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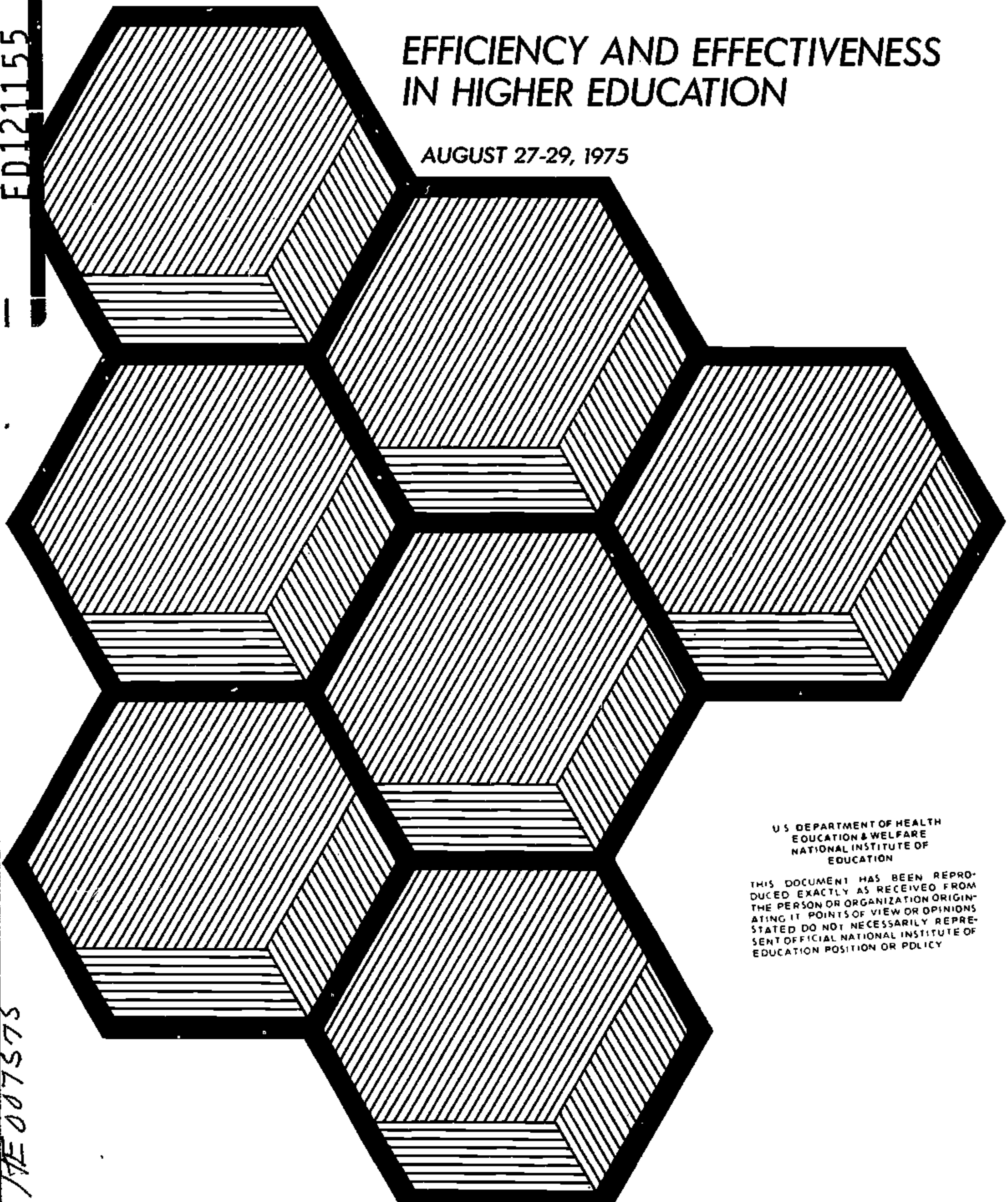
ABSTRACT

Legislators are increasing their efforts to insure that appropriations are used prudently and productively. State systems of higher education have not escaped this scrutiny. To be effective, such legislative oversight depends upon clear articulation by state-supported activities of its goals and functions. Nevertheless, like other service industries, higher education must cope with cost increases that often are higher than those of the general economy. These conditions and related developments were discussed in airing the overall theme, "Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education." Discussed were: (1) the issues in recounciling the time-honored commitment of states to institutional autonomy with mounting demands for accountability from the public and others who share responsibility as guardians of higher education; (2) the intricacies and limitations of evaluating faculty; (3) whether faculty workloads should be prescribed; (4) the prospects and worth of academic exploration; and (5) managing fiscal resources in higher education during the present period of rising costs. (Author/KE)

PROCEEDINGS OF 24th SREB LEGISLATIVE WORK CONFERENCE

EFFICIENCY AND EFFECTIVENESS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

AUGUST 27-29, 1975



SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD

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BROADWATER BEACH HOTEL
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FOREWORD

With many states facing revenue shortfalls at the same time that general inflation and rising energy costs are eroding state agency budgets, legislators are increasing their efforts to insure that appropriations are used prudently and productively. State systems of higher education have not escaped this scrutiny.

To be effective, such legislative oversight depends upon clear articulation by each state-supported activity of its goals and functions. Although the accent is now on productivity, higher education continues to serve all its major responsibilities—teaching, research and public service. Nevertheless, like other service industries, higher education must cope with cost increases which often are higher than those of the general economy.

These conditions and related developments were discussed in airing the overall theme, "Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education," at the 24th SREB Legislative Work Conference, the annual forum for Southern legislators to consider problems, issues and potential for higher education in the region. Held in Biloxi, Mississippi, August 27-29, 1975, the meeting began with a review of current legislative concerns about higher education by Senator Frederick T. Gray of Virginia, chairman of the SREB Legislative Advisory Council.

President Otis A. Singletary of the University of Kentucky then spoke of issues in reconciling the time-honored commitment of states to institutional autonomy with mounting demands for accountability from the public and others who share responsibility as guardians of higher education.

The quality of faculty performance—in the classroom and the laboratory, in advisement and service—is the central factor in judging the excellence of any campus. A recent SREB study of faculty evaluation systems in use at Southern colleges and universities reveals a pattern of many approaches, which are tailored essentially to the missions of each institution. The intricacies and limitations of evaluating faculty were examined by Professor Neill Megaw of the University of Texas, Austin.

The workload of faculty has interested legislatures in several SREB states: one mandated a recently completed statewide study of the average number of hours faculty spend per week on their duties, and another passed legislation prescribing a 12-hour per week teaching load. The question of whether faculty workload should be prescribed served as the focus of a panel composed of Professor Howard J. Brinkley of the University of Maryland, College Park and two legislators who are also faculty members: Representative Richard S. Hodes of Florida and Delegate Frank B. Pesci of Maryland.

The South has made great strides since World War II in building up basic research capabilities in its major universities, but the value of university research requires demonstration, especially in times of shrinking public budgets. A distinguished scientist, Professor Eugene P. Odum of the University of Georgia, provided a statement on the prospects and worth of academic exploration.

The conference concluded with a discussion on managing fiscal resources in higher education during the present period of rising costs. Earl F. Cheit, senior fellow with the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, provided a framework for understanding the complexities of the problem, and Jack C. Blanton, vice president for business affairs and treasurer of the University of Kentucky, gave his reactions to Dr. Cheit's analysis.

It is our hope that this account of the conference will aid in clarifying some of the issues ahead for higher education in this region.

Winfred L. Godwin,
President

A CLOSER LOOK AT LEGISLATIVE CONCERNS ABOUT HIGHER EDUCATION

Frederick T. Gray*

It is with great pleasure that I welcome all of you to the 24th Legislative Work Conference. The first Legislative Work Conference of SREB was held in September of 1952 as a step toward integrating the Southern Regional Education Board into the structure of the member states. The chief function of the conference was then, and is now, to serve as a forum for Southern legislative leaders to consider problems, issues and the potential for higher education in the region.

The conference is credited with having had a healthy influence on legislative understanding and support of higher education, because at these conferences educational leaders and legislators have been willing to share with each other their experiences, concerns, and views on important issues in higher education. I regard these conferences—and my first one was in 1961—as the greatest resource I have had insofar as legislation in the field of higher education is concerned, and I hope that those of you who are attending for one of the first times will derive as much benefit as I have over the years.

We have chosen as our theme for this year, "Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education." Because this topic is extremely important to me—as I am sure it is to you—I want to make some observations regarding what I see as legislative concerns in higher education. To provide some historical perspective to my remarks, I quote from a recent article by Jerry Miller, former SREB staff member, and currently professor of higher education at the Center for the Study of Higher Education at the University of Michigan. Dr. Miller writes:

> In the beginning, there were individual states and in each of them something similar to the following occurred:
>
> On the first day there were established a very limited number of colleges, usually including a "state university," for the purpose of providing education for the people, and that was good;
>
> On the second day, there were established a number of private denominational colleges to serve special groups within a pluralistic society, and that was good;
>
> On the third day, there was established an agricultural college to educate and serve farmers and others, and that was good;
>
> On the fourth day, there were established state teachers colleges distributed throughout the state so as to be geographically convenient to prospective teachers, and that was good;
>
> On the fifth day, there was established a multitude of community junior colleges throughout the length and breadth of the state to provide education within commuting distance of every citizen, and that was good;
>
> On the sixth day, the colleges and universities all grew in size, their functions diversified and sometimes overlapped, and it was like the Tower of Babel. The governor proposed to the legislature the establishment of a state higher education agency, and the proposal passed the house but was bottled up in a senate committee. In the waning hours of the sixth day, another piece of legislation establishing a state higher educational agency passed both houses and was signed by the governor, and they all went home so that on the seventh day they could rest.

But we cannot rest. Because higher education has become so large and complex, because it is requesting and receiving an increasing amount of the tax dollar, and because of its importance to the individual, the state and society, legislators feel more and more responsible for higher education in their respective states. And because all government is demanding more and more of the resources of the citizens, they, in turn, are demanding of their legislators an increased requirement of accountability from the institutions of higher learning.

Higher Education Now Competes for Scarce Public Resources

The fact that these are difficult times for both higher education and state legislatures needs very little elaboration. Institutions of higher education have gone through a period of dramatic growth. One would have to be extremaly naive to assume that such growth in such a short period of time has been accomplished with maximum efficiency. Add to those "built-in" problems the fact that our institutions now are facing problems of stable or declining enrollments, costs which are increasing at a faster rate than income, and increasing demands for greater diversity in the types

**Senator Gray, a former Attorney General of Virginia, was 1975 Chairman of the SREB Legislative Advisory Council.*

of academic opportunities and programs offered and the shape of the problem begins to emerge.

Institutions are being called on to manage their resources more efficiently and at the same time they want, understandably, to conduct the educational processes more effectively. On the other hand, as legislators, we are constantly reminded that there are other important social needs that must be supported by state tax dollars and in many areas strong argument can be made that the needs are more urgent and the equity for public aid more appealing. Higher education is competing for scarce resources with such worthy causes as mental health, penal reform, crime prevention, environmental protection, and health care delivery. No longer does higher education stand alone in the forefront of public favor—other siren songs have surpassed it on the hit parade.

One of the major concerns I have as a legislator, one of the questions I am constantly asking myself, is whether we are going about the job of insuring effectiveness and efficiency in higher education in the right way. Many of us feel more comfortable evaluating institutional efficiency than we do in assessing educational effectiveness. Looking back at my college days, I recall the most memorable experiences that I had as being more effective than they were efficient.

As we seek efficiency from our educational institutions, I am concerned about the efficiency of the task we legislators are about. Are the legislative committee aides duplicating the research efforts of other state agencies responsible for various aspects of higher education? Isn't there some better way of coordinating the federal and state concerns regarding the conduct of higher education? And I would suggest, there must be. Are the demands for management information from the institutions unduly inhibiting the planning process?

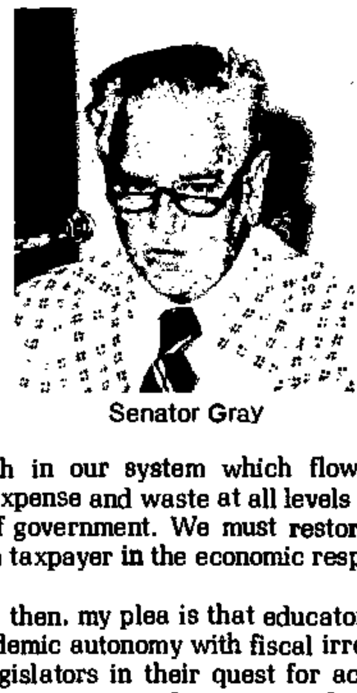
I believe most legislators are skeptical of some of the distress signals of educators. For example, how many legislators would not rebut at least in part the following quotation from David Matthews, former president of the University of Alabama and recently appointed secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare:

> The body of higher education is bound in a Lilliputien nightmare of forms and formulas. The constraints emanate from accrediting agencies, federal bureaucracies, and state boards. Their effects are the same: a diminishing of able leadership on the campuses, a loss of institutional autonomy, and a serious threat to diversity, creativity, and reform. Most seriously, the injection of more regulations may even work against the accountability it seeks to foster, because it so dangerously diffuses responsibility.

The secretary's statement raises an issue which demands clarification in these changing times, that is, the relationship between institutional autonomy and accountability. To what extent are current state and federal demands for accountability interfering with the autonomy of the educational institution? To what extent is institutional autonomy interfering with the effectiveness of all of the higher education offered in the state? Pressures for accountability are many and often conflicting. Certainly those of us who press green lights for tax measures to support autonomous institutions must insist that autonomy, desirable though it may be, cannot serve as a shield against any degree of accountability. In the age in which we live, under the impact of the "Watergate syndrome," a resistance to accountability will be read as attempt to "cover-up." Most successful administrators of institutions of higher learning—particularly in the public sector—are able politicians. They have to be. They will realize the validity of my fear.

A Balance Must be Struck Between Accountability and Autonomy

I am convinced that a free society will not live for long in the absence of an academically free university to replenish the concepts of free men—on the other hand I know that the academically free university will never survive in a society which is not politically free. Nothing poses a greater threat to our freedom than the



Senator Gray

loss of faith in our system which flows from the incredible expense and waste at all levels and in most branches of government. We must restore the confidence of the taxpayer in the economic responsibility of the system.

In short, then, my plea is that educators not try to equate academic autonomy with fiscal irresponsibility and that legislators in their quest for accountability recognize the urgent need for academic freedom. Thus, the challenge we all face, legislators and educators alike, is finding the delicate balance which assures the public interest on one hand and protects the educational environment on the other hand. We are fortunate that Dr. Otis Singletary, president of the University of Kentucky, will follow me to this podium this afternoon to discuss with us in some depth this issue of institutional autonomy and accountability.

Another issue on the agenda of our legislatures is that of faculty workload and this really is a subhead under accountability. It is apparent to me that many of

us in the state legislature would benefit from a better understending of faculty workload, what it includes and the reasons why it differs from individual faculty and types of institutions. What are the difficulties in trying to measure faculty workload? Do these measures plan too much emphasis on the quantity and not enough on the quality of faculty endeavors? What are the views of legislators as well as faculty on the issue of whether faculty workload should be prescribed and if so, by whom?

Educators like the story about a rural member of the Wisconsin legislature who expressed great shock when he learned that University of Wisconsin faculty taught only nine hours a week. The late Glenn Frank, then president of the university, responded: "Sir, you are famous for your stud bulls. Would you judge their value by the number of hours a week they work?" Legislators and many in the public generally would perhaps appreciate more what the Wisconsin legislator might have replied to Dr. Frank's statement: "No, but if they are spending over half their time and talents researching and consulting on a free lance basis in other pastures, I'd sure as hell change my fence system."

A three-person panel will address this issue—that is, the issue of faculty workload, not stud bulls. One member of the panel is a legislator, one a faculty member and the third is both. I'm sure we will benefit from their presentations and the discussion which will follow.

Somewhat akin to the issue of faculty workload is that of faculty evaluation. How are faculty evaluated, by whom, and what factors are considered? How does faculty evaluation relate to the issue of faculty salaries, promotion and tenure? What effect does collective bargaining have on faculty evaluation? One organization which had a vital concern in procedures of faculty evaluation is the American Association of University Professors (AAUP). We are fortunate that Professor Neill Megaw, professor of English at the University of Texas, Austin, and chairman of the AAUP committee on teaching, research and publication, will share with us some of his observations on this issue.

Another issue related to workload and evaluation is that of research, and again I refer to faculty and not stud bulls. The growing skepticism about research is exacerbated by the current congressional furor over social science research and the peer review system, but at the state level it is stated in more simple terms: "More teaching and less research" would make higher education more "useful" as well as less expensive. If what we legislators hear from our constituents is wrong, we need to learn more about the direct contributions of research, the necessary relation of research to teaching, especially at the graduate level, and the importance of protecting and continuing the research capability in our major institutions. If we are to continue to tax in support of such research, we need answers to the criticisms we hear. Furthermore, future decisions about educational policy and finance should be based on a fuller appreciation of different roles for different kinds of institutions.

Dr. Eugene P. Odum, director of the Institute of Ecology at the University of Georgia, will be discussing the value of research in the university and stressing the importance of our respecting and supporting adequate levels of research in our major institutions.

Any discussion of current concerns in higher education today would not be complete without a discussion of finances. What are the particular budgetary problems that institutions are facing today? More specifically, what happens to the millions of dollars that are appropriated to higher education. Also, it would be helpful for us to learn the extent to which the current financial management techniques and data gathering methods are effective as well as efficient.

Dr. Earl F. Cheit, senior research fellow of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, has addressed SREB meetings in the past and we are delighted that he has agreed to meet with us at this conference. Dr. Cheit will address the issue managing financial resources in higher education during a period of rising costs. His presentation will be followed by comments by Jack C. Blanton, vice president and treasurer of the University of Kentucky.

In an article for *Change Magazine*, Steven K. Bailey, vice president of the American Council on Education, writes: "We must be willing to promote efficiency while protecting effectiveness and we must learn when these concepts are compatible and when they are not." The purpose of this conference is to look very critically at some of the specific concerns we have regarding our mutual responsibility for the efficiency and effectiveness of higher education in the South. We will hear from a number of outstanding educators and legislators who will appear formally on the program. However, and I say this with great sincerity, this conference is for you delegates and I hope each of you will feel free to join in the discussions and use these opportunities to bring to the floor whatever you want discussed by the educational resource people or by your fellow legislators. Please don't merely listen and leave in silent disagreement. Our speakers are able men—able to take and give. I view the planned discussions as a real opportunity for educators and legislators to slug it out. So let us reason together—without being disagreeable, let us state our disagreements and perhaps, just perhaps, find some answers.

