CONDITIONS FOR LEADERSHIP IN THE TOTAL PROGRAM
OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN A STATE *

By

Cyril O. Houle
Professor of Education
The University of Chicago

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The newly inaugurated president of West Dakota A. and M. University, Dr. John Starr, got up and quietly left the meeting-room. He had listened carefully and with a sense of profit to the first three addresses on the panel dealing with "Our Expanding Role in Public Affairs." But the fourth speaker did not look prepossessing. Moreover he was not on the faculty of a land-grant institution and therefore probably did not know very much about his subject.

As Dr. Starr walked to the elevator, he was genuinely perplexed about how to provide public affairs education for the people of the state of West Dakota. Before his appointment, he had never thought very much about the matter. He was himself a true-blue product of the land-grant system beginning in his twelfth year when he joined the 4-H Club. His career had continued within the comfortable and wholesome tradition that he knew and loved. In acquiring his three degrees (with a specialization in agronomy) and moving smoothly and rapidly up the academic ladder, he had changed from one institution to another with no sense of strain or tension. He left the hallowed halls but twice, once for his military service and once briefly for a stay in Washington where he was Third Assistant to the Second Assistant Deputy First Undersecretary of Agriculture. He tried to forget the Army. As for the U.S.D.A., it seemed very like another land-grant campus, except, of course, for the commuting problem. He loved the land-grant system, and he could not see why anybody would say that it is inbred.

And yet—he reflected uneasily as he went up to his hotel room—things look different when you get over to the office with the deep carpet and the big walnut desk. Take this matter of public affairs which had at least three troubling aspects. First, apparently he had taken over his new responsibilities at a time when extension, the chief vehicle for public affairs education, was undergoing a violent and cataclysmic struggle which was raising such a dust that he could detect neither the lines of battle nor all the antagonists. Second, it appeared that other universities in the state thought they had as much right as the land-grant university to carry on extension activities; what was worse, they expected to get federal money for doing so. Third, it turned out that the institution over which he was now presiding had not one but many more people with educational services than did the residential program on the campus. Settling down in his uncomfortable hotel armchair, Dr. Starr reflected about these matters, starting with the third.

His busy days in the College of Agriculture had taught him so much about its Extension Service that he had not realized that it was but the largest of many programs on the campus. He ticked off a few briefly: the General Extension Division, with its continuing education center, its off-campus and correspondence classes, and its extension centers dotted over the state; special extension bureaus in the colleges of education, engineering, and pharmacy; much informal work done independently by other professional schools; an alumni educational program; and both radio and television stations. This was just the formal part; in addition, Dr. Starr got out into the state, he found many members of his faculty out there too engaging in various kinds of entrepreneurial consultative and lecturing services. Dr. Starr knew better than to try to restrict the individual enterprise of his professors, since his education in economics had been in the classical, or Chicago, school. But it did seem to him that someone less busy than himself should co-ordinate the university's formal program. This conviction was deepened one day as he drove round and round the courthouse in a county seat town unable to find a parking place for himself but noting that five other university cars had managed to do so.
This wealth of different services was further enriched by the fact that each of the other institutions of higher learning in West Dakota had its own programs and seemed to want to keep them. There was the state university. There were the three regional institutions which had moved, by grace of the legislature, rapidly from normal schools to teachers' colleges to state colleges and soon would be universities. There was St. Catherine's, the large Catholic university, in the heart of the biggest city, New Francisco. There was New Francisco University near the outskirts of that same city. Each of the seven was completely separate from the others and that is the way the presidents wanted it, though the heads of the public institutions occasionally announced a deep feeling of brotherhood, particularly when hotheads in the legislature suggested creating a single governing board with a chancellor. But these other presidents could not really be trusted. Dr. Starr had recently learned with sorrow that his own cherished dream of an Institute for Veterinary Medicine had been referred to by the president of the state university as a "hog hospital."

