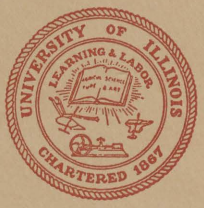
Can We Maintain Quality Graduate Education in a Period of Retrenchment?

by
David Riesman



Second David D. Henry Lecture
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

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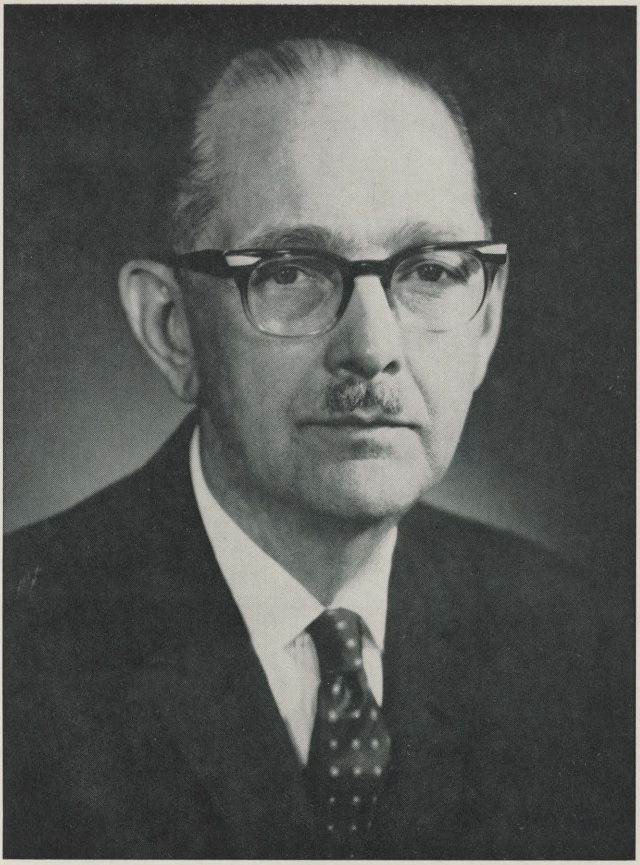

David Dodds Henry

President, University of Illinois
1955-71

Contents

Preface

The David Dodds Henry Lectureship at the University of Illinois was established by friends of the University to honor a man and to further the profession to which that man still dedicates his life. Following the announcement of the establishment of the lectureship, President and Distinguished Professor of Higher Education Emeritus Henry commented that he hoped the lectures and publications made possible by the program would mark the University of Illinois as a center of learning in the field of educational administration which would serve both the University and the profession.

We at the University of Illinois are pleased that the esteem in which our colleague, David Henry, is held has made it possible for his hopes for the lectures to be fulfilled. In an era when it is said by some that no "giants" exist in the profession, the Henry lectures have brought together individuals who belie that statement. It is my bias that today's world brings renewed significance to the profession of educational administration, to its theory, and to its practice. This volume extends a series which has made and continues to make sound contributions to that profession, and we present it with pride and enthusiasm.

John E. Corbally
President
University of Illinois

Introduction

We at the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois are honored that David Riesman accepted our invitation to deliver the Second David D. Henry Lecture. Professor Riesman, who since 1958 has served as Henry Ford II Professor of the Social Sciences at Harvard University, has been a student of higher education for over forty years. As scholar and author he has brought the rigors of research in the social sciences to the examination of forces which operate within American education and of the broader influences of education in American society. His counsel has been sought by numerous commissions concerned with the study and development of the nation's social policies, including the National Advisory Council of the Peace Corps and the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

As Chicago Circle celebrates the tenth anniversary of its founding we are proud that the campus has taken on the challenge of defining its mission and character in the context of traditional American higher education as well as the broader context of the society of which the institution is an integral part. We are certain that Professor Riesman's address will contribute both to the spirit and substance of that challenge.

Warren Cheston
Chancellor
University of Illinois
at Chicago Circle

Can We Maintain Quality Graduate Education in a Period of Retrenchment?*

By David Riesman

Henry Ford II Professor of the Social Sciences, Harvard University

Thank you, President Corbally, Chancellor Cheston, members of the Board. Perhaps I should announce now that I intend not to take my full time. I never like simply to hold forth. I hope we can have a discussion when I have finished my remarks with commentary and questions from you.