ACCOUNTABILITY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Otis A. Singletary*

The word "accountability"—a good word that has long enjoyed general usage in the language—has in recent years taken on special meaning when applied to the campus. In fact, it is not too much to say that "accountability" has become one of the more prominent fads in higher education, and like most fads, has its fair share of proponents and critics. To some, it appears to offer a kind of academic salvation through increased efficiency and effectiveness; to others, it represents a distortion of true academic purposes and functions. These seemingly irreconcilable views are difficult to understand unless placed in proper context and seen for what they really are: as part of a larger and longer-fought controversy. The arguments and debates over "accountability" represent the contemporary version of the old and continuing struggle between two durable and legitimate concerns: on the one hand, the need to protect the public interest through the responsible expenditure of public funds, and on the other, the need to sustain a considerable degree of institutional flexibility or autonomy in order that the university be able to perform the functions for which it was created and for which it continues to be supported.

For my own part, let me say that I have come here today neither to praise nor to bury the concept of accountability. What I would like to do; however, is to attempt to develop a clearer perspective about a topic that is, and is going to continue to be, of genuine interest and importance to us all. In the brief time alloted me, I propose to re-examine the meaning of the concept, to take a look at why it is so much in vogue at this particular time in history, to review and enumerate the existing limitations on institutional autonomy and to remind ourselves not only of the importance of higher education, but also of its complexities and peculiarities. I come in this spirit of inviting you to join me in this effort to improve our perspective on the possibilities and the limitations of accountability.

My first generalization has to do with the meaning of the concept of accountability. To even the most casual observer, it is clear that the phrase, as applied to educational institutions, has no precise meaning at all. Much of the confusion that exists is generated by this vagueness and ambiguity. There are a number of other commonly-used "code" words—"productivity," "efficiency," "fiscal responsibility" and "cost-effectiveness."

Advocates of accountability describe it variously: to some it is a device to help educational administrators define goals and objectives more clearly, use resources more efficiently, and justify what they do in terms of tangible and quantifiable measures of educational output; to others it is a tool for providing useful information on the basis of which more rational decisions can be made in the meeting of established goals.

Its critics, on the other hand, see currently practiced "accountability" as the creation of yet another layer of control, necessitating more and longer reports, and destined to create, unwittingly or not, a kind of educational 1984 (computerized, to be sure) where something called "management information systems" will produce our decisions for us.

Lest these comments seem far-fetched, let me read to you public comments that reflect these positions. Listen to these words spoken at a conference sponsored by the Educational Testing Service:

> Our sophisticated, scientific, production-oriented society is demanding a more sophisticated, scientific and production-oriented educational system. Accountability is the key word in all of this, for it implies goal-directed and performance-oriented educational leadership. It implies analysis of feedback and correction of aim to more accurately focus on our targets.

Another interpretation prevails in the remarks by HEW Secretary Mathews about the "Lilliputian night-

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Comments by Terell Bell, cited in *Journal of Higher Education* (Nov. 1971), pp. 692-693.

mare of forms and formulas" which were quoted earlier by Senator Gray. But even after conceding the wide differences in interpretation that unquestionably exist, it can be argued that there are some components of the concept of accountability that are recognized by friend and foe alike as an emphasis on increased efficiency, goal attainment, and performance and measurement.

What Brought on "The Age of Accountability"?

The attempt to develop a sharper perspective on "accountability" can also be enhanced by an examination of the reasons *why* it is so much in vogue in our time. After all, there is nothing new about the concept: educators have been held "accountable" to some degree for a long, long time. But there is no glossing over the fact that there is greater emphasis upon it today that ever before in our history. I do not believe one has to look too far for the answer. For about two decades, our colleges and universities were able to take certain things for granted: growth, money, public support and great public confidence. In my opinion, this happy condition grew out of a deeply held and typically American belief in the efficiency of education to solve all the ills of man and society. Why not, in a democratic society, treasure those institutions that were expected to end war, cure cancer, abolish pollution, eliminate poverty, and transform our sons and daughters into men and women of accomplishment and prestige? In retrospect, the promises were too great and the expectations were too high. Colleges and universities were all too often simply unable to deliver what many insiders had promised and many outsiders had come to expect. A day of reckoning was inevitable, and it inevitably arrived. It arrived in our own time and it arrived for a variety of reasons having to do with developments in the economy, in the larger society, and in colleges and universities themselves.

The most obvious pressures for increased accountability were from the economic situation. Spiraling inflation with its rapidly rising cost of living, the soaring costs of education itself, high taxes and vast increases in expenditures at every level of government combined to create a predictable demand for curtailing, cutting back, or holding down public expenditures.

In addition to these economic developments, higher education was afflicted by a number of general social developments which had considerable impact on campus but over which we of the academic world had little or no control: the population explosion; the worldwide wave of restiveness centered in the young and aimed at existing institutions; the coming into focus on the national political scene of such issues as war, race and poverty. During this troubled time, Americans were losing faith in their major social institutions and higher education did not remain unaffected by the trend. In fact, one recent state poll reflected that only 25% of the people, one-fourth of the population, had a high degree of faith in our colleges and universities. (It should be pointed out, however, that the same poll showed that members of state legislatures, who number among the more severe critics of our educational institutions, received only a 12% rating, a clear indication that higher education is not alone in its travail). Beyond that, the Lou Harris poll shows that higher educational institutions, in the competition for public confidence, rank relatively high; below M.D.'s and the Supreme Court, but well above the military, organized religion, television and the press, corporations, congress and organized labor. Whatever else this diminishing of public confidence implied, it did reflect a loss of faith in higher education's ability to deliver on its promises which, in turn, led to the quest for a clearer documentation of *what* it is we do and how we do it (which may be another workable definition of accountability).

Then, too, certain developments within the institutions themselves helped to bring on the "Age of Accountability." Student unrest, political activism, turmoil, disruption, campus violence and what was perceived to be administrative timidity and faculty indifference created a mood of distrust on the part of the general public which was but the first step in lowering higher education's priority in competing for public support.

In other words, out of these economic, social and institutional currents grew two identifiable developments that were to have a direct effect upon the campus. The first of these was the creation of a mood of public mistrust toward higher education, a mood that was reflected in all kinds of vague and generalized complaints. Our institutions, we were told, were either too complacent or too radical; too little concern with teaching or too much concerned with research; too resistant to change or too easily moved away from basic purposes; too easily dominated by "the establishment" or too independent of the community; too much the tool of something called "the Military-Industrial Complex" or too indifferent to the needs of society. The list could go on.

The second development was essentially political in nature and unambiguous in execution: appropriations for higher education came under closer scrutiny to the accompaniment of more vocal demands for cutting back or at least leveling off; the creation of more numerous and more powerful mechanisms to "control" institutions; the passage of specific laws aimed directly at the campus. And out of all of this came the impetus for more and greater "accountability," based upon a growing determination that the colleges and universities should *justify* what they were doing and *disclose* the efficiency (or lack of it) in their operations. These, it seems to me, are the more apparent reasons why accountability has become so popular in contemporary America.

Yet another theme that is deserving of consideration is the relationship between accountability and autonomy. Many of the advocates of accountability leave the impression that institutions of higher learning

exist as free and unfettered institutions with little or nothing in the way of restraint upon them and the way they operate. Such is far from the fact. The truth is, that our institutions have been and are today subjected to a sometimes bewildering array of limitations upon their freedom of operation and whatever is done in any particular place in the name of accountability is usually done on top of a large number of existing constraints. There is nothing new about the observation that colleges and universities are almost constantly subjected to a wide range of pressures that tend to impinge upon institutional decision-making. These pressures come from several different directions, are exerted by many different individuals and organizations and take many different forms. Some are direct, others are remarkably subtle.

Before attempting to enumerate some of these limitations upon institutional autonomy, however, several generalizations should be made:

1. There is no such thing as a completely free or autonomous institution. Institutional freedom is never absolute and no college or university, either public or private, operates without external restraints.

2. There are a number of "special interest" groups, each of which has its own particular points of pressure.

3. Institutions can be more discriminating in their judgments about "loss of autonomy or integrity." There is a substantive difference between those things that actually lead to diminished autonomy and those things that are merely distasteful or annoying, and the colleges and universities have not always been willing to face that.

4. There is a good deal of freedom in the academic community, which is as it should be. This is not only desirable, it is also necessary. It is imperative that our institutions exist in responsible freedom if they are to perform the important functions they have been assigned.

Having made these generalizations, let me now attempt to identify the primary forces that are at play. At the risk of over-simplification, I propose to classify them in three general categories: organizational pressures, governmental pressures and popular pressures.

Organizational Pressures are exerted by formally established organizations and associations concerned with and interested in higher education. Examples are:

Accrediting Agencies set minimum standards that have to be met, ranging from library holdings to admissions policies.

Scholarly Societies and Professional Associations have been known to require certain levels and sequences of course offerings before granting certification.

Major Foundations have sometimes influenced institutional actions by their decision to give or to withhold funds.

Of more recent vintage are:

Student Organizations, NSA, for example, aim at influencing areas that were historically the exclusive province of faculty or administration.

Labor Organizations. Growing in influence as more and more states move into the area of collective bargaining.

This sampling is designed to give some idea of the range and number of organizational pressures on our institutions.

Governmental Pressures are exerted by federal, state and local governments and by the courts.

Federal Government. The pressures exerted by the federal government are not, in my opinion, the result of some deliberate design to establish "federal control." Rather, they stem from the fact that the federal government, for whatever reasons, has become a major source of financial support for our institutions of higher learning. The range of activities and the number of dollars involved do not guarantee that the federal impact upon institutions be a profound one. Almost all institutions receive federal funds of some sort or another from agencies such as HEW, Public Health Service, NSF, Department of Defense, NASA, AEC, and a host of others. The purposes for which the funds are provided are varied: student aid, research and development, construction of facilities, purchase of equipment and material, improving libraries, assisting developing institutions and providing community services.

Let it be added that the institutions have not been reluctant to partake of this largess. In fact, we have sometimes been so eager to receive these offerings that we have resembled the young lady in the limerick:

> There was a young woman from Kent
> Who said she knew what it meant
> When men took her to dine
> Bought her cocktails and wine—
> She knew what it meant, but she went.

Be that as it may, one need only look at the thrust of the federal government's activities in, say, the Affirmative Action area, to gain some familiarity with the degree of federal intervention that now exists on most major campuses in the country.

State and Local Government. Pressures exerted by these two levels of government are similar.

- *Political Leaders*—Governors and state legislatures have been known to exert political pressures on institutions over specific issues and cases. (For example, troops on campus, banning of speakers, etc.)
- *State Agencies*—State departments of finance and administration, for example, sometimes exert powers over matters of budget, personnel and the construction of physical facilities that once belonged to the institutions themselves.
- *Statewide Coordinating and Governing Boards*—I suspect that as the financial demands of higher education rose it was inescapable that public attention would be focused more steadily on colleges and universities, and the public interest would generate

pressure of some sort of control. The last fifteen years have witnessed incredible growth in the number of newly created statewide agencies to perform one or all of the following functions: budget review, program review, long-range planning and data collection. Perhaps no other agency of state government has been so well positioned to exert such sustained and powerful pressure on state educational institutions. And, while it works well in some instances, it does not always do so. It is no secret that there are many places where the institutions feel threatened by the actions of the coordinating boards.

The Courts. Another branch of government that restricts institutional autonomy is the court system. Several recent social developments help to explain the causes for what might well be called the "Age of Litigation:" a surging egalitarianism that looks upon higher education as a right rather than a privilege; a veritable revolution in lifestyles, manners and morals; an intense concern with civil rights. But whatever the reasons for this increased legal traffic, it has brought with it two genuine concerns: first, a tactical question as to how we are going to avoid "a lifetime on the witness stand." (I, myself, have either sued or been sued over such divergent issues as suspension of students, the limits of presidential authority, strip-mining of university lands, and recognition of the Gay Liberation Front as a student organization, to mention but a few examples). And, second, the even more fundamental question of consequence: the danger that as the courts become more actively involved in campus affairs, the institutions will necessarily become more rigid and less flexible and therefore less able to perform their essential function of making qualitative judgments about persons and ideas.

Popular Pressures are those generated by the general public. As is true of other institutions in society, colleges and universities are affected by the presence or absence of favorable public opinion. Public good will is not the primary aim of an institution of higher learning and public favor can, of course, be purchased at too high a price. While I shall not attempt to list the specific instances where issues on campus have aroused the popular outcry, I do wish to remind you that the public interest has seldom been served when its educational institutions are directly subjected to rapidly changing and sometimes capricious currents of popular opinion.

Lest I weary you beyond recall, I will bring this listing of pressures to an end. I wish, however, to reiterate my major point here: that while institutional autonomy is a relative thing, I urge you to recall that most institutions deal regularly with all kinds of persons, agencies and organizations that have and frequently exercise the ability to exert pressures that affect and limit choice and action. In this context, the concept of accountability is often viewed from the campus as yet another means of restricting institutional freedom to choose and act.

When all the shouting dies down, there are really two basic concerns that have never been finally resolved: public interest and institutional flexibility. They will not be finally resolved by us. The problem is one of those built-in continuing struggles that has many faces; they change from time to time but remain fairly constant. I think the reason they remain fairly constant is that they are both very important.

Why, you might reasonably inquire, all this talk about autonomy and accountability. My reply can be very direct. I happen to believe that our colleges and universities are important and I happen to know that

President Singletary

they are complex, peculiar, and in some ways quite fragile (There is considerable truth in the old assertion that a mediocre public university is the easiest thing in the world to create and to sustain.) Knowing and believing these things, I naturally feel that the decisions made about how to operate and "control" them (in other words, the forms of accountability to be imposed) should be made with knowledge of and feeling for these institutions, in hopes that in our busy-ness we do not actually weaken or destroy that which we set out to improve. I think it appropriate, therefore, to say some things to this audience about the nature and purpose of universities, in hopes that their very real merits might be balanced against the narrower demands of efficiency, effectiveness and measurement.

First of all, I should like to remind you of some things universities are not.

Contrary to popular opinion, a college or university is not a supermarket whose customers are always right; nor is it a rest home or retreat dedicated to the pursuit of administrative narcissism, faculty tranquility, or student comfort and contentment; nor is it a welfare agency or an arena for combat or even a factory where we stockpile experts to solve problems.

The university is not an employment agency, although it does now and always has had a vital concern with career preparation. American higher education has, from the very beginning, had a split personality; it not only concerned itself with the immediate question of preparing students to make a living, but also with the larger question of what kind and quality of life to be lived, regardless of how one earns one's living. I come down on the side of the argument that education is useful because it is basically good. I share the view of the wise old philosopher: "Though the useful is not always good, the good is always useful."

The university is not a place that is or should be exclusively preoccupied with affairs of the present. In fact, it nourishes the insight that the "cult of the present" is a peculiarly modern corruption that is both un-historical and anti-historical, representing an exaggerated emphasis on the here-and-now by persons having an inadequate sense of the past and an inadequate vision of the future.

The university is not, and should not attempt to be, a miniature of the world outside its gates. It is not just the larger society in microcosm. It is a special purpose community rather than a general purpose community and what sets it apart from the larger society is its emphasis upon the gathering, sharing, and using of knowledge.

What I am saying is that our universities are not just luxuries in which societies indulge themselves, or ornaments with which societies decorate themselves, or tool bins with which societies equip themselves. They are, at times, all of these things, but at their best they are much, much more.

Having had this much to say about what universities are not, what, then, can I say to you about what they are, at their best?

The university is an institution that has been created and nurtured by society to perform certain valued functions: to transmit, and to create knowledge; to provide an opportunity for the personal growth and development of individuals; to contribute to the improvement of the society of which it is a part. Its purpose, simply stated, is the betterment of human welfare.

The university is an institution that functions in a number of ways and you know all the trite trilogy: teaching, research, and public service. Let me say a kind word about the trilogy. It begins to make sense if you understand that they are but separate aspects of the same thing. The *teaching* function is the transmission of knowledge taking what man already knows and passing it along· it's a civilising influence. The *research* function is the creation of new knowledge; it is the development of what man has not known before and without it this society would be static in little more than a decade. And the *public* service function is the application of what man knows, the putting of it to work, in this society. You are really looking at three separate words that have to do with the same thing—knowledge. And when you lose sight of that, you have lost sight of a great deal that is important about the university.

The university is a place for raising the central, eternal and elusive questions that have always plagued mankind; it is, in effect, an "open forum" where the great issues and ideas and controversies of the day can be publicly examined and debated, where intelligent, concerned, and knowledgeable men and women of every persuasion can and do debate the most important issues there are.

The university is a place where there is widespread recognition of the fact that education is an endless process rather than a concluded achievement, that results from a lifetime of learning, study, and reflection, and its aims are the development of keenness of mind, depth of interest and breadth of spirit (an insight that should be remembered by a society that sometimes appears to be unable to distinguish between a learned person and an ass bearing a load of books).

The university is a place where scholarship and teaching in the learned disciplines remain the primary purposes: a place that values truth, freedom, relevance, individuality and responsibility; a place where "learning" is the bond that all share in common.

The end aims of university education have long been debated and chronicled, but I continue to believe that the finest definition I have ever encountered was penned by Cardinal Newman; university education, he wrote,

> . . .is the great ordinery means to a great but ordinary end; it aims at raising the intellectual tone of a society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasms and fixed aims to populer aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at faciliteting the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of private life.

"Its end," he wrote, "is fitness for the world."

By wey of conclusion, let me confess that is was no accident that I accepted the invitation to speak of this particular topic to this particuler group. You, as legislators, have an exceedingly important role to play in determining the kind and quality of higher education which our region is going to be allowed to develop and sustain. Many of you in this room, and many of your colleagues who are not present today, have in the past helped to defend and protect education in time of trouble. I believe you will be open-minded and hopefully even receptive to my appeal that what we need is a reexamination of the whole topic of accountability. What I seek is a new and thoughful consideration of "accountability" for our own time and sulted to our own needs, in which it is recognized that limited autonomy and sensible accountability must be kept in delicate balance to assure two important outcomes:

- the protection of the public intarest, and
- the protection of institutional flexibility.

An appropriate form of accountability would deal forthrightly with a number of questions that continue to remain unanswered:

Accountable for what?

Accountable for whom?

Who is responsible for measuring performance and determining the standards for success and/or failure?

Where and by whom are the velue judgments to be made?

Where does accountability end and control begin?

It would recognize and come seriously to grips with fears about the rise of a vast new breed of middle-managers whose power accrues from their control over information, who are accountable to no one, and who influence decisions without bearing any responsibility for their consequences; or our concern that administrators will be judged solely on the basis of their achievement of short-run, highly visible and measureable goals regardless of philosophical content or long-range objectives.

