programs and disaggregated into departmental or individual effort. The results of these analyses indicated an exact accomplishment, and rewards or non-rewards could easily follow these measures of teaching.

While not as easy to measure, the research function in the university has now been brought to the level of the teaching function. The publication record of a scholar, be it an article in an academic journal, a monograph, a textbook, or book of readings, all can be amassed in quantitative form by

<sup>8</sup> Robert E. Smylie, "The Academic Community and Public Service," *Partnership for Progress* (The Report of a Legislative Work Conference on Higher Education in the West, December 3-5, 1967), p. 27.



counting pages and assigning weights to them. An added benefit to measuring research is the ability to include an evaluation of the quality of the work by nationwide peer groups, whether in the form of article or grant review panels or nationwide rankings of departments, programs, or schools. Again, rewards or nonrewards can be tied to the evaluations, and they increasingly are.

While much academic soul searching, argument, and grief have focused on which of these measures is to be used as the basis of the academic reward system, we would like to focus our attention on the third function of the university, public service, for which few, if any, adequate measures of effort, effectiveness, or quality have been devised. If public service were only continuing education or extension service activities, then measurement might be possible along the same lines as for the teaching or research functions. But public service activities in the university are broader and vary greatly, and the clientele and goals served by these activities are equally as varied. Further, the accomplishments are not as exact or as easily seen as they are in teaching and research. You can count students when teaching, count pages when researching, but what do you count when providing a public service?

The implications of this are important for our concerns in this paper. The public service function within the university cannot compete with teaching and research in terms of its measurable accomplishments, and, because of the inability to clearly spell out achievements, public service is difficult to describe and to communicate. In a few words, those within the university performing considerable public service often cannot compete in the reward system with those who primarily teach and research or administer within the university.

While this discussion is phrased in terms of the measures used in our academic reward system, we would suggest that the following is a fairly accurate portrayal of the current university situation: we are well organized to teach, well trained and directed to carry out our research, but very poorly structured and focused to provide public service. Teaching can be summed into programs and degrees, and research into building knowledge, disciplines, and professions, but there are no neat and rational ways to combine the various activities done in the name of public service. In fact, as noted by the Massachusetts report cited earlier, public service becomes a kind of residual category into which we place everything that is *not* teaching or research.

This should not be read as a call for major restructuring or reordering of priorities within our institutions of higher education. Nor are we really certain a radical change is necessary to achieve what is needed in the public service function of the university. The goal we are suggesting is a balancing of these functions to make public service equal to teaching and research within the university. This does not mean a downgrading of the latter two, but rather a focusing of attention on providing more adequate university public service.

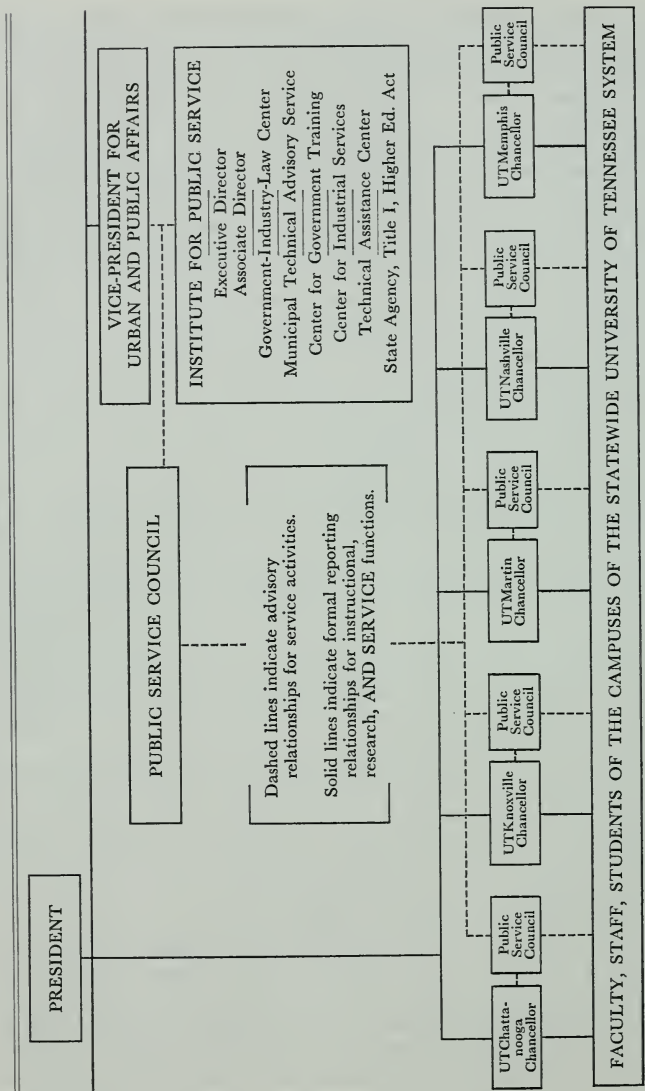
In thinking of what structures or organization might facilitate a more significant higher education public service mission, we must realize the strength of the diversity that is found both between and within our institutions of higher education. We are not calling on all institutions to do the same thing, as some are much better equipped for some tasks than they are for others. For example, public service research, and not pure research, is probably the best research role for our burgeoning community colleges to play. Major institutions may have the resources to fulfill both research roles, in addition to other possible roles. Within institutions, varying strengths and weaknesses will suggest different approaches to tackling problems. Unique strengths and resources must be built on rather than used as bases of competition.

Within the university there is great need to establish a focal point for the public service function. The stirrings of such movements are evident as reports flow from universities in Tennessee, Massachusetts, Illinois, Missouri, and elsewhere documenting the looseness with which the university approaches public service and calling for structural reform. Be it a vice-president, a vice-chancellor, or coordinating body, the need is paramount to charge someone at the highest levels within the university administration with responsibility for the university's public service role. This person will help make public service to the state a visible part of the activities of the university and show university commitment; he will assure public service a position in the forefront of university policy-making processes; he will be a contact point for those in state government seeking university help; he will set certain goals and standards in the provision of public service so this function can begin to lose some of its vague character; he will be a point of reference for those within the university interested in providing public service — the person in this crucial position will assure that the university's resources and strengths will not be wasted or poorly utilized.

We are not in a position to suggest what each university might do to create this focus, to spell out how that decision be reached, or to advise on what supportive mechanisms need to be established. Rather we call on the university to tackle these questions and to define them according to its own views and strengths. Table 1 indicates how the University of Tennessee has organized itself for the commitment to public service.

The new officer for public service might see his task as including some or all of the following roles — advocate, communicator, broker, and planner — all positive functions. There may also be negative aspects of the job. For example, part of the planning role is the setting of some guidelines so the university and its components know in what direction they are going and to what effect. More specifically, the role might include setting some standards for academic responsibility in the performance of public service — standards possibly akin to those guiding the researcher and teacher. Certainly part of

TABLE 1. ORGANIZATION FOR PUBLIC SERVICE: THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE SYSTEM\*



July 1, 1971

\* Organization for agricultural services omitted.



the broker and advocacy roles is to know what *cannot* be done by the university, as well as what *can* be done. In a day and age of diminishing sources of funds for scholars and universities, the temptation of a grant or program may be too seductive to turn away, even though the mission of the campus is not aimed in that direction. While some changes of direction may be necessary and indeed desirable, these should fit within a broad set of goals and be adopted with a clear notion of their latent as well as manifest consequences. In this sense, there is a need for some self-policing from within, whether it be at the university, school, or departmental level. Also, the university community must be wary of those who would ask too much of its resources and its capabilities. There is much the university *can* do, but there is much it *cannot* do, and someone must be able to pinpoint and articulate the latter as well as the former.

Closely related to the topic of self-regulation is a problem created by the principle of individual academic autonomy. We suggest that the university, especially in the area of public service, can no longer afford to be a completely atomized and competitive group of scholars. Our examples come from research experience, but their message will have validity as we become more aggressive in public service. For example, a major university allowed three individual grant applications to emanate from a single department without serious substantive review. The prospective funding agency, a major source of grants for those in academia, reviewed the proposals and found them of very poor quality. Now proposals from that institution are not reviewed very seriously, their source being taken as *prima facie* evidence of poor quality. Another major university found its long years of negotiating with a particular foundation for the substantial funds needed to build a science center possibly go for naught when a professor unbaited the university's hook by seeking and receiving a very small grant for a public service project of his own interest. By the criterion of dollars alone, the loss to the university in each case was considerable. Other kinds of losses are clearly indicated if academic autonomy is allowed to reign supreme. Some rationality, and even coherence, would seem to be a most relevant goal. We do not mean thought control, but some organized forethought on the implications of various proposals, projects, and activities for the total academic community.

Having a university officer for public service is important for many reasons, but certainly none would be more important than that he would be responsible for letting those in state government know what resources are available, what is being done with them, and what further might be done. As indicated in a recent study of policy advice to a state government,

a real problem exists in the nature of such utilization of university resources, however. Interaction between university and government agency appears to be random across both state government and the university. Many agencies that need aid

and advice do not know where to turn in the university, and many eager faculty of the universities are unsure where in the government organizational structure they might provide service. The gap is obvious; with the need and desire on both sides to work together, it would seem that a more structured interaction might be the goal of the university and the state government. . . . to provide an interface between the governmental agencies and the resources of the university communities.<sup>9</sup>

For years the university has performed as educator and researcher and received its support from the state on those bases. Now as state governments need the special talents which are in the university, it would seem incumbent on the university to provide the vehicle and send the message of its commitment.

We are saying in essence that it might be appropriate to reconsider the Wisconsin Idea, a movement which took shape at many state universities during the first decade of the twentieth century. At the heart of the Wisconsin Idea was the conviction that knowledge gained on campus could be applied to economic, social, and political problems in the world off the campus. Individuals, society in general, and government could be helped to function more effectively given the benefit of the universities' vast storehouse of knowledge.

The other half of our suggestion focuses on the reward system which undergirds the university and is now so explicitly tied to teaching and research. Public service is not, and has not been, an equal partner to teaching and research — or to administration. What is needed at all levels within academia — individual, departmental, school, and university — is the willingness to grant financial, status, and tenure rewards for public service on an equal basis with those currently in use for teaching and research. Universities sometime provide means to reduce teaching loads for faculty engaged in research. We would ask, why not make similar provision for those participating in public service activities? Another example would be the so-called in and out — the faculty member who spends time in governmental service and then returns to the university, an interchange process which can continue over a period of years. Again, means of aiding, if not supporting, such an interchange process should be sought by the university, including counting those years in governmental service as part of the years of service necessary for status and tenure rewards within the university.

There is an old academic saying that suggests a good researcher makes a better teacher, and vice versa. With this we do not necessarily disagree, but would like to put forward a new version, if this would be permissible, that suggests a good participant in the public service arena makes a better teacher and scholar.

Many of these changes lie beyond the university's initiative. Standards of

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<sup>9</sup> Thad L. Beyle and Oliver Williams, "Policy Advice to State Government Agencies in North Carolina," *Popular Government* 36, no. 8 (May 1970):15-16.

individual acceptance are set in the disciplines, in the professions, in the national associations, and ultimately by the individual academic who gives life and substance and in effect shapes the standards of these larger groupings. Thus, the rebalancing of priorities must start with the individual and with his or her willingness to accept as bona fide academic colleagues those who choose a serious commitment to public service. The reward shift within the discipline is a prerequisite for the fulfillment of the university's public service function. Now that relevance is our byword, such a change might not be beyond our grasp. We would also hope that our colleagues would consider state government to be relevant.

In this paper we have addressed a crucial contact point between the states and the universities — public service. While we make certain assertions and suggestions, there are obviously others which could be made, and will be made, as universities grapple with this. Our point is very simply put: there is a credibility gap between the states and the university in the public service function, and to a large extent the burden of closing the gap rests with the university. The gap can be bridged; it must be bridged; or it will only become wider and the repercussions for the university greater.

Attitudes must be changed in all quarters — attitudes of academicians toward public service and attitudes of public officials toward universities. It will be the university's responsibility to take the first crucial step to rebuild the confidence of those in state government, and in fact all those outside the snug confines of academia, in the ability of the university and its members to carry out public service activities relevant to state government and society. The real question is not whether we can make state government and public service equal partners, but when, how, and for what result?



**EDUCATION FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS  
AS VIEWED FROM STATE GOVERNMENT**

RICHARD H. SLAVIN and KENNETH C. OLSON

In observing public administration as it is currently being practiced at the state level and comparing it to what should be, we will not suggest a procedural effort to advise our colleges and universities on how to organize their curriculum, but rather to suggest an examination of where we are, where we have been, and most important, where we should be going. Answers to such open questions will be framed largely as a result of the experiences, attitudes, and prejudices of the respondent. This paper will address those questions, and others which follow, from the vantage point of the governor's office and state planning in particular, and the executive branch of state government in general.

**STATE FUNCTIONAL LINE AGENCIES**

It will be helpful to first review the reasons for these differing viewpoints before directly approaching the question of "critical needs." It could be argued at some length that line agencies in state government are not dissatisfied with the products of academia, although there are some exceptions to this general conclusion which will be mentioned later. One reason most line chiefs have not been terribly unhappy with the academic training of their personnel is that most line agencies have narrowly construed objectives and missions. The narrower and more specialized the task being performed, and the longer the agency has been performing the task, the more likely it is that the work performed by the agency's employees will be relatively incremental, routine, and undemanding in terms of academic preparation. Bureaucratic processing systems are typically broken into the smallest feasible components and further divided into tasks and sub-tasks related to these components which are easily performed by persons with traditional academic skills, or more commonly, the type of on-the-job training which has been generated as a result of rigid job progression lines in existence for many years within the line agency. It is probably true that most state personnel engaged in those tasks have far more education and training than they can effectively use. Still, the state merit system requires an entry-level B.A. or B.S. degree, and the system must be "right."

As one moves to higher levels within the agency the tasks performed by key personnel become more complex (partly because of the exquisitely convoluted paper flows, memorandums, policy directives, and procedural manuals which large and long-lived bureaucracies have come to cherish). These more difficult jobs are inevitably filled from within the agency in strict accordance with established progression patterns and merit system regulations. If entry from the external labor market into these higher level jobs was a desirable objective, and if the merit system walls could be breached, it is unlikely that academia could provide "adequately prepared" personnel to fill such jobs. The point is that for entry-level positions into line agencies subject to merit systems, current higher education preparation is adequate, if not excessive.<sup>1</sup> If the entry portals are higher in the bureaucracy, the academic output is not acceptable.

### EXECUTIVE BRANCH REORGANIZATION

There is at least one area where the state line agency administrator will admit to some need for better or differently prepared personnel. A strong current of reorganization is flowing among the states. The creation of larger, more comprehensive departments of "Social Services," "Natural Resources," "Human Resources," "Environmental Protection," and "Transportation," rather than the more traditional and much narrower departments of "Health," "Welfare," "Employment Service," "Fish and Game," "Water Quality," and "Highways," is creating a demand for managers, planners, and budgeters who have not grown up as captives of the single-program agency.

One of the harvests of the abundant crop of narrow, categorical, federal grant-in-aid programs, which fostered the highly specialized and fragmented executive branch of state government so well known and loved by special interest groups, has been the in-service training and development of whole generations of program administrators with terribly limited perspectives and knowledge about the larger objectives of state government. The total impact of this "hardening of the categories" is well understood by careful observers of the federal system and need not be repeated here. All that is necessary is to emphasize that reorganization of state government demands, for higher levels of administration in the new "super-departments," a broader managerial construct and thus differently trained personnel.

<sup>1</sup> All this is not aimed at suggesting that state line agencies do not have personnel shortages. Most federal functional agencies tend to regard their state counterpart agencies as a kind of "farm club" where appropriate bureaucratic skills can be developed in promising youngsters. Thus, a continual flow of state-prepared personnel to federal agencies keeps the line agency administrator complaining about the shortage of "trained people." The important distinction is that the administrator is not talking about any shortcomings in the graduates of academic institutions, but rather about the differential in salary levels that makes it possible for the "feds" to raid his staff.

When the trauma of reorganization occurs and programs are combined in different patterns than those used in the past, managers at the upper level find it difficult to recruit individuals who have the capacity to look beyond relatively narrow program orientations. Except at modest levels, the new manager deals with people whom he cannot order around—with co-ordinates, not subordinates; “colleague control” is challenging “hierarchical control.” Moreover, federal-state-local relations are getting more heavily intertwined every year; constitutional law and practical administration are ever more divergent, and lines of command are obscured, especially by the grant-in-aid programs, of which there are now more than five hundred, with over ninety of these programs requiring interagency multidisciplinary comprehensive plans.

Where are we to find the more sophisticated types of managers, program analysts, planners, and budget personnel who understand the interrelationships of programs in public policy issues? Let us leave this question for a time since it relates well to the major line of inquiry in this paper.

#### **THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR**

Outside the line agencies, the greatest demands for “different” types of personnel come from staff agencies which constitute, or are linked to, the executive office of the governor. In such entities, whether they are simply personal staff complements, planning agencies, budget shops, policy analysis units, administrative coordination agencies, or whatever, the criticism of academic products and processes is rampant. Where are the people who can contribute to the development of public policy, who are skilled in policy analysis, who understand the administration of and the interrelationships between fragmented federal categorical grants-in-aid? How can we find individuals who have received some exposure in their academic experience to the etiology and prescriptive cure of such critical issues as urban development, suburban sprawl and related aesthetic blight, the fiscal and cultural plight of rural America, the abrasiveness and violence related to racial discord, the growing problem of drug abuse, the refurbishing of our health delivery systems, and crime and deterioration of public safety? Where can we find those who are skilled in the analysis of public finance, in balancing the trade-offs between necessary growth and development and environmental protection and those who know something of the interaction of developmental policies upon land-use patterns and vice versa?

