Fourth David D. Henry Lecture: The Education of Administration for Higher Education by Harlan Cleveland

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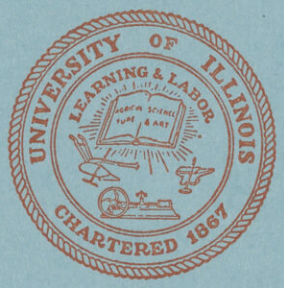

Fourth David D. Henry Lecture
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Urbana, Illinois

The David D. Henry Lectureships in Educational Administration are endowed by gifts to the University of Illinois Foundation in recognition of Dr. Henry's contributions to the administration of higher education, including his career as president of the University of Illinois from 1955 until 1971. The lectures are intended to focus upon the study of the organization, structure, or administration of higher education, as well as its practice. Selection of persons to present the lectures is the responsibility of the chancellors of the three campuses of the University. Presentation of the lectures is alternated among the campuses on an annual basis.

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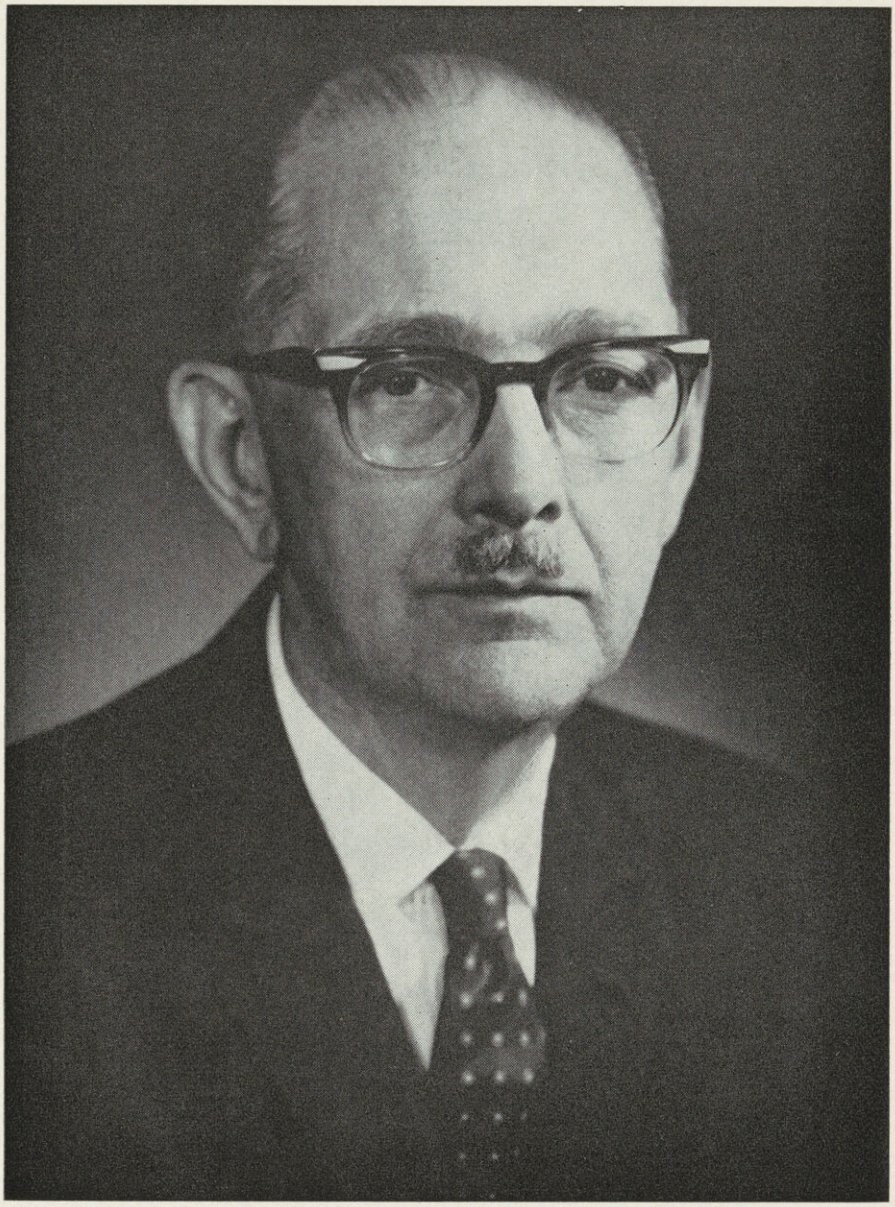

David Dodds Henry

President, University of Illinois
1955-71

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Preface

Publication of the Fourth David D. Henry Lecture by Harlan Cleveland and the response, questions, and discussion by President John E. Corbally, Chancellor Jack W. Peltason, Director James M. Furman, and Dean J. Myron Atkin continue the tradition established in 1972 of an annual presentation of current knowledge, analysis, and interpretation of the administration of higher education. The Henry lecture is unique because it is the only known major effort by a university to center attention on this theme through a public lecture and its publication. It is expected that the first five or six lectures will be published in book form about 1980.

The first Henry lecture by Clark Kerr emphasized general principles and concepts of administration, along with a brief history of the various periods, in the development of administration in colleges and universities, including undergraduate education. David Riesman presented the second Henry lecture and emphasized the role of administration in maintaining quality graduate education. John R. Hogness, M.D. and university president, concentrated on administration of education in the professional school. To continue this approach, it seemed appropriate to the chancellor's committee which recommended the fourth lecturer that the education of administrators for higher education was an appropriate topic to be addressed. Harlan Cleveland quickly emerged as the leading candidate because of his broad experience in public administration, in government, and in colleges and universities as a professor, dean, and later a university president. His lecture, published herein, exemplifies the objectives and expectations of the committee which planned this lecture.

This lecture, "The Education of Administrators for Higher Education," is both timely and appropriate. The growth of the administrative function in colleges and universities in the United States has resulted in the employment of approximately 600,000 persons in administrative roles in those institutions. During the last decade several academic units have emerged in universities with the explicit purpose of preparing pro-

fessional personnel to enter directly into positions of administration in higher education institutions and agencies. The current excess of higher education graduates with doctoral and professional degrees has resulted in most open administrative positions having a large number of qualified applicants, some from the disciplines with very little experience and no education or training in administration and some with professional and graduate degrees in higher education administration. Search committees and administrators are faced with the question of what is the most appropriate education and experience for the many administrative roles in institutions of higher education. Cleveland's lecture identifies the skills and competencies which he believes are required of executives in higher education, and he suggests some of the content which he believes should go into the education of persons to fill those roles. It is a significant addition to the literature of higher education.

Ernest F. Anderson, *Editor*
Associate Professor of Higher Education
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Introduction

This is my second opportunity to present a David D. Henry Lecturer to the faculty, students, staff, and friends of the University of Illinois. I am extremely pleased, and we are all honored that Harlan Cleveland accepted my invitation to present the Fourth David D. Henry Lecture.

Dr. Cleveland is uniquely qualified to present this lecture because of his broad range of experience in leadership positions in higher education and other public administration roles. He is currently director of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies Program in International Affairs at Princeton, New Jersey. He came to that position after five years of service as president of the University of Hawaii beginning in 1969. He was a Rhodes Scholar in the late 1930s; economic warfare specialist and United Nations relief operator (in Italy and China) during the 1940s; foreign aid administrator (the Marshall Plan), magazine editor and publisher (*The Reporter*), and graduate school professor and dean (the Maxwell School at Syracuse University) during the 1950s; and assistant secretary of state and United States ambassador to NATO in the 1960s. His books include *The Overseas Americans* (1960), *The Obligations of Power* (1966), *NATO: The Transatlantic Bargain* (1970), *The Future Executive* (1972), *China Diary* (1976), and *The Third Try at World Order* (1977).

The first three lectures have made a significant contribution to the knowledge about administration of higher education. We are certain that Dr. Cleveland's address will add to that tradition.

J. W. Peltason
Chancellor
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The Education of Administrators for Higher Education

by Harlan Cleveland

Director of the Program in International Affairs,
Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies

The title of this lecture is a fraud. How did it happen that David Henry became one of the nation's great university presidents? Not, surely, because he was educated for the task. Like presidents of the United States, the managers of higher education do their job-related learning on the job — if, indeed, they ever learn. What Robert Frost said about students is notably true of college and university administrators — that "education is hanging around until you've caught on."

I will therefore not undertake to tell you how to educate the future David Henrys in our national life — assuming we will be so lucky as to tap a continuing supply of such towering talent. What I will do, instead, is describe what the manager of an academic enterprise does, sooner or later, learn by doing — or else. And for this redefined assignment I have some reason to claim the podium, for I have clambered up that learning curve myself.

I hasten to make clear that I am not standing on my record, which is always a precarious place to stand. I remember, as you perhaps do, the pitcher who stood his ground when Casey Stengel plodded out to the mound to tell him he was through. "Why take me out?" the pitcher pleaded. "That next guy coming to bat, I got him out the last time." "Yeah," said Stengel, "but that was this inning."