This new doctrine would also recognize the proper limits of accountability: limits to the things that can be measured, and limits to the definition by management specialists of "productivity" as applied to educational institutions.

Now, let me state simply that I am not seeking immunity from accountability by the institutions. I agree that the campus should meet the rational demands and needs in this area. More specifically, we must be productive (in the sense of meeting certain of society's needs), we must be efficient in the operation of our institutions, and we must be responsible in the carrying out of our assigned mission. We must be willing to promote efficiency and to protect effectiveness and we must learn, as we have not yet done, when these two are complementary and when they are not.

But, I would argue that a substantial portion of what goes on on the campus simply does not lend itself to accurate measurement. Indeed, it may well be true that some of our most important functions are not measurable at all.

I, for one, am not convinced that our primary function is to improve managerial efficiency in education. We do not and must not countenance waste and we must meet our obligation to the public to see that money is not used frivolously. But we have other obligations as well, and it might well be that we have a prior responsibility to remind our public and private benefactors, as well as ourselves, "that a partially unquantifiable and inherently untidy system of higher education must routinely make legitimate demands upon the treasures of the purse in order to nourish the treasures of the mind and spirit."

My basic plea to you, then, is simply this: that we not let our passion for counting, weighing, and measuring cause us to either violate sound academic processes or frustrate fundamental academic purpose.

SHOULD FACULTY WORKLOAD BE PRESCRIBED?

A three-member panel representing a unique blend of faculty and legislative points of view discussed the topic of faculty workload. Delegate Frank B. Pesci of Maryland, who is also a professor of higher education and politics at the Catholic University of America, outlined the results of a recent statewide survey of faculty workload in Maryland. Professor Howard J. Brinkley of the University of Maryland provided background on the range of duties performed by faculty. Representative Richard S. Hodes, M.D., of Florida, who is also a clinical professor of anesthesiology at the College of Medicine at the University of South Florida, explained the major features of the 12-hour faculty workload law which has been enacted in Florida.

Frank B. Pesci*

At the request of the House Appropriations Committee, the Maryland Council for Higher Education conducted an extensive study of faculty workload during the Spring 1974 term. The soon-to-be-published study involved all of the regular full-time faculty members at all of the public institutions of postsecondary education in Maryland: 16 two-year community colleges, seven four-year state colleges, and the four campuses of the University of Maryland. The survey was intended to give the faculty the opportunity to report their full range of activities including teaching, dissertation direction, academic program advising, course and curriculum development, research, professional development, student life services, administrative duties, committee participation, and community service. The average faculty member in any segment of postsecondary education in Maryland reported a total workload of between 61.7 to 63.0 hours per week.

Faculty workload data were also obtained by the Council from other states. Each of the other 49 states was surveyed to determine the nature and extent of faculty activity being performed in the state. Responses were received from 33 states; no statewide studies were reported by any of the states. However, several studies have been conducted by state university systems in Florida, Hawaii, Iowa, Kansas, and Oregon. SREB recently reported that the Virginia legislature has directed its State Council of Higher Education to conduct a study of workload policies in state-supported colleges and universities.

In the study of the other five states, the total average workload per week reported for all faculty activities is 55 to 60 hours. The averages obtained in the Maryland study are, therefore, consistent with those averages reported in studies from other states.

Studies of faculty workload have been conducted for more than a half century, and these studies have shown that faculty workload has been difficult to define and measure. Faculty members have always claimed that they work an average of 55 hours per week. This reporting of a long work week is often met with skepticism and even disbelief by many, including colleagues in Academe. In a recent edition of the *Journal of Higher Education*, Roger Whitlow criticized the faculty myth and widely proclaimed notion that:

> . . .teachers in universities all work very hard, and that when Professor X, having arrived at 1 p.m., loads his briefcase at 2:30 and mutters something about going home to grade papers or prepare lessons for the next six hours, his colleagues are obligated to take him seriously.

As we all know, many faculty members look upon a study of faculty workload with distrust and resentment. Since the observation of faculty members to record their activities is really not feasible, we are then left with the alternative of asking faculty to report on their activities. The accuracy of this self-reported data, of course, is of importance in any study of faculty workload.

Questions arise. To what extent will faculty members try to make it appear that they work longer and

**Delegate Pesci was first elected to the Maryland House in 1970 and was re-elected in 1974. He is chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Government Operations and is a member of the Joint Subcommittee on the Capital Budget. In addition to his duties as professor of higher education and politics at the Catholic University of America, he has been visiting professor of higher education at the University of Virginia, the University of Hawaii and the University of Colorado. He was a member of the group which recently completed a study of faculty workload in Maryland.*

harder than they actually do? How many faculty members either consciously or unwittingly distort their activity reports? How long do faculty members really work? Does college and university teaching require more ' n 40 hours per week? Or does the typical facu . nember have an easy life, "teaching" only 3 to 15 hours per week, 36 weeks a year?

To the outsider, including many state legislators, the faculty work week seems incredible short. These perceptions probably account, at least in part, for the fact that some state legislatures have passed laws recently which define minimum workload standards for faculty teaching in public institutions.

According to Harold Yuker, the data on faculty activity confirm that faculty members work about a 55-hour week. But this is true only during the academic year. If the total number of hours were spread over a 48-week year with a 4-week vacation, it would amount to approximately 40 hours per week. (ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 6, 1974, p. 42)

Before responding to the question specifically asked of this panel, "Should faculty workload be prescribed?," I would like to pose the following questions: can faculty workload be prescribed, and if so, by whom and what criteria?

Too often state legislatures have passed laws defining minimum faculty workload standards in terms of classroom and/or laboratory teaching formulas, or, in other words, in terms of faculty visibility. In my judgment, a contact teaching load is no more an indication of faculty work activity than are the number of hours we legislators spend in the chamber indicative of our legislative activity. The same analogy could be made for lawyers and many other professionals. Generalizations about workloads (be they for faculty or legislators or attorneys or similar groups) tend to be discredited because of individual differences. Then why should there not be a system developed which is based on individual differences?

I would support a system, recently suggested by Yuker, whereby a faculty member's contract states the time to be devoted to teaching, advising, research, administrative duties, community services, and so forth, after consultation with the faculty member. Representative Hodes is already a leader in developing this kind of legislation.

Moving in the direction of individualizing faculty workload has many advantages. One would be the ability to take advantage of the special expertise and backgrounds of faculty members. Another major advantage would be the clarification of the basis upon which faculty members are evaluated. A faculty member who indicates 15 hours per week devoted to research would be expected to provide evidence of the results of that activity. Those faculty members who claim to devote 10 hours per week to dissertation guidance would be expected to substantiate that by indicating the progress of the students under their direction.

It seems to me that such an individualized contract system would enable faculty members to set up a work activity schedule in which they would devote their time doing what they do best. Granted that such a system might result in migraine headaches for deans, department heads, and registrars, but efficient, quality higher education is too important a goal for us to be concerned with the temporary mental anxieties of some college and university administrators.

No, faculty workload should not be prescribed, but before I conclude let me warn my faculty colleagues (through Professor Brinkley) of one thing. Should many of them persist in their myths, their distrust, and their resentment, they may find more legislators looking toward the imposition of rigid performance standards placed on their activities. I am not suggesting that faculty provide lengthy reports of their activities, or that faculty give up their time-honored tradition of choosing when they wish to work. But I am suggesting that they be the ones to initiate action toward developing another option for defining and measuring faculty workload which will lead to an improved method of evaluating faculty performance and productivity.

Howard J. Brinkley*

It is an honor for me to participate in this Legislative Work Conference. You and your predecessors are to be complimented for organizing and maintaining the Southern Regional Education Board for the purpose of studying the educational needs of our geographic region. Policy makers such as yourselves make enormously important decisions in education. Consequently, your interests in continually educating yourselves on the subject of higher education through such conferences as these is reassuring to me, both as a citizen and as an educator. Our presence here indicates the common interest both faculty and legislators have in the intellectual advancement of the citizens of our states, our region and our nation.

In considering how I could best contribute to this morning's subject for discussion, I asked myself: "If I were a legislator, what would I like to know about faculty and their work before I engaged in discussions of faculty workload?" I concluded that I would **first** need to know what kinds of activities constitute the work of faculty in higher education. **Second**, I would need to know how each of these activities relate to the overall mission of the institutions of higher education. **Third**, I would need to know where in the higher education system these work activities are conducted. **Fourth**, I would need to know how the workload of

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individual faculty members is prescribed presently. **Fifth**, I would need to know how the performance of the prescribed work activities of a faculty member is evaluated. **Sixth**, I would need to know the possible ways that the workload of a faculty member can be measured. Finally, I would need to know the outcome of previous studies of faculty workload in institutions of higher education.

In the remainder of my prepared statement and in my answers to your questions during the discussion, I will attempt to provide you with the knowledge and experience I have that relates to the answers to these questions. I know that some of you have experienced personally the work of a faculty member, and I hope you will forgive me for counsuming your time in relating to you experiences that you have already had. Some of you have gained a knowledge of these subjects through long service on legislative committees on education. To you I can offer only another individual faculty member's point of view. Most, if not all, of you will have attended a community college, a state college or a university. To you I can offer my understanding and experience of the inner working of a university.

The Work of Faculty in Higher Education

Traditionally the work activities of faculties are grouped in three major categories—teaching, research and service. Each category can then be divided into subcategories.

Teaching activities can be either scheduled or unscheduled. Scheduled teaching consists of the courses assigned to a faculty member that appear in the schedule of classes to be offered in each semester or quarter of each academic year. The work activities associated with scheduled teaching consist of preparing course outlines, developing reading lists, devising instructional materials, developing laboratory exercises, revising existing materials, preparing lecture presentations, meeting the classes, preparing examinations, grading examinations, assigning grades, meeting with students informally to give assistance, tutoring, giving remedial help to students, supervising teaching assistants, evaluating students, supervising laboratories, etc.

Scheduled teaching also occurs at different academic levels. Some courses are remedial, i.e., taught to overcome deficiencies of students on entry into the institution. Many courses are taught at the freshman and sophomore level—what are commonly called lower division courses. Other courses are taught to more advanced students at the junior, senior level—or the upper division. In addition, courses are taught at the master's and doctoral levels in some institutions. Instruction is also offered to individuals with advanced degrees from other institutions.

Scheduled teaching activities can be categorized by the mode of transmission of subject material. For example, there are lectures, discussions, laboratories, library research, laboratory research, independent study, tutorials and seminars. The work activities associated with each level of instruction and each mode of transmission differ in the type of instructional skills required, the level of knowledge required, the type of facilities needed and the expense.

In addition to these scheduled or "formal" teaching work activities, faculty engage in unscheduled or "informal" teaching activities. For example, they may offer instruction on the use of facilities, equipment, chemical techniques, statistical techniques or writing as needed by individual students or groups of students. They sit on thesis examination committees at the undergraduate honors level, the master's degree level and the doctoral level. They prepare and grade qualifying written examinations for each of these levels. And finally, they evaluate these students to certify their right to be awarded the appropriate degrees.

Another form of teaching activity that is performed by faculty is academic advising. Academic advising is also scheduled and unscheduled. In addition to advising students during pre-registration and registration periods, faculty must be available to advise students by appointment when they seek additional advice. To do this effectively and efficiently, members of the faculty must maintain records of the academic progress of each student advised and records of academic requirements for the probable future employment of the students they advise.

Research work activities are just as varied as those associated with teaching. Members of the faculty must read the literature associated with their research area, synthesize the knowledge contained therein, determine what is not known, conceive of means to explore what is not known, prepare research proposals for consideration by granting agencies within and outside the institution, justify the expenditures of the sums of money awarded, hire research assistants, supervise them, prepare budgets for research, administer the grants, analyze data and information, prepare oral and written presentations of the outcomes of their research, submit, revise and publish written reports, and deliver oral presentations of the outcome of their research at local, regional, national and international meetings of scholars in their area of research.

The type of research can vary also. For example, research can be based solely on library resources, or on laboratory or field research or combination of all of these sources of knowledge. In addition, it can be basic, developmental, or applied. Whatever the type or source, it is research and it constitutes a major effort of members of the faculty of higher education.

Service activities of members of the faculty are also numerous and varied. For example, they can include the recruitment of students, counseling students, preparing recommendations for students, sponsoring student organizations and attending student-sponsored seminars. Similarly, service duties can consist of serv-

Delegate Pesci

Professor Brinkley

Representative Hodes

ing as a member or chairman of admission committees, building planning committees, faculty evaluation and promotion committees, teaching evaluation committees, research committees, recruiting committees and academic councils within the institution. The duties may be at departmental, college, division, campus, system or state level.

Similarly, faculty serve on state and national advisory committees and councils. They also are invited to serve as consultants to local, state, national and international governments and enterprises because of their expertise in a particular area of knowledge. Within their professions they serve as reviewers of manuscripts, editors of journals, officers of societies and chairmen and members of society committees.

In summary, the work of a member of a faculty, is varied in kind of activity, in level of academic preparation required, in skills needed, and in the level at which it is performed.

Relationship of Faculty Work to Missions of Higher Education

The three primary categories of work of faculty relate to the missions of higher education in the following manner. Teaching requires the synthesis of what is known and its orderly transmission to the students in higher education. Research is the investigation of what is not known and results in the production of new basic, developmental or applicable knowledge. Service extends what has been synthesized, investigated and produced in teaching and research beyond the individual faculty member's teaching and research activities to other members of the higher education community, our society, the business world, governments and other members of our professions.

Where Teaching, Research and Service are Performed in Higher Education

The various kinds of activities performed by faculty are conducted to different degrees throughout the higher education system. The faculty of community colleges are primarily teachers of freshman and sophomore level courses and also conduct some research and perform some services. The faculty of state colleges are primarily teachers of freshman, sophomore, junior and senior courses and to some extent master's level courses. They also perform some research and service. The faculty of universities are primarily teachers of all levels of instruction through the postdoctoral level, and perform much more research than the faculty of state or community colleges, and serve a larger community outside the university.

How Workload of Faculty is Prescribed Now

The sum of all the work activities to be performed by a faculty member constitutes the workload, which is prescribed by the faculty member's departmental chairman and senior administrators. For example, scheduled teaching is assigned by the departmental chairman. Unscheduled teaching is required by departmental policy stating that a faculty member should teach whenever his or her expertise is appropriate and beneficial to the student. Research is required, but not dictated as to topic, and all members are urged to seek non-university support for their research activities to permit use of limited state funds for research activities not traditionally supported by outside private or governmental agencies. Time and space for research are assigned to each faculty member in accordance with funds available for the research and the size of the graduate student group advised by the faculty member.

Faculty are assigned to departmental committees and administrative duties by the departmental chairman in accordance with their aptitudes, interests and expertise. Senior administrators appoint the faculty members to college, division, campus, system and state committees. The chairman and senior administrators approve, or disapprove, of the service of faculty members to agencies and professions outside the college or university in accordance with established policy.

Departmental chairman and senior administrators weigh the workloads of all faculty in their academic units to maintain an equitable distribution of the work that must be performed in order to achieve the objectives of the academic unit.

Evaluation of Faculty Work

Once the workload of a faculty member is prescribed, he or she must complete the work in a manner satisfactory to those to whom they are accountable—their departmental chairman and other administrators for whom they have performed tasks. The departmental chairman reviews the performance of faculty each year prior to recommending merit salary increases. Other revi ws of performance are conducted prior to the renewal of contracts, prior to promotion to higher rank and prior to appointment to tenure.

The annual review of faculty performance is conducted by the chairman of the department with informal input from other faculty, administrators and students. In the other reviews the department chairman and senior administrators are assisted by faculty who serve on committees that gather the evidence of quality and quantity of performance in the faculty member's teaching, research and service, weigh the evidence of performance and make recommendations to the chairman of the department regarding renewal of contract, promotion to higher rank and appointment to tenure.

Beyond the annual review, the quality and quantity of the performance of some aspects of a faculty member's work may be assessed by professional peers outside the institution at the request of the departmental chairman. Such a procedure is routine when evaluating the research and service productivity of a faculty member. Such external reviews provide objectivity and additional expertise in the final evaluation of a faculty member's performance.

How Workload Can Be Measured

In my university, we are required to complete and return to our departmental chairman a faculty review form that requires us to report all of our work activities for the academic year. This is necessary because in addition to the workload prescribed at the beginning of each academic year, duties will be assigned as the needs of our department and institution develop throughout the year. The completed form provides an opportunity for each faculty member to report all of his work activities prior to the final recommendation from the departmental chairman for merit increases in salary.

The departmental chairman must assess the quality and quantity of work of each member of the faculty, compare it with the performance of all other members of the faculty and then distribute the funds available for merit increases in accordance with his or her judgment. It is obvious that such a system relies heavily on the skills and judgment of the departmental chairman. However, the system has the enormous advantage that it grants the departmental chairman, who is responsible for the department achieving its objectives, the authority to assign the faculty to those duties for which they are most qualified because of their interests, knowledge, capabilities and capacities. Consequently, the talents and efforts of each faculty member are employed most effectively in accomplishing the objectives of the department. Furthermore, the system has the advantage that the departmental chairman has the authority to distribute merit increases in salary for the performance of the faculty in duties he has assigned. Thus, he has the ability to motivate each faculty member to maximum effort.

Some institutions employ an arbitrarily fixed classroom hour system. In such a system, 12 hours of classroom contact (a full-time workload) may be required of each member of the faculty. Department chairman must then attempt to express all other work activities in equivalents of classroom hours. Such a system is less flexible, ignores the varying needs of quite different disciplines, overlooks the difficulty of determining equivalents for research and service and leads to much needless paperwork.

Another system measures the number of hours spent on each work activity, the total number of hours spent being an expression of the faculty workload. Such a concept is used for classified employees. For example, classified employees of the state of Maryland work a 35.5-hour week. Such a system has been employed in elementary and secondary school systems, but not in colleges or universities. However, many studies have been conducted to determine the time spent on various work activities by faculty in several states. The Maryland Council for Higher Education recently conducted a statewide study of faculty workload at the request of our legislature.

Our faculty representatives were opposed to the study because they believed it was unlikely that a form could be prepared to obtain accurate, valid data on the time spent on the various activities of a university faculty member. Our activities are so varied in kind and extensive in number that an accurate estimate of time spent on each activity would be difficult to estimate unless the faculty were notified that they would need to do so and were urged to collect and tabulate the necessary data for a period of many weeks. Furthermore, the time spent on an activity is not important. It is the *quality and quantity* of the activity that is important. Our faculty have accepted this concept and this acceptance is reflected in the nature of the faculty review form and process which we complete each year. Consequently, our faculty found the completion of the Council's form of doubtful relevance to the measurement of how we and our institution fulfill our goals.