Each of these difficult issues is being faced on a day-to-day basis by increasingly hard-pressed and frustrated numbers of key executive staff from the office of the governor. Again and again the directors of such staff agencies have turned to the nation’s academic institutions seeking help. Can the institutions of higher education educate and train individuals who have the requisite skills which can be brought to bear upon the issues faced today in



governors' offices? The answer so far is, unfortunately, no. The products of academic institutions (those who graduate with baccalaureate or advanced degrees and are brought directly into dealing with the policy issues outlined above) are shockingly ill informed about the current status, trends, and velocity of issues in state government and federalism. The naiveté evidenced by most graduates of these institutions leads one to seriously question whether or not the academic community understands the issues confronting state government in this decade. The fascination with the "New Deal" and exotic "Public Administrative Practices of South America" dies hard.

#### PAST PERFORMANCE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

We now turn to an examination of the next logical question: Are academic institutions willing and/or able to prepare students to meet the needs of state government? The answer again appears to be a disappointing no. Why is this so? There is little solid data available, but that which exists suggests a shocking neglect on the part of academic institutions in dealing with state government and federalism. The most recent, reasonably comprehensive data was gathered in 1968 cooperatively by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and the American Political Science Association.<sup>2</sup> In May 1968 questionnaires were distributed to the political science departmental chairmen of 833 colleges and universities in the United States. ACIR tabulated the responses of 562 chairmen who replied. The responses are helpful in understanding the situation as it then existed.

Basically, the aim of the study was to determine the amount of attention paid by institutions of higher education to introductory course work, readings, and lecture time in treatment of state and local government and federalism, as well as the number of intermediate and advanced courses in the state and local government and intergovernmental relations field offered by the departments. The conclusions of the study were telling, but to the state governmental practitioner, not particularly unexpected. Interested readers may wish to examine the whole report; some of the pertinent items of information follow:

1. Over 23% of all institutions surveyed provided no treatment whatsoever of state and local government in introductory political science courses; 55% said they provided "some" treatment of the subject.
2. More than 45% of all institutions surveyed devoted less than one-fourth of all lecture time and assigned readings in introductory courses to the subject of state and local government, with more than 24% of the institutions giving no lecture or reading treatment whatsoever to the topic.

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<sup>2</sup> United States Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Information Report M-44, "Federalism and the Academic Community: A Brief Survey" (Washington, D.C., March 1969), pp. 55.

When intermediate and advanced courses were reviewed for state and local government content, the data is even more discouraging:

1. More than 20% of all institutions surveyed provided no intermediate or advanced courses in either state and local government or intergovernmental relations.
2. More than 46% provided no courses in state and local government.
3. More than 73% provided no courses in state government.
4. More than 76% provided no courses in intergovernmental relations.

The commission concluded that the field of American state and local government and intergovernmental relations receives secondhand treatment in today's college and university political science curriculum. In attributing possible reasons for this situation, they listed the following: (1) the degree of specialization called for in offering such courses is feasible only in larger institutions; (2) it is difficult to obtain properly qualified teaching personnel; and (3) current emphasis on "process" approaches to political science curricula tend to ignore, or treat slightly, intergovernmental subject areas, since they are part of the older "institutional" framework.

Going beyond ACIR's conclusions, courses in these areas generally, but especially since World War II, have been unable to compete successfully with the glamor of international relations, underdeveloped areas, comparative political systems, American national government, and political parties and behavior. The virtual neglect of state government and intergovernmental relations could be attributed to the fairly low visibility of these fields until rather recently. The complex and interdisciplinary nature of intergovernmental relations, and the low esteem in which many political scientists held state government, might well be additional reasons for this neglect. The somewhat greater popularity of state-local and local government courses could be a reflection of increasing concern on the part of both public officials and scholars with the far-reaching implications of the "crisis of the cities." The enthusiasm of some academicians for community power structure studies also might be a factor in explaining the relatively larger number of courses in these subject areas. On the other hand, many offerings in state-local and local government could well be simply leftovers from the "traditionalist" period with their current inclusion in political science curricula attributable more to custom and convenience than to actual need and demand or capability and commitment.

Notwithstanding conjecture, the survey underscores the fact that, with respect to the teaching role of colleges and universities, state and local government and intergovernmental relations have not really entered (from the vantage point of the twenties and thirties) the "mainstream" of the political science discipline. It is equally clear that for a number of good reasons these fields deserve far more attention than they are currently receiving. Not the

least of these reasons is the crucial role of higher education institutions as training grounds for future public servants. Moreover, students and instructors really cannot come to grips with the roots of the urban crisis, the plight of rural America, the pathology of racial discord, and the "highway, education, and taxpayers' revolt" if the intergovernmental dimensions of these critical public policy questions are ignored in the classroom.

#### **PHILOSOPHY OF PLANNING AND THE PROFESSION**

With the rapid rise of professional planners in public administration during the last decade, their preeminence as "movers and shakers" in state governmental reform, and in the modest belief that practicing professional planners might constitute a model against which academic programs could be measured, we felt impelled to examine the academic preparation of planners. In order to better understand planning education and its relationship to state government needs, a survey of graduate planning schools was undertaken. Of the forty schools certified by the American Institute of Planners, twenty-nine (including all the "name" institutions) responded with basic information on their programs. This material was analyzed according to the following criteria:

1. Philosophy of planning and the profession: What do planning schools say about the field and themselves? How does this relate to states and their problems?
2. Relationships within the university or college: Where is the planning program located within the university, and how does this relate to its disciplinary orientation? What joint degree programs are offered with other departments?
3. Core curriculum requirements and specialization: What course content is considered mandatory and what opportunities for specialization are available?
4. State planning: What courses are available which focus upon state planning, administration, problems, or policy?

Admittedly, this analysis is highly subjective, but it provides some essential insights into the nature of planning education.

It is generally accepted that the chief goal of academic preparation is to broaden the participant's vision of the world and to introduce him to ideas about the nature and direction of change. At the other end of public expectations of higher education is the use of universities as vehicles for sharpening narrow technical skills. The pressures which have rippled through the planning profession and planning schools during the past decade appear to have set up a strong tension between these two philosophies of education — advocacy and involvement, or academic and theoretical. After reading Charles

Ascher's letter to the editor in the *Public Administration Review* on planning schools,<sup>3</sup> we visited a very good planning school in our area and found only two professors interested in teaching how to plan a city or a region. Several others were in the slums working on citizen participation or consulting with the highway department on design teams, and the rest were busy constructing mathematical models. State government was 50 miles away in distance and 500 miles away in interest.

For state governments, the problem in recent years has been to recruit talented planners for work within a context which is rapidly changing and inherently involves the full range of *functional problems*,<sup>4</sup> the complexities of intergovernmental and political relationships, and a rapidly changing organizational structure. In such a fluid situation, there is a demand for the full range of planning skills, including administrator, generalist, researcher, and topical specialist.

Nearly all self-descriptions by the planning schools recognized the wide variety of roles a planner might assume. One school states:

With the institutionalization of city planning in urban government, city planners have increasingly been involved in the broad functions of government, such as the provision of social services, preparation of capital budgets, and housing programs. . . . City planning, in its turn, has contributed to the development of planning activities in other branches of government, and in private enterprises. Graduates of city planning programs work in city, metropolitan, and state planning offices; on the staffs of private developers; in private consulting firms and quasi-public research institutions; in international development agencies and universities. In this capacity they work as advisers, analysts, forecasters, designers of programs and plans, and as administrators in local, state and federal agencies dealing with highways, transit, housing, urban renewal, public works, economic development, human and natural resource development, education and health.

Virtually none of the schools represent themselves as exclusively oriented toward "cities" or narrow technical specialties. Many refer explicitly to state planning.

Statements abound regarding the interdisciplinary, broad character of planning and planning education. One school coined a new term to encompass its approach to the definition of planning by stating:

Urban planning has come to be thought of as a "synthetic discipline" that draws upon all of the social sciences, some of the biological and exact sciences, and such professional disciplines as architecture, engineering, law, education, and social work. It seeks to articulate elements of each of these to a policy cutting edge for communities and governments. So far, this appears to be a viable concept.

One of the most sophisticated statements we received would make Machi-

<sup>3</sup> Charles S. Ascher, "Letter to the Editor," *Public Administration Review* 31 (1971):691.

<sup>4</sup> Particularly in the areas of land use, public investment, delivery of health services, transportation, etc.

avelli proud while questioning whether the great advances in knowledge have really improved upon the vocabulary of his day:

Though now well-entrenched in our institutions, planning is undergoing constant change and modification. Over time there has been a shift from emphasis on the suggestive or hortatory power of long-range visions of the ideal city to an emphasis on the short-run management of the urban system. While a continuing activity of planning continues to be that of making plans, the arts of policy-making and management require the exercise of diverse skills. To the traditional arts of foretelling and comprehensive design are added the skills of project evaluation, program analysis, client analysis, interpretation of social indicators, assessment of risk, weighing of efficiency against equity, and similar operational skills. In short, the planner has become a policy as well as "futures" expert, stressing the elaboration of the consequences of actions against measured changes in the physical and social systems. To prepare for such roles, the would-be planner must practice a difficult style of calculation, exercise complex judgments, stretch his problem-solving ability to the point of reformulating problems, and develop an informed imagination. Since no single man has all these qualities in adequate measure, planning has moved away from the "prophet-taste maker" to the assembly of teams of interlocking specialists. As a result, the effective planner is one who has the flexibility and capability for information-handling to work well in such teams. Conviction and zeal, though important in planning as in all human affairs, are not enough for present-day planners.

We would not quarrel with the statements of philosophy and objectives represented by the planning schools we reviewed. Some were highly self-conscious, but even they reflected the dynamic character of the profession. When superficially compared with statements by schools of public administration and some of the more established "disciplines," they represented far more concern with change, responsiveness, and the complexities involved with practice.

From the standpoint of our experience with states, the philosophy and objectives of planning education seem both relevant and appropriate. Now if they can only "put their money where their P.R. is"!

The statements of philosophy by the planning schools led us to conclude that the prevailing concept of planning is that it is essentially interdisciplinary, dependent primarily upon the social sciences, and transcends the city as a focus. However, an analysis of the relationships of planning schools within their universities does not support this conclusion.

Eighteen of the twenty-nine schools we analyzed are located in the school of architecture. Certainly architecture is the mother of planning in the United States and due to historical accident it is to be expected that a large number of planning schools would be under its wing; however, it is rather surprising that two-thirds of the planning schools would remain attached to architecture, since many were established during the past ten years. It is doubtful whether such influence as architecture might have on planning education is very meaningful or relevant to the contemporary problems of states.

TABLE 1. UNIVERSITY LOCATION OF PLANNING SCHOOLS

Identified College	Number of Planning Schools
Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Environmental Design	18
Arts and Sciences	5
Public Administration	3
Independent department	2
Natural Resources and Agriculture	1
	<u>Total: 29</u>

TABLE 2. AVAILABLE JOINT GRADUATE PROGRAMS

Available Joint Programs	Number of Planning Schools
Law School	2
Transportation	2
School of Natural Resources	1
Urban Design	1
Regional Science	1
Operations Research	1
Social Work	1
Landscape Architecture	1
Architecture	1
	<u>Total: 11</u>

The expansion of opportunities for undertaking joint graduate degree programs during the past decade suggests that planning's interdisciplinary character would result in many such opportunities. Our twenty-nine school sample might have produced a large number of combinations. However, only eleven such joint programs were available. Only law and transportation appear twice on our list. With the variety of functional program specialties required of planners in various state agencies, we do not believe these opportunities sufficiently reflect the need.

Both the location of planning schools within their universities and the opportunities for joint graduate programs indicate a lag between the philosophy of planning education and its internal relationships with other disciplines. They do not indicate response to the needs of states.

Another important indication of approach to planning education are the core curriculum requirements. Although it is difficult to precisely determine the content of broadly based survey courses, and some schools were rather imprecise in indicating core requirements, a relatively strong pattern emerges.

Analysis and research techniques and planning theory are the most common requirements and are followed by physical aspects of planning — intern-



TABLE 3. CORE CURRICULUM REQUIREMENTS

Core Curriculum	Number of Planning Schools
Analysis and research techniques	19
Planning theory	17
Physical aspects	13
Internship	10
Program budgeting and finance	8
Administration	7
Urban design	7
Planning law	6
Planning problems	4
Social aspects	3

ships and program budgeting and finance. It is rather surprising that social aspects of planning are mentioned only three times and government or politics receives no mention at all. Whether or not the common core curriculum is reflective of the statements of philosophy is questionable. One might wonder if the core curriculum was composed essentially of a series of techniques commonly used by planners. Certainly, there is very little to suggest that the state government context, or any other context for that matter, is seriously explored.

Quite a different conclusion might be drawn from the listing of specialized programs available to the planning student. It reads like the list of new federal grant-in-aid programs developed during the 1960s. Certainly this list of programs is directly relevant to state governments, which are responsible for the development and implementation of most of them. The new state funding available for hiring planners at the state level in recent years has come directly from these programs. From a very practical standpoint, one might conclude that planning schools have been highly responsive to these functional program trends and the need for trained personnel which followed. Perhaps the market system is at work here.

However, it is disappointing to note that policy planning and intergovernmental relations is mentioned only once, as is state comprehensive planning. It might be assumed that the political and governmental context receives emphasis in such other specializations as administration and management, economic and budget planning, and legislation. Nevertheless, there does not appear to be an emphasis on politics and government which is commensurate with the brave philosophic statements regarding the importance of policy planning to the profession and the variety of governmental agencies in which it is practiced.

It should not be expected that planning schools would have a highly specific focus upon states anymore than there should be an exclusive em-



TABLE 4. OPPORTUNITY FOR SPECIALIZATION

Specialized Programs	Number of Planning Schools
No indication	10
Urban design	10
Regional planning	10
Urban planning	7
Transportation planning	7
Administration and management	6
Urban renewal and housing	6
Health planning	6
Social planning	5
Economic and budget planning	5
Resource and environmental planning	5
Research methods	4
Theory	4
Problems of developing nations	2
Legislation	2
Systems analysis	2
Law and justice	2
Educational and cultural planning	2
Recreation and open space	1
Community facilities	1
Physical planning	1
State comprehensive planning	1
Policy planning and intergovernmental relations	1

phasis upon national government as such. However, we were interested in determining the extent of course work relating specifically to state governmental problems. From our sample of twenty-nine only six schools have such courses. Two are described as the "state planning process" and the remaining four as the "state-regional-national planning process." When comparing this to the list of specializations, we conclude that the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development is more influential on planning schools than are fifty states.

Conversations with young planners who have recently received their graduate degrees from the better known planning schools suggest they are reasonably satisfied with their planning education. However, in discussing their jobs in a variety of different state agencies, they do not appear to be so content. The context in which they work does not seem to measure up to their prior conception of the "field" and their role within it. Certainly some of this discontent is to be expected and provides for a healthy tension within bureaucracy, but it may also suggest that there is a need for better preparation in understanding the context of state government.

Questions regarding academic preparation in "policy," "politics," and "intergovernmental relations" indicate a thorough appreciation of the exis-

tence of these elements in the planning process. The literature of the past decade and the popular political pressures of the past few years have tended to bring home these points to the profession and to the academic community. However, upon deeper probing one might wonder if the appreciation of these elements might be similar to the old art appreciation courses of undergraduate days. Policy, politics, and intergovernmental relations seem to be equated with the dogmas of national bureaucracy of the New Deal, cartoon versions of local politics as represented by *The Last Hurrah* or the New Left, and intergovernmental relations via the abstractions of regional cooperation. The gaps between these concepts are enormous and have extensive implications, not only for the effectiveness of planners, but also for the direction of change.

If Norton Long's thesis is true, planners and public administrators are "politicians for hire" in a very tough political and governmental world. It is not enough merely to abandon the "city beautiful" or to adopt the precepts of "good government." It is necessary to develop an extremely sophisticated understanding of the context in which the planner must operate to be effective. There should be heroes since Rex Tugwell, and at the state and local level as well. The Congress should be recognized as part of the federal government, along with the bureaucracy. The fact that state legislatures establish the basic law within which planners work and that governors reflect the political potentials of their constituencies should not be obscured by the great "oughts" of the planner's catechism. Despite the moral imperatives of the 1920s for regional government, planners must understand the highly localized coalitions which are at the root of our political system. These things can be taught, but it will be difficult to overcome the academic bias toward national policy and the predominant literature which has resulted from that orientation.

Some have suggested that the planning profession would be well advised to follow the example of medicine in its emphasis upon research. Certainly one of the principal directions of new planning research should be in politics and government. Until there is a significant volume of literature to underpin teaching in this direction, it will be a difficult task.

Unfortunately, if the trend reflected in Merrill R. Goodall's<sup>5</sup> comments on who gets published in "Public Administration Review: 1940-1969" are any indication, a paucity of informative articles on state government will continue. Goodall states that "More than one-third of all contributions were classified as both academician and practitioner. . . . Most of the practitioners who write for PAR are drawn from the federal administration. In the past decade, however, the 'Feds' were edged out by contributions from a group we combine as 'consultative agencies, business or the foundations.'" But the

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<sup>5</sup> Merrill R. Goodall, "Public Administration Review: 1940-1969," *Public Administration Review* 32 (1972):52-57.

TABLE 5. INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION OF PAR CONTRIBUTORS, 1940-1969

Years	Federal Adminis- tration	Academic	Consul- tative	State	Local	Armed Forces
1940-1949	98	90	10	10	7	22
1950-1959	58	126	25	12	16	4
1960-1969	34	209	44	11	9	1
Totals	190	425	79	33	32	27

academicians overshadowed by a significant degree every other group. State and local government and the armed forces contributed only marginally.

Nevertheless, once past the civics textbook, it is not too difficult to understand the pressures which influence state legislators and to learn how to bring together effective pressure for legislative action. Once past the nice theories of regional analysis, it is possible to understand the motivations of local political coalitions in a way which transcends HUD regional planning guidelines. Once past the executive theory of organization, it is quite possible to comprehend the daily pressures faced by governors and to develop strategy which recognizes both planning objectives and the political context of policy making. Although much of this could be learned through academic preparation, at the present time it is all learned through experience. Unfortunately, too few young planners are in positions which make this possible until later in their careers. Further, it is unrealistic to assume that such an important aspect of the planning field should be left to experience alone, for a planner's understanding of the political and governmental context reflects upon everything he does.

#### BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Recently another class of administrators has been surfacing in state government. These are administrators whose academic credentials are in "business administration" or in the "management sciences." Their legitimacy derives from a plausible notion of bringing the methods of business to the business of government. The Hoover Commission, and countless "Little Hoover Commissions," have dissected the operation of governmental agencies with a view to improving them. They have isolated many cases of waste and found ways to do jobs more efficiently — and perhaps as importantly, in other cases have proved that they just didn't understand government.

Another source of this impetus has been the planning-programming-budgeting emphasis. Economists, particularly at the state level, have played a large part in this. However, in recruiting staff, the esoteric skills required

have limited the market to those whose backgrounds include training in quantitative methods. If we ignore the hard sciences, the academic field which puts the most stress on quantitative techniques for management and decision making is "business administration" or "management science" or whatever the current faddish name is. A trend in administration in state government has coincided with the development of a source of supply from the academic world; and though planners and economists have played a very large part in originating that trend, they have had relatively little part in specifying the skills needed.

What is the nature of this new manager in government? The most important single aspect, at least from the point of view of those who have served, is that nothing in their education relates to government service. The closest thing to government in their academic training has likely been a course on government and business, or the evolution of anti-trust legislation. The consequence is that, among those who enter governmental service, there is almost total ignorance as to what government is and how it operates. There are those who would cite this point as a distinct advantage, but we are not among them.

The modern curriculum is business administration with a capital *B*. Whatever nods it may make in the direction of rugged individualism, it really turns out a product designed to function in, and serve, the large corporation. There is heavy planning orientation. Whether long-range planning, short-range planning, strategic planning or management by objectives — you name it — corporate managers are trained, and paid, to plan. Some authorities maintain that planning is the single most important function of the manager.

The hallmarks of the modern manager are the tools of his trade. These can be lumped under the rubric of quantitative methods. These include such things as operations research, model building, and techniques like decision trees, and more generally, decision theory. The above are not precisely defined, nor are they necessarily mutually exclusive. They all tend to be blended, in various ways, into what is called systems analysis, or even more grandly, general systems theory. These techniques, as commonly applied, are possible only because of the computer, which brings up what is perhaps the most striking aspect of the new manager — his symbiotic relationship with the computer. For the new manager, the computer is far more than a production tool. That is, it does more than process work, such as preparing payrolls, writing invoices, etc. It is, above all, a tool to "manage." It assists in planning and decision making. This requires data bases, information systems, software, new management theory, and believe it or not, new managers. This particular man-machine interface is symbiosis with a vengeance. Quantitative methods have been tested and successfully applied where it counts — in industrial production. PERT charting, statistical quality control, linear programming

to determine (for some given criteria) the optimum production mix, queuing theory to set up scheduling, inventory models, etc., have all proven their worth. Even in the less precise area of research and development, quantitative methods have proven out. For example, simulation models are often invaluable.

One should be cautioned, however, that because this body of techniques has been so successful on the production line and in the laboratory, little attention has been paid to the fact that when applied to management issues per se and to problem solving, they have been most unsuccessful. The world of management has defied the onslaughts of science. After a decade of effort, the computer experts have not yet been able to develop a real information system; this in spite of the fact that for almost as long, the computer manufacturers have been selling computers as information machines. The computer for good or ill (and the topic is eminently debatable) is a central fact of life in government. There is no doubt that it does many things well and that among the things it does best are some of the routine functions of government. The computer shines as a mathematical tool, and engineering applications, such as highway design, are a most appropriate use. But, these are all production applications. The computer is a production tool, not a management one. Regardless, the computer, the push to rational management à la PPB, and the business syndrome, have begun to alter the practice of government, and an understanding of its strengths and weaknesses is mandatory for the modern public administrator.

No group has a patent on the evaluation of alternatives. To the extent that it is feasible, it should be second nature with all good administrators. Yet there are some, who, by background, come better prepared for this than others. Economists tend to fall in this group since they are trained to look at what happens at the margin. This often involves trade-offs over a relatively limited range. Combining this with the push to restore "politics" to political economy is leading to the development of a breed of administrators whose influence has been far out of proportion to their relative numbers. In historical perspective, it is likely that this group will have far more effect on the practice of public administration than the recruit from business.

What of the future? The techniques of management will continue to be developed and applied where appropriate. Those processes of government which are production oriented will continue to benefit from the developments in quantitative management. But major executive decisions will, as in the past, be political. Attempts to rationalize government must extend in two directions. Within areas which are commensurable — for example, the teaching of reading in elementary schools — increasing sophistication in quantitative management may yet provide the tools for a more rational allocation of resources and an improved end product. It is still too early to render a decision, but the potential seems to be there. For those areas which are incom-

measurable, the dead-end approach of quantitative analysis must be dropped. We must accept the differences between health, education, transportation, and police protection and try to resolve our allocation problems politically. The approach is institutional, rather than analytical.

#### **THE "IDEAL" POLICY MAKER**

The major proposal of this paper is that of developing a curriculum, unlike any now in existence, which could prepare a so-called ideal policy maker. Weighing all the factors in evaluating the ideal academic preparation for persons interested in state government, we would be somewhat biased toward the "academic union card" now being issued by schools oriented toward the public policy curricula which have emerged in the last few years. Perhaps the best statement of these objectives by the new breed of public administration schools is that each student develop:

1. A problem-solving orientation and a competence in the skills and techniques necessary for systematic, analytical exploration and resolution of a variety of problems, irrespective of prior substantive knowledge about the field or program in which the problem arises. This includes the ability to identify key elements, weigh their importance, perceive alternative courses of action, evaluate the results, and recommend an appropriate course of action.
2. An understanding of the political-administrative decision-making environment, an awareness of potential constraints in choosing among different courses of action in the short run, and strategies for relaxing constraints in the long run. In addition to a familiarity with many basic principles from academic disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, economics, and political science, this requires an ability to translate these principles into the context of particular problems and situations. It also requires an ability to integrate such technical principles within a general problem-solving orientation.
3. A capacity and a desire for continued self-education in order to keep abreast of new learning, new problems, and a changing society. An awareness of current research and continual intellectual growth is necessary if a person functioning in the public sector is to remain capable of responding to changing demands and initiating new courses of action.
4. An ability to communicate and work effectively as a member of a decision-making team. This requires an ability to discuss problems knowledgeably with a variety of specially trained experts, and to grasp the essential elements of their contributions. It also requires skill in presenting a clear and concise statement of the problem and proposed resolutions. Above all, it requires a well-developed sense of judgment and confidence in exercising it.
5. A style of attacking problems with imagination and creativity with no



hesitation in challenging outmoded, unreasonable, or ineffective norms and constraints, or in advocating reorganization of structures or processes which fail to produce desired results.<sup>6</sup>

As John Crecine in his excellent analysis of *University Centers for the Study of Public Policy* states:

With modest translation efforts the above characteristics of the policy design process would also fit the engineer, architect, composer, auto mechanic, artist, physician diagnosing an illness, computer programmer, or business policy-maker. All have the same intellectual task as designers of public policy—the creation of a man-made artifact or system which performs some anticipated function(s) and is compatible with the environment in which it exists.<sup>7</sup>

The public policy game is a sequential one with an endless chain of policy moves, environmental responses, etc. An appreciation of this fact is also required. Thus, if the objective is to educate a future policy maker, one must not be concerned with only today's policy issues. For instance, the informational and conceptual tools available ten to twenty years from now will bear only a moderate resemblance to those currently available. The intellectual revolution brought about by the computer will have (or rather, should have) reached the public sector by the 1980s. To train people for policy-making roles without imparting a knowledge of computers as problem-solving and design instruments and as data manipulators is to build in obsolescence. Yet the fact remains that no academic strategy now exists to prepare public policy makers in these skills. Crecine states, and we heartily endorse, that a person engaged in policy making must have knowledge of the workings of the system(s) of behavior in which the objects of policy are embedded (policy environment) and problem-solving skills appropriate to the design problems of creating a policy that adapts to its environment in such a way that the goals of policy are achieved.<sup>8</sup>

If policy is to adapt to, and operate on, the relevant environment in desirable ways, we must know something about the relevant environmental systems public policy must deal with. It is not surprising that detailed knowledge of the workings of economic, political, and social systems is found in the disciplines of economics, political science, sociology, and the law. To this we must add psychology and social psychology, as they involve the study of the building blocks of the aggregate system — individuals and small groups.

Descriptive theory in economics contributes knowledge of local and

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<sup>6</sup> *Bulletin*, Institute of Public Policy Studies, University of Michigan, vol. 1, no. 7 (September 1971):7.

<sup>7</sup> John P. Crecine, "University Centers for the Study of Public Policy: Organizational Viability," *Policy Sciences* 2 (1971):7-32.

<sup>8</sup> Since we believe that you do not always have to "rediscover the wheel," and since our academic friend Crecine writes so well (and more importantly, that his prejudices agree with ours), we have included his recommendation plus a few of ours on public policy curriculum development.



regional economics; through the subfields of industrial organization, micro-economic theory (especially theory of the firm), and labor economics provides insights into the structure and nature of commercial and industrial activity; and in the field of public finance partially relates taxation and public expenditures to population characteristics. Economics is also prescriptive and has a great deal to offer in providing norms for parts of the system.

Political science includes descriptive theories of the workings of the electoral process, of parts of the urban political system, of legislatures, and (all too little) of the legal system. For the most part, political science today seems primarily concerned with how governments are formed (elected), rather than the substance of what governments do. There are a growing number of political scientists working on descriptive theories of the policy-making process at all levels of government, with science policy being a growing and important subfield. Most of what is done best in public administration, as a subfield of political science, is the study of the role of public bureaucracies in policy formation and execution.

Sociology offers broader descriptions of the social order than the other social sciences since it is concerned with social stratification schemes and how individuals and social groupings move through such hierarchies over time, with the processes of mass attitude change and public opinion formation, with the structure of large-scale decision systems, and with the nature and process of social change. Professionalization within, and in the absence of, large-scale organizations is also a major topic of inquiry, as is the study of population or demographic change. All represent environmental phenomena of interest to an "ideal" general policy maker.

Social psychology and psychology deal with descriptive theories of individual and small-group decision processes, and work-motivation (human relations) theories also provide highly desirable knowledge components.

In the area of planning education, courses in urban design, land use computerization, the planning process, and planning law are extremely valuable.

The law certainly deserves attention, if only because many policy outcomes and external constraints on new policy are legal in nature. How the legal process works in fact, versus theory, seems vital, especially as our society very recently appears to be shifting its preference for means of solution of social problems towards the courts and away from the bureaucracy.

Another vitally important body of knowledge scattered throughout the academic disciplines consists of the largely descriptive theories of organizational decision making and behavior. Components of organization theory exist in political science, psychology, sociology, and economics. Much work in this field is done in schools of business administration. Almost all public policy either is directed toward large organizations or is administered by them, or both. Organizations form a central part of both the internal and external

environments of most public policies; knowledge of the dynamics of the behavior of public and private organizations seems essential. Studies of the centralization-decentralization issue in the context of formal organizations also shed light on these fundamental questions in the organization of all human activity.

An important set of ideas prescribing desirable ways of choosing among a fixed set of alternatives can be found in statistical decision theory, cost-benefit analysis, and capital theory. These techniques for selecting an alternative usefully augment the more common advocacy processes found in our society.

Management science and operations research focus on techniques for deducing optimal (policy) solutions in situations involving large numbers of variables and external constraints. While private sector applications of mathematical programming techniques have been truly impressive, and the ability of many of these techniques to handle the complexity of public sector environments has been demonstrated, much work needs to be done if these tools are to be useful in the public sector. Primarily, we need to know more about rigorous representation of nonmetric policy variables and the way to specify social and political objectives and constraints, in addition to resource and economic constraints.

Notions of desirable workings of a complex system tend to direct attention to and to define policy problems, and, in some cases, to suggest alternatives. In economics, the price system is demonstrated to be an efficient way to allocate resources in a market economy. It is also possible to talk of efficient resource allocation in a nonmarket environment by using this general framework and substituting benefit, cost ratios for prices, etc. Welfare economics also provides a normative approach to resource allocation questions. Planning-programming-budgeting systems (PPBS) represent concrete applications of these normative notions. Topics normally labeled "political theory" in political science deal with the desirable properties of a political decision system, as do some aspects of game theory, scattered throughout the social and management science disciplines.

An ideal policy maker should be able to take large, complex problems and break them into more manageable subproblems. Whether this problem decomposition takes place in the subunits of an organization or in the sequential problem-solving behavior of an individual, it is one of the few demonstrably effective ways we have of dealing with real-world complexity. Social science literature abounds with the centralization-decentralization (problem decomposition) issue. Critical path scheduling and the flow-charting exercises associated with computer programming seem to be among the few easy ways of communicating this skill of problem structuring or decomposition. Work in heuristic programming represents a more formal approach to the same phenomena, as do some aspects of set theory and probability theory.

The first stage in the approach to many problems is the identification of additional information needs. Information concerning processes in a system of behavior has been covered implicitly in the previous section on environmental characteristics. Skills useful in extracting information about the state or status of a system include statistics and survey research. Econometrics is also extremely useful in uncovering relationships among system variables and in verifying process characteristics.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly for would-be practitioners, is a set of people skills. By this we mean the kind of interpersonal skills dealt with in the human relations literature and in sensitivity training. We would also include verbal and writing skills as components of people skills.

Crecine concluded that the list of knowledge components defines the domain of an ideal curriculum in public policy and administration with, at a minimum, a dual emphasis on problem-solving skills (prescriptive theories) and problem-recognition skills and knowledge of the workings of policy environments (descriptive theories).

#### **SUMMARY AND ACTION STEPS**

We have documented the major reasons for academic unresponsiveness to the problems of state government at some length. We have also provided a curriculum outline which, if implemented, could go far in opening the communication and supply-demand linkage between academia and state government. Before suggesting other possible action steps, it would be helpful to provide a brief summary.

The major shortcoming in the current preparation of individuals who intend to pursue a career in the field of state government lies in the lack of broadly based skills sufficient to cover the complex and expertise-sensitive problems facing state government. Whether the issue is transportation policy, reform of the criminal justice system, health care strategy, or housing assistance, the key is to be found in staff trained in multidisciplinary fashion. Thus far, the only viable responses to these specific problem areas have been university proposals for federally financed institutional grant programs. Such institutional programs have little viability from the viewpoint of academic institutions since they are based on so-called soft money, i.e., not from a reliable and continuing source, and are subject to the bureaucratic problems listed below.

Of even greater concern is the fact that each of the examples cited above is viewed by the executive office of the governor as being one step below the truly comprehensive level of planning and analysis faced daily by the governor's immediate staff, policy analysis team, state planning office, budget agency, etc. Only a highly innovative multidisciplinary academic program will produce acceptable entry-level professionals. Still, the approach is extremely

difficult to put together. This is due, in part, to the power patterns of traditional colleges or departments in institutions of higher education which do not lend themselves easily or well to the development of programs which cut across these organizational patterns. In spite of many, often glowing reports of multidisciplinary concepts, there are not many examples of truly innovative multidisciplinary programs operating and turning out graduates. Such approaches seem to make university administrators nervous. Internal budgeting and fund allocation systems in universities provide serious disincentives to put together complex interdepartmental programs.

In spite of the institutional rebuttal that course work in state government or specific multidisciplinary career preparation would be offered if there were student demand for it, experience seems to indicate that higher education institutions are quite successful at convincing students that what they need is what the institution offers. As a result there are few students inclined to complain about any gaps in the offerings of the institution in general, and of a lack of attention to state government in particular.

It appears that the academic community does not regard the state and local governmental fields as being as prestigious as national governmental and international fields. As a result, the closest that most academics come to the state capitol is roughly three thousand feet straight up as they fly over it on their way to consult with some bureau or agency in Washington, D.C., or the Ford, Rockefeller, or National Science Foundations.

In order to prepare the type of personnel that state government needs most critically at this time, it will be necessary for the academic institution to acquire useful knowledge about the current problem facing state government. Even the key members of the political science faculty at many of the nation's leading institutions of higher education are not fully informed on the developments which are occurring on a day-to-day basis in state-level public policy issues. For example, it is rare to find a faculty member in an institution of higher education who has any working understanding of the Office of Management and Budget Circular A-95, which may well be the cornerstone of whatever the "new federalism" will be. Those few who understand the problems have gained this knowledge by actually participating in certain aspects of the federal-state-local system. Unfortunately, this participation has sometimes been acquired at cost to their academic reputation. Indeed, there are many in the academic field today who will argue that the role of the institution of higher education is to safeguard and preserve the flame of ultimate truth, and that those who soil their hands by working in the grubby tasks of the real world are unfaithful to the real mission of higher education. This conflict is nowhere more evident than in the tendency to develop special service bureaus or institutes for certain types of community service activities. This happens to be one way in which the "unclean and unwashed" of higher

education can provide certain types of limited services to those governmental agencies which require them so critically.

There is still another area in which academia can be measured and found wanting. Because of the difficulty in acquiring personnel with the requisite skills directly from academia, most public policy agencies in state government have opted for the strategy of hiring those individuals who appear to be sufficiently bright (and who have not been too badly damaged by their academic experience) and training them on the job. Such on-the-job training activities could be substantially buttressed and aided by a variety of graduate programs in the form of curricula structured specifically for practitioners in the field. Still, the academic community is unable to meet these needs. Their continued insistence upon structured formal classroom time, often offered only during daytime hours, always offered on the basis of a three- or five-day a week approach, always offered on campus, makes it extremely difficult for widely scattered practitioners of the public policy arts to really benefit from the academic system.