On their campuses, these seven institutions could stay apart from one another, but when they got out into the field, they entered into a common area of service. Moreover, they then encountered the new community colleges. The problem of co-ordination had not previously troubled West Dakota A. and M., since it alone had been able to offer most of its programs to the public without charge. This open-handed generosity had been made possible by the fact that, in the support of extension, the land-grant institution had long been the chosen instrument of the federal government, though it was not quite clear who did the choosing. This system was reinforced by the support of a far-seeing and intelligent group of farm leaders and perpetuated by a legislature so apportioned that the vote of each substantial and thoughtful resident of rural areas was equal to from five to ten of the votes of the irresponsible and flighty people of New Francisco.

But in the twenty years from 1940 to 1960, one of the greatest mass migrations of all time occurred as people left the rural areas and moved to towns, cities, and suburbs. This movement was greater, for example, than the inpouring of immigrants from abroad during the peak years of 1890 to 1910. Efforts were made to hush up this loss of the rural population but finally the Supreme Court got wind of it—with unfortunate results. The state legislatures and even the Federal Congress came to include many strange new people, never previously visible and often with odd names. It turned out that they had studied at all kinds of institutions and, for the life of them, they could not see why the land-grant university should be a chosen instrument of governmental service. Why should their own colleges and universities—public or private, state or municipal or regional, secular or religious—not be allowed to serve the public also?

Ironically, the Cooperative Extension Service had been such a great success that it was used as the model for the proposal of programs which would diminish its own relative importance. From the President of the United States on down, everybody seemed to know about the county agent. The Ford Foundation gave vast sums of money to help various universities build prototypes of an urban extension service. Congress passed Title I of the 1965 Higher Education Act. The language of this Title was a bit confused, but it seemed to support the growth of extension to help solve public affairs problems, particularly in urban areas. Despite the exacting and cumbersome requirements laid upon the states and territories which wished to secure Title I funds, 49 of the 55 had their plans approved within the first hundred days after the regulations were announced. Meanwhile, the Departments of Labor, Defense, and Commerce, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and (apparently) every other major Federal office decided it must have its own program.
Each of these new grants had its own special regulations so that money flowed, showered, or trickled from Washington along many different channels. All this was nothing new; the same thing had happened when the Federal Government started its major support of research. But, perhaps because of that precedent, strong voices in Congress were heard to say that, at both Federal and state levels, services had to be co-ordinated. The President of the United States appointed a special Commission to bring this about so far as the Federal Government was concerned, and it is not likely that any commission would go back to him and confess failure. But, President Starr uneasily reflected, West Dakota was a different story. As the money came to his state, there was no mechanism to create a unified approach. A lot of it would come to A. and M. and presumably he could find ways to keep it from distorting his own program. But what about the money that now, so unwisely, was going to the other six institutions? As they moved out to serve essentially the same constituency, the adults of the state, would the boards and administrators and faculty get to squabbling? Would it lead to an over-all board and a chancellor?

With a sigh, Dr. Starr turned to the most pressing and immediate problem, the future role of the Cooperative Extension Service. Here the dissent was so strident and clamorous and the varying proposals so extreme, that he knew he could never get consensus among the various proponents even if, as seemed unlikely, he could cut through the clouds of language to find out what they really wanted. He had heard strange things in the last six months, things which stuck like burrs in his mind.

He had always believed that the structure and operation of extension had been designed and perfected, like a fine Swiss watch, to fulfill its enduring and unchanging functions. But old Professor Thornberry, who was happily spending his retirement years in writing the history of A. and M., disabused him of that idea, pointing out that the extension program had been filled with improvisation from its earliest day. Thornberry (a political scientist) even pattered in one day with a quotation from Woodrow Wilson:

Institutions which one generation regards as only a makeshift approximation to the realization of a principle, the next generation honors as the nearest possible approximation to the principle, and the next worship as the principle itself. . . . The grandson accepts his grandfather's hesitant experiment as an integral part of the fixed constitution of nature.(1)

Was Extension really as perfectly designed as Dr. Starr had always thought?