I make no apology for speaking to you, as a sometime practitioner of administration in higher education, in the down-to-earth language of general theory. You know that what passes for general theory in administration, which is the arts and sciences of bringing people together in

organizations to make things happen, is very often the insights and hunches of people who have been there. Reflective practitioners have contributed much to our understanding of how things really work — Appleby and Brownlow and Barnard and Churchill and Woodrow Wilson in our own recent past, and such action-oriented teachers as Clausewitz and Machiavelli and Aquinas and Caesar and Pericles and Confucius and Moses at other times and places.

II

Louis Brownlow entitled the story of his administrative life *A Passion for Anonymity*. I have managed to remain anonymous without really having a passion for it; but if I were to unfold the story of my own executive experience, I would have to call it something like *A Passion for Paradox*. Truth does seem to come wrapped in paradoxical packages, and the art of administration is above all the executive's willingness to hold contradictory propositions comfortably in a mind that relishes complexity.

The central paradox of large-scale administration is all too clear. Some years ago Isaiah Berlin (in one of his *Conversations* with Henry Brandon) described it in five incandescent sentences:

"As knowledge becomes more and more specialized, the fewer are the persons who know enough . . . about everything to be wholly in charge. . . . One of the paradoxical consequences is therefore the dependence of a large number of human beings upon a collection of ill-coordinated experts, each of whom sooner or later becomes oppressed and irritated by being unable to step out of his box and survey the relationship of his particular activity to the whole. The experts cannot know enough. The coordinators always did move in the dark, but now they are aware of it. And the more honest and intelligent ones are rightly frightened by the fact that their responsibility increases in direct ratio to their ignorance of an ever-expanding field."

Once again, with feeling: your responsibility increases in direct ratio to your ignorance of an ever-expanding field. The most thoughtful voices among us keep returning to this theme. "If we are to retain any command at all over our own future," says John Gardner, "the ablest people we have in every field must give thought to the largest problems of the nation. They don't have to be in government to do so. But they do have to come out of the trenches of their own specialty and look at the whole battlefield."

III

Of course none of us is trained for the scary profession of managing more while knowing less. No university in the world — not even the University of Illinois — offers a Ph.D. in Getting It All Together.

When I managed a university system I noticed that we had many interdisciplinary courses listed in the catalogue, but on inspection they mostly turned out to be "team-taught," that favored academic device for avoiding interdisciplinary thought. Team teaching means that three or four professors share the task of teaching the same group of students. What too often happens is that each teacher teaches his or her own discipline. It's the students who are expected to be interdisciplinary.

I complained about this one day in a gathering of deans, and could see their tolerant smiles at this presidential naiveté. "Don't take it so hard," said the dean of our medical school, "it's the same all over. In a modern urban hospital, the only generalist left is the patient."

What is normally lacking in university education, then, is an interdisciplinary role model up front by the blackboard. We all know that the only truly interdisciplinary instrument is not a committee of experts but the synoptic view from a single integrative mind — yet the academic reward system often promotes those who remain close to their starting specialties and penalizes those who reach out to find connections with the rest of reality.

The Polynesians of Hawaii have a vivid image which describes the way the incentives work in many an academic department. They speak of a large pail half full of crabs: when any one crab gets ambitious to climb out and see what the world is like outside the pail, the other crabs tend to hook him back to the intimate society of mutual backscratching below.

University students — who in my experience are often perceptive about what's missing in their own education — make the point by indirection. When they want to say something especially nice about a favorite teacher, they are heard to say: "Well, you know, like, he gets it all together."

The cafeteria of courses in a consumer-oriented curriculum simply doesn't place a premium on integrative thinking. But the real world increasingly requires people to think about an enormous range of interrelated fields in order to operate effectively in any one of them. How colleges and universities, built on the proliferation of valuable but narrow expertness, will respond to the judgment of irrelevance laid on them by students and employers, who vaguely sense a need for more integrative thought, is the great unreported crisis of American higher education.

The evidence of crisis conditions is no secret. More and more of the liveliest academic crabs are sidling out of the university environment, trading tenure for the chance to work in reward systems that encourage the ablest people to give thought to the largest problems.

A few years ago, somebody tried to count the growing number of think tanks and found 600 of them in the United States alone; there

must now be at least 1,000 such groups doing their own intellectual thing under happily indecipherable banners such as research and development, technology assessment, operations research, survey research, cybernetics, policy studies, policy planning, systems analysis, strategic studies, integrative studies, urban studies, humanistic studies, public interest law, thought-leading-to-action, critical choices, conflict resolution, peace studies, environmental action, future studies, and global perspectives.

The trouble with most of this wide-angle research and policy analysis is that the think tanks cannot do enough to educate new generations of able people inclined to give thought to the largest problems. That is, and will remain, predominantly the task of higher education. But it will be a new kind of higher education. As usual, the push for it will have to come from outside the academy, with the academic administrators (as usual) serving as the carriers of infectious innovation. This means that, as a prerequisite to the spread of holistic thinking among the products of American higher education, those who would be its administrators will have to be — or have the capacity to become — situation-as-a-whole people.

IV

To be a situation-as-a-whole person is not a profession; it's an attitude toward all professions, a propensity to interest oneself especially in the interconnections among the traditional jurisdictions into which we have divided the life of the mind, a willingness to view every problem in global perspective, and one thing more — the presumption to feel personally responsible for the whole outcome of which any individual's efforts can only be a small part. If we don't yet have a national energy policy, that may not be somebody else's fault. If something needs fixing, it's not necessarily someone else's turn to fix it. In a world where nobody is in charge, each of us who chooses the role of conscious coordinator is partly in charge; in some degree it's always our turn.

We don't yet know how to train situation-as-a-whole people; the evidence is that we're not yet doing it. But as a start, it may help to note their distinguishing marks or features. They are the folk who seem to be interested in everything — and find that intellectual curiosity pays some very practical dividends. They are the leaders who know that the followers really make the policy; the leaders just refine it. And because they have come to terms with the emerging ethic of ecology, they are the public citizens best able to think and act in global perspective.

V

Four hundred years ago François Rabelais set out to know everything that could then be known. Such an ambition in 1977, in the midst of

the knowledge explosion, would be put down as mental illness. But it is still a healthy ambition to be *interested* in everything.

At least, I can testify from personal efforts that it pays to try. For if you are going to practice being interested in everything, serving as a university president provides an almost daily occasion to learn something wholly new — if you can avoid spending all your time on budget cutting and legislative relations.

At the University of Hawaii one of my tasks was of course to bring the aloha of the university community to innumerable gatherings of specialized scholars and expert practitioners, in fields ranging from ocean engineering to Oriental philosophy. In accepting invitations to cut these intellectual ribbons I routinely insisted that my aloha would include five or ten minutes of personal comment on the subject at hand. Since I usually didn't know anything about the subject at hand, that required me to interview the key faculty members involved, sometimes at considerable length. In this manner, during a month of hard work, I could critique the turgid prose of Martin Heidegger; develop some instant prejudices about music education in the public schools; explain our floating city experiment to federal site visitors; describe the "Nixon shock" in Tokyo to a visiting convention of UPI editors; comment on the governance of Honolulu while introducing Mayor Lindsay at the National League of Cities; and, in preparation for a conference on Korean traditions, learn that the first ironclad warships were not the Merrimac and the Monitor, as our history books would have us believe, but vessels designed by one Admiral Yi a couple of centuries earlier.

One dividend of this self-induced "continuing education" was a wide acquaintance among the university's best scholars in fields far removed from international politics, economic development, and public administration, my previous academic beats. I even worked out a nearly infallible method — I have never before revealed it — for evaluating members of a university faculty. I found that I was judging my faculty colleagues by whether, when I talked with them, I learned something from them. (They were doubtless judging me the same way.) It seemed probable that if a professor wasn't arousing my curiosity and stimulating my mind, he probably wasn't doing that for his students either. I don't suppose there is any way to patent this evaluation system, but it would certainly be less laborious than baking that three-layer procedural cake customarily in use for making promotion and tenure decisions.

Another dividend of this continuous exercise of intellectual curiosity, especially for administrators, is that it provides welcome relief from the deadening effect on the human brain of constant preoccupation with the administrative process itself.

Anyone who helps govern a university soon learns the Gresham's Law that procedure elbows substance off his desk; it takes only a little longer to realize that procedure is actually the surrogate for substance in the politics of education. In my five years as president of a university system, I do not recall that anyone — student leader, faculty colleague, campus provost or chancellor, regent, legislator, governor, or federal visitor — ever disagreed with me explicitly on a point of substance. Of disagreements there were many. But (as I noted in an earlier writing) the complaint usually turned up in camouflage: I failed to follow the correct (that is, written) procedures, or I couldn't have been correct because there *were* no written procedures; I did not consult the relevant groups, or at least not soon enough, or with their duly authorized representatives; I neglected to prepare, in the proper form, a PPBS justification, a PERT chart, a detailed schematic, a statement of budgetary implications, an environmental assessment, a certification of affirmative action; I omitted to quantify the benefits, request the attorney general's opinion, call a public hearing, or provide the requisite number of copies.

Such procedural objections, even trivial ones, can devastate a plan of action. Especially in a large meeting, most of those present are sufficiently inattentive, apathetic, confused, or hungry to favor postponement of action by means which do not require hard thinking about the substantive course proposed.