#### **Possible Solutions**

The summary indictment above could be extended, but perhaps is long enough. What is needed is a series of reforms within the higher educational framework to provide additional resource capability to aid state and local government in their search for properly trained manpower. Such reforms should include the following:

1. True commitment at the highest administrative level in institutions of higher education, and particularly in state-supported colleges and universities, to cut through the bureaucratic and administrative jungle in developing truly multidisciplinary academic programs for those whose educational and career objectives are the development, coordination, and administration of broadly based public policy dealing with critical governmental issues. Without the commitments of the president or chancellor, provost, and key staff supervising administration and instruction, departmental faculty will prevail and little will come to pass. (Indeed, it may be questioned whether even with the support of the administration such changes can occur.)
2. The development of time-sharing, personnel exchanges or other flexible arrangements whereby interested and qualified faculty can participate in state governmental functions for varying periods of time, sharpening their skills and knowledge and subsequently enabling them to transmit the knowledge and skills acquired to those that they will teach. State government must do its part here by providing an opportunity for people to move in and out of their system. Such efforts may include revising certain aspects of merit system regulations which now make such flexibility extremely



difficult and providing stipends or other financial support to avoid penalizing participating academics economically.

3. The development of arrangements whereby qualified practitioners in the field can become an adjunct to the faculty of institutions of higher education, bringing their expertise and experience to bear in the classroom and aiding those students who have a desire and an interest in the field of state government and intergovernmental relations.
4. The development of off-campus, open-entry, flexible programs which are not structured in the traditional sense, but which take practitioners in the field from where they are and provide them with the necessary knowledge and skills to take them where they need to go. Perhaps what is necessary here may be consortia of universities whereby key faculty from throughout the nation can be pulled together for intensive weekend seminars on major public policy questions, and wherein credit for advanced degrees can be offered to those participating in such programs.
5. Extension and greater sophistication of work-study programs for the most able students. Such programs could join together parts of the real world and academia in a process which centers on the principal target, the individual student—prospective professional public policy maker.

As Edward Flash<sup>9</sup> states in his comments on the evolution in public administration education, objectivity, analytical ability, and managerial skills continue to survive as the attributes for tomorrow's Renaissance public administrator. But this Leonardo is not enough; we must, in the same person, develop an involved, committed, political innovator. The challenge is to make public policy academic programs assume among their objectives that of making their graduates instruments of social change, but also that the schools themselves become such instruments. It will not be the history of creative federalism, performance budgets, or merit systems that attract younger persons to public service. The triumph is not that purpose has gained supremacy over technique, but that objectives of public administration teaching programs begin with focusing upon the achievement of social ends and then recognize the development of administrative abilities and skills as means, albeit important ones, to those ends.

In conclusion, we are asking for a new, fresher approach to the institutional practices of higher education stressing relevant multidisciplinary academic programs more in tune with the changing nature of state government. We hope that our academic colleagues who are concerned with the public sector have not reached that famous element of the final placement syndrome known as *Peter's plateau*, which is the achievement of a level of incompetence permitting only lateral movement within a hierarchy.

<sup>9</sup> Edward S. Flash, Jr., "Evolution in Public Administration Education," *Public Administration Review* 31 (1971):665-7.



What is needed is a substantial change in a variety of the institutional practices of higher education. Such reform can occur. Examples of each of the above suggestions exist in parts of the country, but nowhere do all occur in an integrated fashion. This task will require commitment, dedication, and acceptance of a variety of concepts not now readily agreed to. However, it appears that the fostering and development of a partnership between those who are practicing in the academic community and those who are practicing in the public policy field could be formed in such a way as to permit real progress in dealing with pressing issues facing state government today.

## **ACADEMIC SCIENCE AND STATE GOVERNMENT**

**BOYD R. KEENAN**

At a time when the need for closer cooperation between universities and state government is generally recognized, the two sectors have developed intensely adversary postures probably unmatched in twentieth century America. Many complex pressures have forced these adversary roles upon universities and state government. Subtle differences between state universities and private institutions make broad generalizations difficult, but two circumstances stand out: (1) state officials have developed a skepticism as to the value of academic programs mounted at public expense since World War II; and (2) many educators, particularly those in public universities, feel that they have been betrayed by their representatives in state capitals as budget requests for higher education have been trimmed. The dispensers of funds for all universities increasingly have felt the necessity to scrutinize programs before allotting funds. This questioning of academic developments, relatively rare in the period between World War II and the late sixties, has created new tensions between universities and their patrons. Such tension between the academic sector and state government clearly complicates efforts to make the expertise at universities available to the states.

In an unprecedented technological era, the fields within the universities most often viewed as sources of help for the states are those clustered under the rubric of the "natural sciences." Purists might list only physics, biology, chemistry, and mathematics as sciences. For the sake of convenience, the definition of "academic science" will be expanded here to include engineering but will exclude the social or behavioral sciences.

### **EXPECTATIONS AND RESPONSES**

Governors and legislators, particularly those who have fought to increase funding at both public and private universities, tend to redirect their own frustrations, developed in policy making in a technological age, towards the universities. After all, these state leaders often ask, weren't the great universities developed in order that the knowledge accumulated could be utilized by the people who paid the bill? Yet with these knowledge centers burgeoning in almost every state, governors and legislators still feel forced to make critical policy decisions on complex issues without the benefit of advice, counsel, or

even technical data from the scientific community within academia. Faced with the task of discovering scientific solutions to such problems as health services, pollution, education, transportation, and myriad other issues, legislators and governors are puzzled. If academic science has the great potential that state leaders have been hearing so much about since World War II, why can't that potential be harnessed for use at the state level?

Academic scientists are deeply divided in their responses to these queries from the centers of state government. Attitudes within academia range all across the spectrum, but they generally fall into two camps.

Spokesmen for one group warn that state demands for useful scientific expertise from universities — or relevance as it is so often called — strike dangerously at the very heart of the university. This position holds that society, and hence state government, will benefit in the long run from knowledge generated in the university but that the process cannot be a direct one. Attempts to force academic scientists to be concerned with immediate relevance, according to this doctrine, divert the search for truth and might ultimately destroy the university as a center for independent inquiry. The fears of academic scientists in this camp are not based entirely on the ideological question. Aside from changing the intrinsic character of the university, some say a preoccupation with service to its various publics would result in political problems, threatening both external support and internal tranquility.

The second camp contains many scholars of distinction equal to that of the "purists" described above but who feel that the problems facing government today are of such unprecedented scope that the university should somehow adjust itself to help.

Realistic leaders of both camps within academia recognize that the battle lines have been drawn, and controversy over the role of the university is raging to an extent certainly unseen since World War II. The internecine character of the conflict over the role of the university among academic scientists may not be fully appreciated by those on the outside. Robert E. Bickner of the University of California's Public Policy Research Organization at Irvine has captured something of the emotional intensity of the argument by comparing the university to the church in the debate over "relevance" and social action. Obsession at the university with ultimate truth, as opposed to some attention to relevance, is not unlike the church's concern for salvation, Bickner contends.<sup>1</sup> He suggests that the fear of some academic scholars that a concern with worldly application will corrupt the university's mission is perhaps parallel to the cleric's apprehension over disturbing the pious character of the church.

Individual universities must unravel these questions as they relate to

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<sup>1</sup> Robert E. Bickner, "Science at the Service of Government: California Tries to Exploit an Unnatural Resource," mimeographed (Irvine: University of California at Irvine, August 23, 1971), pp. 21-22.

their campuses. The most prestigious private universities which have stated their major objective solely as that of advancing the frontiers of knowledge may be able to avoid an institutional reassessment of their purposes. But no public university and few private ones will be spared this agony.

#### **PREOCCUPATION OF ACADEMIC SCIENCE WITH NATIONAL GOVERNMENT**

It is an ironic accident of history that the very institutions known as state universities have avoided so long this appraisal of their relationships with state governments in the areas of science and technology. In our federal system, most of the demands for assistance have come from the national government, and academic leaders frequently feel more at home in Washington than they do in their own state capitals. Indeed there has been a preoccupation with the national government on the part of university scientists and engineers. There is additional irony in the fact that many academic scientists who have held state government in contempt actually are assured their positions by "hard" state money and are formally responsible to boards of trustees appointed or elected through state mechanisms. In some cases these scientists have been supported in their research for years by federal dollars but their academic positions are underwritten by the state. These attitudes, while ironic, are understandable. Particularly for those state universities which are also land-grant institutions, the responsiveness to the national government goes back many decades.

#### **THE LAND-GRANT MODEL**

Prior to World War II, public service by academic science was almost limited to and synonymous with the agricultural colleges of the land-grant institutions. It was federal legislation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that had given birth to the array of land-grant programs in certain public institutions. But state leaders pumped their own dollars into the cooperative ventures and took pride in the resulting academic and practical achievements. These chiefly benefited a nation that was still predominantly rural in terms of political leadership, but one that was rapidly becoming urban.

The failure of American universities to adapt the land-grant model, even on a modest scale, to the urban setting has been the subject of much rhetoric in recent years. Many academic scientists have decided the analogy is an artificial one and have ceased to pursue it. Adding to the disenchantment with this model was the recent decision of the Congress not to continue programs under the State Technical Services Act of 1965. The act, designed to promote the transfer of new technology throughout the economy, clearly had as its model the Agricultural Extension Service, a critical ingredient of the land-grant movement.

But the analogy still deserves some attention. Granted that service to farmers in a rural era has little in common with service to state government in an urban era, burial of the entire land-grant approach would be premature. When ideas for providing scientific and technological aid to state government are so woefully scarce, we cannot afford to scrap the idea of having teaching, research, and service provided by academic science. This trinity has been heralded by some foreign scientists as America's greatest contribution to civilization.

In considering the land-grant analogy specifically in the matter of scientific assistance for state government, we need not totally endorse the movement. Debate surrounding Senate confirmation of Purdue University's Earl Butz as United States' secretary of agriculture suggests that there may be aspects of the system of which we should not be proud. If the agricultural component of the land-grant university has indeed become a captive of what is now fashionably called the agri-business complex, steps should be taken to liberate it.

However, indictment of practices which the land-grant framework permitted should not prevent us from recalling the genius underlying the land-grant experiment. Forty years ago, Justice Louis B. Brandeis put it this way: To stay experimentation in things social and economic is a grave responsibility. Denial of a right to experiment may be fraught with serious consequences to the Nation. It is one of the happy incidents of the federal system that a single courageous state may, if its citizens choose, serve as a laboratory; and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the rest of the country.<sup>2</sup>

Excitement created by the various elements of the land-grant opportunity encouraged nearly every institution in the system to fashion a vital link in the national arrangement, yet somehow becoming unique in its own setting. Corn was king in Indiana and Illinois, with land-grant teachers, researchers, and extension specialists making the most of it. Tobacco reigned as the focal point in Kentucky, as did citrus fruits in Florida. The system permitted individual accommodation to fit the litany. More than any other state perhaps, Wisconsin put it all together under the banner the Wisconsin Idea. The phrase told the world that agricultural scientists at that state's university were creating knowledge, transmitting it to the students, and then extending it through a sophisticated extension service to be applied by individual farmers across the state. That the system worked well for those sectors fortunate enough to be involved no one could deny.

Now, however, the system is urban, the problems more complicated, and lawmakers are even more at the mercy of technology. It remains to be seen if some modification of the land-grant idea can bring help from academic science.

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<sup>2</sup> Dissenting opinion, *New State Ice Co. v. Liebmann*, 285 U.S. 262 (1932).



## THE CONTRACTING MODEL

Satisfactory as it appeared through the thirties and forties, even the complex scientific agricultural programs of the land-grant institutions were limited in their potentialities for service. They dealt with a specialized subject matter, isolated from the total dynamic elements of industrial development that had begun to urbanize the nation. When "big science" and technology were required on an emergency basis shortly before Pearl Harbor, the nation again turned to academic science. From the beginning of the famed, secret Manhattan Project to develop the atom bomb a new dimension was added in governmental-scientific relations. This was the concept of contracting, which had long been a part of the American business system but which did not find its way into academic science until the nation's very survival was threatened.

Few practitioners or scholars even to this day understand just how dramatically universities responded to the contractual system or how much the new system changed American federalism. Many years ahead of his fellow social scientists in capturing its significance was Don K. Price, who had served as an administrator for many years and who took his seminal thinking back into academia from the bureaucracy.<sup>3</sup> Until Price began talking of a new politics of contracting in the early fifties, many in academic science had somehow assumed that the contracting device would go away as the nation gradually settled into normalcy after the traumas of World War II finally passed.

Of course, as a succession of research-related crises arose on the national level, normalcy never returned for academic science. And, for good or for ill, academic science responded. The contractual system was the device which permitted the scientific sector of universities to continue as partners with the national government. The cooperation existed in the development of weaponry during the Cold War period, in the competition for space science capability in the race between the United States and the Soviet Union, and, more recently, in efforts for meeting environmental problems, particularly in America's urban areas. Given the topic of this conference, perhaps the most significant point of the contract model is this: though Price describes the phenomenon as *federalism by contract*, only the national government has effectively utilized academic science through the contract mechanism. For whatever reasons, state and local governments have not found academic science to be responsive to their needs through the contractual system.

## COOPERATION THROUGH STATE GOVERNMENT-UNIVERSITY CONTRACTS

Is the contract a device worthy of further consideration as a means of util-

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<sup>3</sup> See particularly Chapter III, "Federalism by Contract," in Don K. Price, *Government and Science* (New York: New York University Press, 1954). Price expands on his concept of "federalism by contract" in a later work, *The Scientific Estate* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1965).



izing the full potential of a state's academic science resources to assist in defining and solving its problems? Given the scope of state problems, it would appear that neither the state nor the university — at least the state university — has any choice. The states probably cannot survive in the years ahead without the kinds of scientific and technological talent available in universities. And unless the states want to take dramatic action and shift these human resources from universities to entirely new kinds of institutions — as yet undefined — they must find some method of applying these talents to the problems. If, as so many knowledgeable observers contend, we are at a crisis stage with these problems, it would seem that both state government and universities should explore the contract as a device for action.

The crisis produced by World War II led to the Manhattan Project and successively to the massive cooperation between the national government and the universities. But the crises facing state government today are vastly different from those involving nuclear power in World War II. Harold Orlans anticipated this difference:

Both in spirit and in the humbler particulars of contractual and administrative practice, the heroic days of the Manhattan Project (in the days of creation, one is almost inclined to say) contrast strikingly with the increasingly ordinary years that have followed.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed the ordinary years of urban decay and technological chaos are becoming decades of frustration. There is little that is heroic in the plight of the cities, either for the victims or for the state and local leaders who struggle to cope with the seemingly unmanageable problems. In the case of the development of the first atomic bombs, there was a major, clearly-defined objective on the part of the Manhattan Project scientists and engineers. And though the general public did not know of the project, the leaders of the effort were well aware that the endeavor was closely linked with the national crisis to which there was almost total commitment on the part of all sectors of society.

It is hazardous to look back on the Manhattan Project and attempt to draw parallels or contrasts to today's situation. But one may speculate that the academic individuals involved were possessed by a sense of direction containing both scientific and social elements. Virtually all of their social values were threatened by common enemies — chiefly the Nazi ideology of Adolph Hitler — and they performed their scientific and engineering tasks with real dedication. But in today's setting there is no agreement in either academia or state government on who the enemy is in the battle being carried on by state agencies. Much as we might want to exploit the Manhattan Project analogy, conditions today are different, social circumstances are more com-

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<sup>4</sup> Harold Orlans, *Contracting for Atoms* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1967), p. 116.

plex, and technology more advanced than in the days of World War II. Thus, if the contracting system is to be more than a limp legacy of World War II, dramatic modifications will be required to adapt it to state and local problems.

### **SPACE ANALOGUE INAPPROPRIATE**

Since the Apollo 11 moon landing of American astronauts in July 1969, a kind of romanticism has developed to the effect that a nation which can place men on the moon can surely clean up the cities and revitalize state government. Such a simplistic approach ignores two points already suggested: (1) the commitment to place a man on the moon in the decades of the sixties, similar to commitments of World War II, was shared by a substantial portion of the populace; and (2) the space effort was handled to a great extent by teams of technologists assembled in laboratories as governmental personnel to undertake a very specialized task.

The problems of state government are diverse, not specialized, and virtually every discipline of study, from civil engineering to human ecology to sociology will be required to attack them. Aside from the question of commitment to the tasks, there is the matter of organizational mode in the university. Much as some academic scientists may wish to revamp their approaches in order to aid the state in problem solving, the inhibiting university tradition may be too deeply embedded in the institutions to permit a transformation.

State decision makers face the difficult and complex task of deciding how much academic science can contribute to solving society's problems. Virtually everyone agrees that the universities are dedicated to increasing knowledge within the separate disciplines. But Alvin Weinberg, director of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, raises the inevitable question. What happens, he queries, as the disciplines, responding to their own internal logic and force, become so remote from the rest of society that the public is no longer willing to support them?<sup>5</sup> There is evidence, of course, that the public is already exhibiting signs of such unwillingness. Confronted by such a public and frustrated by the tenacity of unprecedented socio-technological problems, state leaders increasingly will be subject to pressures to place more of their resources in nonuniversity institutional settings. It is necessary, then, to set academic science in the broader context and consider the alternatives available to states as they seek scientific and technological expertise.

### **ALTERNATIVES TO ACADEMIC SCIENCE AVAILABLE TO STATES**

Aside from university science, state governments can exploit scientific and engineering talent in at least four other directions. It is now commonplace

<sup>5</sup> Alvin M. Weinberg, *Reflections on Big Science* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1967), p. 125.

for states to contract with profit-making companies, including consulting firms. A new literature is springing up on the advantages and disadvantages of going this route. As early as 1964, California explored the use of aerospace talents and systems analysis through contracts with corporations. California's initial experiments with these firms involved the areas of waste disposal, handling of the criminal and mentally ill population, information systems, transportation, and welfare. Different firms were given \$100,000 and six months to conduct analyses of these problems. Even now there is no agreement on the effectiveness of this approach. Thad Beyle and Oliver Williams describe the ventures as "flamboyant experiments," which, while they "may have created more problems than they solved . . . served as an exciting landmark in state government activities."<sup>6</sup>

Several states have sought scientific and technological assistance from the not-for-profit think tanks, such as the RAND Corporation. Whereas contributions by a university are usually piecemeal and incomplete, the think tanks claim to offer comprehensiveness of analysis and integration of scientific inputs. Of course, the model of the think tank varies a great deal. In several instances a state has decided to establish its own not-for-profit research organization, as did Kentucky with its Spindletop Research Institute. Another model is that typified by North Carolina's Research Triangle Institute, a not-for-profit, multipurpose consulting organization located in close proximity to the state's leading universities. It is too early to assess the value of such experiments.