Outcome of Previous Workload Studies

Previous studies of faculty workload in colleges, universities and systems have indicated that faculty work between 50 and 60 hours per week. The study conducted by the Maryland Council for Higher Education and participating institutions, established that faculty in Maryland spend 16.9 hours in course-related contact hours and 3.2 additional hours on academic advising and student services for a total average contact time with students of 20.1 hours per week (33.9 percent of the total workweek). When the time spent on unscheduled teaching activities is included, the average total teaching hours per week is increased to 38.3 hours or 61.6 percent of the average total workweek of 62.1 hours. The remainder of the workweek is spent on research and service. These data agree with data from studies published previously.

In summary, the study in Maryland established that faculty, like members of most professions, spend more time at their work than nonprofessional employees. Further, the data should serve to assure our legislature and citizens that public funds are being spent well.

Finally, I would like to answer, "No," to the question before the panel, "Should faculty workload be prescribed?" The workload of faculty is prescribed now by the faculty member's departmental chairman. The chairman is in a position to know the goals of the department, the respective talents of the faculty and what work must be accomplished that year. He can assign duties equitably with each individual's talents being utilized to the maximum advantage of the department and its goals. If the workload is prescribed by any other manner, this flexibility is reduced or lost and efficiency will decline. Consequently, efforts to prescribe workload by law or regulation will be counterproductive.

Richard S. Hodes*

Should faculty workloads be prescribed? Yes. As a doctor, I am used to giving prescriptions—and in the legislature we do this without the benefit of specialized training.

Seriously, during medical training we learn that prescribing medicine has to be carefully tailored to the disease. Many times hereditary and genetic factors of the patient are taken into consideration. The correct diagnosis is the most important step, then we look for the remedy which will cure the disease—or at least relieve the symptoms without too many unfortunate side effects. The analogy stops being appropriate right now, so I won't belabor it too much.

There is some question depending on whether you are a legislator or a faculty member as to the need for a prescription of faculty workload. If there is mutual agreement among the legislative education leaders and the fiscal power brokers in the state that indeed there should be some system of accountability of the faculty, then the question becomes moot to faculty unless they are organized or can mutually agree on some counterattack to this position. A state agency responsible for overseeing the university system can sometimes stave off legislative action if in disagreement with the workload position.

In Florida, the legislature decided to prescribe the workload—the treatment is known as the "12-hour law." I would like to take a few minutes to reflect on why that law was passed and what the impact has been. I won't go into the specifics of legislative personalities and Florida's political climate in 1971; these items, of course had great impact on the passage of the 12-hour law. I believe underlying reasons were more important then and now.

Expressed in oversimplified terms the perception which won enough support in the legislature to secure passage of the law was as follows:

> Faculty members at state universities are highly privileged individuals receiving large salaries and doing little obvious work in return. Students and parents of students complain that they can't ever get in to see the professor, that many of the classes are taught by graduate assistants, and that while the average citizen is sweating away in the shop or the office, the typical faculty member is at the golf course or tennis club for an afternoon game. (People think that of doctors as well.)

I happen to believe that this perception is faulty, but it is the perception of reality, not reality itself, that governs the action of legislatures. Why is the perception so different from what I believe to be the reality?

One reason is the genuine difficulty of understanding by the public how a university really operates. I would argue that the typical faculty member has very little understanding of how his colleagues in another discipline actually work. A research chemist and an historian have diverse professional lifestyles. The lack of understanding of these lifestyles increases geometrically the further you move the individual from the actual department in which that academician is actually working. The layman from outside the university is at an enormous disadvantage.

A second reason is that the "symptoms" are poorly reported and poorly understood. The public does hear about the $30,000+ a year faculty member, not the much more numerous group that makes under $15,000 after a lot of advanced training. Work is described in terms of class contact hours rather than by looking at total responsibilities because the public and legislators don't look at the total responsibilities of the academician.

A third reason for the misperception is that there

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are enough genuine examples of unprofessional faculty conduct and institutional policies to warrant criticism. The newspaper stories of the activities of the faculty senate or the AAUP or the conflicts some faculty have with a university president are enough to create some really serious public misconceptions about what a faculty member actually spends time doing. The lack of any visible corrective measures on the part of universities leads the legislature into sometimes clumsy efforts at correction through legislation. (And, believe me, these efforts are clumsy because it is a very difficult area in which to write law.)

A fourth reason—and perhaps the most difficult with which to deal—is the problem caused by very real differences in values. At what levels of government are these values determined? What is the purpose of a university? What responsibilities does its faculty have to the public which provides its support?

The third and fourth reasons—the ones about viable corrective measures and the goals of the university system—are closely related. Universities do not take corrective action against faculty abuses oftentimes because of a genuine commitment to professional autonomy and self-discipline. In other words, the idea that we're pretty high class guys and we really know how to take care of ourselves and do the right thing by society in general. We simply don't need anybody looking over our shoulder. (And as a dual professional, I can assure you that this is a feeling that pervades both professions.)

The faculty in a department are perceived to be the best, even the only legitimate judges of the professional conduct of their peers. In other words, within the department itself there is a perception that nobody else can really tell us whether we're doing the right things or the wrong things. The only one who can tell us that is the department head and very often not even he can. Usually those fellows with whom we work are the fellows who are really best able to tell us whether we are good fellows or bad guys, wearing black or white hats.

When one gets beyond the realm of the obvious responsibilities like appearing in the classroom at the assigned hour and into teaching style or the even more intangible intellectual issues such as value or validity of one's research, faculty members make judgments only with reluctance, and administrators often fear to tread. So, there is a great tendency to say that we know how good the man next door is and that we'll look at him, but actually we're not going to talk about the value of his research or his teaching style, but if he does other things wrong we'll get on him. If he's unprofessional, if he goes around using bad words in public and that kind of thing, maybe we'll side with the public officials and criticize his conduct. Of course, it can to go the extreme of a legislative committee coming out with the finding that half of the faculty members are Communists and the other half homosexual; then, there is the question of whether it is possible to belong to both groups at the same time.

And now into the breach of all this disorganization steps the all-knowing, all-thinking state legislature. In Florida it mandated in 1971 that "each. . .teaching faculty member. . .shall teach a minimum of 12 classroom contact hours per week. . ." The statute was filled with an unusual amount of jargon such as "full-time equivalent teaching faculty members," "professional duties in furtherance of the mission of the university," "formula for equating non-classroom duties with classroom contact hours," and "labored efforts to fit the requirements into the budget generation formula and national accrediting standards." In simple terms, it said that a faculty member who taught full-time without other assigned duties should have at least 12 classroom contact hours or the equivalent.

I have no particular fondness for the language of the statute; in fact, I have a bill now before the House to modify that language substantially, but in my view the 12-hour law has had substantial benefit, even at the cost of considerable confusion and enormous red tape.

Let me list these:

- Teaching departments discovered (or acknowledged for the first time) wide disparities in teaching assignments not offset by other responsibilities.
- Departments have begun to correct these disparities by giving heavier teaching loads to faculty members who were not productive in other assignments. Those who are productive in research or other duties have not been hurt because of the equivalency leeway.
- The effort to establish equivalency formulas for classroom teaching led to a more careful examination and classification of what it is that faculty members do. In time, this might contribute to a better understanding of faculty duties by the outside world.
- The effort to relate teaching hours to other assigned duties on the basis of the budget generation formula may well become the straw that breaks the back of an outdated formula and leads to a more useful replacement. On the negative side we must admit that in the interim it has generated fantastic paperwork and efforts to achieve some kind of precision in an area where precision is nigh onto impossible.

Briefly, after allocation by the Board of Regents and the administrative heirarchy in the university, a department head is faced with a matrix showing his "budgeted faculty" divided into some five categories: teaching, research, public service, advising and academic administration. He then has to allocate those budgeted positions among his real people so that the totals match, the portion devoted to teaching equals 12 hours per faculty member, and the result bears some faint resemblance to what the faculty member is really doing: "Oops, I have .2 FTE research time left over, should it go to Professor Jones or Professor Smith?"

- The absurdity of such a process (which by the way is not necessarily required by the law) coupled with other legislation requiring faculty evaluation based on actual assignment of duties has led to a

complete rethinking of the faculty assignment process within the State University System. Hopefully, this process will bring more equity into the assignment system and provide data on the contributions of faculty which can counteract the impressions we discussed earlier.

In summary, the good effect is that departments themselves have reexamined what they are doing and have developed more equitable assignment procedures. They would not have done so without external pressure. The 12-hour law was sufficiently onerous to generate that effort, yet flexible enough to allow departments to continue to meet other legitimate responsibilities.

To return to my medical analogy, Florida's 12-hour law was a placebo—its primary effect has been psychological. It did not cure anything, but in the long run it did make people think about themselves positively.

To respond to the question before the panel, "Should Faculty Workloads be Prescribed?" I think the answer has to be "yes" but the prescriber should also be the patient, and he needs both peer review and an outside monitor for quality control. In the final analysis only individual faculty members and their colleagues in the same disciplines can make a truly informed judgment about the quantity and quality of their work. This does not mean, however, that such informed judgments leading to improvements will automatically take place. In many environments they will not occur unless there is external pressure, such as Florida's 12-hour law. Such pressure should be professional and directed at securing high quality work which meets the needs of the university and the public.

EVALUATION OF FACULTY

Neill Megaw*

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) voted through a statement on faculty workload some time ago which lists the maximal workloads for the university, for the four-year college and for the community college. That statement carried a proviso, however, that these were maxima for those institutions and individuals who aspired to develop a program of the very first rank and to sustain the program at that level. The bulk of that statement was concerned with some of the injustices and inefficiencies that are entailed in the usual distribution of teaching assignments, with a very heavy emphasis on ways in which the workload at a given institution would be determined.

Many of you are thoroughly familiar with the question of faculty evaluation from your many years of service on educational committees, so I'm not merely an insider talking to outsiders. I hope that those of you who are already quite familiar with some of the ground that I will cover will forgive me if I review material that you've long since learned.

I will address myself more to those who are less familiar with the subject. My object will be to give a quick overview of what has been done in the past and what is being done now with perhaps a few glances toward the future. I will concentrate on the value of teaching in particular since very few Ph.D.'s have gone into research or creative activity at the university level, and in the four-year college and the community college a professor's primary function is teaching.

Let me briefly comment in support of Dr. Brinkley's remarks on the importance of assessing the quality as well as the quantity in the two other major areas. We have qualified our assessment of research and our assessment of service. There are also committee "dray horses" in every institution who commit a great deal of time to committees but their service is largely undistinguished. It's valuable; they're decent persons with usually level heads but I would like to see some assessment of the quality of this type of service which includes departmental, collegial, institutional, disciplinarial, and professional service and, particularly in the case of two-year institutions, community service.

I think that we also could do a better job than has been done in the past on the assessment of the quality of research. Increasingly, tenure has become an exceptionally precious treasure, and there is a definite need to determine the quality of the research performed by the probationaries who are coming up for that all-important outward decision which is clearly too important to be passed over. I think the battle days of just weighing the number of pounds turned out in the way of publication are pretty much over. Now we have several readers of everything that a person has produced before decisions are made. There is another rather controversial method called *frequency of citation*, which, according to proponents of the system, is an index to the quality or importance of a person's publication. Of course, the really enduring pieces of work are likely to be cited for many years after publication. Others have seen flaws in this system. I'm not expressing whole-hearted advocacy of it but am simply alerting you to the fact that a new tool is being investigated these days.

By accident, 1971 happened to be a vintage year for studies on faculty evaluation. One study from the University of California presents the results of a three-year effort. It does suffer what is to me a very serious disadvantage in that it is concerned with discriminating the elements which would tell you why a person is generally regarded as a "best" teacher or as a "worst" teacher. The trouble is the ancient difficulty of distinguishing between a necessary and sufficient cause, that is to say there are many features of the performance of the "best" teacher that can be put down with great confidence as applying to let's say 95% of all the teachers so identified. The only trouble is that those features of performance also apply for about 45% of the "worst" teachers. So that we have,

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as they say, necessary causes of excellent teaching, but they are not sufficient. They do not discriminate absolutely. There are some other measures which seem to be a little bit better than those but, by and large, it's a demonstratively difficult job even when distinguishing between the two polar extremes of the teachers recognized as "best" and those who are recognized as "worst."

Perhaps most interesting about the Berkeley study (*Evaluating University Teaching* by Hildebrand, Wilson and Dienst) is that students and faculty colleagues assess a person's ability as a teacher on completely different bases. You would think that they would clash so violently over these different bases that they couldn't possibly agree on an individual's designation. The odd fact is that the teachers' judgment and the students' judgment made from these quite opposed positions are in remarkable conformity with each other. The reservation that I would quickly throw in is that this depends on whether the teacher has been around long enough. I'm not at all sure that the faculty judgments are solid for those who are probationaries and, consequently, for the very group that has the largest financial stake in these evaluations. The faculty tends to boil things down to characteristics which ought to enable the individual to be the "best" teacher. Research activity and recognition are at the top. Now that is not a pollution of the set of criteria for good teaching. They are mainly concerned about the depth of the individual's knowledge—the depth and activity, how close he is to frontiers of exploration in his discipline. The second thing is intellectual breadth—range as well as proficiency in the teaching specialty. And the third thing is obviously impressionistic: does that individual seem to enjoy good relations with students? Fourth, has he expressed concerns about good teaching? Fifth, how fully does he participate in the academic community? In other words does he seem comfortable, and does he seem to enjoy the life of the professor.

There is a great deal of difference between work and play but the difference becomes almost impossible to define in the case of those professors who really enjoy their life as teachers. Is chatting with a brilliant and handsome student part of our workload? Is reading a book at night that we would read anyway—unless you broke our legs—is that work? It's very hard to determine. That was one of the things that got in our way as we were trying to develop the AAUP statements on teaching loads.

The students obviously don't judge on that basis at all. They judge on the immediate impact on them of the teacher in the classroom. The Berkeley results, I think, show conformity with virtually every study that I've ever seen on how students judge teachers. First of all, does the teacher enjoy teaching? Is the teacher enthusiastic about the course and the subject? Does he make the course exciting? Does he have self-confidence? Second thing, does the teacher try very hard to make things clear? Is he good at taking cloudy and complex topics and somehow getting to the heart or the essence? Can he summarize the major points? Can he present material in an organized manner? Does he provide the proper emphasis? Is the course well paced? The first benchmark has to do with the strength and power of the impact and the second is clarity. Clarity is not as important as simple forcefulness and enthusiasm of the teacher; enthusiasm can carry much before it. Third, is the teacher available to and friendly toward students? Is he interested in students as individuals? Is he himself respected as a person and is he valued for advice not directly related to the course? You notice that this human side of the teaching effort as experienced by the student is number three; this is definitely priority ranking that I'm giving you. Number four is command of the subject; there you see a huge difference compared to the faculty response. Does he present the material in an analytical way? Does he contrast various points of view? Does he discuss the different implications of these opposite points of view? And finally, is he sensitive to the response of the class as a whole, encouraging student participation and welcoming questions and discussions? It seems, on the face of it, strange to the point of incredulity, that starting from those completely different positions, students and faculty would agree with each other on which were the "best" teachers and which were the very "worst." But there is agreement.

The chief deficiency with the Berkeley study is that it concentrates on the two polar extremes. I think the beginning of widom in thinking about improving teaching is to recognize that 75% of all teachers are necessarily in between the extremes of "best" and "worst." Thus, everything that you do for the improvement of teaching should be dealt with keeping that fact very firmly in mind. For instance, I needn't refer you to formal AAUP principles stating that, as in medicine and law, it's a tradition precipitated out of long experience that professionals should be judged by other professionals. In the judgment of the individual professor's performance in the classroom the chances are very strong indeed that if you regard evaluation as a way of getting rid of or punishing the very worst teachers, you have lost the game to begin with simply in practical or political terms. The fact is, of course, that nothing cuts short rational discussion more quickly than the whistle of the headsman's ax. If you're trying to get everyone to cooperate in a system of evaluation which will improve the teaching of the 75% in the middle, you've lost the game if the faculty and the students perceive this as an attempt to weed out the bottom three to five percent.

Let's dispose quickly of a few qustions. First of all, there is the question of the legitimacy of public or legislative inqury into the effectiveness of faculty in teaching, and indeed research and service as well. I don't know of any responsible spokesman for the profession who would deny that is a legitimate concern to the public. Speaking for myself (rather than for the AAUP), I've always thought of the colleges, the taxpayers and

students as related in this way. Our universities, colleges, community colleges and other postsecondary institutions together constitute an enormous gift to students of that state and also an investment. You know that there is an old argument about who should be regarded as the true owners of our state institutions. Faculty often claim that the administration seems to see itself in that position, and administrators and sometimes legislators often accuse the faculty of believing that they are the possessors of the universities. I think the obvious answer is that the students are the owners of the universities. And by the students I mean the students of the past, the present and, particularly, the future, unless the taxpayers are "Indian givers," which I doubt. It is true, of course, that the state and the legislature are in a position of stewardship; they hold title to the bricks, the property, and so forth. But it is essentially the students who are the benefactors. And if you look at the breakdown of the expenditures in the big universities and colleges, you discover that the bulk of that gift which is given by the taxpayers to the students is the faculty. Certainly the bricks are there along with books, electron microscopes, floor polishers, athletic uniforms and all the rest of the enormously complex baggage of higher education. But there's that huge item of faculty salaries on the budget each year; the chief thing that the faculty does is teach.

Clearly the legislators, as watchdogs charged with the serious responsibility of seeing that the taxpayers' dollar is well spent, must concern themselves with insisting on periodic evaluation of teaching performance. That's not a concession, by the way; after all, I am a taxpayer as well as a teacher, and that is something I would insist on. A somewhat more difficult subject is the question of the feasibility of the whole thing. There are some reputable members of the profession who have argued that the complexities of teaching are such that they simply cannot be judged. Now anyone who has been involved even slightly with this recognizes at once the tremendous complexities involved in determining how good a teacher is as a teacher. A teacher may be good for advanced courses and no good for elementary, and may be good for the brilliant, but not for the slow student. He may be pretty good for virtually all students or he can be tremendously exciting for some students and absolute death for others. The teacher may be good at making clear the very complex, subtle prohings of knowledge, or he may be a very brilliant but cloudy fellow who stands up and thinks before the class, hardly ever making anything clear, but nonetheless giving a memorable example of what thinking must be like. Professors like to think at any rate. There are some teachers who have a delayed effect—five years after having been in what seemed to be a dreadful class, a student will know that old Professor Jones who put him to sleep half the time, really had something to offer.