Some of the members of the extension staff had themselves undergone strange changes. In the past they had insisted, with an almost ritualistic incantation, that their work was based on sound scientific principles, that it grew inherently from the nature of agriculture itself. Now suddenly they were saying that what was important was the method of extension; its staff members knew how to work with the people, how to develop community interest and support, and how to create dynamic learning situations. They could do this just as well in the city and the suburbs as in the country; furthermore, they could do it at once. Dr. Brown, a hard science man himself, wondered uneasily if the Extension staff had become dangerously infected with sociology.

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But the meanest and the nastiest and the unfairest comment had been made by Professor Simpson who, oddly enough, was a Professor of Humanities. People who heard about his remark commented that it was just the kind of thing he would say. "When we were young and struggling, we needed extension," he remarked in the Academic Senate Meeting. "We had to have the county staff to stir up support for us and get us the buildings and faculty salaries we needed to make us a university. All right, so they've done it. Now extension is like a warm-hearted but not very bright old aunt who brings up her nephew. He still loves her but he doesn't need her any more and she's an embarrassment to him. We've got to pension off the Extension people somewhere, or we'll never make it into the front rank of American universities." As his comments were repeated over the campus, losing nothing in the repetition, the wave of resentment grew. And yet Dr. Starr could not shake off the uneasy feeling that part of the anger came from the fact that the comment had touched an exposed nerve.

But now it was noon and he must go down to lunch. As he walked to the elevator, he resolved to make the reconstruction of the University's public affairs services the central emphasis of his early presidential years. He had early determined that he would not fit into the current stereotype of a president as a man who thinks only about money, public relations, outwitting the faculty, the alumni, and the Board, and being sure that there is a bed for every freshman and a freshman for every bed. Every president needs to put his emphasis somewhere, Dr. Starr thought, and agronomy now seemed very remote, particularly since he'd fallen behind in his reading. Here was his mission. As he stepped into the elevator, he reflected how fortunate it was that he had not waited that morning to hear the fourth and final speech.

And so in the late 1960's and early 1970's, West Dakota A. and M. embarked on that series of shifts of structure and emphasis which was to bring its public affairs program into as rational a pattern as the conflicting hopes and demands of mortal people will allow. Due attention was paid in the early days to the experience of Missouri, Nebraska, West Virginia, Alaska, Wisconsin, Maine, and other pioneer states, but West Dakota has developed a pattern all its own. Indeed it is recognized ever more clearly that higher education varies greatly from state to state. Each one will have to work out its own destiny.

Professor Thornberry has promised to add another chapter to his history of the university to describe these new developments. At present, however, he is still in the year 1903 and is trying to find out what really happened in that nasty incident out back of the dairy barn. Therefore, in the interim, a brief summary may prove useful for those who are interested in the developments in West Dakota.

The first task of Dr. Starr and his colleagues was to decide what the term "public affairs program" meant. Each speaker at the panel Dr. Starr had attended had made his own particular approach to the elephant, but Dr. Starr and his colleagues thought they should try to see how the beast really looked. So West Dakota A. and M. made an inventory of its own services in the field, discovering that virtually every part of the institution was involved in some fashion. Dr. Starr urged similar surveys on his fellow presidents, at their quarterly sparring match. They decided uneasily that he must be up to something, and began getting together statistics of their own.

When the catalog of activities at A. and M. was developed and could be looked at by the Steering Committee Dr. Starr had appointed, a semantic problem arose. West Dakota A. and M. had said for years that its three functions were research, teaching, and service. The statement was, in fact, embalmed in the
A vocal group developed the argument that the only proper functions of a university are teaching and research and that in the field as on the campus, the university should do nothing that did not fall within these two categories. Anything else was suspect. Should a county agent cull a farmer's chickens or weigh his steers? Should an industrial consultant set up a company's books? As the hypothetical examples of service and servicing continued, they grew too lurid to mention in this company of sheltered people. Suffice it to say that the group won its point. The classic statement of the university's functions was reduced by one-third.

The Steering Committee recommended a revised structure to coordinate the off-campus education that was now being handled so unevenly by all parts of the institution. Some years were required to put this whole reorganization into effect, since it was necessary to wait for a few deaths and retirements. Even yet the plan is not perfect, nor are all the slots in the organization chart admirably filled.