My topic is: Can we maintain quality graduate education in a period of retrenchment and quality education in general? I have come here to the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle to do honor to David Henry, for whom my regard is at once personal and professional; and I would like to say a few words at the outset about him from the point of view of one who for a number of years has been studying academic institutions and particularly their leaders and the milieu in which those leaders live.

In an earlier era when long-lived presidents set their stamp on institutions, or created them de novo as William Rainey Harper did nearby, these individuals were not universally popular. Woodrow Wilson had at least as hard a time at Princeton as he did at any later point, and having recently dipped into the correspondence of Charles William Eliot during his forty-year tenure at Harvard, I know what opposition he faced both from nostalgic alumni and intransigent faculty. Still, there was a general feeling in the country that institution

* I am indebted to the Carnegie Corporation for support for work on higher education reflected in this address. I am indebted also to David Breneman, Herbert Hollomon, George Weathersby, Barry Munitz, and Humphrey Doermann for helpful suggestions concerning this paper.

builders who contributed to the moral and intellectual infrastructure of the society were honorable, and they were permitted the eccentricities and even, for example Nicholas Murray Butler at Columbia, minor tyrannies of their rank.

I first came across the trail of David Henry at Wayne State University where he had left a legacy that comes to mind when I think about Chicago Circle in its hoped-for role as an urban land-grant university. Without fanfare, Wayne was adapting itself to Detroit by openness to black students, and this fact made ironical and sad the criticism concerning recruitment directed toward David Henry when he was president at Illinois.

Among barbarians, ambassadors or messengers who bring bad news or warn of difficult times ahead tend to be beheaded. Presidents today are apt to bring bad news and to warn of difficult times ahead, because they are the ones who are the early warning signallers about attitudes in the legislature, the state coordinating commission, the governor's budget office, etc. But when they bring the news they are often treated like ambassadors of the sort just mentioned, and are blamed for the news — that is, for not being able somehow to keep everybody happy. Faculties want presidents to face inward, resembling their own more vocal membership in style and manner, unrealistically expecting that these qualities will prevail with external constituencies and ungenerous to those who do not simultaneously please all constituencies. The facts are that the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign possesses one of the world's greatest libraries, that the Krannert Center is a magnificent facility for the arts, that the Chicago Circle campus was created in the face of enormous obstacles upstate, downstate, and all around the state, and that in a period of general retrenchment nationwide it has been possible to maintain the momentum of this institution so that there are only two states in the country, so far as I know, Illinois and oil-rich Texas, where there have been increases in appropriations (which go beyond keeping up with inflation) in this legislative session. In spite of all this, at neither campus did many faculty and students make a significant effort to understand the dilemmas of David Henry's position or to understand the full measure of his accomplishments in the 1960s. He suffered as much as any of the hard-pressed university presidents during that epoch. His stoicism has been exemplary. He wears well, and for all our sakes I hope he never wears out.

Some misconceptions about graduate training and the teaching/research dichotomy

I have chosen my topic with David Henry's current concerns about graduate education in mind, and much of what I shall talk about today

has been fertilized by the work of the National Board on Graduate Education which he chairs. I teach in a university whose undergraduate college, like that of selective colleges generally, has been stampeded by overgeneralizations about the future prospects of Ph.D.s, so that most of my students have concluded that there are only two viable professions, medicine and law. In behaving in this lemminglike fashion, our students are afraid to ask themselves what they might like to do with their lives and where they think they might, with good luck and hard work, make a contribution even in hard times. They only ask themselves which courses will assure them of the necessary grades to enter the few supposedly top law schools, for almost anyone can find a law school somewhere which will let him or her in. Law schools are like accordions. Or students compete savagely, hating themselves while they do it, for the scarce places in medical school. In the latter instance, they probably assure themselves of security and of some usefulness, although even so I would be inclined to think that an undue proportion of young Americans are entering a calling which seems more independent than it is, as against other related callings (for example, the distribution of health care) which are no less interesting and no less fruitful socially. As for the law, the brain drain into that field seems to me extravagant, even though the ability of lawyers to employ each other seems at times unlimited.

The reports issued by the National Board on Graduate Education indicate that the forecasting of requirements for future Ph.D.s has been more an unreliable art than an exact science. What are socially defined as needs change rapidly, and so do student interests. Even if there were an overall "overproduction" of Ph.D.s — at least in terms of the positions which people with Ph.D.s have in the past expected to obtain — this would hold neither for specific fields nor for individuals with specific talents, connections, minority status, and many other variables. There is not only an obvious demand for Ph.D.s in energy-related fields, but a less evident one for capable arts administrators, museum curators, and even classicists. Truly gifted individuals who are masters of several fields may be in demand even while average Ph.D.s (for example, those in American history or English literature) hope that community college administrators will not consider them overqualified.