Our society has developed many highly effective ways of retarding change and smothering innovation. Some of the most effective have been grown in the hothouse politics of higher education where, as the old canard has it, the stakes are small and the men of honor are often outnumbered by the men of principle. To focus for twelve hours a day on untangling procedural snarls, and neglect to participate in the intellectual excitement that is unleashed by administrative action, is to get mesmerized by the misery and miss all the fun.

VI

Yet another dividend of intellectual curiosity is the administrator's capacity to take with a grain of salt the descriptions of a glum future, for higher education in general and for his own institution in particular, which litter his desk, shout at him from the local media, and punctuate his conversations with his colleagues.

The central administrator in any enterprise is surrounded with gloomily reluctant experts bidding him to study the problem some more and then do nothing cautiously. (The recent migration of academic disputes into downtown courtrooms has increased the proportion of lawyers contributing to the gloom and reluctance, but the effect is the same.) The academic administrator has even readier access than other

public executives to a wider range of more systematic extrapolators of the disastrous consequences bound to flow from whatever action he takes.

His professional colleagues may even include scholars who are making good royalties by mistaking present trends for future destiny. The most breathless of these computerized Cassandras seem very often to be wrong, and I have puzzled a good deal about the abnormal frequency of predictive error. Isaiah Berlin gives us the clue: "The experts cannot know enough." Keeping up with trends in one's own field is difficult enough, and the expert is almost bound to assume that the factors he doesn't have time to study will cancel out the factors he has studied but doesn't understand. That leaves only his own golden line of extrapolation from the corner of the complexity he really does know something about — and each specialized projection, carried far enough into the future, leads to the Apocalypse. The demographers, who underestimated the effects of development on world population growth and, in the United States, overestimated the need for school buildings and tickets of admission to higher education, are only the most obvious examples of that original statistical sin, which is to assume that what you know will not be stood on its head by what you don't know.

The situation-as-a-whole person, on the other hand, knows by instinct what the souls in Dante's *Inferno* learned to their sorrow: they could see clearly what lay far in the future, but things blurred as they drew nearer. He learns to mistrust predictions, especially when they are so long range that when the eventual disaster is due, the forecaster — and, if his prediction is correct, his readers too — will be dead. Or, if not dead, the forecaster might at least hope to be retired, preening himself on his long record of accuracy like that ancient retiree from the Research Department of the British Foreign Office who served from 1903 to 1950 and boasted thus at his retirement ceremony: "Year after year the worriers and fretters would come to me with awful predictions of the outbreak of war. I denied it each time. And I was only wrong twice."

Mark Twain was hard on the extrapolators too. "In the space of one hundred and seventy-six years the lower Mississippi has shortened itself 242 miles," he wrote. "That is an average of one mile and a third per year. [So] any person can see that 742 years from now the lower Mississippi will be only a mile and three-quarters long."

"There is something fascinating about science," he went on. "One gets such wholesale returns of conjecture out of such a trifling investment of fact."

The bad news about the sins of extrapolation is that in most fields — in economics or military tactics or scientific discovery or industrial

technology — the past is simply not a reliable guide to the future. Change is too kaleidoscopic, too various, too complicated, too simultaneous — in a word, too human — to be arranged in linear logic from cause to effect. But — here's the good news — those who preach and practice the arts of politics and administration don't have the same problem at all. They can have a pretty good idea what is going to happen next, because in this business of human cooperation the verities really are something like eternal.

In America's most famous op-ed articles, the *Federalist Papers,* what Hamilton wrote about economic policy now seems quaint, archaic, the speculations of leaders of an underdeveloped country wondering — as so many new nations are wondering today — how to maintain its declared independence in an interdependent world. But Madison's stuff — on the nature of politics, the countervailing of powers, the fencing in of factions, the separation of functions, the essence of governance — is strikingly up-to-date. He was describing a society in which, by deliberate design, nobody would be in charge. It is a description — especially in "Federalist No. 10" — worth rereading now that we must invent the institutions of governance for academic institutions with nobody in charge.

Durable ideas about administration last much longer than 200 years. One of the best books about personnel management, *The Study of Human Abilities,* was written in the third century A.D. by a Chinese public administrator who hired out to manage principalities for local princes in the Middle Kingdom — a Niccolo Machiavelli of his time. Its chapter on how to conduct an interview — especially the part about how you can't recognize in others a quality you don't have yourself — can still be helpful to all of us.

Each of us has thus inherited an enormous body of wisdom about how to relate effectively to other people. When the engineers invent a new gadget, you cannot even find its name in the dictionary. But when you discover a workable way of bringing people together in organizations to make a difference, you are more than likely to find it lucidly described in Aristotle's *Politics,* Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations,* or the Bible. Now that Mao Tse-tung is dead, the literary archeologists will doubtless unearth evidence that his most penetrating thoughts were some ghostwriter's plagiarism from China's rich thesaurus of inherited practical wisdom.

So, as Walter Ong says, "Time is in us: the material in our own bodies is five to ten billion years old . . . [and] the past is a massive fact in the sense of identity of every educated person today." A lively curiosity about that past is a primary qualification for leaders who would mould our future identity.

VII

Situation-as-a-whole people also have to learn that hardest of lessons for leaders to learn: *Never underestimate the power of the people.* One of the things Mao Tse-tung was probably right about was his notion that most social and political wisdom resides in the masses (read "people"), not in the cadres (read "administrators"). The task of the administrators, as the professionals in getting things done, is to sniff out the sense of direction that is implicit in people's behavior, and then codify it, program it, organize it — but not to delude themselves that they invented or originated it.

Tick off in your minds the major shifts in U.S. policy these past twenty years. Certainly the government was the last to learn that the war in Vietnam was over or that Richard Nixon was politically dead. American women had stopped having so many babies long before school boards and government planners adjusted to no-growth or slow-growth assumptions. The rights of minorities, the status of women, protections for the consumer, and safeguards for the environment would not be where they are if the people had waited for public executives or legislators — or universities, for that matter — to take the initiative.

On the upcoming ecological issues, of which more in a moment, the people again seem to be ahead. They know by instinct that air and water are no longer free goods, that energy is valuable and therefore cannot be cheap, that knowledge doesn't have to be applied just because it is known. (Straws in *that* new wind were the decisions not to build an antiballistic missile defense and not to go ahead with a commercial supersonic transport plane and the B-1 bomber. The jury is still out on the neutron bomb.) The people also understand, better than most defense experts, that big nuclear weapons are unusable except for deterrence of our peers. In quarrels with smaller powers, as Stanley Hoffman says, mere power can make us simply the biggest fly on the flypaper. (The Chinese have their own image: "Big Noise on Stairs Nobody Coming Down.")

As every surfer knows, it's not easy to catch a wave even when you know in what direction it is going — and impossible if you don't watch it very carefully. The task of leadership, then, is often to help the followers go where they want to go — and if the leader gets too far behind, as President Nixon helped us all understand, he gets wiped out.

VIII

Isaiah Berlin's paradox, by which our responsibility increases in direct ratio to our ignorance, is equally in evidence in global politics and administration.

The elements of world affairs are often discussed as though they

were separable problems that will yield to separate solutions. But as Elliot Richardson said in his interdependence lecture in Philadelphia last year: "Once you see that the knee bone is connected to the thigh bone and the thigh bone is connected to the hip bone, you can no longer pretend that they are separate."

We are only just beginning to see that all the well-researched "problems" — nuclear weapons, arms sales, poverty, affluence, environmental impacts, man-made dangers, and resource constraints — are so exquisitely tangled together that action on any one of them requires thinking about all of them — that is, thinking about the whole predicament, the world *problematique*. That kind of thinking is now required of literally a million of us, administrators of a pluralistic polity in a many-centered world.

"We Mexicans," says the poet Octavio Paz, "have always lived on the periphery of history. Now the center or nucleus of world society has disintegrated and everyone — including the European and the North American — is a peripheral being. We are living on the margin . . . because there is no longer any center. . . . World history has become everyone's task, and our own labyrinth is the labyrinth of all mankind."

It is probably no coincidence that "world history has become everyone's task" just when the general public has discovered ecology, the science of mutual relations between organisms and their environment. The world view of politicians, philosophers, and people of affairs does seem, at least in modern times, to derive from the discoveries and speculations of scientists.

It was not until Isaac Newton had pictured the universe as guided by precise laws of motion, tending to harmonize the forces of nature, that John Locke found in "laws of nature" the only foundations for human society; Adam Smith (*The Wealth of Nations* also had its 200th birthday in 1976) discovered an "invisible hand" to guide trade and industry according to the (natural) law of supply and demand; and James Madison wrote that a balance among "factions" might, like the counterpoise of heavenly bodies, provide a democracy with built-in self-control. The Jeffersonian model for a republic, with its reasonable, self-reliant citizens, its orderly and effective institutions, and its "mild" government, was thoroughly Newtonian in spirit and conception.

Charles Darwin's theory of natural evolution (*The Origin of Species* was published in 1859) made room for an alternative world view, in which unpremeditated struggle, wasteful and chaotic, eliminated the unfit and replaced order and reason as the central dynamic of Nature. "Social Darwinism" soon followed, prescribing competitive struggle as the new law of nature, justifying waste and selfishness as possibly useful agents for determining the "fitter" inventions, mores, institutions, and individual leaders.