In viewing the options other than universities open to state government for science capability, one must not overlook another avenue being taken by most states. This is the bolstering of their own in-house scientific resources. In Illinois, for instance, three state agencies, the Water Survey, the Geological Survey, and the Natural History Survey, have traditionally been deeply involved in the providing of scientific assistance to the state at large. In some states, such as Illinois, these kinds of agencies are located on a state university campus with joint appointments in academic departments often provided.

A host of national laboratories, originally established to help accomplish the purposes of federal agencies, have been utilized on an *ad hoc* basis by state governments. They differ chiefly from academic science in the sense that they are truly "mission" oriented. The mission may be that of achieving adequate defense, cheap energy, or better health. For these organizations, science is simply a means to help achieve nonscientific, politically defined aims.

It is curious that states have not drawn more upon the talents in these national laboratories. One explanation is that the national agency funding the individual laboratory, for example, the Atomic Energy Commission, has

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<sup>6</sup>Thad L. Beyle and Oliver Williams, "Policy Advice to State Government Agencies in North Carolina," *Popular Government* 36, no. 8 (May 1970): 12.

a proprietary interest in the organizations and might be reluctant to broaden their base. There are examples, however, where such a national laboratory has been willing to shift its emphases somewhat and negotiate contracts with state governments for specific scientific projects. For instance, the AEC's Argonne National Laboratory is said to have performed well for the state of Illinois on a variety of environmental projects.

Administrators charged with coordinating science and technology at the national level have long contended that the national laboratory and the fully developed universities complement one another. This rationale holds that the discipline orientation of the universities complements the mission orientation of the national laboratory. But there is a feeling of concern among state leaders familiar with the area over the continued, long-term prospects for both the national laboratory and the large research university as they are presently structured. Ironically, though they have different functions, these two types of research organizations are being confronted with similar kinds of challenges from both state and national lawmakers. Alvin Weinberg, a critic of the university, has also raised questions as to the future of the national laboratories. He has warned that both must somehow remain relevant to public purposes, however defined. Thus, for entirely different, but rather complementary reasons, these two kinds of scientific institutions — universities and national laboratories — must face the broad question: Can they display the flexibility needed to remain relevant to public purposes? If they cannot, Weinberg predicts it will be difficult for them to retain the public confidence and support they now enjoy.<sup>7</sup>

#### **A QUESTIONING OF ACADEMIC SCIENCE BY THE STATE**

This comparison of the national research laboratories and the university has brought us to a fundamental question that tends to be skirted when state leaders and academicians come together: Are there basic incompatibilities between academic science and the needs being critically felt by state government?

If it is accepted that basic incompatibilities exist, then, is the "private" character of some large, research-oriented universities a factor in this incompatibility? True enough, there may be conditions which discourage cooperation between states and private universities. But the argument that the federal system inherently contains elements which prevent academic science in private schools from assisting the state must surely be spurious. One reason the national contractual system became dynamic and effective with such remarkable speed in the forties and fifties was simply because it ignored the rigid distinction between public and private. Apparently no one has objected to the University of Chicago's role in the Manhattan Project or questioned the

<sup>7</sup> Weinberg, *Reflections on Big Science*, p. 125.

fact that a *private* university housed a major component of what was, perhaps, the most critical *public* scientific enterprise in the world's history. Some university spokesmen might counter this argument with the rejoinder that the critical variable here is the *level* of government with which academic science is involved. Regardless of the justification for the perception, university scientists do indeed seem to perceive state officials as somehow less trustworthy than their counterparts at the federal level. Such a widespread feeling is certain to contribute to the incompatibility of the two sectors.

Another basic source of the incompatibility is the discipline orientation of academic science. Its viewpoint is the sum of the viewpoints of the separate, traditional disciplines that constitute it. Its problems are generated and solved within the disciplines themselves. The university's standards of excellence are set by and within the discipline. In academic science the specialist and analyst is king.

State government, by contrast, is mission-oriented. Its mission is the resolution of problems arising from social, scientific, technological, and psychological conflicts and pressures. Since these problems are not generated within any single intellectual discipline, their resolution is not to be found within any single department in the university. What works is excellent, whether or not it falls into a neatly classified discipline. In state government, the non-specialist and synthesizer is king.

Thus, the structure of mission-oriented state government and discipline-oriented academic science tend to become incongruent. Perhaps the universities, or at least a few of them, should develop devices to accord the generalist the status and prestige they now confer solely upon the specialists. Until such individuals appear in academic science to serve as links to legislators and leaders in the executive branch the prospects for true scientific-governmental cooperation at the state level appear bleak.

The real questions from the university side, then, are: Can the university combine the point of view of the specialist with that of the generalist?; Can it acquire some of the mission orientation of the large national laboratory, yet retain its discipline orientation intact?

#### STATE INITIATION OF CHANGES

How does one account for the failure of the states themselves to initiate changes in the total university-governmental system which might benefit them? History is important here. Price and Harvey M. Sapolsky agree that the research contracts and grants system, that developed during World War II and the immediate decades following, simply by-passed the states.<sup>8</sup> Under the contracts' system, dollars for research by academic scientists have been

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<sup>8</sup> See Harvey M. Sapolsky, "Science Policy in American State Government," *Minerva* 9 (July 1971): 323.



distributed by federal agencies, acting as quasi banks, and these scientists have become conditioned to ignore state government. Until recently, the states made no objection.

Now, however, the need for connective tissues between university scientists and state government is recognized, and the states are initiating steps to develop such linkages. In large measure out of frustration, leaders in state government longingly view the national scientific apparatus for bringing academic science into the action. Viewing the national experience as a source of models, here are devices that are being utilized presently:

*Governor's Science Advisor.* A science advisor for the governor paralleling the president's science advisor has been appointed in some states.

Shortly after Sputnik was launched by the Soviet Union in 1957, President Eisenhower appointed James Killian as his special assistant for science and technology. Since then every president has employed a full-time "scientific statesman" to advise him on science matters. Of the six men who have served in this position, all except the incumbent, Edward David, have come directly from positions in prestigious universities, and he was formerly an executive with Bell Laboratories and highly regarded by the national academic community.

Through the National Science Foundation's Office of Intergovernmental Science Programs, all governors have been prodded to appoint and use their own science advisor counterparts to the president's science advisor. Virtually all have complied with the request to identify a scientist for this role. But, with only two or three exceptions, there is little evidence to suggest that a governor often calls upon this individual either for personal counsel or for help in locating expertise within the state's academic community. The science advisors have often been designated either from deep inside the academic community without direct access to the state's top governmental and political apparatus or from the state bureaucracy where he has his own pressing day-to-day problems distinct from science affairs. In the former instance, staff and supporting funds are usually nonexistent or limited.

*State Science Advisory Committees.* The president has long had at his disposal the President's Science Advisory Committee (PSAC), made up chiefly of academic scientists from across the country. Usually numbering less than twenty, the committee has been relied upon in different ways by the various presidents. But, usually the president, or at least his assistant for science and technology, has been able to harness the talents of the academic scientific community for advice in a manner either untried or found lacking by the state's governors.

*Science Advice for State Legislatures.* Congressmen and state legislators have long shared the complaint of a lack of mechanisms available to them for gaining an awareness of scientific affairs. Congressmen, however, acted to



remedy the situation long before their state counterparts. In recent years, a Science Policy Division of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, has been developed to respond to science-related questions from congressmen. The Science Policy Division is totally an in-house operation. Though it does not formally utilize academic figures in responding to questions from congressmen, it does maintain contact with university scientists around the country. Also, standing committees of Congress which relate to scientific and technological affairs recently have been provided with special staff.

Through a variety of forums, state legislators increasingly have voiced concerns for similar assistance. Momentum is building for recognition of the difficulty of the state lawmaker in making decisions on scientific and technological matters without input from specialists. Probably the most visible efforts to improve the plight of the legislators are coming now from a Committee on Science and Technology of the National Legislative Conference and its secretariat, the Council of State Governments.

Individual state counterparts of the congressional Legislative Reference Service, whether they be called "legislative councils," "research councils," or something else, have begun to seek mechanisms for permitting university scientists to transmit their expertise to legislators. But no spectacular successes have yet been reported. Of all the states, California probably has devised the most formal method for providing science advice in one chamber through its Assembly Science and Technology Council. The council membership includes distinguished university scientists.

*NSF Analogue at State Level.* When the National Science Foundation was created in 1950, some felt that it would have the capability both to set national priorities for science and to serve as the funding bank for academic science. To the disappointment of many, it has not succeeded in carrying out the former function, although it has become the chief "bank" to which academic scientists look for funding of basic projects.

As state leaders have cast about for devices for encouraging scientists at universities to examine more local problems, the possibility of a "state science foundation" patterned after the NSF inevitably arises. Some states, such as Massachusetts, New York, and North Carolina, have even established such foundations. The effectiveness of these foundations is difficult to assess.

*The Academy of Sciences Model.* A quasi-public agency and probably the most prestigious science organization in the nation, the National Academy of Sciences, is called upon frequently by the United States government to provide expert counsel. Almost all states have "academies" of science and the logic of following the national pattern is often voiced. Possibly because the state organizations lack the prestige of the National Academy within academic science, no great successes can be reported.

## COORDINATION OF ACADEMIC SCIENCE AT THE STATE LEVEL

Independently of many of the factors already discussed, pressure has developed during the past decade for coordination of academic science at the state level. The pressure assumes many forms, not the least significant of which is the strengthening of planning and coordinating boards of public higher education. One justification for these coordinating organizations is the proliferation of high-cost research facilities. In some states authority to review budgets and programs of universities is either given the coordinating agencies or implied in enabling legislation. Such authority flaunts the internal planning authority long vested in faculties of institutions of higher learning, and the issue will likely become an increasing source of conflict between state leaders and academic science.

Attempts by the state to coordinate research and development within their own borders points up a feature of our federal system that has too often been neglected. The funding of science in universities is carried on almost entirely by the national government. Many leaders find it surprising that even at "state" universities, states, in comparison with the national government, provide only negligible amounts for research and development. For instance, using National Science Foundation data, Sapolsky demonstrates that state science and technology expenditures "present not much more than half of one per cent of total national research and development expenditures and less than a quarter of one per cent of total state expenditures for all purposes."<sup>9</sup>

Thus the whole question of state utilization of university science and technology is deeply embedded in the federal system. Though state leaders may wish to encourage university scientists to shift their emphasis, there are few paths open at the state capital for changing academic science. In the short run, at least, there are not many options available other than "meat-axe" approaches which would likely threaten the total integrity of universities. The condition contains the seeds of intense conflict involving many sectors of the state and academic science. Some legislators, governors, and budget specialists have suggested two extreme "reforms" that would place academic science in state universities closer to central state planning: (1) grants and contracts from national agencies to state universities would require approval by central state agencies; and (2) overhead expenses and "indirect" costs generated by these research projects at universities would be lodged in a central repository for reappropriation by state lawmakers or administrators. Either device would shift political control of academic science away from public universities themselves and towards state government. At present, discussions of closer state monitoring of national research dollars flowing into the states center upon "public" universities. But the most concerned of state leaders have suggested that steps should be taken to permit

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 331.

the states to share in the process whereby funds move from Washington agencies to private research universities. Their arguments note that private universities are chartered by the states and that a real "system" of higher education cannot be developed if private and state universities within a few miles of each other are duplicating expensive research with public dollars.

#### **A NEW CALL FOR UNITY FROM DIVERSITY**

Scientists at both public and private universities have recoiled at these suggestions that state government interpose itself between academic science and its patrons in Washington. They are quick to explain that science seems to have best performed its role in society when it has been accorded great diversity and opportunities for nearly total freedom.

In summary, however, it should be noted that a main qualification for good science in the past has always been that it help create unity from diversity. As Jacob Bronowski states in his book, *Science and Human Values*, it is this creation of connections where none had previously existed, and not simply the unearthing of facts, that is the essence of scientific creativity. Bronowski probably had in mind individual acts of scientific creativity. But his point is easily expanded to mean the creation of new points of connection between the fields of science and government, particularly state government.

It appears inevitable that, if scientists themselves do not contribute to the task of developing a coherent picture of the whole of academic science and state government, less expert but responsive state officials will be forced to assume the chore.

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*SPEECHES*

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## PUBLIC POLICY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

JOHN E. CORBALLY JR.

It is coincidental, but fitting, that this conference concerning relationships between state governments and higher education is convened in Illinois on the eve of the anniversary of the founding of the University of Illinois. One hundred and five years ago tomorrow the university was begun with high hopes and with little else on the edge of what was kindly called "marshy area" between the villages of Champaign and Urbana. That event and similar events in other states in the same period were the results of federal legislation and a national concern. In spite of the divisiveness of the American Civil War and the attending economic and social problems growing from that conflict, the Congress through the passage of the Morrill Act created the land-grant system of higher education which has emerged as a strong and unique implementation of national philosophy toward learning and public service.

The last few years have seen the celebration of centennial birthdays at most land-grant universities. This same period has seen the beginnings of a new debate on issues related to public higher education. Social confusion surrounding another military conflict in which our nation is involved has been reflected on the campuses to the disgust of many and to the sorrow of most. Financial problems beset state governments as they attempt to provide an ever wider range of demanded governmental services within the framework of a "taxpayer revolt." Massive post-World War II and Sputnik era federal support of higher education which was and is largely categorical rather than general in nature has diminished, and higher education awaits with anxiety the outcome of current congressional deliberations over the form and substance of continuing federal assistance to colleges and universities. Public policy debate in almost every state is under way concerning the public posture toward and the public obligation in behalf of private higher education.

In many ways without fully defining or focusing upon the real issues, state and federal governments are in the midst of public policy considerations of higher education, the results of which will have the same impact upon education and upon society as did those considerations over a hundred years ago which led to the land-grant act.

In my early days of teaching educational administration, we used to argue that education must be above politics. It is now clear that this argument was



and is wrong. Public education particularly, and private education increasingly, are intimately involved in and affected by public policy. Politics is the shaping of public policy. The purpose of this conference is to focus upon the interaction of education and state government in the consideration of public policy questions. Each one of us with his or her particular responsibilities in the arena of public policy has much to learn about the responsibilities of the other participants in this arena. One cannot contemplate the "emerging and future needs and opportunities of state governments" without considering the inputs of higher education. One cannot consider effectively the nature of these inputs without an awareness of the total and complex situation facing state government.

We of the state of Illinois and I particularly on behalf of the University of Illinois are pleased to welcome you to this conference. We hope that this conference will serve to start a dialogue which will extend beyond these few days you will be together. We have the problems, we have the people, we have the opportunity. May we all make the best of our time together and play our proper roles in creating from this conference something of lasting significance.

## STATE-UNIVERSITY RELATIONS

FRANCIS W. SARGENT

In an age festering with unrest, it is at once hopeful and discouraging to find that universities and state government share common problems. A sense of growing disenchantment, the specter of financial disaster, and the erosion of traditional values have had an enormous impact on both the state and the university. For better or worse neither of these institutions will ever be the same. It is our mandate to insure that the changes which have and will take place are harnessed for the good. The ultimate destiny of the state and the university may well be tied together. It is therefore most appropriate that we should be gathered here this evening to discuss the relationship of one to the other.

It has long been my belief that neither state government nor the academic community has begun to take full advantage of the possibilities of a healthy working relationship. In my own state of Massachusetts only now are we beginning to tap the resources of universities which surround us. Within a ten-mile radius of the State House in Boston there is a wealth of academic talent, rarely utilized by those of us in government. There is little question about the potential housed in these fine universities; but the traditional problem has been one of mechanics. How can the state relate to the university, and vice versa?

If I could offer one charge to you this evening as you begin your deliberations, it would be this: develop a process by which universities and state governments can work together. The opportunities in state government are enormous; the resources on the campus, vast. The value of a working link between the two is incalculable. The difficulty is in establishing that link.

In Massachusetts we have begun to scratch the surface of this untapped resource. The results have already proved most rewarding. From the Brandeis campus in Waltham we recently drew upon the talents of an economist who has devoted intensive study to the problem of family assistance and income maintenance. His technical expertise and unique knowledge of the problems inherent in the current welfare system brought a new perspective to an old problem. His theories have been translated into legislation and offered as amendments to the Nixon-Mills measure now before the United States Senate.

There are no doubt thousands of other individuals on campuses across the

nation with an indepth understanding of the complex problems which confront the state. Their knowledge and insight could be of great assistance to governmental leaders. But again the problem is one of access. How and where should the state and the university meet? Universities should be a major resource for state government. But the states have been long-time losers in the research sweepstakes. The distrust state government feels for academia is matched by the disinterest academia exhibits in state government. We must break down those barriers. All too often academia has ignored the needs of the state. Lured by the attraction of making national policy and by federal funding, scholars have found state government uninteresting and unprofitable. In addition, universities have traditionally seen their research obligation solely in terms of the creation of knowledge. Its application is left to others. The challenge we in government offer the university is to reorient that research effort. We ask you to look with us at pressing public needs and to give us technical and problem-oriented advice. I ask the university to recognize its obligation to public service. I ask you to find the means within your institutions to make public service important and workable.

It is true that the lack of useful research is in part the fault of government. No statewide clearing house of present or future needs currently exists in state government. We in Massachusetts have recognized this void and have moved to fill it through our reorganization of state government. Universities cannot intelligently decide what research directions to pursue without knowledge of what is going on now and of what is needed in the future. Before we in state government can ask for assistance, we must educate ourselves in our problems, our resources, and our desires for the future.