There's really very little hard research data in support of that desperately clung-to belief on the part of faculty but I suppose that it's possible. Some people have consequently urged the importance of longer term follow-up on a certain kind of teacher. On every faculty there are of course different roles—as there would be in any group. There's the "brilliant wit;" the person who is eminently decent, trusted by everyone and wanted on every committee; there's the abrasive, terribly controversial, loud-mouth teacher who nevertheless is basically challenging and who again and again forces the faculty or administration to come to grips with problems which would otherwise be ignored. Those are the "blackberry bush" teachers who very often are under-evaluated by their fellow teachers who nevertheless profit from the reforms caused by those scratchy, constantly complaining teachers. There are teachers who are experts at dropping hints; and setting "tiger traps" so that eventually the students will come upon discoveries by themselves. And of course there are senior statesmen and the terribly naive, gauche young teachers who nevertheless are just immensely enthusiastic and consequently welcome as the flowers of May.

In short, we have a great variety of problems in approaching the difficult question of how to evaluate teaching. Obviously, pluralism is the only way to go. There is no one kind of good or great teacher; there are many varieties. Another interesting result in the California study was that bad teachers don't seem to have sharp characteristics. They are recognized because of the absence of the characteristics of good teachers. I think that there is some sort of poetic justice in that. I can't quite put my finger on it, but it's rather nice that poor teachers are rather grey, dim, vague shapes, whereas the good and great teachers are vivid presences. Still I don't think it would be fair to argue from such difficulties that teachers are somehow immune to evaluation as teachers. Consequently I for one have the greatest suspicion about the old identification on the part of many teachers of academic freedom with the resolutely closed classroom door. I don't think the two things are the same at all. After all, what teachers are doing is no more complicated than are the performances of doctors, dancers, lawyers, legislators, musicians and all of those who get judged. I feel little difference in talking to legislators: is there any group in the country which appreciates the importance of period evaluation? Maybe professional athletes have a little edge on legislators, but not much.

Teachers can be judged and ought to be judged as teachers. I'm not going to make any suggestions to you as legislators what you should do about that. That's your area of special expertise to determine how pressure should be brought to bear and through what agencies.

Let's turn to the question of the purposes for which the evaluation is conducted, who does the evaluating and how it's done. To take the most important first—the purpose ought to be the improvement of teaching, but that is not always the case. There is some substance in the fear of many teachers that the object

of evaluation is essentially punitive, or that it can be conducted in bad faith and, consequently, can be used to weed out the controversial or obstreperous—the troublemaker who doesn't fit into the team. That is a real possibility in some cases. It's a bad thing that will be counter-productive and will almost insure that your students will not get the generally increased level of teaching that you're after. The second thing I've noticed only recently but must occur a lot of times is that there is such a thing as evaluation for the sake of

Professor Megaw

evaluation, and that's a pity. Buckie Fuller once said that the automobile was only half of the invention, the other half was the road. I think that this observation applies to evaluation. It's only half the game; the other half is that intelligent action must follow the evaluation. I do have the feeling that there is a sense of virtuous completion when evaluations, particularly the electronically-scored elaborate ones, have been completed. There is a great sigh. Nothing is more comfortable than virtuous fatigue, and if you put a lot of effort into the thing when it is completed you may just fold your hands. That's absurd, of course.

There must be all sorts of intelligent thought given to what's to be done. Obviously the excellent should be isolated and, if possible, rewarded. I don't want to get into the whole question of reward systems in higher education, but as you know it is not perfect. The hopelessness of "publish or perish" is still with us, and there are rewards for people who "get along" and "go along," but teachers in general are not given the kind of support for excellence and dedication in teaching that they should get. In a sort of pragmatic, hacked out, thumbnail criterion, I think that most universities' teachers can get raises, but not promotion. That's at the university level; I trust that the same is not true at most four-year colleges and community colleges.

In addition to isolating the best and at least patting them on the back, there should be the isolation of the very worst. Serious attention should be given to them not just as deadwood, to be weeded out, but as examples of something that has gone wrong. Chances are that these people were at one time very fine and promising and something went wrong, something went sour. Perhaps it was punitive assignments or the assignment of the wrong kind of teaching activity. If you could make up an in-depth study of how they got that way, you could do a great deal to upgrade a given institution. Also, many of them can be changed by carefully considering other things they might be doing. Obviously, some must be gotten out of the classroom by some device. They can be made archivists—no one knows what an archivist is; but they are not in the classroom. They can be persuaded into an early retirement. I'm talking, you understand, only about a very small percentage of distressingly hopeless cases. Ultimately there is the possibility, when everything else has failed, of due process: the consideration of whether or not that teacher should be let go in spite of tenure on the basis of incompetence.

If you look closely at the AAUP 1940 statement, you'll see that tenure means not that you have job guarantee, absolutely without any questions at all, but that you cannot be let go after receiving tenure unless there is adequate cause. Now it would be less than candid for me to let it go at that without pointing out the extreme difficulty often involved in getting rid of the worst teacher. It would require harmonious cooperation between the administration and the faculty leadership, which exists in very few places. Often it would cause such a furor that you take a much greater loss in terms of the rest of the faculty's morale. These difficulties are not unique to teaching. How many doctors are prohibited from practicing medicine, not on the basis of some glaring blunder but on the basis of consistently weak performance? How many lawyers are disbarred on the basis of simply being wretched, weak advocates? It's very difficult once a person has passed the probationary period, the papers have been signed and the person seems to be qualified. There is no question about it.

However, again I remind you the wisdom in considering the middle 75%. We need to try a whole variety of devices for helping the people in between. As legislators I urge you to encourage experimentation with that kind of teacher development. There are many points in a teacher's career when there is a let-up; shortly after tenure is at long last achieved, there is a slump. There are physiological slumps at different points in the teacher's career. More study should be made of those, and more attention should be given to the various devices which can get the teachers back on the rail, constantly growing and refreshing themselves. Developmental leaves are a terribly hot issue, I know, because they are so very, very expensive and all of you are familiar with desperately tight budgets.

Now, we can turn to the question "by whom?" I've already indicated that I think the most appropriate evaluators of teacher performance are other teachers. But, there are many, many ways in which that can go wrong. All I can say is, like tenure or democracy, the system may be riddled with weaknesses, but do you

have a better alternative? The teachers collectively operate with honor, intelligence and prudence, time permitting. Very often decisions must be made much too rapidly. I've often advocated, without much success, that administrators set aside enough funds for released faculty time so that a committee on instruction can be created. Slowly rotating terms of membership would enable teachers to become familiar with a variety of teaching situations in effect at their particular institution, and would provide an opportunity to study and consult with the various teachers and suggest ways in which teaching assignments might be changed to bring out more of the potential of the individual teacher and so on and so forth. I think that that is some place in the future. It seems terribly wasteful to spend so much on faculty salaries and so little on released time.

It's difficult for an administration to resist the temptation of using faculty evaluation as a means of weeding out individuals perceived by the administration as doing real damage to the institution. I've already emphasized what happens when that becomes known. The efforts to improve teaching generally tend to fall through. The administrator is, after all, captain of the ship; he's concerned with the overall health of the vessel, but there must be a resistance to that temptation if teaching is to be improved.

This brings us to the faculty and, of course, the students. I've already related to you the difference in their judgment on the basis of the California experience. Let me remind you again that I don't think the faculty can do as well as the students when we're thinking about the probationary members of the faculty. It's only when you've known people for ten years or so that you pick up enough of the student feedback to be able to say with any conviction that a person is one of our very best teachers or one of our very worst. Now a number of approaches have been suggested; some of them have some merit but aren't proven yet; others are just old dreams of finding a totally satisfactory solution to the problem. I'm afraid I'm one of those who would classify as "a vain dreamer" a teacher who makes a list of all his objectives which are tested by students at the beginning and end of the semester to determine whether the objectives have been achieved. That is what lies behind many of the proposals for competancy performance-based teacher education and teacher evaluation. The trouble is that a good teacher has so many objectives that just to put down the primary and secondary, let alone the tertiary, would be exhaustive, testing would be fantastically expensive, and you still wouldn't know if the course worked the way it ought to have worked at that particular level. The good in a teacher's course is often the meat all around the skeleton of the syllabus. And just to look at the skeleton would miss the fact that the good teacher will seize any opportunity to let the students grow in any direction as long as reasonable progress is made toward the completion of the course materials.

Another system attempts to estimate the impact of the teacher on the basis of the students' later achievements. This, however, is sand that trickles through the fingers: even if you could catch it you wouldn't have any idea if one teacher was responsible for the students' later successes or failures. There are so many variables in the way students learn: the rates, the spurts, the backsliding, the impact of other students and the impact of other teachers. Even if you could get that material together I'm not sure you would know much about what that particular teacher had done.

One system still popular in some institutions is the examination of all the written by-products of the teaching. You look at the course syllabi, you look at the teacher's comments on students' papers, you look at number and quality of hand-outs the teacher finds necessary to give the students lest they fall into the clutches of the textbook and the examinations, of course. As a teacher of English I somewhat regret to have to admit that that really doesn't do too much. There are some teachers who can do a good game of the written side of their courses, but do very badly indeed in the course.

I remember a few years back a man came in to me to see if he could get a job in the English department at Texas. He had the most impressive written course materials I had ever seen in my life. They were a labor of love and were remarkable in terms of contemporary media, scholarship, fullness, accuracy, judiciousness of observation, and brilliant suggestions on student innovation. It was just absolutely wonderful, but he bored me to death because he talked for an hour and fifteen minutes. He was incredibly vain, conceited and almost stone deaf, so that when I was able to get a few words in, he didn't hear them (the same would have been true of any student). There's an example of someone who is so lopsided I doubt he would be an effective teacher or a great experience to students in that classroom.

Still another measure is course registration: how many will sign up for the teacher again, how many sign up for more courses in the same discipline. Let's just dismiss that as negligible and trifling.

So getting down to the real things, we have the practices of the past, involving mainly secondhand or derivitive information from students processed through the minds of faculty colleagues, who also judge on demands to repeat the course, the depth of scholarship and, to a lesser extent, the person's intellectual range. Then come factors such as the ability to get along well with students—a reputation that filters gradually through the faculty colleagues. These impressions are distorted very sharply at first because of students' responses are likely to be the occasional complaints. Anyone who served as a dean knows that you get a very jaundiced view of the faculty because 70% of the students that you hear from are coming to you because they have problems. You never talk to the others who are running around bright-eyed, bushy-tailed, and who

are having a wonderful time, never bothering the dean. Still another factor is parallel performance: a faculty colleague will judge on the basis of a formal lecture presentation. Over the years this imperfect, illogical, intuitive, never-ending kind of judgment of faculty by their colleagues does seem to work out.

However, for the legislator I think that more important is the question of how quickly can we judge accurately enough the teaching abilities of those who are getting to that critical point where they are promoted to tenure or told to pack their bags. The committee on which I have been working in AAUP has long since come to the conclusion that student input judged intelligently by experienced colleagues with the time to pass careful judgment is an invaluable part of the teaching evaluation process. And obviously it makes sense to get those students' ratings as systematically and as comprehensively as possible so that you are not operating with hodge-podge information. A student rating sheet usually has three constituencies who are going to be interested in the responses and in different measure according to the particular topic the students are responding to. Their first constituency is, of course, the study body, the second is the faculty, and the third is the administration. Now all of these have different and legitimate interest in the responses to the questions. The students always hope for a print-out in which the other students will be warned who are the good teachers and who are not. Nevertheless, when deprived of that, they are willing to contribute if they feel that their responses will be heeded and there will be some improvement in teaching effectiveness over the years because of their having taken the time to respond.

There are other topics which are primarily for the faculty and for the administration; the students are nearly always impatient with those items. In the same sort of way, I guess, the faculty is impatient with some of the items it considers as not really important. The faculty, of course, wants feedback on self-improvement; teachers also have legitimate interest in discovering whether the course works well after new methods and materials have been introduced. The administration, the left out lonely orphan in the process, has legitimate interests in many of these topics.

For instance, when I was serving as chairman of the English department, there was a slanderous canard sweeping the campus that the teaching assistants were doing an atrocious job, and it was dereliction of responsibility on the part of the faculty and the administration in letting so many courses be taught by TA's. Well, obviously, it seemed advisable to begin with finding out it the TA's were doing a bad job. I was able to ask our monstrously complex measurement and evaluation bureau to crank out electronically the results of the teaching ratings of all the TA's as against all the regular faculty. They were performing at the 49th percentile; end of that rumor. There were no questions about it. Particularly, if you'll remember the TA's who had these ratings taken were being compared with a select number of faculty members who had determined that they can be released and therefore can be presumed to be somewhere above average. Even so, the 49th percentile doesn't mean that they would be good faculty members teaching other subjects. It just means that at that particular level they are doing just as good a job as the professors are at their much more advanced, much more complex levels of instruction.

Another use can be in comparing the merits of one version of the course with another. Another administrative use that is perfectly legitimate is the comparison of student ratings in one college against another. Since these rating forms tend to have items in common as you move from institution to institution, it might even be possible to get a fairly reliable read-out on how your institution is doing in a given subject or at a given level as compared with kindred or different kinds of institutions.

Now what matters is that the rating sheet itself (which should be as good an instrument as can be devised) can still be a disaster if it is not introduced first with the full cooperation, participation and self-education of all three constituencies. Each must learn to be generous to the needs of the other two constituencies. It must be made clear and this must be repeated because the student body keeps changing every year—a sort of virginal snowstorm of those little young faces are on the campus every fall; the faculty gradually turns over; and administrators either have the life span of May flies or glaciers, but gradually the administration changes. So there must be re-education. The first effort is not enough. But to introduce the thing by jamming it down throats is usually disastrous. So this initial period of education, determining what is to go into the device and why it is going in there, is essential.

Then there is the device itself. Let me simply say that it is desirable to both accommodate and limit the insistent requests on the part of specific programs and specific disciplines that the instrument be altered in terms of what that group is doing. There must be some accommodation because otherwise the instrument will not sustain itself over a great many years, but it must be limited or you lose comparability. You do need comparability if you're to test one thing against another to get a general sense if this is working better than it worked four years ago. If you change the instrument you can't run that sort of comparison.

Finally, there is the matter of the intelligent interpretation of the data. Many of you have been teachers, but those of you who have not can see that there might be a difference in favorable student response for a required freshman course meeting 4 to 5 p.m. on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and a freely elected, seminar-style course meeting from 9:30 - 1:45 on Tuesdays and Thursdays. It's necessary, in short, to look at the raw data and make sense out of the materials that are there. It's also necessary to consider percentile ranking. If a student says that this is a very

good teecher or this is a very, very good teecher, you want to know how many teachers they tend to respond to in that way. On some of the items students are very conservative and tough and on some others they are very generous and warm. For instance, one wonderful example of the psychology of the young is that they rate most of their teachers as better than most teachers and that they say most of their courses are better than most courses. Nevertheless, they add that the course did not measure up to their expectations.

Let m[illegible] /e you a final glance at one of the things you as leg[illegible]ators should be concerned with because you are presumably trying to probe the future as well as redress the inequities of the past and clarify the confusions of the present. I think that American higher education has two very strong drawing edges: one is continuing education extension and correspondence. I think very few faculties and very few state legislatures have been as responsible and as intelligently future-piercing as they should have been on this particular issue. We're confronting a situation in which we have massive unemployment in this country; there are many, many citizens who will need and will desire continuing education, if only on a sporadic or occasional basis. We have for too long regarded continuing education or extension work as a kind of tenth carbon copy of what goes on in the residential day program. That I think is intolerable and we need to move in that direction. We're going to have a new breed of teachers, and what they do is going to be remediation at every conceivable level, all the way from kindergarten to the most obtruse levels, there will still be the need for catch-ups. So if nothing else, there's going to be a new kind of teacher, the diagnostician whose range of knowledge is very extensive and who's able to assess just where the student, often 35 or 45 years old, needs help the most. It's going to be very difficult to evaluate. The second area is that we're going to be moving inevitably toward independent study for the average student. What we have rarely done in higher education is provide iraining in how to be independent to our college graduates. They stand there as seniors on a graduation platform without an understanding of how to go on teaching themselves for the rest of their lives. When that happens, that institution hes failed in its mission. Now because of old habits it's going to be a long time before that's generally recognized, and individual instruction is of course conceived of in the traditional way, the Oxford-Cambridge turorial one-to-one way, the most expensive of all kinds of instruction. Totally new devices will have to be worked out for providing independent instruction for the masses, not for the brilliant self-starters because they're independent to begin with, but for the C students, the B minus student; that is going to be a tremendous challenge, and there'll be the need for totally new kinde of evaluation, of teaching effectiveness. It, too, will be legitimate and it, too, will be feasible.

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2. *The Recognition and Evaluotion of Teaching*, Kenneth E. Eble (American Association of University Professors, 1971), 111 pp.

The first half is an excellent general introduction which considers a variety of methods for evaluating teachers, focussing finally on student evaluations. The second half appends seven short essays or sample rating devices from various institutions.

3. *The Evaluation of Teaching College English*, Richard L. Larson (MLA/ERIC Clearing-House on the Teaching of English in Higher Education), 102 p.m.

Professor Larson had hoped to concentrate on English but found he had to deal with the evaluation of college teaching in general. He gives more attention than Professor Eble to classroom visitation and other methods of evaluation but comes to similar conclusions. From p. 70 on bibliography and sample student rating forms and procedures.

THE VALUE OF RESEARCH IN THE UNIVERSITY

Eugene P. Odum*

For the better part of this century, "research" has been a magic word, and activities carried out in its name scarcely needed justification at the university level. The land-grant state universities have always promoted applied research as a means of keeping their commitment for service in the public interest. While the research of agricultural and engineering experiment stations and the professional schools serve to keep universities in good standing at home, research of a more fundamental or basic nature is necessary to elevate a university to high national and international standing.

Southern universities were slow to support the latter kind of research or to develop a balanced pattern of basic and applied work, but in recent years they have made rapid progress in closing the gap, and thereby, have greatly improved their national reputations. In fact, the standing of a college in a national scale of excellence is almost entirely based on the quantity and quality of its research, most especially on the number of research "stars" on its payroll (the quality factor) and the amount of money received in federal grants (the quantity factor). That quality research is vital to the economic development of a region is undisputed, but we do need to remind budget-makers from time to time that money allocated to research is an investment which yields large dividends in the future. In other words, research is a necessary, not luxury, item in the higher educational system.

Since research is by far the most expensive activity in terms of per-capita costs that a university does, it is to be expected that the traditional evaluation of research should be questioned in times of inflation and rising costs. In this brief address I shall not attempt to either defend or discredit traditional values, instead, I would express what I think we all sense, namely,

- There are legitimate questions of costs and benefits.
- There is bureaucratic inefficiency and loss of purpose in the administration of research programs.
- Research and teaching are mutually dependent, not competitive, but the quality of teaching can be reduced where research becomes the only criterion for faculty promotion.
- Research has become overspecialized and departmentalized to the detriment of work on broader problems that now demand our attention.