In the twentieth century the popularization of Albert Einstein's thinking and the revolutionary notion that matter and energy were interchangeable once again produced their social fallout. Inspired by the word *relativity,* if not by its abstruse mathematics, the idea that "everything is relative" undermined organized religion and made it quite respectable to believe that eternal verities might well be proven wrong by further study — the student meanwhile suspending judgment on whatever he might earlier have learned at home, in church, or at school.

Beginning in the 1960s, a new sort of outlook has emerged from the profound discoveries of the life sciences (the cracking of genetic codes, the study of what goes on inside a cell, the deciphering of food-climate-population-energy puzzles), symbolized by the astonishingly sudden popularity of the term *ecology.* Ecological science directs our attention to the way varieties of life relate to each other and to the environmental "support systems" that make life possible. The key word, parallel to *harmony, struggle,* and *relativity* in the earlier cosmologies, might indeed be *interdependence.*

In a luminous essay about the "vibes" cells give to each other, Lewis Thomas observes that in order to sustain life, "using one signal or another, each form of life announces its proximity to the others around it, setting limits on encroachment or spreading welcome to potential symbionts." Even the earth itself might be thought of as an "immense organism" where "chemical signals might serve the function of global hormones, keeping balance and symmetry in the operation of various interrelated working parts, informing tissues in the vegetation of the Alps about the state of eels in the Sargasso Sea, by long interminable relays of interconnected messages between all kinds of other creatures."

Every branch of the ecological sciences — including studies of weather, the oceans, the atmosphere, the ozone layer, and the like — sends a supporting message: we had better respond together to Nature's "global hormones" that give us signals of life or death. We "interdepend" or perish.

Essentially, what we are beginning to perceive is an interlocking system of limits — not "limits to growth" but limits to thoughtlessness, unfairness, and conflict.

In one dimension, the "rich-poor" or "North-South" axis, an emerging ethic of fairness suggests a limit to (a) poverty (perhaps a minimum entitlement to human needs merely by virtue of being born into the family of Man); and also a limit to (b) the share which the most affluent person takes from a pool of resources which is flexible but finite. (The principle is familiar, even if the practice is uneven, in the progressive income tax.)

In other dimensions, an emerging ethic of prudence suggests socially determined limits to (c) the damage people should do to their physical environment (air and water pollution, stripping of the land, thinning of the ozone shield); (d) the dangers inherent in people-managed processes (family planning decisions, nuclear power plants, chemical reactions, traffic accidents, weather modification, genetic engineering); (e) the rate at which people use up nonrenewable resources (fossil fuels, hard minerals); and (f) practices that affect the renewability of renewable resources (soil erosion, destruction of wildlife, overcropping of farmland, overcutting of forests, overfishing of lakes and oceans).

Still another dimension (g) limits the scale of conflict about limits. Shortages and the desperation and rivalries they intensify will provoke acute conflicts. The arms available for use in these conflicts, which are not only the conventional and nuclear instruments of frightfulness but also economic and monetary and psychological and chemical and biological and meteorological weapons, will no longer be in the hands of an oligopoly of so-called powers. The nuclear technologies especially give everyone a common stake in limiting the extension of politics by military means. Factions and nations and regional or ideological blocs are going to have to bargain with each other to stay within all the other kinds of limits *without* the option of turning to the nuclear weaponeers as a last resort. Because that resort is too liable to be the last, détente can never mean relaxation. Détente is the continuation of tension by other means, means other than mutual suicide.

IX

Education for an ecological world view requires us all to stop pretending that there is a thick black line between domestic affairs and international affairs.

How far we are from learning this now elementary lesson was illustrated last fall when the League of Women Voters insisted — and not because an alternative wasn't suggested — on organizing the presidential debates in that unimaginative way: one domestic debate, one foreign policy debate. Two candidates for our highest office had to stand there for ninety minutes (not counting the audio interruption) making believe that inflation and unemployment, those global epidemics, were domestic questions to which a president could provide national answers. Constrained by the league's procrustean intellectual framework, neither candidate prepared the voters for the heavy diet of international economic consultations that is now, perforce, about to begin. And to this day, the White House retains in its organization chart an antique oddity called a Domestic Policy Staff — the kind of structure that, as the Domestic Council not so long ago, approved a soybean embargo by the

Department of Agriculture that was not only a shock to our Japanese and European allies but a surprise to the U.S. Department of State.

The blurring of the distinction between *domestic* and *foreign* has important implications for university administration. In Hawaii we took inventory of the university's international relations and found 298 separate arrangements linking our academic community to foreign governments, universities, research institutes, and development projects. We concluded that the University of Hawaii is in fact an international institution — and every other large university is too. It doesn't seem to make sense to have a special office for international relations when those relations are so pervasive. The dean of international studies is the president of the university. And every course can — and should — be conceived and taught in global perspective. This is not, repeat, not a plea for more courses in international relations, area studies, and diplomatic history. It is a much more far-reaching assertion: that every subject in the cornucopia of knowledge is better understood if the angle of vision is the ecological world view.

X

The situation-as-a-whole people we elect and appoint as administrators in American higher education have one natural advantage: they are Americans. A college or university is *par excellence* a system with nobody in charge, and the past that is in Americans is a rich experience in trying, as Madison proposed, to govern communities, states, and a nation through mostly horizontal relationships. We started with the notion that freedom was the power to choose, and decided as we went along that the obverse equally applies: power is the freedom to choose.

The central principle of management in a nobody-in-charge system was formulated 2,500 years ago by Lao Tse. "Ruling a big country," he said, "is like cooking a small fish" — that is, too much handling will spoil it. In such a system orders do not issue forth from a central planner; action is the plural improvisations by multiple leaders on an agreed sense of direction — a sense of direction that is agreed because those who have to travel together have worked at deciding together where they will try to go.

And if we have learned anything from the long history of human cooperation, it is that people of different races, creeds, and conditions can agree on next steps to take together if they carefully avoid trying to agree on *why* they are agreeing — that is, if they avoid arguing about ideology.

In such a system the hallmarks of effective action are the soft voice and the low key, the search for consensus (rather than choosing up sides and voting), the constructive use of ambiguity, a can-do spirit unwarranted by expert predictions, a willingness to take the initiative and

see others get the credit. It is as true in higher education as it is in world politics that the most effective leadership doesn't show, and especially that it doesn't show off.

Can it be done? Can hundreds of thousands of administrators in public education handle their growing responsibilities despite their growing ignorance of the details of the expanding complexity for which they are responsible? Can the ablest people in every field be induced — by these same administrators — to give thought to the largest problems of the nation, and the world? The idea is preposterous enough to be promising. It is not easy to think hard about the situation as a whole while working hard at your own small piece of the macroproblem of human cooperation. Just remember that the closer you can come to relating everything to everything else, the more nearly you will be matching the interrelatedness of the reality outside your mind — and gaining the capacity to act relevantly in your corner of the great complexity.

Meanwhile, don't let any of the experts who have produced the mindless discontinuities of the world *problematique* tell you that a global perspective is unscientific, or unprofessional, or unrealistic.

As Sam Goldwyn is supposed to have said of one of his critics: "Don't pay any attention to him. Don't even ignore him."

Author's Note

Some of the lines of thinking in this lecture are developed at greater length in other writings of mine, notably *The Future Executive* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); "How Do You Get Everybody in on the Act and Still Get Some Action?" *Educational Record,* Vol. 55, No. 3 (1974), p. 181; *Seven Everyday Collisions in American Higher Education* (New York, International Council for Educational Development, 1974); and *The Third Try at World Order* (Palo Alto: Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1977), from which most of sections VII and VIII are taken.

Response, Questions, and Discussion

Following the address three representatives of three levels of higher education administration were invited to present a formal response to Dr. Cleveland's address. The respondents were John E. Corbally, president, University of Illinois; James M. Furman, executive director, Illinois Board of Higher Education; and J. Myron Atkin, dean, College of Education, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. J. W. Peltason, chancellor, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, presided at the two sessions.

Questions from the audience and the responses and comments of the lecture participants are presented following the formal response by Dr. Corbally. The questions and discussions were edited by each speaker for publication.

Response by John E. Corbally
President, University of Illinois

Harlan Cleveland has presented us with a clear and comprehensive description of the situation with which a university administrator should deal and within which he must work. I am interested in his characterization of a university president as a "carrier of infectious innovation." It seems clear to me that if that description is correct, it should also be noted that there are a number of antibodies in the world and that whatever infectious innovation is put forth is often quickly and completely subject to an immune response.

I was also interested to note that Dr. Cleveland states that his experience has contained few if any occasions in which his presidential views were challenged on a substantive basis. The challenges came, rather, on procedural grounds. I can indicate more well-balanced success in my own administrative career — I am often challenged on both substantive and procedural grounds.

It is important that we move to the time when the audience can

interact with Dr. Cleveland and I will, then, make only one additional response to his excellent presentation. Early in his comments, Harlan Cleveland reminded us of Robert Frost's statement that "education is hanging around until you've caught on." In thinking about this definition, I am led to mention what seems to me to be the current disparity between our processes for selecting and promoting administrators and our processes for helping young men and women "catch on." Those who are willing to "hang around" often do so with the full knowledge that even when they have "caught on" they well may never be anointed with an upper (or perhaps even lower) echelon administrative title and position.