Up to this point, I have been speaking in terms of the career choices made by individuals. But I also believe that our major research-oriented universities and the more scholarly undergraduate colleges are the seed corn of our society. To let them atrophy for want of support by both student applicants and public interest will leave us in a very short time an intellectually impoverished society, and since state uni-

versities such as Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa have done so much for the creative arts, an artistically impoverished society as well.

Until recently, it appeared that several hundred former regional colleges, now renamed universities, were aspiring to launch graduate programs. This was seen by those at the top of the academic procession as a bid for the higher status that inevitably accompanied the professor who could turn out Ph.D.s, even if only one every three years per department, as against "mere baccalaureates." The aspirant institutions, on the other hand, thought of the established ones, private and public, much as the developing nations see the concern with birth control in the already industrialized nations, namely as a contraceptive device designed to preserve high status for themselves. Many at Chicago Circle want what Urbana has obtained. Edwardsville wants what Carbondale still hasn't got. Illinois State, Western Illinois, Eastern Illinois, Governor's State, Sangamon State, and others also appear to seek all the missions, not merely specific or regional ones.

All this would make it appear as if research were the favorite activity of professors, with teaching the least onerous way to subsidize a life of research, and that, as many voices have proclaimed, we need to shift emphasis toward teaching by changing the balance of incentives and the sources of evaluation of faculty. I contributed in earlier writings to this judgment, although I would hope in a more qualified way. In my own personal life as a teacher I have preferred lower-division undergraduates in general education courses and worked with graduate students primarily in their capacity as teaching assistants, in order to help them become at once less awkward as teachers and more capable as scholars. Many faculty who received their training in the late 1960s have carried into all levels of academia a set of values hostile to graduate study and research. They are oriented instead to students and teaching and are often hostile to discipline and to disciplines and to what is seen as dehydrated specialization. I believe that these faculty members are not likely to change their attitudes drastically. Sometimes they use unionization and sometimes student evaluation as a way to protect themselves against the more traditional channels to outside visability and credibility.

In the general public, among many administrators (although assuredly not David Henry), and in the foundations, government agencies, and legislatures one finds a similar emphasis on teaching and an either/or dichotomy which is characteristically American, or perhaps characteristically human, and which in esteeming undergraduate teaching and community service leads to a denigration of research. Senator Proxmire is a specialist at making government-financed research projects sound silly. Naturally, in all research efforts there are bound to be those which are silly as well as those which sound silly, and one has to

accept that as the inevitable price of sufficiently encouraging research so that occasional first-rate research does get done. But in the swings of fashion that are characteristic of the boom and bust thinking about careers to which I already referred and the boom and bust thinking about the balance between teaching and research, it is important to complicate our thinking, not to oversimplify it. That is my aim today.

Why so few Ph.D.s do research

Let me remind you of two phenomena which do not seem to have any direct relation to one another. One is that apparently the majority of Ph.D.s, after getting their doctorate in the United States, never seem to do any research again. We could have a very interesting discussion as to what is called research at different levels of institutional quality. Looking at different people's vitae I see what, in the language of a former dairyman, I can classify as Devonshire, Jersey, and Holstein types of research. I also notice many nonbooks which are counted as publications. Many of you are familiar with these variations in assessment. One has to ask why people do *not* do research even when, as at many institutions today, they have succeeded in lowering teaching loads, and they do not spend themselves either in service to the institution, to surrounding neighborhoods, or to other communities.

Part of the answer lies in the fact that most research of high quality is painstakingly difficult. With great variation among disciplines, it is generally an isolated exercise. Many ideas do not pan out, and in some fields one cannot publish negative results, unlike the natural sciences. Or one may have had the experience of having one's work preempted in the contest for priority, especially in the natural sciences. Furthermore, graduate school is often a scene of alienation, and it leaves a bad taste. I believe that innovative teaching is as hard as innovative research, but ordinary teaching is perhaps not as arduous as ordinary research. Teaching also tests one less because it does not bring one up against an audience of critical peers. The privacy of the classroom is generally regarded as part of academic freedom.