But there are some areas in which the needs are urgent and obvious. In developing theories of taxation, economic development, social relations, and even in such improbable areas as law enforcement and prison reform, the university can and should be an enormous resource for new ideas and concepts.

In Massachusetts over the past year we have begun a new policy in corrections. We are attempting to move the people out of institutions and into the community. There has been some resistance to this new direction — resistance which has resulted from fear and a misunderstanding of what we are attempting to accomplish. In this pioneering effort the university has emerged as a surprisingly valuable ally. The Department of Youth Services, which has the responsibility of dealing with those youngsters adjudged delinquent, has closed down three of its major institutions — institutions which provided at best custodial care and little, if any, hope of rehabilitation. The staff of the Youth Service Department determined that about 85 percent of those housed in reform schools would be better served by returning to their own communities. But some transitional phase seemed necessary before the youthful offenders returned to their homes. That is where the university entered into

the picture. Through the cooperative arrangement worked out with the Department of Youth Services and the president of the University of Massachusetts, ninety teenage offenders were sent to the university campus for a month. Each youth was assigned to a student advocate, a young man or woman enrolled at the university who would serve as sort of big brother to the young offender. The young people lived together in a special dormitory and had the run of the campus. The program was an enormous success. Both the young offenders and the student advocates were enthusiastic about the project. Near the end it was difficult to tell who was the greater beneficiary — the youth or his advocate.

In addition to the University of Massachusetts experiment, students from many area universities have participated in person to person rehabilitation projects. Volunteer programs in the state's correctional facilities, mental health hospitals, and the like have been successful primarily through the efforts of students. But these efforts are indirect and only begin to signal the great advantages which would be gained from a vital working relationship.

In periods of our nation's history, universities have conducted brief flirtations with government. If we look back now, we see the Kennedy era as the dawning of political involvement on a wide scale. The people woke up to government. Students became a force in politics. The universities joined hands with policy makers. If John Kennedy achieved anything in his brief time as president, it was to awaken young people to their own potential. Kennedy made government exciting and attractive to the academic community. But disillusionment set in. Individuals began to realize that it was virtually impossible to make a dent in the ironclad bureaucracy of the federal government. But that is the great advantage of state government. At the state level the individual can make a difference. On the state level many of the problems are soluble and the efforts of one man can turn government around. It was John Kennedy who once said, "One man can make a difference and every man should try."

The challenge then to those of us in state service is to make government interesting and attractive to young people. In this regard the university can play a vital role. Students have traditionally been uninvolved and apathetic toward state government. This is in part because of the curriculum. In too many instances universities have tended to play down the importance of state government. But this can and must be changed. In an age when students cry out for relevance in education, the state stands ready to tie learning to actual service. Students who wish to bring change to government should be encouraged to do so by becoming involved in the process of government itself. Universities should begin to give academic credit to field work in government service. An engineering student might work with a pollution abatement team and evaluate its problems. A political science student might review the process

by which state legislation is enacted or defeated and recommend new methods. A psychology student might analyze patient life at a state hospital and suggest better programs. The student would not only learn from his experience. He would also contribute his talent to bring about better government. Internship programs can be made into highly challenging experiences. But again this will demand a working partnership between government and the university. Government will have to provide the opportunities and the university the talent.

If I might insert a personal note here, some years ago, when I was a departmental head, a student intern was assigned to my agency. I asked the young law student to devise a method of increasing the revenues which flowed into the department. The young man conducted a comprehensive research project. He compared Massachusetts with other states, compiled past surveys on the matter, and submitted a detailed report, complete with recommendations for new legislation. I then asked the student to draft the legislation and follow the bill through the legislative process — testifying before a committee and lobbying where necessary. By the end of that summer the young man had had an exhaustive look at how government functions and the commonwealth was richer for his experience.

While this incident is not unique, it is altogether too rare. The most encouraging sign of progress in university-state relations has been the emergence of the institute of practical politics. These university subdivisions are devoted to establishing a bridge between the university and government. They are flexible enough to deal with concrete issues and to provide the type of professional training which is sorely needed in government. The university can no longer afford its ivory tower disdain for the real world and its problems. The university must participate in the life of the community which surrounds it. It must provide professional training for the men who will serve in government. Universities must initiate undergraduate programs for those who seek a career in state government. They must also offer in-service training programs for those state and municipal employees who seek to sharpen their professional skills. These suggestions may seem horrifying to those who cling to outdated views of the university's role. But the fact remains that as we noted at the outset, the ultimate destiny of the university may well be inseparably linked to the destiny of the state. The contributions that universities make to the state, may well set in motion the mechanisms which will one day save the university itself. Institutions of higher learning, without exception, are engaged in a death struggle with finances. Indications are that in the years ahead they will be turning with greater frequency to the state for financial assistance. Yet those very states are today edging toward financial disaster. A partnership forged in time could provide the imagination to develop new tax forms which might ultimately save the university. Better planning and integration of public and private universities could reduce the costs

for both, and perhaps, better serve the public. The possibilities for cooperation are endless, the alternatives unpleasant to contemplate. We must come to realize that our futures lie together.

I have this evening attempted to point to some directions in which we might begin to move forward together. They are preliminary, yet decisive steps. Together we can devise new programs for student participation in government. We can institute programs which will help to develop new leadership. And we can renew the citizens' role in government. Together, we can begin to find solutions to the financial difficulties which threaten the very survival of the university. While the steps I have suggested will not by themselves resolve the problems we both face, they will provide a start, for they are built upon the simple truth that the university and the state are dependent upon each other. The challenge to those of us in state government and on the campus is to determine how to relate our mutual needs to the demands of our people. It is a challenge which neither universities nor state governments can afford to ignore. The society around us which we profess to serve relies heavily upon our meeting this challenge. It is critical that we respond fully — and immediately. Disraeli observed of England that it is "upon the education of the people that the fate of the nation depends." I believe that the fate of state government and of its universities depends no less on the education we provide. We must all work together to insure the success of this effort.





## THE NEED FOR LEADERSHIP

TERRY SANFORD

The relationship between our universities and our federal system of government — no matter which level of government it may be — is the key to a much broader crisis we are facing. More is involved in this particular conference and its proceedings than the simple question of the state government-university working relationship. And more is involved than just what type of assistance each side can give to the other.

It is my belief that unless we can find a way to make the federal system work, we cannot make government work — and it isn't working. We are faced with many problems which now seem to have no answers — at least not from government. Some of these problems are reflected in the decline of our environment; some are evident in the chaos of our cities; some are found in the fact that too many of our citizens are excluded from the potential of the American Dream; some lie in our ambiguous relations with other nations; and, some problems seem to focus on our college campuses. However, the deep troubles of our society do not begin with these; here is where they end and are felt; these are the areas which suffer our government's inadequacies.

The troubles we as a nation are experiencing lie in the lack of leadership in our society and in the loss of confidence our people have in their government. We just do not trust our government officials. We have little faith in the programs which they put forth and for which they spend our tax money. Nor do we feel that government can *or* will do the job it should, and must, do.

I would suggest that the possibilities for resolving these troubles find one of their best hopes in our universities — in the resources of the faculty, in the research capacity of the universities, and in the hearts and minds of the students. Recently we have seen support for these university resources begin to be cut back as scarce fiscal resources begin to afflict all our governments. But to continue in these cutbacks would be to damage the very hopes of our society to answer its problems, for it is the universities which can train those we need to work in government. They can be trained not just to do their work to certain professional specifications, but to serve the people as they should be served. It is the universities which can focus their research concerns on the critical problems of government and society. This research would not be just to learn more about the problem but could be aimed at finding out how the

problem can be alleviated through government action. And it is the universities which can educate the citizens to the realities of our system and society. This would not be just to further the myths which too often hamper rather than help us, but it would be education to make our citizens effective and active partners in government action.

However, the crucial element for this country today is to reestablish the proper type of leadership in our system of government. It cannot be a reactive leadership — one which does not foresee problems and suggest answers but only reacts to crises. It cannot be a stubborn leadership — one which refuses to see problems as they really are rather than how it might like them to be. It cannot be a constrictive leadership — one which is afraid to try new approaches and to suggest new answers.

In helping provide the leadership we need — leadership that is progressive, open and innovative; leadership that by its very being gives guidance and support; leadership that is critical, yet constructive — this is where the unique resources of our universities are at their best. This role for the university is not achieved by becoming a part of government and assuming the role of leadership. This step would impair the universities' unique resources. It would be done by working with government, with agencies, with bureaus, and with elected officials, and by providing them with the problems in proper definition, with some suggested approaches and answers, and with some of the charts and maps they need to achieve the goals we as a society must seek. It lies also in the ability to be ever critical and questioning in approach.

At this conference, we are concerned with the relationships between the fifty states and the universities which the states have supported for so long. We may be calling on the universities to begin repaying the states for these long years of support. The need in the states for such aid is no less than at any other level of government, as those at this conference know only so well. I wish you well in your deliberations on this question of how to better the link between the university and the states.

**WHAT STATE GOVERNMENT NEEDS (OR ASKS)  
OF THE UNIVERSITY**

PAUL YLVISAKER

I am not sure it makes sense to talk in singular terms about pluralistic institutions and their initiatives and responses in a complex society. At their simplest, universities are multiversities, and state governments are a congeries of people, interests, and motives. The range of calls by "state government" upon the "university" extends from "save our scalp" to "keep out." And properly so. The hallmark of this civilization — for or better or worse — is its pragmatism, its particularity, its flexibility. There is something about it that hates a static formula, a monolithic response, a rule that you have to do it this way or by this process or through these people. There is nothing in state-university relations that so quickly approaches futility and impotence as formal and bilateral attempts to negotiate treaties of structured cooperation. State officials and members of the academic community both have an unquenchable instinct to hang loose. We might as well recognize that instinct even if we don't always have to respect or indulge it.

"Pick and choose," then, probably is the most realistic way of describing the attitude of state officials toward the university and what it might offer. One might as well be realistic in describing what they are looking for. Not many state officials will be looking for someone to share the powers they exercise or the rewards and plaudits that might come their way — which is one sugar plum fairy that ought not to dance very long in the academic mind. The call for help is far more likely to be an invitation to share or shoulder or obscure the burdens and the blame. Nor will many state officials want a Ralph Nader-like evaluation of their programs and performance — not on *their* fiscal and administrative account, and certainly not while their fate and budget are being weighed by the legislature and electorate. Evaluations of that kind are something that the academic world should be prepared to do as relatively lonely efforts and otherwise financed.

State officials generally want the universities to supply them with "good people." But the definition of "good" will vary dramatically. A "good" man to fill a "top, sensitive" position can mean either a bold innovator or an amiable pooh-bah. A "good" man to conduct a study or head an investigation can mean either an intrepid "can't be touched," or an expert at instant

whitewash. A "good" cadre of professional recruits can mean either another gathering of the Irish Mafia or an infinite supply of well-roted Uriah Heeps.

"Pick and choose" obviously makes mincemeat of the old and cherished tradition of continuing university programs with sustained financing and guaranteed markets for graduates and monographs. Sometimes harshly and dangerously so. But the greater value is probably that neither the university nor the governmental process is barnacled with encumbering commitments. From both points of view — government's and the university's — it is probably better to have the more specialized research and training programs carried on by institutions created for those purposes and operated independently of the university. These institutions can vary from the kind represented by RAND (New York) to the executive development institutes being formed in various parts of the country. These institutions could well be located on or near campuses, but should not be subjected to the consensus process (and politics) of academia. They could borrow on the talents of the campuses, but on a selective basis.

These recommendations point in the direction of a less-agglomerating academic structure. They also point toward an attitude governing academic work and participation that is entrepreneurial and geared to the constant in-and-out flow of its faculty and students. In fact, if there is a singular contribution of the university, it probably is to serve as a reservoir of diversified talent that can be tapped by many users for diverse purposes. Other institutions in our society have difficulty competing with the university on these terms; and one prime object of the university should be to preserve and perfect this capacity.

I would also raise the questions: (1) whether the university concentrates enough on developing entrepreneurial qualities in the students it trains for public service — the public process is increasingly a matter of battling for the public's mind and votes, especially on questions affecting the basic ground rules of the American system; (2) whether the university keeps its students too long on campus. The early twenties are years of dedication and vitality; it is my strong belief that learning at this stage is best associated with action, and action benefits when mixed with learning.

In short, state governments — themselves locked into constricting forms and gasping for survival — need most from the university the vitality and flexibility such a gathering of free and mobile spirits should represent. The final question, therefore, is whether people in state government are capable of asking for what they need, and whether people in the universities are capable of giving what is needed.

**WHAT IS NEEDED IS A RESTRUCTURING  
OF RELATIONSHIPS**

JACK M. CAMPBELL

I suspect that when this subject was chosen it was done with the basic premises (1) that the state really needs academic help and (2) that the universities really want to provide it. I don't want to take all of my time debating those premises, so I will accept them, although I do it with some degree of hesitancy. My experience at the university, after I had been in state government, convinced me that as presently constituted, most, not all, but most, universities are not structured to provide meaningful assistance to government — state, county, city, or even national. And if they were structured properly, the attitudes of a substantial majority of the faculty members are such that the services they would provide would either not be meaningful or just plain bad. It seems to me that before one can expect the universities, as institutions, to provide substantial assistance to state and local government, the universities must examine themselves and their structures. They must examine their rigid departmentalization; their inability — and occasionally unwillingness — to provide the environment in which inter- and multidisciplinary activities can take place; their reward systems which mitigate against any kind of substantial activity outside the classroom or laboratory; and student participation in outside governmental affairs at the undergraduate as well as the graduate level.

States, on the other hand, also need to do some self-examination and accept their responsibilities for identifying objectives and priorities. They should not expect the universities to do it for them. The states ought to be prepared to frame the questions that they have in a form which is understandable and can form the basis for sound research. The states ought to establish some continuing mechanisms for maintaining meaningful contact with the resources that are available at universities.

I am hopeful that we can begin now to look at these institutional arrangements and to find ways in which we can accommodate to the necessity of the universities maintaining their major roles of teaching and research, but still providing a reasonable forum for the kinds of practical research that are necessary in these days of complicated public responsibility. The primary impression that I received, when I was governor, was that there was something



in these universities that could be helpful, but that somehow I was unable to penetrate it. I was recognized as one who made a major effort to contribute to the development of our universities. I never did have an attitude that was hypercritical of the universities or of the people in them. I then viewed, and I still view, the university as about the only institution in our society that offers substantial hope for improving the quality of life. But, I do believe, that as presently constituted, the universities are not, and in my judgment, can not, make any substantial contribution to the improvement of state and local government. I think we need to break down traditional and conventional ways of considering ourselves in either the university or state government. We need to find new arrangements of various kinds, to experiment with new mechanisms, whereby, somehow, people in government can reach in and at least find those in the academic community who are prepared to and who want to be where the action is and get some help from them. And in this effort university people should not be called upon to sacrifice any of their professional credentials to render such services.

## CONDITIONS TO BE FACED

ROBERT WOOD

If we are serious about the purpose of this conference, then the inevitable result of our discussion is a major restructuring of the academic world. We are not being honest with ourselves, I think, if we believe that the task ahead — the rapid delivery of knowledge directed towards the missions and problems of state government — can come in the way that the university is presently structured. We also are not being honest with ourselves if we believe that we can find our lessons in the university-federal government relationship of the last twenty years, or in the land-grant tradition of higher education.

If one asks why in World War II or why during the Sputnik era the university was able to come to the service of the nation, I think much of the answer lies in the basic set of conditions existing in both instances. So far as political circumstances are concerned, there was an acknowledged crisis; there was a consensus about what had to be done; and there was a great deal of money. On the academic side, there was the “ripe” knowledge of hard sciences — atomic energy, for example; there was a unique potential in high-energy physics that was clear and applicable — a potential to which the best engineering schools across the country could respond. And by and large those academics who did respond to the Department of Defense, to RAND, to ONR, and to NASA were doing what came naturally.

I don't think that set of conditions exists today. We are not at a time when we have a consensus about what our major national or state missions are; we are not at a time when we necessarily feel a crisis in a way that can “turn on” the public; and we are clearly not — as any university president knows — at a time when state government has money to spend. Hence the present relationship between the state and the university has far more constraints and far less clarity of mission than the two other experiences in which the academics ventured into the outside world while preserving what they perceived to be their integrity.

I think the same point can be made in evaluating these haunting efforts to return to the land-grant tradition: to believe that one can do today in urban affairs what one did a hundred years ago in agricultural affairs. The longer I look at our colleges of agriculture — the longer I try to understand how that enormous application of knowledge to the benefit of the general public occurred — I come back again and again to these notions: that the colleges had a clear clientele — the county agent could tell who the farmer was; that they had relatively few disciplines — and those were hardware dis-

ciplines; and that they had a specific objective of productivity. One knew that the business of the research station, of the extension service, of the land-grant college itself, was to reduce manpower required for the farm and to make it available in the urban setting — as rapidly as possible. So today we grapple with the problem of the overly successful colleges of agriculture in which it is now more difficult — at least in my experience — to eliminate a dairy herd than it is to de-emphasize football.

I see the following necessary if we are to move from the “simple, happy world” of the Manhattan Project into the complex, sometimes unhappy world of domestic concerns:

— that the academic world has to prepare itself for multiple-source financing. The university can no longer go to the Department of Defense, or NASA, to ask for a five-year lead time to establish a defense laboratory or build a space center. There is no single agency — in my judgment there is no single government — that has that capability.

— that if it is to respond to problems of domestic research and development, academia has to prepare itself to abandon the boundary constraints of established disciplines. In urban affairs, in welfare affairs, in correctional affairs, we have a mixture of software and hardware problems that do not respond to the ways we have organized our campuses.