Our part of the profession of management — the public administration part — lacks any real plan of progression, any real concept that one who becomes a "situation-as-a-whole" person can, in fact, be reasonably certain of administrative assignment. There is a real risk for an academic person as he or she chooses to move from a path of professional and disciplinary specialization to a path of administrative generalization. The former offers a well-defined career path; the latter a ticket in the administrative selection lottery. We who are interested in — indeed, committed to — the preparation of our successors must pay attention to and devote energy to the reduction of that risk.

Finally, I do not want to close my participation in this Fourth David D. Henry Lecture without expressing my personal affection and admiration for my friend and colleague, David D. Henry. As has been noted, he is with us today, and he has been with me as a guide, a counselor, a recreation leader, and an inspiration ever since that day just slightly over six years ago when I was elected to succeed him in the position in which he served so long and so well — the presidency of the University of Illinois. This lecture series named and supported in his honor is contributing to the furtherance of the work to which David Henry has devoted and is devoting his professional life, and we are most appreciative of Harlan Cleveland's outstanding addition to the series.

Questions and Discussion

Questioner (Robert Barger): Dr. Cleveland, a couple of the comments you made this morning reminded me of some of the thought of John Dewey; in particular, your advocacy of certain ambiguousness in language during negotiation and your advocacy of forgoing ideology in the interest of compromise on solutions. That raises the question in my mind about whether that nonideological approach has not often in the past, and perhaps will again in the future, play into the hands of those

in power. As you pointed out so well, those in power in the past have not always been right.

Dr. Cleveland: It is true that I have been selling ambiguity for years. I have always liked Freud's definition of maturity as the ability to deal with ambiguity. I hadn't quite figured out how to explain to students about it until I found myself lecturing about the executive function in a community college in Hawaii and used the term "constructive ambiguity." In the discussion period a student got up and said, "All my life I have been told that if I can get it clear, that's better, and now you are telling me that the fuzzier it is, the better. Do you really mean that?" It suddenly occurred to me how to explain that. I said, "Listen, tell me who it is in your family who makes the decisions." There was a long silence and he looked up at the ceiling and everybody else looked at him and finally a beautiful smile came over his face and he said, "I see, it depends." I said, "Hold on to that thought my friend, and it will be very useful to you." So I do think ambiguity has a very important function, in particular, in administration, and I think you are probably right that anybody who is in a position of authority who avoids achieving an undue clarity on things that don't have to be clear puts some defenses up against some of the more obvious arguments for removing that authority. So I think it is an important defense mechanism for those in power.

But equally, I think that those who are seeking power from below or want to push the establishment aside and take their own control would benefit from understanding how important it is not to be too clear. I was always struck during the period of student demonstrations, of which we had our share in Hawaii, how the radical leaders tended to misplay their hand by clarifying their positions too fast and too early and thereby narrowing the base of their support in situations where, if it had been ambiguous, they might have been able to develop a larger basis of support. I think that your perception that a feel for ambiguity is an important part of keeping power is correct, but I think it is also an important part of seeking power. It just is a fact that most important subjects don't lend themselves to being clarified early and sometimes ever, and the people who want to make it clear and simple often turn out to be wrong — because the simplicity doesn't match reality. Reality is ambiguous.

Questioner (Dr. Corbally): Harlan, I think the second part of the question that I heard was the relationship between what you have just discussed and the possibility of the presence or absence of some kind of ideological guidelines for the ambiguous administrator. I thought I heard Robert Barger saying that the ambiguity implied a lack of some sort of ideological framework. I'm not sure I agree with that, but I

would be interested in your response to what I think was a part of that question.

Dr. Cleveland: The word *ideology* is sort of hard, and I find it hard to work with. If we can, let's translate that as "the sense of direction." I think the leader has to have a reasonably clear sense of direction, and that sense has to communicate itself. It has to be simple enough to communicate itself to the people he wants to influence. But the paths for getting there are multiple, and if he is doctrinaire about the paths, about the means, about the "next steps," then he is going to be in trouble. His problem is to build a wide base and a consensus for taking some next steps to proceed toward a goal, but many of the people willing to take the next step with him may not agree about the long-term goal. For example, if we want to make an arms control deal with the Soviets we had better stay away from trying to decide why we are doing it together and instead work on the next step. In the process we will find that we have to leave some aspects of the arms control arrangement with the Soviets ambiguous for the time being. If we insist on getting everything clear we will never get an agreement. I think that same principle tends to apply in almost all kinds of human cooperation.

Questioner (Dr. Peltason): I wonder if I might shorten the question a little bit. We could talk here about the leaders, and I know that the main thrust of your message today was to see the world in total and that there are many things in common about leaders, but aren't there also differences if somebody has in mind the role and responsibility of the president of the United States for certain kinds of operational consequences of ambiguity and someone else is thinking about a head of a university or a dean of a college or a head of a department. It would seem to me that there are different ingredients that are brought to bear in these different examples. I could think, for example, that a dean of a college of law could quite appropriately be expected to have ideas about legal education, place them on the agenda as a member of the faculty, and have, if you will, an ideology regarding what ought to be done; whereas the president of a complex institution might have a different way in which he is going to have to weigh that particular part of his responsibility, and it may be different from the way the president of the United States weighs it. My most specific question is, in thinking and talking about and studying leadership or executive ability, might it not be clearer and more useful if we talked about what kind of executive for what kind of organization and what time and what level of complexity?

Dr. Cleveland: Sure, there are all kinds of differences, but I think that some generalizations are possible. What I was trying to say in my talk

at one point is that leadership is to a considerable degree trying to figure out where the followers are going and codifying that. I think that generalization applies in all kinds of things. It is more evident in an academic department where the academic colleagues don't really regard the chairman as their academic leader but the person who sort of expresses their consensus and has to have the burden of going to the meetings with the administrators. Indeed, it is the increasing pattern, I think, in academia for the chairman to be an associate professor or one of the more junior colleagues who hasn't yet learned that it is not a good idea to be chairman because you've got to go to all those meetings. So, in that case, it is very obvious that the leader is sort of an expression of the followership.

But I think, in some sense, in the differences of degree, that's true in all forms of human cooperation in modern society. In the Vietnam War there were actually cases where the platoon leader had to sit down with his troops and discuss the question of why it was a good idea to take that next hill, otherwise he might not have been followed. That would have been inconceivable as short a time ago as when Sergeant McKeon ordered his platoon into the water in the marshes of Parris Island, and they all followed him, and you know half of them couldn't swim so they drowned, but the record afterward shows that nobody had questioned the order. That doesn't happen so much anymore.

I would say that you could even chart the differences of degree. I think you could say that the wider and more complex and various the responsibility of the executive, the fewer unreviewed decisions he makes. You might remember, I used to argue in meetings of the American Society for Public Administration that the president of the United States makes essentially no unreviewed decisions except maybe whether to touch off the bomb, whereas the man who mows the lawn in front of the White House makes, for his level of policy, a number of unreviewed decisions: just how high to leave the grass, which part of the grass to mow first. That is defining policy Appleby's way as "the decisions that are made at your level and higher." The fact that you have to sniff out where the followers are going, I think, is universal, although the degree may vary with the complexity of your responsibility.

Dr. Peltason: I would say not only where the followers are going but also the sense of timing. What can be done at what time? I always have felt that timing was one of the great characteristics of a leader — the person who could maximize the opportunities at a particular time and didn't try to do what couldn't be done.

While others are collecting their thoughts, let me ask a quick question, if I may, to again push your thinking. Many of us have become administrators by indirection or accident, or at least it wasn't our planned career, and that's a typical way in higher education. The fact

that you start out to be an administrator as a young man, that's probably the fastest way not to get there. At least you don't want to tell anybody. Those of us in that position do tend to agree and be sympathetic to your thought that there is a lot of on-the-job training and that there is not much that can be taught and you have to learn it. On the other hand, we do think that we've learned something in the time that we've been in office and that we have profited from that experience. I'm a little bit uncomfortable with the thought that you can learn it but you can't teach it. I'm especially uncomfortable as a chief administrative officer of a university, which is based on the assumption that "what you learn you can teach." So why can't you teach people how to be administrators?

Dr. Cleveland: Having written a book called *The Future Executive* which is used in a number of training courses, I can't wholly deny that it is feasible. I did teach a course with the presumptuous title of "Executive Leadership" at Syracuse, and I learned quite a lot by teaching it. I learned that you can't really handle the concept of responsibility with students who are (this was a graduate course) right out of college and really haven't had any responsibility yet.

On the other hand, I taught the same course for my own education to community leaders, people from the League of Women Voters, and various other organizations in town, including public employees. I was greatly struck with the fact that I didn't really need any textbook down there at all because I had their own experience to work with. If we were discussing the question of "the effect of bigness on the individual and his own moral and ethical behavior and responsibility," you could go through an exercise like asking everybody what they thought about bigness, and they would all say it was terrible. Then you would ask them to describe the most exciting, interesting, and fulfilling experience in their work experience, and it would turn out to be an experience in the largest organization they ever worked for. You could finally bring the discussion around to how the bigger the organization is, the looser it is, and the more opportunity there is for people to learn to swim in that kind of environment. They didn't need any book if you had their own experience. So you can teach it in the sense of helping people to theorize and therefore to have a structure on which to hang their own experience. I really think that the art of administration, the art of bringing people together in organizations to make something happen, is more complex than any other kind of art or science. It has to be a combination of experience and codification and theorizing, and the theorizing without the codification is the trouble with much of the literature in the field of public administration. It doesn't sound as if the person writing it had ever done it, and that's a problem.