The over-all design may be briefly suggested. A vice-president for off-campus activities helps set general institutional policy, handles the major outside contacts of the university, and exercises general supervision over all of its public affairs activities. A dean of extension and his staff have direct administrative control over all facilities related to his function, such as the center for continuing education, the television and radio stations, the correspondence division, the field staff, and the other special units and personnel. To assist this dean in building program, a staff member has been appointed in each school, college, or other major division of the university. In the larger units, he has the title of "assistant dean"; in the smaller units, he has a lesser title--if there is a lesser title than "assistant dean." This whole group works together, not always amiably, to administer present programs and to plan new ones.

This whole process has been aided by the fact that those who work in public affairs education are encouraged to learn the basic principles underlying their work. To the old methods of apprenticeship and trial-and-error were added seminars, conferences, guided reading, and other forms of in-service education. Many of the staff members, going more swiftly and surely at the task of mastering their craft, secured graduate degrees in adult education and were encouraged and aided by the University to do so.

Off-campus the problem was harder, but the new Federal money provided the key to the solution. The Technical Services Act funds had properly been given to A. and M., but the state university had underhandedly got control of the Title I money. It was clear that as other grants came into the state, they would go to various places and would soon create new vested interests and further distort the shape of university-based public affairs education. Dr. Starr therefore took a bold step. He asked for a special meeting with the presidents of the state university, of St. Catherine's, and of New Francisco University.

Over the lunch table, he reviewed for them the provisions of Title I, which call for the designation of a broadly based state agency which represents all higher educational institutions and all groups skilled in community improvement. He proposed that they jointly ask the governor to set up a special commission and to give it authority to allocate all Federal funds for extension-type activities. The other presidents had had some fairly sober thoughts themselves
about the way things might drift and finally agreed to the plan, though not until they had spent some time trying to outmaneuver one another on the composition of the commission. The state colleges and the community colleges, feeling they had nothing to lose, proved willing to give their support. So was the governor, after he finished rubbing his eyes in disbelief at this sign of unity.

The task of the Commission was far from easy. Congress and the state legislature demand co-ordination from one side of their mouths, but from the other they support a variety of conflicting arrangements, each of which must be followed to the letter. As time went on, however, the Commission's fairness in allocating funds brought it increasing stature and skill in seeming to meet all of the detailed requirements while actually preserving freedom and flexibility. It was greatly aided by the fact that its Executive Secretary had spent five years in the Cooperative Extension Service as Assistant Director for Administration, and therefore knew how and where to bury bodies.

So much for structure. Dr. Starr realized that as long as people sat around talking about how to put lines on an organization chart, the whole posture would be one of jealous safeguarding of present interests. What was needed was a forward thrust. As he drove around the state and particularly around New Francisco, he saw plenty of problems worthy of attention. How could the University work as fruitfully upon them as it had upon the needs of rural life in earlier days? More specifically how could the faculty of the rest of the University be led to follow the example of the College of Agriculture and immerse itself deeply in the task of being a change agent, as Paul Miller had said that it should in his address celebrating the centennial of the Morrill Act?

Dr. Starr found the clue to the answer in a sentence from Mary Jean Bowman's description of the development of the agricultural curriculum. "Here learning was a joint affair," she said, "the professor and the student worked it out together by trial and error. . . . If nothing to suit their purposes could be found in books, then it must be found by going back to the roots of things, by observing, experimenting, testing."(1) What those first professors did with their students on the campus, their successors did with farmers in the field. It was because both professor and farmer went to "the roots of things, by observing, experimenting, testing," that the agricultural extension service helped change the nature of rural life in the United States and became a model for all the world.

Was the university now beyond all that sort of thing? All the faculty members seemed to be sitting securely on their respective disciplines. And yet, Dr. Starr wondered, was it not possible that many of the University's advanced specialists--not all of them, but many of them--might find that if they worked with people out in the community, going to the very roots of their difficulties, the disciplines themselves might be refreshed by becoming more relevant to social needs?