— that the academic world has to realize that the time sequence of state government is much shorter than that of the national government. Seniority in state legislatures is not as enduring as it is in the Congress; governors usually come and go faster than presidents; deadlines — because they are more often handed down from on high than established from within — are more important to the state official than to his federal counterpart. Until the academic community recognizes and prepares to deal with these necessities, I don't believe it can really be serious when it listens to a university president making speeches about how a university — today — must consider the state.

These conditions are ones I see necessary to the academic side of the equation. There are other conditions that government must face.

First, government has to frame some specific questions for which they want answers. Simply calling the campus and saying “there's a crisis in our cities” is not an adequate guideline for the waiting professors. There must be a sufficient in-house policy-making capability in the agency or department involved to frame the hypothesis and to set the ground rules. More domestic task forces of eager intellectuals have gone astray from lack of direction than from the imposition of practical constraints. The worst advice any political official can give as he launches a new research and development effort is to say to the academics, “You people decide what is the right thing to do — and leave the politics to me.” The official has — and must realize — the obligation to tell the academy what he *cannot* do — or else everyone's time will be wasted.

But given this need to specify the inquiry, there is a second countervailing obligation that government must face: once the charge is given, the university must be free to determine the ways and means to fulfill it. Too many public agencies believe that it is necessary only to maintain oversight after the research and development contract has been signed to guarantee the result. By requiring progress reports, by funding observers, and by making their constant evaluations, public administrators are indulging themselves in the fantasy that scholarly inquiry is the same as program management. If political or policy demands require fixed timetables and data bases that imperil decisions, the work should be done within the public organization — not without. This principle, born in the Manhattan Project experience of the hard physical sciences, matured in and is equally relevant to the Model Cities evaluations of the much softer behavioral sciences.

Finally, public officers are doomed to failure — and deserve to be — if they use research grants as a “bailout” for the tough policy decisions they should be making for themselves. Study commissions have their purposes; their temporary nature often allows them to define hot issues more precisely and identify options more realistically. But permanent institutions of learning are not fit instruments for resolving sharp controversies — especially where matters of value and judgment outweigh matters of fact.

Two specific dangers are inherent in this “bailout” technique. First, the government agency is simply asking for trouble — for the answer received is likely to reflect the intellectual’s ideological bias, not his knowledge. Departments and agencies with urban programs learned this lesson to their sorrow when they referred renewal and poverty proposals to the experts in the 1960s. Second — and more importantly — the government agency is sloughing off its own responsibility — a responsibility to resolve controversy, not to lengthen it by procrastination and delay. Government evades its duty when it seeks the easy out of saying, “Let’s see what the professors think about this.”

As the experiences of the urban observatories and state advisory boards of science have demonstrated, patterns of university-government relations at the federal, state, and local level are not simple ones. Neither university nor contracting agency can profit much from the experience of years past, and painful adjustments will be necessary if we are to enhance the relations between the two in years ahead. Changes in style and decision making need to be substantial. But — and this I think is vitally important to remember — the academy does not “sell out” to the Establishment in the effort. It may even revolutionize it. And it should be obvious that the relationship emerging from it is better than one in which frustrated intellectuals shout angry epithets at state officials who need to know more before they act. Recognizing the limits of the other, both government and the university must join each other in the search for answers to the questions that confound both.



**A LEGISLATOR'S VIEW OF THE  
STATE UNIVERSITY**

**CHARLES KURFESS**

The following are excerpts from Speaker Kurfess's talk:

... I used to be highly entertained by the state universities in Ohio insisting on commenting all the time about how autonomous they were, and when they spoke about their autonomy, they were referring most specifically to their relationship to the state legislature. I have played the game with them and assured them on every occasion that yes they have autonomy — just as much autonomy as the state legislature wants to give them, and they will have it just as long as the state legislature wants to extend it to them. In some states the universities have their autonomy set forth in the state constitution, and I think then they have it just as long as the people want them to have it. I have often used the analogy that the universities have as much autonomy as the states do sovereignty; and we in the state legislatures still make our speeches about state sovereignty, and the universities are still making their speeches about autonomy.

Several things have happened in Ohio which illustrate the changing nature of the relationship between the universities and state government. The universities used to refer to themselves as state-supported universities. Then, they said that the state legislature really didn't give them that much assistance, and so we are not "state-supported" anymore, we are "state-assisted" universities. A few years ago the president of the state university in my district wanted to drop the word "state" from the name of the university. But things have changed. The universities are now not only acknowledging that "state" is in their name, but they vigorously objected when one of the new technical colleges asked the Board of Regents to change its name to State Technical College. For some reason the word "state" is getting some credibility.

We have to acknowledge that, rightfully or wrongly, some state legislators look at state universities a little bit differently than they do the rest of the state governmental structure. Very honestly, I don't think we are ever convinced that the universities have had to deal with the stringent budgets that we think we have insisted be done by some state departments. Several years ago the legislature was considering three possible levels of university funding, and at that time I asked each of the presidents of the state universities what



difference it would make if we gave them the middle budget or the low budget or the high budget. What programs? What salaries? What would be the difference? I never got a satisfactory answer from any of them, but the answer I remember is: "Mr. Kurfess, you don't have to worry about that; there are so many demands on my campus for new worthwhile programs that I can assure you the money will be well spent." I have worried about it ever since. Now, state universities have got to acknowledge that there is a difference between being a state university and being a private university. I think that we have seen in recent years, and probably presidents have been aware of this more than anyone else, that universities have such varied constituencies — administrators, civil service employees, faculty, and students. But a state university has yet another constituency, and that is the public, and I don't think that the state university satisfies its responsibility to that constituency just by saying that one of its functions is public service. Most legislators still look at a university's role as being primarily, and probably a few look upon it as being exclusively, to teach. And if there is one thing that many legislators are not convinced is worthwhile, it is research. Also, very honestly, most of them don't even know that you profess to be in the field of public service.

There have been some changes in Ohio in the attitudes of some state universities to the legislature and to state government. Perhaps there has been more change on the part of the academicians than on the side of the politicians. A president of a state university says that he spends a lot of his time on the campus reminding the people involved there that it is a *state* university, and he spends a great deal of time reminding those of us in state government that that state university is a *university*. We have to recognize that the university is *not* just another department or branch of government, and that means we should be affording the academic world at least some degree of protection — protection that they need. We need to do this at a time when education generally and higher education in particular are not popular subjects for a politician to be defending to his constituents.

A basic question arises from the discussions during this conference: Are academics really interested in working for politicians? I am not sure that they are. I certainly think that they could be a valuable resource to us, and what they could provide us might be used; we certainly need alternatives before us for the policy judgments we have to make. But as soon as we ask for alternatives, those providing them are running the risk that the alternative they suggest might not be the one chosen. I am inclined to form a very *preliminary* judgment that perhaps more than doing work for us, the role of the university could even better be to train people to work for us after graduation. Now to do that you have got to come and look at our operation and see what we need, and if you would do that it would probably be very beneficial for both of us.

**UNIVERSITIES: IVORY TOWERS  
OR SOCIALLY INVOLVED**

THEODORE J. LOWI

The most worrisome thing about conferences of this sort is the high store set on consensus. There has to be a public position, a product for the benefactor or the press or the legislature. While I recognize the need for consensus in any decision-making body, even in the university, it nevertheless is, or should be, anathema to real academic enterprise. We should espouse dissensus. And that has been far from the case in this carefully constituted conference. In this alone there is an uncomfortable point about the effect of involvement on the intellectual.

Let me dramatize this by flattering the man chosen to be my adversary in debate — although I doubt seriously there will be any debate except perhaps between the two of us on one side against the rest of you. Norton Long is coming out with a new book, *The Unwalled City*, which I have seen in page proof and can promise you it will be a major contribution. It will be a major contribution to urban and metropolitan policy not because it reveals how to build more houses or to clear more garbage but because it is a novel effort to redefine the city in a more meaningful way. It is relevant but not topical. It is an act of an intellectual. It will shape policy without itself being policy.

Of this book I will have many questions in the coming years. But here I have only one set of questions, and they are questions we can ponder without having read the book: Could such a book have been written by a civil servant? Could even Norton Long as a civil servant have written it? Could any intellectually oriented civil servant have written it? More to the point, could any service-oriented academic take a few minutes each evening and write such a book? Let us be modest and say that it is highly unlikely. This will operate as something of a text for what is already beginning to sound like a sermon.

To characterize my own position, rather than Professor Long's, let me draw on still another participant, Senator Brown, who at one point referred to me as the devil's advocate. I deny that. I insist that if anything I am the devil. My position on state university-state government relationships is taken strictly on the basis of a well-considered and sincerely held definition of the

nature of the university and its strengths and weaknesses. It is stated in outrageous form to encourage disagreement, but not purely for that purpose.

To propose it once again: I think the whole point of this conference is wrong, and I hope my argument will at least lead some to reevaluation. Many, I fear, have fallen into a position on university service because service sounds like something good — like “right to work” used to sound to the innocent. To others the espousal of university service is based on a calculation that it is the only realistic political position the university can afford to take. Others agree with that but insist still further that we ought to serve. With all positions I want to contend that university service in any form is problematic — that is, it requires justification. Let me try to identify some of the issues.

Rather than begin such a conference with the question of how to improve university–state government relations, the prior question should have been: Is it desirable for there to be any relations at all? There are obviously going to be relations. State governments and universities live on the same earth and are thrown together. But there is no reason to move directly from necessity to virtue. The move should be carefully considered, and the consideration should be guided by well-examined criteria. Moreover, these criteria should be drawn from definitions and ideals; they should guide reality, not be guided by reality.

This consideration can best be undertaken by first reviewing a little of the background of public higher education in the United States. In a recently completed dissertation, “The Politics of Higher Education in the State of Illinois: A State Policy Study,” Allan Rosenbaum provides a history of the revolution in higher education in Illinois during the decade beginning in the late 1950s. As some of you know, during that decade Illinois moved from a rank in the upper forties among states to second in per capita expenditures for higher education. During that same period Illinois hardly made any gain at all in ranking of general state per capita expenditure or in per capita expenditure for secondary education.

The impression this gives is that the building of higher education was largely in response to aggregate demand for education, not in direct response to legislator demand for staff and other services, and not even directly in response to capitalist demands for certain skills. The baby boom — anticipation of it; the G.I. Bill — the presence of it during two postwars; the universalization of claims to higher education — transformed even by public officials themselves into a universal *right*; and Sputnik — a dawning, though false, of the techno-educational gap. These are the pressures and incentives back of the educational revolution of the 1960s. It was consonant with national pride, consonant with citizen demand, and it was consonant with industrial need. It was economically sound to invest a few billions in more education. So, it was done.

In comparison to this, the demands on the universities for specific services pale into insignificance. To put this in the terms being used during this conference, political success measured in dollar outputs for education was attributable to mass support, not to strategies of the builders of departments, institutes, or programs. In assuming that service is politically realistic, therefore proper, you are creating a self-serving myth. "Close relationships" don't hurt those who develop them, but as a general political strategy for the university, they do not help as much as they have been assumed to help. Services — and political strategies involved in figuring out what services will please various appropriations committee members — do help explain some *intra*-system developments. For example, Michigan State competes with the University of Michigan by schools of apple polishing and trailer building. But the total Michigan commitment is not commensurate to that nonsense. Such *intra*-system antics explain only why some individuals are grander than others, not why Michigan invests so much in higher education.

My favorite example of this involves a political scientist friend who was in the early 1960s a vice-chancellor of the new University of California at Irvine. He did a tour of major Eastern campuses looking for a mission for Irvine, and one of his visits took him to Cornell to look into and test out a plan to build a graduate school of administration, one that would combine all fields of public and business administration into one large profession. Several of us cooperated. It sounded exciting; building a whole new university was something like doing God's work in medieval times. It was only years later, after the California system had grown up, that realization hit. Our friend was trying to find a proper type casting for Irvine, to give it some way of differentiating itself from the other new university campuses.

This is not the time to question the virtue of his effort. Nor is it the time to question his motives. The main point of the story for this argument can be put most efficiently with the rhetorical question: How much did our hero's strategy have to do with the decisions by the state of California to invest billions in the greatest single system higher education had ever known — up to that time?

Indications are that the same general market relationship obtained in the late nineteenth century during the original building of the state university system in the United States. The Midwest in particular threw a high proportion of its gross revenues into the construction of such schools as Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Ohio State. And all were motivated first and foremost by egalitarian ideals, not by a certain service the university might perform eventually for a legislator, a party, or an influential interest group. Naturally this growth did not occur contrary to prevailing interests. But the relationship was nevertheless one of generalized need for analytic capacity, mechanical skills, and bureaucratic tolerance, not for patentable products or

five-legged dogs from university laboratories. In fact there was little appreciation of the practical utility and service potential of any of the basic university-based sciences, including medicine, at that time.

Granted, a goodly proportion of the resource base of the original system of higher education was the land-grant policy of the federal government, and back of that the lust of agricultural and commercial interests for practical, mechanical arts, etc. But even so, the systematic service relationships, expressed in institutes, state-directed university labs, experiment stations, breeding clinics, and the like, were minor in comparison to the general growth of capital investment in education and the general spread of general education curricula. In 1869, Cornell, in its fourth year of operation, was simultaneously attacked for debasing classical studies and investigated by state land-grant authorities for neglecting A. & M. studies. Illinois Industrial University very early became the University of Illinois, in name and mission. A. & M. of Ohio became Ohio State even while still on the drawing board. Enrollment in straight aggie courses at Vermont and at Wisconsin declined precipitously soon after establishment. As Oscar Handlin put it, despite all the incentive provided by the Morrill Act of 1862, schools built on those principles felt "the pressure to change their purposes almost as soon as they opened. Their students did not aspire to careers as farmers or mechanics, nor were their faculties content to teach the skills of field or shop."

Service — especially the master-servant relationship — between university and state government, while important, was more a reflection than a cause, more a parasitical than a generative aspect of university success. Specific instances of service made Dean X or Professor Y, Mr. Big, but that's about it. And even the great contributions of agricultural schools, veterinary schools, medical schools, and science labs to the quality of life will upon inspection turn out most often to have been the result of the free and independent spirit of inquiry rather than the result of corporate contracts to produce a particular innovation. The real trouble with innovation is that it is nearly impossible to contract for it, plan for it, demand it as a condition for support. The most the state can really hope for when it contracts for a specific service is palliatives, planned delays, or legitimizing rituals, or all of these. I don't call this service. I call it servility.

Thus in the long term, for the university at large, the service route is not even the most politically realistic. Granted it is not unrealistic, but an even more realistic route may nevertheless be to base university politics on the foundation of its own history: so far, a highly technological, capitalistic, rationality-based society has needed the university as much as the university has needed social support. Why bargain, as a supplicant, from a position of weakness? Aggregate demand for universities explains universities; and if that demand ever subsides, then there is nothing to save the universities any-



way. Public higher education grew honestly, by and large. If it is to decline, let it decline honestly too.

But if the aggregate demand hypothesis is insufficient to force a reexamination of the major premise of this conference, there is still another problem: What precise forms are we to allow this improved relationship to take? What is an acceptable definition of service which universities ought to encourage, and for which professors ought promotion be given in lieu of writing and teaching? And, who are the acceptable clientele in the so-called community which is to receive all this service? Is any limit at all to be put on the concept of service, who gets it, when, and where? Will contracts for classified research continue to count? Will we insist on having an institute for insurgents and revolutionists for every institute for regular civil servants? Will service contributions to the community count when the academic renderer has already been rewarded by monetary remuneration by his client? Shall the university vote on each proposed service contract, and on each issue raised here? Shall there be a vice-president for research to review each professor's activities to see if they are in line with university service policy? Or shall service count only when it is rendered in accordance with the preferences or policies of the state government or the client agency? Shall there be two university systems, one for Democrats and one for Republicans, in two-party states?

All of this points to the central issue. To decide anything involving corporate relationships with the outside world, the university has to have guiding principles of some sort, and, even at the risk of sounding preachy, those principles are going to have to found themselves ultimately upon some definition of the role and mission of the university. This has not been raised at the conference; here you have operated as though everyone already knows the answer and agrees. To complicate the situation still further, not every university and every university system will have or must have the same set of principles; but each will have to have some, if any reasonable, just, and long range solution is going to be worked out.

A whole conference on just such questions is called for, and I will not presume to provide one-sentence answers. Instead I will leave it as the neglected item on your agenda and move on to a few examples of what a university can do that is consistent with almost any academic, educational definition of mission that some future conference might develop. That is to say, I do think there is a positive position the public university can take to the community and to the real problem of rolling with the political punches without yielding to all the hackneyed realisms of the service orientation.

The first thing the university could do — ought to do — would be to extend its educational mission outward and downward into the community. The free university, the open university, the university-without-walls is a definite possibility, especially now with the bottom dropping out of TV trans-



mission costs. I see all too little experimentation in this direction — and most of it seems to be done by nonuniversity companies in the United States or Great Britain. One fascinating aspect of this is how to redefine and extend the concept of publishing to mean something more than the 8 x 11 printed page? How can we coordinate lectures, books, visual aids, and so on, in a real effort to extend the university over into the community rather than to pull everyone in on us? How can we redesign our own disciplines to draw the best analytic power out of them for the benefit of the more casual members of the community? We in political science are most remiss because politics is third in entertainment value to sex and night baseball, and politics is a key device by which a higher consciousness can be brought to the poorly educated but anxiety-ridden citizen in a world of change. Governments exist to make citizens more comfortable, and if government officials cannot hack it, turn them out. Surely universities do not exist for the same thing and should not be tied to the same fate. To stress the need for consciousness and the university's mission in spreading it is also to undertake an initial definition of the nature of the university's purpose: instilling *discomfort*. And if this generates, as it should, more demands on government, more criticism of government, more movements to turn the rascals out, then surely it can also be said initially that the principle of the university, once we define it, is likely to be the opposite of the principle of good government.