Mr. Furman: I think that's a good point. Despite the fact that it is said so many times, there was a tremendous credibility gap between what my professors in public administration and political science at the university taught, on one hand, and what happened to me when I went to work for the state legislature after attending graduate school in Ohio. There simply wasn't a bridge between what professors taught me and the kinds of things I was involved in on a day-to-day basis in research and in political dealings with legislators. The problem, as I saw it, was that the professors simply had not done some in-service training of their own so that they could better bridge that difference. It seems to me that there has to be a meshing of those two — needs and concerns — and seldom, or many times, that simply doesn't happen.

Dr. Corbally: It seems to me also that we are talking about a position or line of work which is a combination of both art and skill, and much of the art is related very directly to one's own personality, the way in which one can emotionally and physically react to various kinds of situations. It does seem to me, however, that there are two or three things to which one interested in preparing oneself for possible administrative positions might be exposed.

I think, for example, of the conversation in which we engaged earlier this morning about ambiguity. It really provides a framework in which an administrator needs to approach most problems. It leads to satisfaction and dissatisfaction because it leaves a number of things unresolved when in fact in most of our lives we're taught that you want to finish something before you go on to something else. In many cases that's a result which the administrator never can accomplish, so there are ways of thinking about an administrative or leadership approach to problems that can be described and can be discussed. I think there is a need for a great deal of reality about what administrative or leadership jobs really entail.

I remember asking a graduate student in educational administration why he was interested in going on up through the administrative positions to a higher level, and he answered, "because I am tired of all the trivia in my life and want to be a top executive," where obviously there were no trivia. There is a sense of reality lacking here, and I think that we do a poor job describing this through "war stories." We do too much describing in war stories about how I handled this crisis or that crisis, much as the veteran returning from war does. He describes the highlights and the heroic aspects of his service, but the great amount of dirt and grime and that kind of scut work involved is never discussed; and so we glamorize war, and we glamorize administration, and we glamorize a lot of things when we should at least be able to describe to people who are interested in considering a profession what are some of the realities of that profession. I think we need to find ways

to push people into a whole host of human interactions so they can at least discover to what degree they are comfortable and uncomfortable in various kinds of interactions.

Jim Furman mentioned this morning that it is all well and good to be at a level at which you can communicate well with faculty members, but at certain levels of university administration you have to be able to communicate well with a host of other people. There are ways, I think, in which you can force, through a program in administration, some interactions with various people, not so that a student can suddenly in a one-semester course develop expertise in working with all sorts of people, but might at least come away from a set of experiences saying to himself or herself, "My gosh, that's something I simply don't want to do — I don't like working with those kinds of people; I don't like talking with those kinds of people; I don't want to spend my life doing that sort of thing." While I think it is impossible to "teach" somebody to *be* an administrator, I think we can do a great deal in teaching people *about* administration, about ways of thinking as an administrator and some of the things involved in it, so that they can decide whether they want to teach themselves through a variety of experiences to be an administrator.

I am consistently distressed, however, by the fact that we find it so difficult to really indicate to somebody that if you do all of these things, then you have a better shot at an administrative position than somebody who hasn't thought about administration at all. As Jack Peltason said earlier, the best way to make sure that you don't go anywhere at all in administration at a university is to start out confessing that you would like to be an administrator. My appointments were in spite of that, and here I thought all the time they should be because of it. As followers in higher education, as well as leaders, we have to develop a new way and a more realistic way of thinking about administration — what it is, and what it requires — so that maybe in the future we can develop a better way of outlining to young people what a reasonable career path is in administration if they do and try various things.

Dr. Atkin: Along these lines it is sometimes useful to distinguish between educational experiences that are useful at one level and those that are useful at another. I mean here the level and amount of a student's practical experience. We have people already working in practical jobs who are facing daily difficulties of one sort or another who often are more receptive to studies that help them become more reflective about what they are doing than individuals who are preparing to move into those positions. The latter group is often preoccupied with "survival skills." This is particularly true in fields like teaching, or nursing, or librarianship, or social work, or school administration. If the person is not yet in the post, he or she is often fearful about the

prospects for success and wants all kinds of practical help. The prospective practitioner frequently is not very patient about developing a longer view of the position — about the context in which the post is set. A thinking person who is in the job already is often eager to bring an intellectual component to an understanding of his or her work. I think this is true in all fields that I mentioned and probably others, and I believe that in training for the professions we are beginning in part to make this kind of distinction.

Questioner (Sr. Marmion Walsh): You spoke basically this morning, Dr. Cleveland, and most of the rest of the panel, to the office of presidency. Would you, or would any of the other members of the panel, modify your statement somewhat if you were speaking about the lower strata as far as administrators are concerned and particularly as far as the training process is concerned?

Dr. Cleveland: I guess I spoke of that level because that's what I was doing most recently. I think the notions that — in my capacity as a reflective practitioner rather than as a scholar in these matters — I was trying to put forward, are generally applicable to any level of responsibility. The differences that the level make are differences of the constituencies that you deal with, but not necessarily differences in the processes that are required to deal with them. Although the organization chart looks very vertical, most of the people you are dealing with are not people who work for you or people that you are working for, even though it looks that way from the outside. I had a lot of difficulty in Hawaii because every time a professor would sound off, say something that was different from the general community view on Vietnam or whatever, the next downtown luncheon I had, people would come up to me and say, "Why don't you stop that silly professor from saying those silly things?" I would have to try to explain that neither the professor nor I thought that he was working for me. I didn't regard it as my responsibility to shut his mouth, and he didn't have the responsibility to shut my mouth either. That was kind of a hard sale downtown, but it sounded all right on the campus.

In fact, every organization, I think, is moving in that direction — moving in the direction of more horizontal process. A big modern hospital or university in a sense already is a nobody-in-charge society. That doesn't mean the lack of leadership. It just means a great spread of leadership — a lot of leaders, probably more total quantum of leadership than is required by a pyramid or hierarchical arrangement. I don't think it makes any difference at the level of abstraction we have been talking; I think the principles or notions, the insights, apply. They are employed differently.

When I was a dean, I regarded it as my task to make sure that

neither the faculty in the Maxwell School nor the central administration really knew where all the money was located. The important thing was that I knew more about where the money was than anybody else. Although in our classes we were teaching that central budgeting was really the thing and important for efficiency, in my office I prided myself on the fact that our money was spread around in twenty-two different birdbaths and that probably my secretary and I were the only people who knew where they all were. I think the sense of personal responsibility for where you are trying to go and a willingness to deal with other people horizontally are really the two things I emphasized most in my writings, and they probably apply as much at any level of responsibility. The levels are no longer the important determinant of the process since the process tends to be more horizontal the more complex things become.

Dr. Corbally: I just want to say, Harlan, that the central administration at Syracuse has still not found all those birdbaths.

Dr. Peltason: They are all frozen.

Questioner: I would like to get away from the purpose of ambiguity for a minute and ask Dr. Cleveland or Dr. Corbally to talk about this idea of the integrative mind. Is it something that someone has changed after being around long enough, or is this something that one can be taught, or is it something with which one is born? The reason I'm asking the question is that when one talks about the integrative mind one may be talking about restructuring liberal education as an interdisciplinary issue. We are talking about, I think, a big task in terms of development.

Dr. Cleveland: I think it is right that it has enormous implications. The bottleneck in our society for almost anything you touch tends to be the situation as a whole, tends to be our inability to get it all together. We know everything there is to know about a modern city except how to make it beautiful, clean, efficient, etc. There isn't anything we don't know about it. Really, it is just that we haven't figured out how to get it together. If this integrating kind of thinking is the primary bottleneck in our communities and our world affairs too, then I think we really have to develop some devices for exposing every very young student to what it means to think integratively. I think there are some ways to do this.

Let me just give you one example. We started a new law school in Hawaii. So we had an enormous opportunity. We didn't have to do it the way Harvard did it in 1905 and the way everybody has been doing it since. The first year you come and sit down and find yourself in a contracts course. Nobody tells you why you are in a contracts course but there you are and that's what you do in the first year of law school. We

decided that wasn't good enough. People ought to know why they are in these funny-sounding courses of law school. We sawed off the first month of the first year of this new law school, and the first group of students had a project. It was a big and complicated environmental fight, a real one in one part of Oahu Island. The students were assigned various roles. Some of them were the state and some of them were the federal government and some of them were the city and county and some were the developers and some were the environmentalists. They tried in a microcosm to solve the problem that was actually there in the newspapers currently that fall. They went around and of course interviewed all real actors and tried to represent the real actors in the microcosm. After about two or three weeks of this, students would begin to say to their professors who were also participating in the project, "Listen, I don't really know how to think about this problem because I don't really understand the nature of a contract." They would say this quite unself-consciously, but that was exactly what we were trying to accomplish, you see; so then when they sat down on the course on contracts, they knew why they were in a course on contracts. That didn't mean that they shouldn't learn about contracts, and indeed I think the trouble with advocating integrative thinking or interdisciplinary thinking and so on is that it is too easy to seem to be advocating, not really learning very much about anything.