All of these aspects add up to a need to reassess the role of research in colleges and universities. I would urge that any assessment at the state level be bipartisan, that is, carried out jointly by university researchers and administrators and committees from the state legislatures working together. Unilateral attempts by either party to "quick-fix" problems could jeopardize the hard-earned national stature so recently attained by Southern universities through their research performance.

First, let us examine the basic reasons for deteriorating relations between the educational system and the public. in my opinion, the current discontent with colleges, especially as expressed in the halls of state and national legislatures, is not based so much on what colleges have been or are now doing, as on what they have not been able to accomplish. For one thing, expectation for research among the general public is much too high. While the lag time between discovery and application has become shorter in recent years, it still takes time to "prove out" new ideas. Somehow the public expects science and technology to solve quickly all of our perplexing problems, even though most involve human values, economics and politics—matters largely out of the reach of traditional research procedures. This again suggests the need for new kinds of integrative research, which can unite science and economics, for example.

Most of all, discontent is a product of subtle, but fundamental, changes in society as a whole. Whether we like to or not, this nation is moving slowly, albeit reluctantly, from a pioneer state, characterized by rapid growth, cheap energy and exploitation of easily obtainable resources to a mature state which will be characterized by slower and more planned growth, expensive energy, and resource shortages that will require more conservation and recycling. These changes in national direction and in the public

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attitudes that accompany them require that we reassess nearly everything we do, and establish new goals that may be quite different from goals of the past. Most universities are already operating at a steady-state level and are already aware that new growth money can no longer be counted on to correct past miscalculations or pay for operating costs or desirable new programs.

As universities and other institutions attempt to self-adjust to changing times and accept the challenges of the steady-state, there is an ever-present danger

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that shortsighted or politically motivated changes or cutbacks may be forced upon universities from the outside, thus endangering the one traditional value that must be retained—and that is academic freedom. It is important that political leaders recognize that fiscal and management problems in a university are exactly the same as in society at large, that is, how to survive on limited resources coupled with inflationary energy costs, and how to increase efficiency of operation so more of the available wealth can be used for creative purposes. Before one criticizes universities, one must in all fairness ask if state governments are doing any better.

Universities resemble complex organisms or fine watches which are very vulnerable to amateurish tinkering or abusive treatment by persons who have not made the effort to study and understand how the system works. In this connection I believe it is useful to think of the university system as composed of two basic components, the physical plant and the people (faculty, administration and service personnel) who operate it. When hard times occur and budget reductions have to be considered, the short-sighted response seems always to cut the people first. It would be much better to cut the "things" (programs, operating expenses, etc.) since these can be replaced much more quickly and easily than the gifted teacher or star researcher who has left the institution because of salary cuts.

To preserve the traditional value of research and freedom in colleges, the time has probably come for altering the way in which research is promoted and administered within the university if for no other reason than to head off unwise surgery. For example, there is much talk around the country of "de-coupling" research from education on the theory that it would be more efficient for research to be carried out in research institutions and teaching and training to be carried out in separate teaching institutions. I know of no educator who would support such radical departure from the mixed teaching-research-service mission of the traditional state university, even if it could be shown to be economically more efficient to "de-couple" these functions.

In fact, most of us would argue that overall efficiency would more likley be achieved by going the exact opposite route, namely, merging functions in terms of coupling competing or overly narrow departments and schools and encouraging more interdisciplinary and team effort through the support of centers, programs and institutes which deal with the whole of major areas of public concern. While science is basically "reductionist" in that it tends to move in the direction of greater detail and narrower specialities, there must also be synthesis and holistic effort if scientific knowledge is ever really to serve man. Administrators and legislative study committees need to seek ways to encourage and provide budget support for groups of scholars who show enthusiasm for work on common causes.

It has been my experience with the Institute of Ecology at the University of Georgia that when a dedicated group of scholars and students work together in an important large area such as environmental science, arbitrary lines between basic and applied research or between training, research or service disappear; creative people, I find, are less concerned about how their time is divided between these arbitrary functions, as they are in generating, testing and communicating ideas. Best of all, administrative costs go down when team workers are highly motivated to pool efforts; there is no need for deans, assistant deans, assistants to the assistant dean or a lot of office paperwork. Our Institute of Ecology operates a $2 million program of research, training and service with an administrative staff of about five. As the director of this group I look upon myself as a person who creates an environment conducive to creative work and not as a person who directs a research program.

The federal government's experience in setting up its own research laboratories can be cited as a good reason not to "de-couple" research from other aspects of education and public service. At first, federal laboratories were often located in non-college towns largely as part of the political pork-barrel system; more recently, such laboratories have been sited on or near college campuses where there is at least an opportunity for interaction with students and faculty. Federal administrators report improved performances of laboratories located on college campuses, and most

would like to see more "coupling," rather than less.

Also, I do not believe most legislators realize that research pays for a large part of the cost of teaching. Equipment in the teaching classroom and laboratory is very often equipment that was bought on a research grant, used in research for a while until replaced by more advanced equipment, and then turned over for student use. The overhead money from research is very often used to pay for new classrooms or for salaries of teachers.

So, let us dispell once and for all the myth that teaching and research are immiscible. To resolve assessment conflicts in this area I believe we need, first, to do a better job of recognizing and rewarding the good teacher, and second, to use a broader spectrum of indices in evaluating creativity, and not just base promotion on number of research papers published.

Unfortunately, the current administration of college research makes it difficult to integrate basic and applied work and to develop interdisciplinary work. Departments and professional schools so dominate the budget-making procedure that it is difficult for groups of scholars who wish to work across fields to get any support, except by way of outside grants. Presidents and provosts must face up to the reality that under steady-state budgeting the only way to develop new programs, especially interdisciplinary ones, is to cut back dead wood—that is, abolish programs which no longer meet the needs of the times. So far, few administrators have had the courage to take away from the obsolete in order to give to the relevant.

During the remarkable growth of Southern universities in the 1950's and 1960's, overhead from large state and federal grants contributed greatly to development of general excellence of broad programs since such funds were used to enrich libraries, equip classrooms and support studies in the social sciences and humanities, as we have already noted. During that period at the University of Georgia about half of grant overhead went into a fund called "General Research" which was then allocated in the form of small grants to departments, faculty and students selected on the basis of merit by an internal panel. Young instructors and bright students were able to get support for imaginative pilot projects irrespective of field and without having to go to the foundations before they were ready for large grants.

Now, unfortunately, with rising costs and inflation, overhead funds tend to go to general operation to pay for utility bills, mowing lawns, and so on. In Georgia, as I understand it, this decision was ordered by the State Budget Commission without any discussion or consultation with the faculty. I would urge that some feedback of at least part of the huge overhead funds be reestablished to support not only the young scholars, but more especially, in terms of today's needs, cross-discipline study. Again, this feedback of overhead funds requires that plant operations be streamlined so as to operate within limits of state money. I do not think it is either ethical or proper to use federal funds, appropriated for research and other scholarly work, for fertilizer to grow more grass in front of the administration building. Maybe this is not literally being done, but in principle it works out this way.

This disposition of overhead is just one example in a whole list of procedures that need critical examination by responsible and knowledgeable people. The value of research, like our national constitution, stands self-evident, but it must not just be taken for granted or be considered a "sacred cow" immune from criticism and change. Excellence in research is an American tradition which, like our other national heritages, can fall victim to complacent neglect, or to overzealous and overly rigid bureaucracy which attempts too much control over man's free spirit that dares to seek the unknown and think the unthinkable, even when the latter runs contrary to current political dogma.

MANAGING FISCAL RESOURCES IN HIGHER EDUCATION DURING A PERIOD OF RISING COSTS

Earl F. Cheit*

In 1975, the dominant fact about many of our institutions is their economic plight. All types of institutions seem to be affected—small and large, private and public, from the family to the state government, the college to the congress, the counties, the cities. Despite their many differences, these institutions share a new, complex problem: their income is rising, but their costs are rising faster. The resulting financial gap is one of the nation's major problems.

That financial gap means there is a gap between the expectations our institutions seek to fulfill, and our ability, or willingness, to pay for them. Both gaps are growing. The resulting pressure is revealed in familiar ways in all parts of the country. Even in those relatively few lucky cities that have avoided the pressure — Kenner, Louisiana, for example, with a $4.3 million dollar budget has almost $1 million in surplus revenues. Elsewhere, we discuss it in polite forums: we face it in strikes; it threatens bankruptcies for cities; we pay for it in high interest rates for municipal bonds; we worry about the coming collision between government and unions.

If this seemed to be a temporary problem of this year—a cost disease of 1975 that public health economics measures could eradicate—our natural optimism would lead us to look beyond it, to renewed growth and new achievements, to meeting higher expectations. That is far more appealing than the alternative: becoming preoccupied with accounting for costs, which, as John Brooks has written, puts us in "one of the most dismal corners of what Carlyle called the dismal science of economics ... (one) seldom scrutinized by reformers or populist legislators."

But all the evidence is that our cost problem is far from temporary. Food and fuel costs continue to rise, as do the prices of other important resources. Prices of most products have continued to rise even during the recent recession, with its idle capacity. Even if the present tentative economic recovery continues, growth will be slow, at least for a few years. In short, cost pressures will grow well beyond this year. We seem destined to spend more than a short time in that "dismal corner," preoccupied with costs.

Our ability to work our way out of that corner depends as much as ever on our motivation to achieve a better life. That progress will also depend, more than in the past, on our ability to come to terms with serious cost-income problems. So, it is precisely this subject of dealing with finances under rising cost that most occupies legislators, governors, school officials, all of us.

In the field of higher education, I can think of no one better equipped to deal with these difficult issues than the legislators, academics, and administrators brought together by SREB. Over a quarter century, you and your predecessors have developed an operating style and a level of competence that is admired and, to be blunt, envied, in other parts of the nation. I am pleased to join you again, for as I have noted previously on visits here, I learn more than I teach.

Our assignment is this session is above all timely: "managing financial resources in higher education during a period of rising costs." Managing, it is worth stressing at the outset, does not imply maintaining the status quo, keeping things going on as they are, in directions being set by circumstances. The purpose of managing, as I understand it, is to identify longer-term goals, keep attention on them, and, while working on day-to-day problems, to move an organization towards those goals.

Our assigned topic plunges us into some basic, day-to-day issues. But "managing" directs that we link them to goals. First, however, our assigned subject requires that we ask:

- What is the nature of the basic cost problem?
- What are its main elements?
- What can be done about them? By whom?

Then we can conclude by asking:

- What policy goals are we working towards?

Nature of the Basic Cost Problem

The basic problem is clearly revealed by studies of costs over the long term. These studies show that from 1930 to 1960 average costs in American higher educa-

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tion have risen at the rate of inflation plus 2.5 percent per student per year. In other words, when the rate of inflation was 2.5, higher education costs rose 5 percent per student, per year. During the period of recent rapid growth in higher education, per student costs rose at an even faster annual rate — 4, 6, and in some institutions, even 8 percent above the rate of inflation. Although the average rate of expenditure declined in the late 1960s, U.S. Office of Education data show that for the ten year period, 1963-1973, the average annual rate of increase for the nation was 2.3 percent per student, in constant dollars.

Looking ahead, the latest U.S. Office of Education's 10-year projection (to 1983) is that this national cost trend will continue. Despite the predicted decline in enrollment growth (between 1975-1980) and the predicted absolute decline in enrollment (between 1980-1985), O. E. predicts that expenditures per student will continue to rise, in constant dollars, by an average of 2.9 percent per year. That is the basic cost problem.

This history and these projections tell us how the basic cost problem will affect us in the years ahead. College and university presidents will be asking their state legislators for increasing budgets, per student, in real terms, of some 2 to 3 percent per year. "We need more," is what the request will say.

In response, legislators will be saying, "We could understand these budget requests when there was rapid enrollment growth. Growth costs money. But now enrollment growth is slowing down, and predictions are that enrollment will level off, perhaps even decline. Why do you need more money per student now?"

"Gee Whiz" — or legislative words to that effect — "you had better come up with a better answer than you just need more. Why do you need more?" At this point the college or university president is tempted to say, "for the same reason you do. Our costs are going up no faster than state government, less so than the federal government."

Now, aside from the fact that such mutual recrimination is graceless, to say nothing of risky, we expect a better response from academics. Their calling is analyzing and teaching. Sometimes that fails. So in the State of Montana, we now have the extreme situation of the Montana University System suing the state legislature to gain freedom from the reallocation rules promulgated by the legislative committee on fiscal restraint.

To avoid that situation, college and university presidents in other states will have to have some answers, be able to show what efforts are being made to deal with the cost problem, and legislators will need to understand, and try to work with this difficult basic problem. I know that such efforts are already going on in your region.

Main Elements in the Cost Pressure

Inflation. The most obvious source of cost pressure is, of course, inflation. I just noted that the basic problem is the historic and projected expenditure increases above the rate of inflation. Yet inflation itself is of key importance to our understanding of that basic problem. The current inflation with recession is a new phenomenon. Three aspects of this situation are especially important to this discussion:

1. The rate of inflation has accelerated during the past 15 years as is shown by the annual growth rate of Consumer Price Index (C.P.I.). From 1960-1967 the annual growth rate was 1.7%; from 1968-1974, 5.9%; and in 1974 the annual growth rate was the double digit figure of 11.1%. After a drop, the current rate is again double and apparently rising.

2. Indices like the Consumer Price Index (C.P.I.) or the Wholesale Price Index (W.P.I.) understate the effects of inflation on colleges and universities, perhaps by as much as one-fourth according to one study (the Halstead Index). A recent survey at the University of California revealed that while the C.P.I. and the W.P.I. increased 8.4 percent and 17 percent respectively from January 1973 to January 1974, the average increase in goods purchased by the University storehouse rose 22 percent over the same period. This rate of increase in the prices of storehouse goods occurred in spite of some forward buying and several favorable longrun purchasing agreements.

3. Colleges and universities are not a significant source of inflationary pressure; their building, borrowing, wage setting and resource using are not much of an inflationary factor. They do not "pass through" cost increases with the ease of most business enterprises. The "pass through" is so efficient that we recently learned that if the beans in a can were free, the cost to consumers would probably not go down, for processing costs go up so rapidly. Some costs rise in advance of cost pressures. A recent *Wall Street Journal* article (Aug. 22, 1975, p. 1) revealed that many large firms increase their prices in anticipation of rising costs. In contrast, the tuition and fees charged by colleges and universities, lag behind rising prices.

Moreover, colleges and universities are victims both of inflation and of the policies used to fight it. High interest rates are hard on stock prices and therefore on giving and on total endowment return. Government restraint on spending cuts income.

Higher education — along with government, and indeed, the service sector generally — does, however, have one important inflationary characteristic: its lagging productivity.

Lagging Productivity. Education has not been able to achieve the kind of rapid and continued productivity increases characteristic of the non-service sector of the private economy. Some argue, incorrectly, I believe, that higher education has had no productivity increases at all. In the non-service sector of the economy, productivity increases (averaging, until recently, about 2.5% a year) tend to offset wage increases. Wages of the service sector tend to follow (and compete with) these wage increases. But in the service sector these wage increases are not offset by higher

productivity. The result is predictable: rising cost of city government, of sports activities, of opera tickets, of operating the state legislature, and as we have seen, of colleges and universities.

Qualitative Improvements. Not all of the historic price increases in higher education were due to lagging productivity, however. Colleges and universities do not turn out the same product, year after year. In his study, *The Economics of the Major Private Universities*, William Bowen analyzed data from the end of World War II to 1966, and found that although faculty salaries rose 5 percent in that period, costs per student rose 7½ percent. He observed . . .

> ". . .if there were no increase in output per manhour in universities, if the 'product' turned out by the universities did not change, cost per student should increase at about the same rate as faculty salary scale. It didn't! Thus, whatever increase in output per manhour has occurred, it has been more than offset by forces making for a more expensive educational product. About one third of increase in cost per student can be regarded as reflecting the costs of a more elaborate (presumably more valuable) educational product."

It is easy to understand that new fields cost more money. But it is also important to note that advances in traditional fields, e.g., libraries, research equipment, computers, also add to cost. Both processes—new fields and advances in existing activities—are going on in our institutions, and these contribute to the educational product, and also increase costs.

Composition of Expenditures. Students and student choices are changing. One result is more cost pressure. The U.S. Office of Education predicts that by 1983-84, the proportionate share of graduate and first professional degrees will rise—doctoral degrees will go up from 3 percent in 1973-74 to 3.1 percent in 1983-84; O.E. predicts that the share of master's degrees will rise from 20 percent to 22 percent; first professional degrees will rise from 4 percent to 4.4 percent; and there will be a corresponding decline in the relative share of bachelor's degrees from 73 percent to 70.5 percent.

In addition, classes in the future are likely to include more students in need of remediation and financial assistance.

Thus, in addition to changes in educational product, the changing mix of enrollments, the needs of future students are likely to cost more in the future than they do now. The present trend of enrollments away from the humanities toward cost in fields like the health professions, and computer sciences, will, on balance, add to these rising cost pressures. All of these changes in the composition of expenditures will increase overall costs.

Increased Administration. Aggregated data for all institutions confirm what a look around campus, or at the telephone directory, suggests—relatively more money is going into administration. In the period 1959-60 to 1971-72 (the latest year for which these overall data are available) total current fund income of colleges and universities rose about five fold (from 5.6 to 25.6 billion). The portion of that income spent for "educational and general" purposes declined about 6 percent (from 80.5% to 75.1%). But the share of those expenditures going to "general administration" rose by 30 percent. This is a rough measure to be sure, and the figures are dated, yet the trend is clear, and, I believe

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it is continuing. Relatively more money is going into administration.

Some of this increased administration is making up for the past condition of being underadministered; some is needed to permit colleges and universities to make credible adjustments to harder times. But whatever the reason, it adds to costs.

Demands for Information. Some of the new administrative cost is made necessary by a factor external to the campus—new demands for information. These demands come from governors, legislators, and staff members in both executive and legislative branches.

This factor is not discussed much in the open, perhaps out of fear that such discussion will be misinterpreted as a desire to avoid good management, and therefore arouse suspicion and become counterproductive. Yet, in some states the amount of information demanded of public institutions has reached the point where a small army of analysts is required to supply it. This problem is not limited to higher education. Representative Moss of California sent a questionnaire to the SEC. The reply required a 2,000-page report, 20,000 pages of exhibits, all prepared at a cost of $100,000 (*Wall Street Journal*, July 25, 1975). These demands for information add to cost pressures everywhere. The benefits of this information flood are far from clear.