To clarify this let me say that I have concluded, on the basis of impressions from discussions with talented undergraduates who could easily enter graduate school and for whom there probably would be jobs (even white males), that it is often their modesty that stops them. To enter a graduate school of arts and sciences involves making a claim — a claim of having something to contribute, something to say, something to discover, such as would be true in setting out to become a composer, pianist, poet, or painter. In contrast, to go to medical school, law school, or other postbaccalaureate professional school means one has the ability to get in and makes no comparable claim to private

personal distinction. We live in an era in which such claims are thought elitist, self-congratulatory, and arrogant. Our financing of graduate education has made it even more evident that graduate students are not subsidized, for the most part, for having won in national competition, but because they are useful as teaching or research assistants, are needy, or belong to a category for whom compensatory justice is requisite. The National Science Foundation predoctoral fellowships and the Danforth and Kent fellowships are among the very few instances of national competition which say to a prospective graduate student or to someone already in graduate school that his or her self-esteem, shaky at best, is not unjust and is in fact justified.

The current mandate: Teach or perish

Even in later life most of us need such reassurance. In the humanities and the social sciences, except for economics and the harder branches of psychology, all of us who do research face the question as to whether we can ever do it again. We live in an unending, almost Sisyphus-like situation of being tested, and we fear to be found wanting. To develop an ideology hostile to research is a comfortable defense against such endless rounds of misgiving.

In many academic settings, someone who does manage to do research is therefore a threat; and the envy of colleagues, combined with ordinary human frailty, can put many obstacles in the way of research and create situations — endless participatory committee meetings, for example — which are not conducive to research (or for that matter, to innovative teaching). Thus we need to intensify incentives for research precisely at a time when research has an increasingly bad press. This is all the more the case since teaching, when seen as an alternative to, rather than a concurrent or sequential counterpart of, research, has an ever-better press, and many young, idealistic faculty emerge with Ph.D.s determined to be teachers first of all. They fail to appreciate that the mandate teach or perish is more imperious and savage than the better-known maxim publish or perish. The lead time of failure is shorter and more hazardous. If students disappear and if one does not advertise the department or one's own courses, the catastrophe may be incapable of remedy. Thus research offers second chances in a way that teaching in a climate of student evaluation, whether formal or via grapevine, does not. This is all the more true when, in a period of stable or declining enrollments and rising costs, institutions compete with each other, and departments compete with each other by dropping requirements and by what I have termed grade inflation, that is, by offering more reward for less work.

Thomas Hobbes's war of all against all is omnipresent today in academia as individual faculty members and departments or schools

battle with each other, intramurally and extramurally, for the FTE, the full-time equivalent students, who make the difference between survival and even growth. If one examines the catalogs of the new, explicitly teaching-oriented colleges, one is struck by the attempts at a kind of flashy contemporaneity which may no longer be contemporaneous by the time the catalog is printed.

In the situation of no requirements or limited or negligible ones in a wholly undergraduate institution, term contracts (which is, for example, what Hampshire College and a number of other new institutions have adopted as an alternative to tenure) are apt to be renewed if one mobilizes student loyalties, if one has such loyalties. Since the Federal Trade Commission does not police college advertising, and since consumer information is poor (and contrary to much popular legend, students are immature consumers) there are as many problems with the free market in student choice under conditions of Social Darwinism as there are in the free market generally.

Let it be clear that I am a convinced believer in the value of publishable *undergraduate* research, which may be easier and is less uncommon in some fields, like biology or my own, than it is in other more cumulative ones. Let me also say that, while in my opinion faculty members need an audience of their own adult age as a counterpoise to an audience which, in many colleges, remains between seventeen and twenty-two while faculty members grow older, the form of adult constituency of a faculty member need not be peers in an academic discipline. It can be fellow members of a chamber music orchestra; fellow colleagues in a market research agency; perhaps, under limited conditions, fellow politicians in a political campaign. What one needs to prevent is the devouring of faculty, especially young faculty, by their very dedication as teachers, as participators in governance, and as eager or reluctant committee persons. We now see a new provincialism, which is not the provincialism of one's discipline which may consist of an invisible college stretching across the globe; but the perhaps more terrible, although less evident, provincialism of captivity by one's student disciples, charismatically courted as the road not only to retention but to feelings of self-worth.

I might add that because innovative teaching is so exhausting, state laws or regential regulations which require large amounts of it in terms of formal contact hours are self-defeating for serious faculty members. Such regulations will lead to routinized performance rather than a person giving his or her arduous best to teaching. Correspondingly, I would like to see much more flexibility in alternating periods of full-time teaching and full-time research. And yet as universities retrench and cut down on sabbaticals, that form of self-renewal becomes less feasible, even as it becomes more necessary.