As a matter of fact, I have long felt that for the general manager, whose main job is going to be to deal with the use of experts' skills, it is terribly important that once in his life he has been a first-rate expert at something. I don't really much care what, but he knows what a first-rate piece of expert staff work looks like and has the feel for what it is like to get to the very bottom of a narrow subject. This is important because he is going to have to use that kind of talent and distinguish the good from the bad, but I think that along the way to the liberal arts we need to recapture the notion of the liberal arts. Maybe it isn't the old kind of liberal arts that consists of just studying Greek and classics, etc., which had its own narrowness — they never heard of non-Western, after all, in those old liberal arts. It is, rather, a matter of acquiring some sense of integrating the different kinds of expertness around a problem. That's why I think problem orientation is a pretty good educational gadget for this purpose. It is very important not to give young students the impression that the problems can be solved without deep expertise on a lot of very narrow subjects. It has to be a play between the deep narrowness and the integrative function; neither one of them is lost if it is a cooperative process.

Dr. Peltason: I would like to reinforce your last comment, because I have found the tendency of many students is to want to discuss the whole world's problems before they are willing to learn the basic prin-

ciples. I remember that Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes used to tell his students that before you twist the world by the tail, you had better learn torts. I think that we have some difficulty — at least I have difficulty — persuading students why hard study is relevant and will be related ultimately to putting it all together. I think the point you made at the end is one to stress to the modern students who are quite anxious to solve problems. I once had a student who said that he would like to do an honors paper on the problems of world peace. I thought that was very noble, but wondered just what specifically he wanted to do. Well, he wanted to register for 3 hours of credit and to write a master plan on how to bring peace to mankind. I sent him on with my blessing, but with a considerable amount of skepticism.

Dr. Atkin: This issue, of course, has a rich history in education. I can remember the progressive education movement wherein we heard a great deal about focusing on problems. I worked in schools where that happened. It was an inspiration, indeed, to see the motivation of some of the youngsters — motivation that had not been present before — and it was an inspiration to see some of what they learned. But then as you moved up through the grades, you began to find unanticipated holes in their backgrounds in rather fundamental kinds of learning.

While I have the microphone, perhaps I could ask Dr. Cleveland a question that may change the subject some. This morning, I believe, he was making a plea for the well-educated generalist administrator in higher education. We have at least one country in the world, Britain, where they staff their civil service, their administrative hierarchy, and their government with a group of extraordinarily well-educated generalist administrators. The assumption there, as you probably know, is that an individual so-educated can and should move across fields. So a person is assigned to defense for a five-year period, and then moves over to housing, and then moves over to education and science. I wonder about Dr. Cleveland's view of the success of this method of high administrator recruitment or training in the United Kingdom and its success elsewhere, because it has been applied in many places, particularly the former British Colonies.

Dr. Cleveland: I think it has worked well as a system in the Britain that it was invented for, that is, a pretty highly structured elitist civil service coming out of Oxford. I think that you have to rethink the things that were effective about that system when you apply them in a mass and much more egalitarian kind of situation such as ours. I think that what is essential about it is the notion that a good general education leads to an assumption of leadership, an assumption on the part of the individual that his function in life is going to be executive leadership, including a good deal of variety in the kind of experience and of

the subject matter being administered, which is often the case even now with British civil service. I think all of those are important principles that we can apply in our own career development. I don't think we can or should have the kind of closed access to the leadership positions that was the key to this system. Churchill knew when he was growing up that he was going to be a leader, and in a way it didn't matter what he took. He knew he was being educated for leadership, and he, of course, worked very hard at it and was very good at it and also very good at discussing it, unlike most executives.

It doesn't always follow that the people who come up through that sort of education develop perceptions that are helpful to them later on. I have to tell you that I took Keynesian economics with a young don at Oxford named Harold Wilson. He was really a first-year don at the time and we had a tutorial. Kermit Gordon and I were his two tutees. I'm very clear on what I carried away from that tutorial on Keynesian economics. This economics business, Harold Wilson taught me, is a cyclical thing, but you can depend on inflation being at one end of the cycle and recession and unemployment being at the other end. That hasn't been a terribly useful piece of information, either to Harold or to me, in the subsequent years. So not all Oxonians are educated for leadership.

Dr. Corbally: I would like to just go back to this question about the "situation-as-a-whole people," because one thing that does concern me is a certain amount of sloppiness that I think is entering into our use of the language. I'm very often accused of being the representative of a special interest when I plead for money for the University of Illinois, and I suppose in many senses that's correct. I argue a little about that, but I can understand it. I'm not nearly as concerned about that as I am about the very easy way in which we are beginning, I think, in our society to use and, in my feeling, misuse public interest. We have all kinds of people wandering around whose views in most cases don't represent mine, but who are basing their argument on the grounds that they represent the public. We are permitting the public interest to be defined as being much narrower than the kind of situation-as-a-whole view that was described this morning.

I think all of us who are members of the public should perhaps be a little more insistent upon some proper usage and some proper consideration of the meaning of the term public interest. I happen to feel, for example, that the crucial effort that is required in the public interest in the country is to make sure that the people, to the extent possible, understand not both sides, but the variety of sides. These are some of the major problems facing us, and yet we are consistently defining the public interest to be what some see as the part of one piece of that whole set of solutions. I am concerned about some sort of sloppiness of

language, which then goes into sloppiness in thinking, which tends to take some words that shouldn't imply situation as a whole and are being used to mean just very small pieces of the situation as a whole. I think we need to be aware that if we are going to do what Harlan and others have described, we are in fact saying that nobody is in charge in the authoritarian sense, but all of us are to participate by being in charge of our society. All of us need to have, I think, a rather broad understanding of the need to become situation-as-a-whole people, not just those who are named as leaders. All of us need to try to be that kind of person. There is a lot of that lacking in public dialogue today.

Mr. Furman: I want to get back to one of the questions that was asked from the Department of Higher Education. The answer to your question about what kind of program, whether it be interdisciplinary or for the education of generalists, may be that "it depends." There are certain areas of higher education administration in which specialization is required, and one most apparent to me today is financial aid administration. I think that colleges and universities could and perhaps should well do the job of providing a highly specialized background as a part of the education of student financial aid administrators that goes beyond just preparing that person to be a generalist in educational administration. So I think it depends in many ways on the kind of assignment, and it also makes the assumption that everyone, unfortunately, isn't going to end up as a university president.

Dr. Peltason: I have often felt that the most important thing, my most important responsibility, is presiding over a process in which I do not have a lot to say. What I do more than anything else at this university is to participate in the selection of the people who are the leaders. I think that I have a pretty good feel for the kind of background, experience, personality, and temperament of the kinds of people who are going to make good deans, vice-chancellors, department heads, etc. Maybe it is like Justice Stewart once said about pornography — that he couldn't define it but knew it when he saw it. Obviously President Henry had a great ability to pick leaders, since he picked me.[1]

Dr. JoAnn Fley: I have some questions that I would like to share with you and some concerns. I may ramble a bit or I may be ambiguous, but maybe that will be highly valued at this point so I won't worry about my ambiguity. I would like to start my point of departure where we left off this morning because I found myself very distressed after some of the remarks. Some of the students were too. So I would like to ask for some guidance and also express some concern.

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[1] The lecture was adjourned at this point, and the group reconvened after lunch at 2:00 p.m. in the same room.

I think even you, Chancellor Peltason, summarized that education in administration was not seen as too important an experience for administrators and that personality was particularly important to educational administrators. Several elements of that personality were identified — the ability to laugh at yourself, etc. I found this of some concern. It took me back to the readings of minutes and proceedings that I did of the annual meetings of the old deans of men back in the 1920s. Some of the remarks made this morning sounded very much like the remarks made by those administrators in the 1920s. There was a great emphasis on the dean of men being born, not made. The personality he was born with was deemed more important than professional preparation. So I was under the impression this morning — and I think that some of our students were too — that you were saying that maybe we were making a mistake by teaching courses in the history and philosophy of higher education, the organization and organizational development, budgeting and finance, and perhaps we should start offering courses in joke-telling 101 or ambiguity 401. I think there is a certain problem with this, especially the ambiguity bit. Maybe I am misinterpreting what ambiguity is, but I would suggest that if we are going to spend too much time on ambiguity then we better be very careful what we teach undergraduates because we better not teach them to think more clearly, as our catalogue says, or to write and reason more clearly, or to speak more clearly because there may be some problem in the future with the public being able to tolerate our ambiguity.

Now I'll go into another reaction to some of the remarks that were made. I would like to go back to this idea of "born and not made" with emphasis on the personality. I think the deans of men and many people, at least in some administrative guilds, finally concluded that personality is important, but you can't get along indefinitely just on personality. I believe that there are certain things and background that you can provide, certain principles that you can provide that will short circuit or clarify some of the experiences the students are having at the present time, that they have had before they became students, or that they will have later. Mr. Furman made the remark that his professor failed to provide that bridge between what was being taught in the academy and what was administration as it was practiced in real life. I can appreciate that, and we hear that frequently too. Therefore, one of the arguments that I would make today is that administrators like yourselves, from the president on down, have a very important role to play in the whole preparation of educational administrators. That is to work in partnership with the people teaching the courses and the graduate students preparing for the working partnership to provide some of the practical experience. This can either be done in internships, in graduate assistantships, or even in first jobs. Some administrators are

much better at this partnership than others. Some feel a professional responsibility for doing that; others don't. But I would plead with you that that is a role for each one of you. It would be invaluable as the kind of experience graduate students need and can't get other places.