There are three other examples of university service that will prove to be consistent with almost any definition of the university we eventually come up with. In fact these examples might facilitate the effort to define the university. All three of these come under the rubric of a TVA concept, a good concept even if TVA itself is a poor example of its successful usage. The approach comes from a procedural principle about universities that can be enunciated without waiting for an agreeable substantive definition to be developed. The principle simply is that a university ought first to exhaust all the service it can render by using its *independence* before it turns to services that might require compromising that independence. TVA was supposed to mean regulation of society by independent *yardstick*, by providing essential resources or services at a price (in that case) against which to determine what a reasonable price should be among all the private producers of the same resources or services. The following three examples are consistent with that notion of service, and I offer them in hopes they might lead back into a better definition of the essential university.

1. The first of these services is *regulating claims to expertise*. A university need not provide experts from its own faculty or provide curricula so specialized as to turn out instant experts. The university can provide experts on experts. For this we have talent, widely recognized talent, by virtue of our own lack of direct involvement. Without direct involvement there can be

trust. We give the Ph.D.'s. Is it not proper to go on judging people who claim to be experts?

Society is in desperate need of this kind of service. *Inventing* civil service examinations, rather than administering them or taking them, should be a university service. Rating practitioners of medicine and law could also be a service to work toward, and the beneficial effects would be far greater than contriving to feed more breakfasts to the needy or directly planning more hospital delivery. Revising the criteria of expertise, including investigation and criticism of established licensing procedures, would also be a great service; it is patently consistent with almost any conception of the university.

2. Another, and related, essential service consistent with the essential university is *regulating claims to evidentiary authority*. Even some of the most duly constituted experts are for rent. We desperately need a TVA to evaluate some of the claims made and methods used when "laboratories" claim health findings; when appraisers claim objectivity and "market value" when setting land values, especially for eminent domain; when psychiatrists claim presence (or absence) of sufficient moral responsibility; when a United States testing company clears a cigarette (or damns one). This is more fundamental than Nader, but we should all be ashamed of ourselves that Nader does some of this and in the process attracts some of the best talent, talent which should be in universities doing some of the same things on a more fundamental basis.

3. The third case of service is to me more fascinating because it is closer to a political science expertise. This is *regulating claims to public opinion support*. As we in mass society grow further and further away from our audiences, we have greater and greater need for indirect measurements to replace attendance, applause, and other more intimate expressions of approval and disapproval. The problem of measuring mass phenomena is one of the most significant of our day, for economics and for politics.

I call this the Carol Channing Syndrome, after a minor snag in her career. A few years ago, Channing did a network TV special, and it probably could have led to a regular TV variety or sit-com show for her. On her behalf, and probably without her knowledge, certain supporters became a bit overzealous. For a scant few thousand dollars they purchased the services of a former employee of the Neilson rating organization, who provided the Channing people with the mailing list of the Neilson poll. As you know, this poll provides the survey estimates of how many millions of viewers are watching *Bonanza* or its rivals at 9:00 Sunday night, and so on. The typical sample for such surveys is never over 2,500 respondents — chosen randomly of course. Only a few switches, plus a few merely alerted to the existence of the Channing show, and a distortion involving five to twenty million viewers can be reported. By all rights of pure talent, Miss Channing deserves her own show

if she wants one; but not this way. And perhaps she failed to get it because of the discovery of the industrial sabotage.

A national center, such as Chicago's National Opinion Research Center, set up as a public opinion utility, could easily monitor Neilson and other sources of claims to public support. And the nice thing about this method is that it could be effective without infringing on the extremely sensitive First Amendment rights of the polling and other research organizations and users. Credibility means everything in these cases — one must want to believe that any random sample of 2,500 can accurately estimate 250 million opinions or behaviors — and only occasional cross-comparisons could affect the consciences of pollsters and others in this area.

Its value to a better political system is perhaps greater. Polsby's study over a decade ago, "Towards an Explanation of McCarthyism," concludes, *inter alia*, that if the real basis of Joseph McCarthy's strength had been studied and widely disseminated, there might never have been enough fear to deserve a name at all. Polsby merely reanalyzed existing poll and electoral data and revealed that McCarthy drew overwhelmingly on Republican party regulars, not on style panic, on an anticommunist stratum, or any other universalized anxiety. Other claims have affected convention delegates, the coverage decisions of TV news executives, and, woefully, the commitments of big campaign donors; all of these can work as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Independent polling by disinterested university organizations, using only the best and most expensive sampling and interviewing techniques, can restrain fly-by-night outfits, charlatans, and corner-cutters. Good data might someday even stop a war, in case a president, not yet born of course, could be influenced in some foreign policy decision by bad feedback concerning popular feelings.

All of this should emphasize the special vulnerability of social science to any service concept. Our expertise is not good enough to provide a "one best" approach to anything; yet any effort at "policy analysis" can legitimize at least a "better way" laid claim to by one partisan group or another. We end up, despite ourselves, making power easier to use when our role as intellectuals and educators and searchers after truth should be, if anything, the opposite.

Unfortunately it is impossible to go further into the special problem of service in policy formulation without first going more fully into the question I explicitly avoided at the outset — defining the true university and its special strengths and weaknesses. In a recent book Hans Morgenthau quotes from some obscure Quaker source, "Speak truth to power." Indeed this is a vital service in itself, the most essential service. Any government worthy of respect would demand that service and would not feel itself well-served by its universities without that service. How can we cultivate that capacity,

difficult under any conditions, unless we keep ourselves separated from the process?

Until there is a working definition of the university, and a practical mission true to that definition, what rule of thumb can there be to help promote service through independence? My preference would be to say no to anything other than the specific examples provided here: monitoring claims to knowledge, science, expertise, and popularity. If there is a working definition broader than those examples — including them but also guiding “improved relations” on a broader front until a really good definition is developed — it might possibly be this: problem *finding*, not problem *solving*. Any problem in the public sphere already well enough defined to be housed in a program with an agency, even if being poorly carried out, is already too well defined for the involvement of the academic. Any problem so amorphous that no bureaucracy exists for it, so amorphous that it is little more than a sense of malaise, is a problem not yet found. It is a problem appropriate for academic attention. And this may be a meeting ground for all of us here.



**UNIVERSITIES: IVORY TOWERS  
OR SOCIALLY INVOLVED**

NORTON E. LONG

Since the time of Robert Maynard Hutchins and Dr. Abram Flexner, it has been fashionable in elite university circles to deplore the practical thrust of the land-grant tradition in American higher education. Hutchins's view stemmed from an Aristotelian conception of knowledge mediated through a romantic medievalism. It took form in the doctrine of knowledge as being properly pursued for its own sake with a snobbish contempt for the practical as banal and unbecoming a gentleman. This divorce between knowledge and practice made good sense for an educator whose conception of knowledge was metaphysical. Metaphysical truth has the advantage of being untestable in practice. It is accordingly a luxury good that only clerics and gentlemen can afford. But it does have in its favor the capacity as a status symbol, and one of presumed magical power, to awe the ignorant laity and to endow their social superiors with an educationally warranted seal of legitimacy.

While Hutchins's view represents the older scholastic tradition of priestly and genteel learning, Flexner's *Universities American and European*, a work of immense influence, is far more enamored of the German university and the scientific discipline of the Ph.D. Though Flexner shows respect for the classics and liberal education, his ivory tower is that of the laboratory rather than the cloister or the gentleman's club of polite learning. Where Oxford and Cambridge were the playpens of the brats of the aristocracy, Flexner's ideal was the middle class Germanic devotion to science for science's sake. At first sight an education designed to provide clerics and gentlemen with polite learning and metaphysical truth might seem poles apart from the German university with its orientation to the laboratory and experimental science. Yet the two ideals, those of Oxford and Cambridge and that of the German university, have combined to discredit our land-grant tradition, and in doing so to impoverish American higher education, to alienate its practice from the service of the people who support it, and to turn it into a species of conspicuous consumption of high and growing cost and low and declining utility.

The land-grant tradition saw no inconsistency in a higher education that combined a liberal education with a practical concern with the application of knowledge to the serious, if mundane, concerns of those whose taxes made



the academic enterprise possible. In a country whose major industry was agriculture and whose population was overwhelmingly rural, the college of agriculture and the mechanic arts achieved a brilliant success, playing a major part in making American agriculture the most productive in the world. This accomplishment was a major factor in making possible our rapid industrialization and urbanization. The application of the natural sciences to the problems of agriculture did not stultify the advance of pure science at these institutions. In fact if anything, a fruitful union of theory with the test of practice helped the enterprise. Social sciences were also for a time beneficially stimulated by being addressed to practical real life problems. As late as the thirties and the New Deal, the United States Department of Agriculture, with its own graduate school, was the premier scientific department in the government. When Harvard formed its Littauer School of Public Administration, the leading exemplars of the application of scientific knowledge to the solution of public problems were in that department.

The promising early nexus of the pursuit of knowledge and its practical application embodied in the land-grant tradition was blighted by the emergence to power of the American Farm Bureau Federation. This narrowly selfish organization, with its allies in Congress and the states, stifled the broadly responsible social science research and narrowed even the applied work in natural science to short run profit considerations. The agricultural colleges of the state universities, on the cutting edge of society in the thirties, have decayed into a moribund state of decadence in the seventies. Their history has a lesson and a warning for all those who see the universities' proper role as involved rather than ivory tower.

But it would be wrong to say that the blighting of the agricultural colleges by the Farm Bureau Federation occasioned the decline of the land-grant tradition. This decline was due far more to the snobbery of a middle class democracy, socially on the make. The education of Oxford and Cambridge, designed for the clergy and the gentry, was carried over from England to Harvard, Yale, and the Ivy League. The Ivy League became the pinnacle of genteel respectability and, like the Brooks Brothers suit, the emblem of fashion and socially approved taste. While the University of Chicago and Johns Hopkins (the latter never producing a successful college) were originally designed on the German model approved by Flexner, these too became elitist institutions as imbued with a snobbish disdain for the practical as their Ivy League colleagues. The two models coalesced, with the Oxford-Cambridge liberal arts curriculum the approved fashion for the undergraduate college, and the German university providing the ideal type for the graduate school. But the tension between the Oxford-Cambridge ideal of the liberal education of a Christian and a gentleman and the specialism of the science-oriented graduate school has been endemic.

It has shown itself in the constant conflict over the appropriate places of teaching and research in the universities' scheme of values and it has shown itself in the tendency of the graduate school and the interests of the faculty and its research to dominate the undergraduate college through majors and concentrations. Thus, the prestige of the graduate school has tended to overshadow the liberal values of the college, a fact Hutchins but not Flexner deplored.

The tendency of the graduate school to dominate the university resulted largely from the enormous prestige of science. Science took the place of religion as the queen of the university and theology was banished into outer darkness. Liberal arts retained a place for the less gifted and as a means of giving a polite polish and some conventional ethical indoctrination to the mass of the students. But liberal arts were hard pressed to defend their importance in an academic world in which knowledge, truth, and science had become almost synonymous and, perhaps even more important, where science was seen as a beneficent source of man's burgeoning power over nature. The gap between the ordinary man's understanding and the, to him, arcane and awesome mysteries of science produced an uncomprehending reverence well nigh as servile as that of a medieval peasant before the ghostly hierarchy of that time. Scientists, though knowing better, have been all too ready to step into the place vacated by priests and not only pontificate but constitute themselves as new lords of creation, while proclaiming their humble service of a saving truth. Perhaps this is unjust. Many made no claim that knowledge, however defined, pursued for its own sake, would beneficently serve mankind.

World War II provided both new miracles and disasters of science and added to them a conviction of the supreme efficacy of education as an avenue of upward mobility. Many a dog face returned to advise his brother to get himself a college education and serve as an officer. The G.I. provisions for education opened the way to the mass production of college diplomas. What the twenties had witnessed with the high school was now coming to the college. How could there be too much of a good thing? Economists, bemused by a sustained postwar prosperity far beyond what might readily be attributed to our investment in physical capital, heralded a new discovery, the investment in education, as a sovereign means for promoting economic growth. Only belatedly have we begun to question whether what we had been producing was indeed a beneficial capital investment, or rather a wasteful luxury good and even a counterproductive patent medicine.

Skepticism first arose in the secondary schools as we discovered with blacks and then with others that years of education measured no certain progress toward any desirable goal of student competence. Indeed, we found to our dismay that students might decline in IQ through the bruising experience of a dysfunctional education. Doubts about the efficacy of secondary and ele-

mentary education have spread to the more prestigious level of the college. Associate Dean Ivar Berg of Columbia's School of Business Administration, in a pioneering book, *Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery*, has cast considerable doubt on the current conventional wisdom of the economist. His findings show that there is little correlation between college education and the requirements of the job. Indeed, in many cases the college education predicts poor results. The college education requirement seems largely to have been a cop-out of personnel departments who did not, or could not, define the requirements of the jobs and careers for which they were to recruit. College became a surrogate for their incompetence. It serves much as the capacity to write poetry for the Chinese mandarin or the ability in the classical languages for the British administrative class. In these latter cases the elitist nature of the requirement is clear. What is sought is not a test of cognitive competence to perform a function but of elite stigmata, the trademark of a class or caste.

The education of a gentleman, devised with little relevance to other than ornamental value, was not in jeopardy as long as it was confined to a chosen, happy few. What has overtaken it is a horrid fate — its mass production — and the one thing even the putatively affluent society of Kenneth Galbraith may not be able to afford is the mass production of gentlemen. The mass production of a social type whose education and whose educators pride themselves on an aristocratic and principled disdain for the useful is too heavy a load for the underlying population. At some point, at least in a halfway intelligent democratic society, there will be a taxpayers revolt, and even the supporters of private institutions may lose their enthusiasm for these parochial schools.

That such a revolt is underway seems now beyond question. Political figures, like so many Henry VIII's, are calling for a secularization of the well-heeled clerics of academia and are sending them forth to see if they can earn an honest living rather than a soft one at others' expense. This revolt has been hastened by the New Left students and their faculty allies. When students proclaim that they have nothing to learn, the university nothing worthwhile to teach, and their academic mentors agree, the tax burdened peasants are perhaps not to be blamed when they question the enormous cost of an enterprise whose worthlessness is proclaimed by its principal beneficiaries. Their skepticism becomes even more understandable when you add to campus revolt the growing disenchantment with the beneficence of natural science, whose wonders in the atom bomb and the deterioration of the environment give increasing cause for fear and disillusion. An elitist self-centered academia, bemused by the twin traditions of genteel snobbery and science for science's sake, has lost a becoming sense of responsibility and social purpose and has threatened to become a self-serving and destructive establishment.

Education, and not just secondary and elementary education, is too costly a matter to be education for education's sake — a doctrine which in practice means education for the sake of the educators rather than for those educated and for those who pick up the tab. It is idle to suppose that anything costing as much as education, and this applies to the universities as well, can go on in the absence of accountability without suffering the fate of the medieval clergy. The purity of the academy's holiness has not the apparent saving grace to render it immune from a vulgar demand that its worth be made more demonstrably manifest than its self-certification alone. The danger of an establishment that avows no external test is that it becomes an intolerable self-serving mutual admiration society. The claim was that science, by its internal discipline, could do without the external test of usefulness. The elaboration of the scientific paradigm, the theoretically important, provided a discipline which, while not pointed directly to the useful, was supposed to be ultimately fruitful socially as well as scientifically. The pursuit of pure science was indeed so socially important that it needed to be protected at almost all costs from its perversion by too great concern with the needs of current practice. Whatever may have been the case with the genteel arguments of snobbery, the argument for the need for protection of pure science had merit. But it was largely forgotten that the argument for pure science itself stemmed from a hopefully reasoned conviction that pure science was ultimately and supremely useful to society. No scientist has ever argued that all scientifically undertaken inquiries are of equal value. How to choose? What is scientific pickle packing to use Professor Lowi's phrase? The useful need not be trivial, the purely scientific may well be trivial. Unless scientists are to be a new caste of priests, they too must account for the reasonable use of society's scarce resources.

The argument that education's costs have grown too high for it to remain the self-indulged luxury good of academics is powerful on the grounds of expediency. But there is a more powerful argument that cuts to the university's acknowledged function, the pursuit of knowledge. It can be maintained that the universities' disconnection from the world of practice is a severe disservice to the cause of advancing tested and testable knowledge as opposed to the accumulation of metaphysical speculation and empty affective rhetoric. The esthetic econometric games of current economics are an escape from the scientific task of seeking explanatory theories giving grip on the phenomena. The same goes for the mindless institutionalism and endless statistical manipulation and attitudinal questionnaires of political science whose only purpose is journal articles and whose only editing device is the editorial confreres of the journals. The social sciences would clearly gain from the engagement of their energies in the attempt to devise explanatory theories for the phenomena of the human condition we might seek to modify and improve. While the

case of the natural sciences might seem different, its need for a human orientation to give purpose and direction is as great. The bored repetition of the paradigms of modern physics coexists with a restless search for a new significance that these no longer yield. The natural scientist well knows that the old formulae may be used to produce new but trivial truths, like grains of sand on an anthill without purpose. Purpose can come only through the purposes of men. Man is indeed the measure of all things, and our need is to make that measure, evaluation, as informed and responsible as possible.

It is with some such background as this that we need to approach the relationship of the universities to the states. They need each other, yet they fear and need to fear each other. The universities should seek to serve the people of the state not as the public opinion polls would have them but in a Burkean manner that acknowledges an ultimate responsibility and one that needs dialogue and ultimate power in the people. The universities must avoid like the plague the current attempt of federal, state, and local governments to use them for testimonial advertising and corrupt their staffs. This is difficult to do. Academics are a venal lot, and few governments appreciate or want honest staff work, honest evaluation, or the discomfort of a relevant score card. Nevertheless, this is what we have to work to produce. The social scientist who is worth his salt will need to become involved since in no other way can he observe, measure, and conceptualize the phenomena of his concern and develop the explanatory theories a meaningful science requires. These explanatory theories can only be tested as they are applied to the world of practice, and without this application the social scientist is in danger of bemusing himself with metaphysical and literary speculations consoled by the plaudits of a mutual admiration society of academic confreres. His greatest loss will be in turning his back on the only available route to knowledge, and his greatest danger will be the day of reckoning when a restive public discovers that the academic kings wear no clothes.

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