With this question, there began that probing problem-solving approach which has since so revolutionized West Dakota's program by giving it a constant infusion of fresh thought. A growing interaction sprang up not only between field and campus but also between campus and campus as scholars found themselves

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working collaboratively with community leaders of the state. It became increasingly clear, as McGeorge Bundy had said it would, that "the university, properly construed, is not merely a place of full-time effort by young students and old professors—it is also a home, for hours, or days, or weeks at a time, of all highly civilized men."(1)

New adult educational programs must always be designed in terms of the specific need of a student or students in a given social setting for a body of subject matter that is immediately applicable to his requirements. And yet, Dr. Starr and his colleagues found, once you had worked out one pattern, you could often adapt it elsewhere. This process was greatly aided, as most processes are, by the use of theoretical principles.

For example, someone proposed that in any given task area, the general public might be placed in a rank order from those who know and care the most about it to those who know and care the least. Given such a continuum, you can, if you wish, usually mark off four categories, though it may be hard to know precisely where to draw the lines. The four are: the specialist, the actively concerned, the attentive, and the inattentive.(2)

If you are going to try to improve the present schools of the state, for example, you might define the teachers and school administrators as the specialist group. Supporting their efforts are the actively concerned, the members of school boards and P.T.A.'s and other organizations, and all the rest of that whole cluster of people who feel deeply involved in doing what they can to make the schools better. Then there are the relatively large group (in this case, at least) of attentive citizens, who are ready to listen to a message but not to take it anywhere themselves. Lowest on the scale are the inattentive citizens, the apathetic, the ones who do not respond at all to this problem area and who can be reached by no ordinary means.

This method of defining target audiences fascinated Dr. Starr and his co-workers. It would not apply everywhere, but it did seem to have relevance to many educational needs; the improvement of health conditions and sanitation, the reduction of delinquency, the upgrading of social welfare, the better understanding of domestic and world affairs, the development of an adequate water supply, and even the improvement of agriculture and home economics.

At West Dakota, they found that this framework could be used to suggest six major kinds of objectives:

1. To provide the opportunity for specialists, including those on the university faculty, to educate one another. This goal is one which, in most cases, only a university can provide the means of achieving, since, as the home of advanced knowledge, it is the only institution to which specialists can and will turn. (Incidentally, it was found that a good many of the state's farm operators knew so much they had to be treated as specialists.)


2. If Dr. Starr had only waited, he would have found that the fourth speaker at the panel, along with Charles A. Nelson, had once developed just such a scheme in a book called The University, the Citizen, and World Affairs. Oh, well.
2. To help actively concerned citizens acquire techniques for discharging their special responsibilities more effectively. The university has always said that it educated for social leadership. A. and M. had done a brilliant job with farm operators and with women in rural areas. Now it broadened its base of operation to cover many fields of work.

3. To serve the continuing needs of actively concerned citizens for basic understanding of the topic about which they are actively concerned. Such people like to keep up with new and fresh ideas; their interest is whetted by the fact that they are going beneath the surface of things and particularly by the fact that it is a university which is helping them to do so.

4. To serve the continuing needs of attentive citizens for background information and understanding. Radio, television, lectures, publications and other mass media are excellent for this purpose; it is, in fact, their primary mission.

5. To encourage some of the attentive citizens to become actively concerned. The first step in leadership development comes when a person who is aware of a problem or interest area decides to do something about it. The university found that by making certain mass appeals as well as by the individualized contacts of its staff members, it could often persuade a hitherto merely attentive person to take a first step toward action.

6. To make the inattentive citizens attentive. Easier said than done, you will say, and everybody at West Dakota would heartily agree. But the task, though hard, is not impossible. At this point Dr. Starr found himself more grateful than before to the field of sociology, since it provided theory on which new approaches could be based. The task of reaching the inattentive was hardest in rural and urban slums and marginal areas, but even there, particularly with strong infusions of Federal money, some hitherto completely inattentive people were brought in touch with the rest of American society.