Deprovincialization in graduate education

Up to this point I have been talking from the perspective of individuals who have entered academia or have been deflected from it by over-generalized, aggregate notions as to what skills are marketable. What is essential for the sake of the country, for its intellectual and scholarly tone, is to use unashamedly the term "centers of excellence," which the reports of David Henry's Board employ. These are centers which distinguish between original research and its many makeshift imitators, and know the difference between outstanding performance on the oboe and strumming on a guitar, not that there cannot be outstanding guitar players also. Otherwise, it will be only on the athletic field that excellence can prevail, since the charge of elitism will level all else in the name of fairness. By the accidents of history and finance, a very large part of the intellectual and scholarly life of the United States has been drawn into our colleges and universities, which is not the situation in many parts of the world. All of us, Americans in general, students in particular, need to be exposed to models of excellence in whatever fields they occur, whether we can understand these models or not and whether they appear to be of immediate use or not.

The Board chaired by David Henry has been concerned with centers of excellence at the graduate level, but he would be the first to agree that graduate training is not the only possible mission for a center of excellence. In a society which, precisely because it is egalitarian, is rampant with envy and invidiousness, the task of all of higher education is to develop a sense of mission among centers of excellence serving other needs, other constituencies. Thus we need demonstrations of extraordinary performance in undergraduate education, something the University of California has sought to do at Santa Cruz while developing major graduate centers at San Diego and Irvine. One needs private colleges like Shimer which go against the fashion by having a required curriculum and which demand of faculty not so much that they be showmen as that they be prepared to subordinate themselves to the program rather than doing their own thing while being blessed by students for permission to do theirs.

Moreover, it is absurd for one institution to be excellent in all fields simultaneously. Each needs to establish priorities, to build from its own particular strength, and, in a time of retrenchment or even good sense, to surrender certain fields altogether. I realize the costs in demoralization of chopping off a doctoral department or of limiting the opportunity to add such a program, but the costs of demoralization and waste of a general across-the-board cut are still more damaging. What needs to be thought about is what kind of critical mass in the chemical sense is needed to have a distinguished or excellent center at the graduate level. Cal Tech is one of the most interesting examples of

an institution which has stayed small and specialized and is first-rate at what it does best, although it is far smaller than M.I.T. or Rice or other now full-scale universities.

At the same time I strongly believe that students should be trained both in a specialty and in neighboring fields, so that they are not limited either in the occupational world or in the intellectual world by the boundaries of their specialty. For this to occur there must be graduate institutions which, although concentrated more in some groups or fields than in others, offer in the local setting opportunities for colleagueship at both the faculty and student levels. For example, I cannot ask graduate students in sociology to take courses in anthropology if the latter is a feeble department, or send them with any hope of redemption to an economics department exclusively preoccupied with input-output analysis and with no work in labor relations, development economics, or genuine political economics. Nor should graduate students or undergraduates study American history or American literature apart from the languages and literatures of the rest of the world. This, of course, does not mean that every university must cover every bit of global turf, but rather that it is now desperately important to deprovincialize Americans who, in spite of jet travel, seem to me increasingly domesticated. We cannot understand one thing if we understand only that one thing. We have to see it in context.

There is an additional need for deprovincialization at the graduate level, which is discussed in the excellent report "Scholarship for Society" written by Benjamin DeMott for the Panel on Alternative Approaches to Graduate Education. Wherever possible, I think it important for graduate students to make some connection with an external world which has some bearing on their specialty. This is easy enough, and even legitimate, in economics when a Ph.D. who goes to work for the Federal Reserve Board is not considered a dropout even though such a person, if he or she ends up working for the Budget Bureau in Springfield, may feel that this is a letting down of the side, not carrying out the mandate of discipleship to one's academic mentor. In my own field of sociology, someone who goes to work in a nonprofit research agency would not be thought of as entering a demeaning calling, but someone who does market research might be thought to have sold out to commerce, and someone who enters the foreign service might be thought to have sold out to imperialism. This is cruel and self-defeating snobbery, especially at a time when the future is as uncertain as it is for the planet, for the country, and for any particular calling.