Following up to that, I would make a special plea in another area. Some research shows that the influence and role of the mentor is one of the most important experiences, one of the most important relationships, for the apprentice administrator, and you yourselves have acknowledged that. What I would make a plea for, and I am thinking as a woman faculty member, I don't always see the best students being hired for jobs or being promoted. If you do decide to take on this professional responsibility and act as a mentor, which would be a tremendous help to graduate preparation, I would make a plea for you not to keep perpetuating the "guild" as has been done in the past with all your own kind. Almost all of the most successful women, blacks, and other minority groups who are in educational administration have had white male mentors. But very, very few women get that opportunity. So consequently we find these remarks being made: "We don't have enough people (blacks and women) in the pipeline, we don't have enough qualified people." That is not the problem at all. I would suggest that the reason that you consider them not qualified is because they haven't had that mentor relationship, which is an experience only you can provide. I had other remarks, but I will leave them for tomorrow morning.

Mr. Furman: I am anxious to respond since my name was used a couple of times, and I want to offer at least a clarification of some of the things I said. You will recall in addition to personality characteristics related to humane learning, I spoke of other characteristics such as the ability to analyze and to evaluate and to look thoughtfully at problems when seeking alternatives. I think quite strongly that that has to be the underpinning in the education of an administrator as well as what should be provided in terms of intercollegiate experience to anyone who goes to a college or university. I think specialization is appropriate in a number of jobs, and I talked about student financial aid, student personnel administration, and a whole host of things that needed technical underpinning. I couldn't agree with you more about the obligation of administrators to make that tie, to develop that bridge between the academic community and the duties of administration. The very small agency that I administer is literally saturated with interns in the sense that we have 10 percent of our positions devoted to internships in the summer. We have an intern constantly in residence either from faculty or students working on the staff of the Board of Higher Education. I believe deeply in the kind of transition that you point to.

Don't make too much out of my comment about the ability to laugh at oneself. But I think that people on the whole, and through their own responsibility, have an obligation to work on their personal health and to try to keep that in perspective in the light of what many of us feel are (maybe more than we should credit ourselves with) very important day-to-day decisions. Sometimes without a personal health balance I think we can distort what we can contribute as an administrator. I'm really saying that if extremely capable people with wonderful backgrounds didn't have the ability to stand off and have what I feel is a much more tolerant perspective of themselves and their understanding [then] they are occasionally failing and not always a success in each and every decision they make.

Dr. Cleveland: First, on that last point, I agree that it is very important, and I expanded beyond that as you have just heard — the sense of humor to laugh at yourself. It really is the capacity to stand aside and watch yourself work. I discovered that in the midst of the Cambodian–Kent State period, and during the year after that. Everything in Hawaii happens about a year later than the mainland, so we were getting our most difficult campus demonstration issues after everybody else thought things were quieted down. I found that it helped a lot, in a sense, to be two people — to be the person who is a kind of a central technical manager of a campus problem, but also to be a sort of an analyst of the whole situation and my own part in it, almost as if I were a disembodied observer. That didn't mean I was laughing very hard some of the time, but it did help keep some perspective, and it especially helped in keeping cool. One of the things that I was constantly impressed with was that no matter how much people in adversary proceedings would disagree with you or shout at you, it always seemed to be terribly impressive if you kept cool. It helps if you can abstract your emotional involvement through this sort of disembodied observation of yourself working. At least that was my experience.

Let me just say one thing, returning to ambiguity for just a moment. I think it is important for the vocabulary of this discussion to say that ambiguity need not imply the antithesis of thinking clearly. Quite the contrary. I am talking about the deliberate, constructive use of ambiguity. That requires very clear thinking indeed because it requires thinking about what should be clear and what should be ambiguous for a while. So it is not at all a question about advocating fuzzy thinking. It is advocating very clear thinking including the clarity about what should be clear and what isn't useful to have clear because it exacerbates rather than assists in conflict resolution.

Finally, let me make one comment that really hasn't been referred to and which I think is a gap in what I was trying to say this morning. We have tended in this discussion to talk about the situation-as-a-whole

function as a rather amorphous layer of activity drawing together or put on top of a lot of expertise. I think it is important to realize that there are some new tools which are just as hard to learn about as biochemistry, which are in effect situation-as-a-whole tools, something really made for the coordinating function. I'm speaking of the kind of thing represented by a computer simulation, the study of alternative futures that has come into vogue now — including quantitative, but not limited to quantitative, analysis: the use of mathematical probability in projecting the consequences of political and social decisions. These are tools that have to be learned, and they are hard work, just like learning a language. I think that they will be increasingly important for people who come into positions like the kinds of positions that we are in, or have been in, in order to be able to do the job at all.

When I came to the University of Hawaii, I found that I was, among other things, presiding over the largest civilian computer center in the Hawaiian Islands. When I went to school they weren't teaching about computers and I hadn't really done very much about that in previous jobs, so I spent part of my first summer after my first year going to computer school. I just had to understand about computers. I think it is very important for the situation-as-a-whole person to have that kind of training, and that at least is something that can be organized and taught and put into the frame of more normal academic processes. Even some of the old-fashioned types of learning, like knowing how to spell, are also helpful — I found in the course of this computer class.

Of course, we spent one day being programmers. We wrote programs and then we tried them out on the machine. I wrote a program which — I think the technical term is "LOOPED BACK" — kept repeating itself. So of course the paper was coming out of that machine and I was beginning to feel like the Sorcerer's Apprentice. I went over to the instructor, a young man who obviously knew a great deal about computers and had been teaching us about them, and I said to him, "How do you stop this thing from doing that?" He was very casual and said, "It is very easy," and he went over to the console and punched with one finger "CANCELL." Well, the machine kept on emitting paper, and he began to get concerned. He went over to look at the machine to see what was wrong. I said, "Do you think the machine knows how to spell?" He said, "Oh, my God," went over, punched "CANCEL," and it stopped.

Dr. Corbally: I would just comment very briefly, JoAnn, as you know, and as Jim Furman confessed for me before the entire group this morning, I am a product of a graduate program in educational administration now practicing in that field. I would very strongly assert that being a product of that program has been extremely helpful to me in the practice of administration. I would also assert almost with the same

vigor that the fact that I am a product of that background and also am a university president is the product of virtually sheer luck rather than the fact of the area in which my graduate work was taken. But it is very clear to me — as both the product of and then one who was a faculty member in programs attempting to undertake what your programs are attempting to do here — that they can make a difference. There is subject matter that can be helpful.

My own personal view is that a faculty in the process of helping people prepare to be administrators, in many ways, needs to be much more the coordinators of the students' course of preparation than they need to be teachers of preparation courses. The breadth of things that can be helpful, it seems to me, requires knowledgeable coordination and mentorship rather than long lists of specific administratively oriented courses taught by those people. I think it is very valuable, and I think it is useful, and I think that we can make a difference in preparing one to be an administrator.

I think probably in various levels of administration — say among presidents of the AAU, as an example — it may be inappropriate to ask that administrators not act as if they were a guild. I think it probably is a guild, but I think what you might very properly ask is that we pay some attention to what are the appropriate apprentice and journeymen requirements to get into that guild rather than what are some of the perhaps inappropriate requirements. I would guess that almost any group you mention, deans of liberal arts and sciences, deans of education, student personnel workers, all of these groups are probably guilds in the best sense of that term, and I think what we need to make sure of is that the entry requirements into those guilds do in fact only pay attention to the requirements of performing as a member rather than some other extraneous requirements.

I would finally say that it seems to me that one of the fairest things that we can do for any student, undergraduate or graduate, who has a strongly held first choice professional goal is to insure that we as teachers and advisors and friends of those students insist upon the absolute necessity of their developing alternative ways of achieving what they think that strongly held first goal will provide. I am constantly faced, virtually every day, with letters from people whose only goal in life is to be a veterinarian. There are plus or minus eighty young people in Illinois who in 1978 are going to begin their progress toward becoming a veterinarian. There are probably 1,000 to 1,400 people who have that as a strongly held first choice professional goal. There are too many of those people who have never been helped to consider why that is their goal and what are the alternative ways to approach that goal. If we in educational administration or the administration of higher education blindly support somebody who says, "I want to do this work, I want you

to outline for me how I can become a university president, or university dean, or whatever," and we pretend that we can in fact do that to and for that student, then I think we are paying a great deal of attention to what are the satisfactions, what are the things that somebody wants out of what they think is their number one and only goal, and not working with them in ways that could lead them to have some alternatives for their lives. We can't guarantee that we can produce a university president any more than the M.B.A. program could guarantee that it will produce an executive of a *Fortune* 500 corporation, and we need to work very hard in understanding what it is our students want to achieve and then find various ways to help them do it. I think sometimes we don't really think that through with them carefully enough.

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