As these six major goals were worked out in one field of work after another, the results were not always rosy. Failure, discouragement, and doubt were always present. They still are. But enough ventures did succeed to maintain that sense of optimism and forward thrust for which West Dakota is now so noted. A. and M. sponsored some of these successful ventures by itself, it shared some with other higher institutions, and it turned some over to other community agencies who could handle them more effectively and appropriately than it could.

A surprising thing happened to the Cooperative Extension Service. As soon as it stopped thinking about its glorious past, it turned out to have a glorious future. In a program of change which had already been well advanced in 1966, this Service developed a diversified and flexible program, abandoned ancient rigidities and dogmas, found new audiences, discovered how to analyze and serve their needs, and, in general, became as different from the traditional Extension pattern as the present College of Agriculture is from the ancient model from which it evolved. Kellogg and Knapp were proved to have been right when they said in 1966: "Only those who have had reasons to look at the whole field sense how broad agriculture has become and how vital the role of the agricultural college will become in the next decade."(1) More staff members are now engaged in Cooperative Extension than was the case in 1966, chiefly because that program has broadened out to reflect more fully the modern nature of the colleges of agriculture and home economics.

The major emphasis on the new program had to lie, however, where the people are—and that, make no mistake, is in the urban areas. West Dakota A. and M., since its campus is so beautifully situated out in the country, felt awkward at first about moving into the city. The two metropolitan institutions did little to discourage this sense of awkwardness. But the faculty members of West Dakota A. and M. are specialists in many subjects: in land-use planning, music, public health, and the fine arts; in marketing, criminology, public administration, and recreation; in the theater, gerontology, public health, and water pollution; in family life, welfare, management, engineering, and education; in industrial development, labor relations, world affairs, and transportation. And, of course, in the humanities. More than that the members of the University's staff have social expertise in leadership training, group dynamics, the use of television, the press, and other mass media, conference planning, community organization, counseling, and those intangible but important arts which have to do with locating and influencing the leaders of the power structure. This technical competence and social expertise were deeply needed by the people of the city. Presently as faculty and city-dwellers learned to work together, the old mistrust between them began to dissolve.

Dr. Starr, like many another farm boy, had picked up a frightening impression of the city during his 4-H Club days. It seemed a strange blend of magnificence and squalor—of Wabash Avenue under the elevated tracks and of beautiful boulevards along the lake front, of mean and nasty streets leading to the Amphitheater and of splendid clubs and ballrooms, of sleepless nights huddled four in a room in a giant hotel, and of steak for breakfast, accompanied by the Purdue Glee Club. As Dr. Starr came to know the people of New Francisco, however, he began to realize how narrow his viewpoint had been. For he found that many city people live in pleasant neighborhoods and have a sense of community. He found that even in the slums, people depend upon one another and some of them can be depended upon. He found that community leaders are genuinely and deeply concerned to leave the city a better place than they found it.

This feeling was greatly strengthened at a gathering one evening at the Extension Center in the heart of New Francisco. The Advisory Council of the Center was meeting and asked him to attend. As he sat through the session, he heard the city-dwellers express the same mixtures of wisdom and folly, of generosity and ill-concealed self-interest; and of long-range hopes and short-range fears which he had heard so often in the meetings of rural people. He saw, too, that the views of his own faculty members were respected as representing knowledge, not opinion. As a result, plans were formed that struck a balance amid all the divergent views and, because they were effective compromises based in part on the advice of experts, had a good chance of success.

Human beings are pretty much the same everywhere, he thought as he drove home that evening. Nature asserts itself despite all attacks upon it. During the building boom at A. and M., the song of the birds had been stilled by the riveters on one part of the campus after another; but when the riveters left the birds always came back. The neon lights of New Francisco are often dimmed by the splendor of a rainbow. Man may sometimes be apathetic or do foolish things to his physical or social environment, but sooner or later he has the wisdom to try, through reason and knowledge, to reach his potential or to remedy his mistakes. Whether in the open fields or the crowded city, the university has the continuing task of helping through education to shape and perfect mind and spirit.