Mandated Social Programs. A relatively new element in the cost situation, one whose importance is bound to grow, is the increasing number of mandated social programs, now part of the campus budget. A re-

cent American Council on Education study analyzed the effects of 12 areas of federal social legislation affecting higher education. Just to list them is impressive:

FEDERAL SOCIAL LEGISLATION AFFECTING HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS:

1. *Equal Employment Opportunity*
   Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended.
2. *Equal Pay Act of 1963*
3. *Affirmative Action*
   Executive Order—11246, as amended, issued in 1965, amended to include discrimination on basis of sex, 1967
4. *Age Discrimination* in Employment Act of 1967, as amended.
5. *The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970*
6. *Minimum Wage*
   Wage and Hour Law: The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (FLSA).
7. *Unemployment Insurance*
   Social Security Act—Employment Security Amendments —1970.
8. *Social Security Tax Increases*
   Social Security Act—Employment Security Amendments —1970.
9. *Benefits—Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs)*
   Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973.
10. *Pensions*—(Note: Public institutions excluded)
    Employment Retirement income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA)
11. *Wage and Salary Controls*
    Economic Stabilization Act of 1970
12. *Environmental Protection*

When the findings are released by ACE later this year, they will show the substantial current cost impact of these federal programs. Their potential impact is, of course, even greater. This list does not include state programs.

Carryover Costs of Past Decisions. Finally, if we are to be brutally frank about cost pressures, we must add those created by past decisions, which though apparently wise at the time, in the light of later facts, look bad. Where cost is concerned, past mistakes cannot be buried. We must pay for dormitories not being used; we pay for excess capacity, for too many graduate programs, for more veterinary schools than needed. Every institution and every state legislature could prepare its own list.

What Can Be Done About These Elements of Cost Pressure?

These eight elements in the cost problem (inflation, lagging productivity, qualitative improvements, changing composition of expenditures, increased administration, demands for information, mandated social programs, carryover from past bad decisions) respond to the second part of our assignment. If we are to manage resources under these pressures we must turn to the third part of our assignment, what can be done about them and by whom. I shall not try to exhaust the possibilities here, but to make some suggestions that might open our discussion of each of the eight items.

Inflation. Neither the campus nor the state legislature can have much influence on the course of inflation. But both can work with the problem to help minimize its effects. Campuses can cut operating costs, and according to my studies they are doing so. Some have made very deep cuts. Yet, the hard truth is that over time, these measures can only ease the worst blows of inflation, they cannot repel them. It is important to document the precise nature of impact of the problem and communicate it to the campus and the legislature. If we are to avoid complacency about inflation, we need to know much more about its effects. Legislative understanding and help are essential.

Lagging Productivity. Most of us feel vulnerable on this issue. And for good reason, except for increasing class size, or introducing time-shortened degrees, our record is spotty. Although the service sector has not been very successful in finding ways to increase productivity, we must continue our efforts to be. Some institutions have made advances with cable television and self-paced instruction. There was brief hope that new technology would prove a productivity boom. Now that hope is fading. England's Open University recently reported that regular broadcasting was "more reliable and likely to prove cheaper than the new technology of cassettes, play back loops, video recorders and film." Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., president of Michigan State University, has recently argued that his institution has made productivity gains by using these methods, but that it has now reached a plateau.

It may be that higher education will be forced to do more of what retailers have done—move to self-service. All service sectors are looking in that direction. Hotel economists predict that by 1980, the $100-a-day hotel room will be common, and that in order to hold down costs, hotels will have to move to more self-service. They predict that just as hotels in the past went from shining shoes to giving their guests a shining cloth, in the future hotel clerks may hand linen to their guests and tell them to make their own beds. The point is that colleges and universities should work at increasing productivity, but there are limits on what they can reasonably be expected to do.

Qualitative Improvement and Changing Mix of Expenditures. Cost pressures in both these areas are likely to require that institutions become more selective about their areas of strength. This is a job for both institutions and states. The state can be helpful in integrating the strengths of its various institutions.

Increased Administration. It is necessary to spend money to save it, to increase effectiveness. But the demanding task for campus and state alike is to know when there are diminishing returns. This area needs examination.

Demands for Information. State officials from both legislative and executive branches could help, as can

regents and trustees. I believe it is time to make the accountability movement accountable. Are the questions being asked really related to the resource allocation process? Or, is much of the information now being demanded sought because technology makes it possible to get it? We are inclined to treat information as if it were a free good. It isn't. It is costly. It is time that the legislative and executive branches reexamine this area. Regents and system-wide administrators should do the same.

Mandated Social Programs. They are not being adequately funded. A fair view of their merits should include a full accounting of their costs. This job needs both campus and legislative help. Campus officials can help by making careful assessments of cost. Legislative leadership can help avoid putting unfair burdens on institutions by providing funding for mandated programs. State legislators and governors must help by informing their colleagues in federal offices, and pleading the case for not burdening state institutions with missions that are underfunded, or not funded at all.

Past Decisions. We ought to study past mistakes, not to gain leverage over those who must live with them, but to learn how to make better policy for the future. One lesson is that good working relationships and incentives for rational decision-making will help avoid bad decisions. Legislators can help in other ways, sometimes by not intervening in individual situations, by following even-handed policies for the whole state.

At the outset I noted that "management" implies working toward policy goals. In the past most states have adopted policy goals concerning access and educational opportunity, quality, diversity, institutional strength, and perhaps equity in financing.

The financial pressures we have been talking about will force choices from among these goals. This session is concerned with managing financial resources. The importance of that task is obvious. But the main management task will be to have the policy goal lead the financial decision, not to have the financial decision determine the policy.

Most states have over the years adopted policies of moderate tuition, grants to students, and solid support of institutions on the theory that access and diversity were the goals, and that education provided substantial social benefits.

The financial pressures we have been talking about will be putting those funding methods to severe test. The policy of high tuition, limited institutional support, and student loans will become attractive on fiscal grounds alone.

But this is not just a fiscal decision. It involves making significant choices from among policy objectives. Thus, the main management task in the months and years ahead will be not only to manage cost pressures, but to recognize that choices will have to be made, and to keep before you the policy objectives and financing strategies most likely to reach them. I look forward to the panel discussion of these issues, and to your questions. The past record of SREB makes me confident that your approach and eventual decision will be done with style.

COMMENTARY

Jack C. Blanton*

I have been asked to react to Dr. Cheit's remarks from the institutional vantage point and from the statewide agency perspective, which I will do after making some comments of my own on managing fiscal resources in higher education during an era of rising costs.

The general theme of this conference is efficiency and effectiveness in higher education. When I was studying public administration in graduate school at the University of Alabama almost two decades ago, one of my major professors referred to these terms—efficiency and effectiveness—as "the Gold Dust Twins." In the past 20 years, "efficiency" and "effectiveness" have become overused, misused, and abused, but they have shown a remarkable durability and a lasting glitter that seems to persevere—to wit, the theme of this conference. But unless they are defined more precisely than they have been typically, they are really fool's gold not gold dust.

In the learning process—and that's what goes on primarily at colleges and universities—how do we determine what is effective? Is effectiveness measured by the jobs the graduates get upon graduation? Can effectiveness be measured by a battery of tests that would be given to the graduate upon completion of the curriculum? Do we ask the graduates if they believe their education was effective? And, if they give you an answer immediately upon graduation, will it be the

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same answer they will give you years later? Can we put a price tag on the degree and say by some kind of cost-accounting method, this degree cost this much and therefore it's effective?

The learning process is very difficult to fix in an effective sense as I think these questions indicate to you. I don't mean to say that it's impossible to say how effective programs in higher education are, but it cannot be done very simply. We can ascertain the effectiveness of some things in higher education very quickly. If you're running a dormitory, a bookstore, or some other auxiliary enterprise that is entrepreneurial in its base, it ts rather easy to tell how effective it is by looking at how much money you're making on it. If you're running a construction program, maintaining buildings, running an accounting office or a security force, it is very easy to measure effectiveness. But these are the support functions for the learning process that goes on at colleges and universities, and, it's the learning process that we're primarily concerned with; and that is very difficult to put effectiveness measures on. It is possible to get a measurement of effectiveness in the learning process, but it requires hours and hours of definitions; it takes consensus on the pert of the people who are doing it; end, frankly, it's not something that can just be done very simply overnight. In the end you may find that it is herdly worth the effort because what you get may really not be worth the time you invested in it. I can't think of another subject area, unless its organized religion, that's more resistant to the application of effectiveness measures than higher education. Now this same dilemma also shrouds the other half of these "Gold Dust Twins," the efficiency criterion. Efficiency is an economic term primarily and when it is applied to higher education it asks this question: How do we get more of the learning process for less cost? This is an equally important question and it's one that needs to be asked. But we have the seme dilemma here. How do we guage or maintain quality control in this efficiency application that's going to be made to higher education? There's a concommitant kind of question that also must be addressed in looking at efficiency: How do we get more for less in the learning process? How do we maintain quality control if we're getting more for less? These are the two important questions in the effectiveness/efficiency dichtomy.

Meanwhile, all of these and related kinds of questions are perfectly legitimate inquiries for legisletors, for governors, for budget officers, and for the general public to be asking of the higher education establishment. I'm sorry we don't have the answers. It's an embarrassment I think to the higher education enterprise which has spent so many dollars on research but has spent so little in esking questions about the learning process. Questions such as: How does it take place? What goes on? How can we improve it? How effective are the instructional techniques that go on in the classroom? Who is doing research in this area? When you were in college how many of you ever had anybody come into the classroom to observe the behavior or performance of the professor? No individual is in command of a situation in a more dictatorial or autocratic fashion than the college professor in that classroom. College professors feel very threatened by attempts to measure their performance; however, research should be undertaken on ways to measure the behavior of college professors since they are primarily responsible for the learning process that goes on in our schools. Too often the word "learning" is misconstrued for the subject matter being taught—that process whereby knowledge passes from the professor's notes to students' notes without true learning ever taking place. Maybe an appropriation to learn more about the learning process would be a starting point for improving the effectiveness of higher education in your particular state.

The segment of the program that Dr. Cheit and I are sharing this morning is entitled "Managing Financial Resources in Higher Education During a Period of Rising Costs." Dr. Cheit has done a remarkable job in covering this topic and I want to make some kind of response to his comments very shortly. But first let me express to you a few thoughts and concerns I have which ere applicable to this specific topic. I would like to read for you e couple of paragraphs from a recent article in the *Louisville-Courier Journal*. The story has a Washington dete-line and reads as follows: "The cost of education in the nation will rise about $11 billion this year while the number attending school drops to the lowest figure in recent years." Now in that lead sentence is the dilemma that we in higher education face. How, in the name of God, is the cost going to go up $11 billion if the number of students is going down? Legisletors don't understand, the general public doesn't understand, and sometimes I'm not sure that I understend this question. The article continues:

"Terrell H. Bell, U.S. Commissioner of Education in an annual back-to-school forecast, said yesterday that the public and the private education will be about $119 billion in the '75-76 school year, elthough enrollment will drop to about 58.9 million students. There were 59.1 million enrolled in kindergarten through graduate school last year, and the costs were $108 billion.

"The peak enrollment at all levels wes 59.7 million in the fall of 1971. Elementary grades will experience the biggest drop as a result of this decline while the 1976 high school greduating class will be the biggest in history and colleges will grant more graduate and professional degrees than ever. Bell forecast a decrease of 2% to about 34 million in kindergarten through 8th grade, a gain of about 1% to 15.6 million in grades 9 through 12, and a surge of more than 3% to 9.3 million in colleges and universities.

"This means, Bell said, that 3 out of every 10 Americans will be involved in education this fall. Besides the students there will be 3.1 million classroom teachers and 300,000 superintendents, principals, and other instructional employees."

Well, let's please lay to rest—if we can—the rumor

that higher education is already the "steady state" enrollment situation. We are not yet experiencing enrollment declines in higher education. It is going to come, but it's not here yet. Until it does come, we still have to plan financially for higher education. To base funding decision on an anticipated phenomenon that has not yet arisen would be unconscionable. However, several of my friends in the Tennessee legislature in this last session said: "Your enrollment is trailing off, you don't need any more dollars; you need fewer dollars." That myth needs to be laid to rest—it is simply not true. ADA—average daily attendance—may be down in those lower grades but it is not the case, in the Southeast region anyhow, in higher education. I had one of my staff assistants call around to the SREB states and inquire about projected enrollment this fall. Here's that report: Alabama—a 6% increase in full-time equivalent students; Arkansas, 7%; Florida, 5.9%; Georgia, 7 1/2% to 8%; Kentucky, 3%; Maryland, 3.1%; Mississippi, 1 to 2%; North Carolina, 5%; Tennessee, 4.5%; Texas, 10.9%; Virginia, 5.8%; and West Virginia, 4%. Louisiana is predicting a decline of about 1.5% and South Carolina didn't know yet. Well, I made some very rough calculations and my estimates say that this is no less than 50,000 students in the SREB states. This is the equivalent of 10 large universities or 20 medium institutions that are suddenly going to be in the South this fall. One question which needs to be answered is: Where in the world are these students coming from: Some clearly are coming out of high school, but not all. More women, more minority students, and more part-time students are going to college; and there are more graduate students in higher education. Part of the evidence of this phenomena is that the average age of students is moving up. We found in Tennessee's community colleges, for instance, that the average age of students is over 25 years.

The trap that we have fallen into has been in saying: "We have more students—give us more dollars." This is the dilemma I want to speak with you about for just a second. In the 1960's when students were really coming in, college presidents came to you and said: "We've got to have more dollars; we've got more students." They grossly oversimplified the economics that underride higher education. But, because that sounded good and it didn't require much explanation, they perpetuated that kind of argument to you. Now in the years ahead when we do hit "steady state" enrollment or even declining enrollments, we have a problem. It's going to be very embarrassing for college presidents to walk in and, after having told you we have more students and we need more dollars for them, have to tell you that it's going to cost more even though we have fewer students. It's almost an axiom that's been perpetuated and it's tough now to paint ourselves out of this corner.

The funding of higher education is considerably more complex than just "more students—more dollars." Dr. Cheit alluded to program switches, and in Tennessee a cost study of instruction revealed that students are moving into areas that cost more to instruct. They cost more because the professors are paid higher, and the professors are paid higher because of supply and demand factors. If they're in short supply, you have to pay more to get them. The business area is an example, and so are some of the engineering areas. Students are moving out of the typically low-cost liberal arts program areas into the more professional and technical areas which typically have a higher instructional cost because of equipment and because of salaries paid to the professors. Those switches themselves cost more dollars, and the reason students are switching is because they think employment opportunities are better for graduates of these other technical areas. That's sort of a paradox itself. We're going to find that the training they get in the technical areas will really serve them less well over time because of the advances of technology. Yet they think their job prospects are enhanced. So, at a time when we really need people who are generalists and can respond to advancing and changing technologies, we see an abandonment of the liberal arts—the area that gave students the broad overview. This is one of the real paradoxes in higher education today that I find interesting. Instructional costs are about 50 to 55 percent of the budget in our colleges and universities. So you're talking about switches in this 50 to 55 percent area that are pushing the cost up.

A second area is the physical plant. Energy costs in the colleges and universities in Tennessee took a tremendous surge upward, and we're in the Tennessee Valley where power and energy have typically been very low. It's not the case anymore. What was once a 10 to 11% of our budgets is soon going to be 15% of the total.

Another essential component of a college is the library, and library costs are increasing. They're typically 4 to 8 percent of the budget, but the cost of books is out of sight and other pressures are mounting in the cost area.

As Dr. Cheit mentioned, there is a price tag on the demands from outside the university to provide data. College administrations have staff people just to answer these. Annual sessions and other upgrading of state legislatures are one cause of this. There are very legitimate inquiries for data which require a great deal of time in compiling, but providing data has a cost attached to it—it's not a free item. It takes hours of staff time, it takes a lot of computer time to come up with the kinds of answers to the questions that are being asked. So, the point I would certainly reemphasize is for legislators to think about those questions they are asking because they do have a cost attached to them. It may look like we're hiding something, but that's not the case at all. But do be aware, please, when you ask these questions that those are the questions you really want answered and that you're not just thinking out loud about things you'd like to know.

In the area of affirmative action programs, we've determined that there are something like 10,000 tables that we would have to produce to answer all of the inquiries that the federal government has asked us. There's no way we can do that. I believe that the claims for the tax dollar will be even rougher for us in higher education in the future. We're going to a smaller percentage of the general tax base in the respective states of the Southeast region. This happened in about half of the state this time. Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee got a lesser percentage of the total state tax dollars this "go around" than they did in the preceding year. As a result of this, in a service industry which is labor intensive, the faculty and the staff will have to absorb the repercussions of decreased funding. What that means is that annual pay increases will be less than those given in other sectors of the economy. As all of you know, there's an oversupply of faculty who are not immune to the labor supply in the market. Therefore, you can get faculty at a lower cost now and colleges and universities will do that. That's probably going to do one thing—it's probably going to accelerate the rate at which faculty members are going to unionize. I don't think there's any way around that dilemma. I think unionization is inimical to the interests of faculty and it's inimical to the whole social ethic which underrides a collegial organization. But if you continue to see the income given to faculty less that that in other segments of our economy, you'll find an acceleration of the unionization effort.

Students in public institutions will pay more. This fall 11 of the 14 SREB states are raising fees for students in at least one state-supported institution. Only three states—Kentucky, Louisiana and Arkansas—say they're not raising fees this year. The students will have to pay more of the costs in the future to help fill more of the gap on the income side.

I predict an abandonment of formulas. I think all but three of our states in the South use some kind of formula for the distribution of funds. These formulas are largely enrollment-driven and as enrollments level out or decline you're going to see a lot of pressure for abandonment of formulae in the SREB states—and the whole country as a matter of fact. What are we going to use as an alternative?

Finally, the labor market will be able to absorb graduates but not into those jobs graduates think they ought to have. Students are very bitter about not being able to have the jobs they had hoped and trained for so that they can pay back the loans made for college education. So the real test for us in higher education will be when college degrees don't give students the traditional mobility up the socio-economic ladder. What will that do to the institution? What will that do to enrollments?

To sum up, you can see that times are hard. It seems to me that they've always been hard for us in higher education.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Question

Some observers of higher education are concerned that the product coming out of our colleges and universities these days "ain't what it used to be." What kind of standard can you use to measure the opposite assertion that, indeed, quality improvement is taking place? How do you address the productivity question in colleges and universities? Is productivity simply a matter of the number of students enrolled or the number of degrees granted?

Answer

Dr. Cheit: Historically, universities have measured themselves not by output but by input, on the assumption that if you put more into the learning process more comes out. However, these measures aren't terribly persuasive, at least on an average basis, so that's why the question nags.

Qualitative improvement can be documented in the sense that we now have students who leave our institutions conversant with such highly technical devices as computers. I teach in a business school where we turn out students who are capable of moving into industry and working with computers—which are a very expensive component in our instructional program. If you measure quality by the ability to perform certain kinds of skills, there's no question that qualitative improvements have been made.

What's really behind your question, however, is whether we can make that statement for all of our students in general. The answer is probably. I may not be able to convince you, but I think we could show that the languages students command, the skills they have learned and the general level of sophistication they have accumulated is higher when compared to student populations of the past.

There are some soft spots, however. We see more students flunking sub-freshman English tests. The reason for this is that the impact of the whole post-Sputnik era was on science and math, not on reading. Many of our states passed laws downgrading the importance of instruction in reading and upgrading the importance of instruction of teachers in scientific subjects. We are paying the price for that now. I think there's going to be a trend back to teaching teachers of reading.

By the way, another reason why these scores are going down is that the high school completion rate, up

until the recent little dip. has been rising. Therefore. more students who in previous years would have dropped out and not become part of that potential college input are now being included. We, then, are dealing with more students where the level of achievement isn't as high.

Question
What do you think of proposals for differential tuition fees where those students pursuing courses of study requiring a welter of technical hardware (electron microscopes and the like) would pay a higher fee, perhaps in their junior and senior years, than those who study less costly disciplines such as English and history?

Answer
Mr. Blanton: The question of differential pricing of various kinds of degrees is a very emotional issue in higher education. We know, for example, it costs more to go to medical school these days. However, if we establish a considerably higher tuition rate for medical school. it may mean that only wealthy people are going to be able to become doctors in the future. A number of college presidents I know would have to be nailed to the cross before that day comes. This adamant opposition stems from some underriding philosophical positions regarding higher education which emphasize the principle of access.

In the universities where they've tried differential tuition, it's been a nightmare for the business manager. Furthermore. the students figure out the system quickly: they major in philosophy as underclassmen and then take the high-cost courses in the junior and senior years.

One system which may be coming is one in which a student pays a lower rate in the first two years. a higher one in the last two and still higher ones at the graduate levels. That kind of system is more probable than a pricing arrangement by discipline.

Question
In regard to the expenses caused by demands for information at the institutional and statewide levels. (1) what would the administrative staff be doing if they didn't answer these questions and (2) why can't we in the legislatures get a simple answer to a simple question rather than a document that's six inches thick but nevertheless does not answer what was asked?

Answer
Dr. Cheit: I think demands for information have increased administrative staffs and have increased administrative overhead. People have been hired in anticipation of the next round of questioning from the legislature, the governor's office, the regents and the trustees. The non-productive to productive cost ratio is rising in higher education in a way that indicates these administrative staff members were not there in years past but have been added recently to meet informational demands.

Why don't you get a simple answer? Demands for information tend to be in reality methods of achieving control. What's going on here is at a more fundamental, organizational level. The most important thing about any question is who gets to frame it and not who gets to answer it. Therefore, when you get information you didn't ask for. you're getting a different question framed. Information is a weapon: it's not for nothing that we speak of being "armed with information" or "he came in and dropped a bombshell."

What I was asking for in my talk here is the need for a truce, to continue with the metaphor. We need a cease-fire between public institutions and their patrons. For example, their patrons ought to say that instead of flooding institutions with information requests that they just want to know four or five simple things: how many students, how much did it cost you, why are these trends occurring and so forth. I think with an armed truce we could reduce the number of people on both sides substantially. In short, you don't get short answers because what's at stake is a struggle for control where the criteria are uncertain.

Mr. Blanton: I would add that there aren't many simple questions these days. One problem I had as a state budget officer was that legislators would ask me, for example, why the Aid for Dependent Children caseload was going up—which is not a simple question. I discovered that some legislators were not willing to invest the kind of time that it takes to understand such complex issues. So when you ask a question, be prepared to spend the kind of time it takes to understand the answer. I admit there is an element of obfuscation with mountains of materials; I'm sympathetic with you on that score.

Question
In regard to the quality of the input received by higher education from the elementary and secondary system, do you agree with the suggestion that we have spent too little time on the basics of reading and writing in our teacher preparation and too much time on esoteric certification? It seems that we're not getting teachers who know anything about what they're supposed to.

Answer
Dr. Cheit: I don't want to pretend to be an expert on these matters. I'm not. What I do know is that historically as schools of education grew and credentialling requirements burgeoned, colleges of education became overly concerned with the certification process and created far too many courses that were really "Mickey Mouse." As a consequence, these schools turned out teachers who were procedurally well-endowed but substantively weak. There was a reaction against that trend in the middle of the Fifties after Sputnik when a tremendous amount of money and energy went into upgrading the content curriculum. Experimental math and science approaches bloomed. Many states changed the law so that teacher certification required a major in a subject matter field. What happened is that we

knocked a lot of the "Mickey Mouse" out of certifying teachers in the process of making them intellectually acceptable in math and science, but in so doing we have overlooked basic reading and, I think, basic math, as well. Now, we're throwing out the New Math and moving back to an emphasis in colleges of education in teaching teachers how to deal with the basic skills.

Mr. Blanton

Question
There seems to be a constant battle going on in my state between the cost-per-student of private versus public institutions of higher education. Our research indicates a great deal of difference between the two costs. Can you explain this wide difference?

Answer
Dr. Cheit: Part of this difference could be due to the size of the institutions, part of it could be due to the mission of the institution and part of it could be due to the fact that some private institutions have a richer mix than public colleges. What I mean by "richer mix" is that private colleges offer seminars to a group of seniors even if only five people sign up; they'll also offer an exotic language at the undergraduate level for non-specialists; they may even require that each science course have lab work, not just theory.

Question
I have read that enrollment growth will level off and perhaps decline in the very near future. What are state-supported colleges doing to plan for this eventuality?

Answer
Mr. Blanton: The best information we have is that enrollments will grow in the early 1980s and will level-out somewhere between 1980 and 1983 when we will find ourselves in a "no growth" situation. This is a national prediction; therefore, the exact timing of the leveling-off will vary from state to state.

Are states and institutions looking ahead to this situation and making appropriate adjustments? The answer is complicated by the diversity of public institutions. They fall into three categories: the two-year institutions, where we've experienced the largest growth in the past decade and where their missions are clear; at the other extreme, you have the major universities where graduate work and basic research is done and even though their mission is under a lot of challenge and is quite expensive that mission is clear. Now the group in the middle—those institutions now called comprehensive colleges and which were formally known as teachers colleges or normal schools before being upgraded—this group will face the worst problems beceuse their mission is the least clearly identified.

These are the institutions which will probably suffer the greatest enrollment declines and may become vulnerable to program discontinuance and even closure or merger. These middle institutions will have to re-think their missions in the very near future. Therefore, one tough nut to crack will be the propensity for this middle group to emulate the major research universities. Legislators are going to have to say to them that they can't be the premiere, capstone institutions. This will lead to considerable tensions in the years immediately ahead.

Dr. Cheit: State legislatures may be faced with faltering private institutions and fading public ones in the near future, and I would recommend that you don't intervene on an ad hoc basis in one situation but rather that you take an even-handed, statewide, if not regional, approach. Otherwise, you might find yourselves backed to the wall by constituents trying to save local institutions if you have no district, state and/or regional plans in mind.

Question
I sense that some institutions see the writing on the wall and are scurrying around trying to find something to do before the boom is lowered. Is that your impression?

Answer
Mr. Blanton: It's a truism that when any bureaucratic organization feels threatened it begins to look around for something else to do to maintain its durability. In some states, this "something else" has become an expanded definition of public service. I think public service should be firmly anchored to some kind of education process and not be simply an attempt at self-perpetuation.

Question
We've seen extension centers bloom in every corner of my state so that now instead of having a handful of institutions we've got something like 20 which we've got to fund. Is this another symptom of this self-preservation trend?

Answer
Dr. Cheit: I don't really think that's an altogether bad development. The attempt to serve people who have not heretofore been served by educational institutions is laudable. For example, there are many, many women who want to get back into the labor market

with a saleable skill; there are many others who want access to these institutions. There need to be limits, but you in the legislatures have control of the fiscal limits. I venture to say that if I were on the asking side of the table I would come in and show a legislative committee that a new extension center created in an area had attracted a lot of adults who were learning skills and developing a fuller appreciation of life. I think evidence of such enrichment might move you to endorse such extension centers.

Question
Has there been any thought to the alternative non-educational uses that a public or private institution's physical plant can be put?

Answer
Dr. Cheit: One thought has been to use dormitories for the aged. They've tried this at Buffalo and the president says that the resulting interaction between the old and the young is just heart-warming. I think this is an inventive humane approach to the problem of unfilled residence halls.

Question
Could you amplify the point about underemployment of college-trained personnel?

Answer
Mr. Blanton: I don't think the problem is here full-blown yet; we're just at the fringe of it. However, I have interpreted signals of it, primarily in trying to collect overdue federal loans. I talked with dozens of students and was shocked by how embittered some were that they could not find jobs that enabled them to achieve the kind of standard of living necessary to have the ability to pay back their loans.

I think there's no question that the labor market is not going to be able to absorb college graduates at the numbers being produced and at the levels students expect to be employed. For example, I heard that one airline was hiring only college graduates as baggage handlers. I think horror stories like these will put the aims of collegiate education to the test. When college education doesn't mean a better job for you, are you really going to put that many dollars into it simply for cultural transmission and self-improvement?

Dr. Cheit: We've got a very serious problem of intergenerational equity building up in regard to the cost of a college education. I got my education almost free at the University of Minnesota; a part-time job was enough to foot the very small tuition. However, the rules of the game have changed, and we're in effect telling members of the present generation if they want to go to college they'll have to go in debt. I think there's a serious moral question as to whether or not we want to have a whole generation of young people starting out with a very substantial amount of debt.

I wonder if the people in the automobile, housing and consumer durable industries have thought about what it's going to be like when the outstanding debt young people owe for college loans goes up two or three times in size. It's now at some $10 billion. I predict it's going to be a very long time indeed before they buy a consumer durable. Therefore, I think we need to think very, very seriously about the extent to which we want to burden a whole generation with debts for education—something that most of us got much, much less expensively.

Secondly, we need to develop ways to pre-pay education. Public policy for student aid at the federal level is going to work at the low income level exclusively for a long time to come. I have advocated for a long time the idea of the education bond as a way for the middle class family to finance its children's education. For example, the grandparents of a newly born child could buy a bond in its name that would mature when the baby reaches 18 years old. There's now approximately a half million dollars per month going into savings bonds—so there is a market out there for such a form of savings. In any case, we need to figure out ways to finance education which will not produce an embittered, overly indebted generation.

Question
Why haven't we seen a stronger start from the comprehensive postsecondary education planning groups—the so-called "1202 Commissions?"

Answer
Dr. Cheit: The 1202's have grown slowly and for good reason. People have been always wary about somebody trying to plan education for everybody at the state level. We Americans feel fiercely independent about our education. We are very reluctant in this country about having a Ministry of Education that's going to tell us what education is going to be like for everyone. Although we denounce waste and duplication, we hate the idea of a Ministry of Education even more.

I'm not saying that's what 1202's are. We're just balancing two models here. On the one hand, we have a model of independence and diversity which we need to moderate in the interest of efficiency and effectiveness. Meanwhile, we don't have that much confidence in state or federal planning, or at least trusting one group to plan for everybody. So, what we've seen is that states have said: "This sounds like a good idea in principle, let's go with it but drag our heels." That's what I call "enlightened foot dragging." That's what the policy seems to be and I think it's a good policy.

Question
Do you think it's possible to over-educate a nation?

Answer
Dr. Cheit: I don't think it's possible to over-educate a nation. I do think it's possible to oversell and create unrealistic expectations about the power of education, however.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

Governor David Pryor*

I'm pleased to be here tonight in one of my first official capacities as an officer of the Southern Regional Education Board. I'm especially glad that it has been a tradition for the chairman of SREB to address the annual Legislative Work Conference, because I feel a special affinity for state legislators, having been a three-term state representative myself.

The program for this conference lists some topics of interest to all of us with statewide responsibilities. But before we begin these specific discussions, I want to emphasize the importance of our determination to seek solutions to these and other problems. After all, the cornerstone of SREB is self-help through working together.

Many of you have had a far longer association with the Board than I have. But it is still easy to see that this joint effort to seek solutions finds expression in a variety of ways—from exchanging information about future plans, to the actual sharing of academic programs across state lines. Cooperation can be complex and confusing. It is subject to the pitfalls of short-term interests which may overpower our ultimate good sense. Interstate compacts such as SREB depend upon the forces of reason rather than the power of coercion.

That's why it is important that those of us with public responsibility for higher education share our views and perspectives on a regular basis through such forums as this legislative work conference. Since becoming chairman of SREB, I have been learning about a number of the activities that relate to the concerns all of us face in our respective state capitols.

For example, there is a need to develop education in those professions that have become popular with students. SREB's most recent recommendation in this connection came in the field of optometry, where it proposes that several states work together in planning expansion of optometric education in the South.

This commitment to the orderly development of higher education is also being carried out through the examination of employment prospects for college graduates. During the past year, the problems of unemployment have come into sharp relief with the recession.

The Board has recently released estimates on our changing manpower requirements and their relationship to the supply of college graduates in specific fields. Individual state profiles have been prepared, which show a favorable employment outlook for students of public administration, engineering and business and management. But they also predict an overabundance of graduates in some fields—for law and teaching.

We know, for example, that if college graduates intend to seek employment in technical and professional jobs about 10 percent of them will be disappointed. However, if college graduates expand their employment expectations to a wide field of occupations, the South will have a 10 percent deficit of college graduates by 1980. All health professions except pharmacy should continue to be areas of high employment—as will accounting, library science and social work. But in the humanities and foreign langueges, graduates will far outnumber the job openings available.

The Board is carrying these messages to students and college placement officials, as well as to administrators, so that both our institutions and our youth can make informed choices about their education. We are not proposing a rigidly planned educational system tied to statistics, but programs should be developed with more adequate attention to changing employment prospects, and students should receive the best information we can develop.

We need more than studies and projections about higher education. We also need action programs to realize the ultimate economies which stem from sharing. The South has always been a leader in this regard and continues to be with its new Academic Common Market, which begins its second year this fall. We will see the opening of 141 opportunities in 12 states and in 35 institutions—to regional students at resident-tuition rates.

I hope those of you in the legislatures and others in state government who are concerned about out-of-state students are well-informed about the Common Market arrangement. It is not an effort to flood our states with out-of-state students. Rather, the Market is a way of making maximum use of the educational resources at hand, and avoiding the needless duplication of programs.

Of course, it's not just instructional programs that are distinctive and should be shared on a regional basis. The sharing of such scientific apparatus as nuclear reactors and electron microscopes has been

**Governor Pryor, who is the 1975-76 chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board, is Arkansas' 39th elected governor. He is an attorney and former newspaper editor and publisher who earned both his B.A. in political science and his law degree from the University of Arkansas. In the early 1960's, Governor Pryor served three terms in the Arkansas House of Representatives, and in 1967 he went to the U.S. Congress to serve three terms in the House. Upon entering Congress, his fellow representatives elected him president of their group, the 90th Club.*

promoted through the Board's program in uncommon facilities. Wide distribution has been given to a catalog which lists more than 400 installations to be shared across institutional and state lines. Moreover. we now have foundation funds to provide travel expenses for faculty and graduate students in the natural sciences.

Still another instance where enormous savings and improvement can be made is in the area of libraries. Recent advances in computer technology have made possible the streamlining of library catalogs and other records-keeping. The spiral of library costs and the continual avalanche of new books and periodicals have made cooperation a necessity. Consequently, a number of library networks have been formed in America.

Last year, SREB became affiliated with the largest such network—the Southeast Library Network, called SOLINET for short. The purpose of this network, which now has 115 member libraries in 10 Southern States—is to reduce these cost increases through a computerized cooperative. Now, when a new book is acquired by member libraries, the painstaking work of getting the book categorized has to be done only once, not 115 times.

All that I have said so far relates to using our financial resources more wisely by sharing and thereby gaining the largest benefits at the lowest unit costs. As state officials, we are sensitive to the very special pressures on our limited budgets. The greatest cost in our budgets comes in providing instruction and conducting necessary research at our universities.

I am glad to see that this conference is focusing on the heart of education—how our institutions can work in the most efficient and accountable ways while demonstrating the best educational values. I know that when the Legislative Advisory Council planned this agenda it was with genuine concern for good instruction and adequate research programs in our states. We all know that public understanding of the role of our college and university faculty members is sometimes low and at times hostile. In addition, a number of our legislatures have been looking at the performance and productivity of faculty at state-supported institutions.

SREB has contributed to the debate over faculty productivity by providing factual anchors and practical assistance. Recently completed research shows that Southern institutions rank faculty improvement as one of the most important considerations in the review process. This finding is bolstered by the efforts of the Board to encourage undergraduate institutions to form teacher improvement centers to aid those professors who wish to boost their basic teaching skills or learn new techniques. This conference's focus on efficiency in higher education will lead us into other subjects which we are grappling with in our respective states.

We all should remember that we have a responsibility to view objectively the needs of higher education at this difficult time—when economic troubles have coincided with the general slowing of growth in higher education. If we have been big boosters of higher education in a period of rapid growth, we certainly should be sympathetic toward higher education during a period of slow growth. I am not suggesting that we fail to ask hard questions and push for obvious economies. We should.

But while we are forced to concentrate more than ever on the economics of higher education. we are also calling for greater quality. All of us have used the phrase, "quality education," in describing the kind of

Governor Pryor

system we want for our states. But none of us has developed a comprehensive statement of what "quality" in education really means. While we may not be able to define it, let us not forget that higher education is still of tremendous and vital importance to our society.

Every public official must admit that higher education continues to be the instrument by which we generate new knowledge and educate new generations of citizens. We are all over-organized and overextended, and we often have a tendency to think that new ideas and new approaches can be introduced only at the national level. My three-term experience in the U.S. Congress taught me to question that concept. Time and again we state officials demonstrate our capacity to arrive at creative solutions to our common problems.

Likewise, groups such as SREB have proven that it is also at the interstate level, where there is an affinity of purpose and a feeling of region, that broad solutions and directions can come forth. The balanced membership among leaders of education and politics gives SREB an additional advantage in hammering out practical approaches to our common problems. Such joint efforts will continue only as long as there is active participation and involvement.

Your taking part in this conference speaks well for the future of regional cooperation and problem solving. I appreciate your involvement, both as chairman of SREB and as one who believes in the ability of people to solve problems within their state and region. I trust you share this belief, and I hope we will have your help, counsel and constructive criticism throughout the years ahead.

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