Consider the field of history. If one has studied a foreign language and culture and knows something about another country's past and present, one may find this a very useful road into investment banking or working for a multinational corporation. Apart from political accu-

sations of complicity with all that is evil, a person who uses his or her scholarship in such an arena will be apt to feel, and alas in general correctly, that one has let down one's professor. One is not carrying on the network of disciples. Such snobbery on the part of academicians seems to me inexcusable. With great variation among fields and among institutions, we professors are different from other people, made so by our self-selection, by our gifts and limitations, by the company we keep and fail to keep. We should guard our students against succumbing to our own limitations, even while we expose them to our virtues, and not be afraid to stand as models for them, not necessarily models to be imitated occupationally, but models to be rejected perhaps in favor of another use of the kinds of disciplined learning that can go on at the graduate and undergraduate levels alike.

Preparing for contingencies of careers

Perhaps the best preparation for life is the ability to do something one does not especially like or do especially well. Our educational system provides decreasing opportunities for having that chance and for stretching ourselves to the limit to do something that we do rather badly, at least in our own self-critical judgment. Slackness is further encouraged by the disintegration of physical education requirements along with other requirements.

Again I must enter a caveat. I am not saying that the outside world is more real than the academic world. Both are real. What I am saying is that experience in one world can refresh experience in the other. It is conceivable that a mathematician, who is in what I regard as a beauty queen field, may not want to delay his period of distinction by doing applied mathematics as, let us say, the controller of a small company. Yet precisely because mathematics may be a beauty queen field, this same mathematician will need a second career, possibly as an administrator or creator of a PLATO program. Training at the graduate level ought to take account of such career contingencies. Graduate studies certainly ought to take account of the possibilities and hazards of becoming an administrator, whether of a research enterprise, a department, or a major university.

For this kind of understanding of career contingencies one really has to start long before graduate school, even long before entering college. Women need to be encouraged to take calculus in the seventh grade and physics in the twelfth grade, even if they live in a milieu which regards this as unfeminine or if they think of themselves as going into human service work in which bothering with quantitative things is seen as unimportant and somehow illegitimate, and anyway irksome. I would like to see more women and nonwhites getting out of what I sometimes call the talk trades, such as my own, and going into

engineering and high science, technology, navigation, and construction all around the world. Indeed, we have seen in the field of engineering exactly the kind of boom and bust market psychology I have been talking about, for in that field there is now a real shortage, so that the bachelor of science in civil engineering, once regarded as a member of the field for "dummies" in comparison with the electrical engineer or the aeronautical engineer, has now been redeemed by environmental concerns or concerns with mass transport and has been getting jobs with a baccalaureate at salaries higher than the younger faculty who teach him. And I fear for a long time it will be a "him," even though women in engineering could write their own tickets in terms of career. This, I might say, is a specifically American phenomenon.

Even in college, the life of a professor is opaque to many undergraduates. My students are surprised to discover that I spend perhaps 30 percent of my time writing letters of recommendation and at least another 15 percent in committee meetings. Sometimes I have seen students put off by the apparent ease of the professor when they do not see the anguish underneath. In the past many saw the life of the professor as more idyllic than it may turn out to be; they now see it as more demoralized than it needs to be if one has not entered the field with delusions of opulence and the unrealistic expectations created by the previous decades of relative affluence.

Since I have been talking about diversified and cross-disciplinary programs, including experience in some kind of field situation, I want to return to the question of specialization. I think one needs exposure to and participation in highly specialized work both at the undergraduate and graduate levels. One needs this in order to have the feeling that one controls a piece of intellectual turf and has really got to the bottom of something, or at least to where one can see the bottom or the top. The basic career insurance we can give anyone is a sense of self-confidence that one can do something hard because one already has. If one has learned a difficult foreign language, it is easier to learn another. If one has learned how to program a computer, one is not stumped if one suddenly has to become an acoustical engineer. Here one needs to take account of the enormous disparities among fields concerning the adequacy of judgments as to what is quality work.

At the sociology meetings in Montreal last summer I heard a paper in a program on the sociology of science which compared the reactions to negative tenure decisions of chemists and sociologists. Without exception, the chemists felt that decisions not to give them tenure had been just and fair in the sense that they had not produced; they had not done good work. In a few instances they blamed the institution, declaring they had been misled as to the quality of equipment they would have, the ability of students, or the time for research. But in

every case they agreed that their work had not been first-rate, and the majority blamed themselves, not the institution or chemistry. In sociology the situation was dramatically different. People who had not been granted tenure were apt to say that this was because they were radical, which is hardly out of fashion today in sociology, or because they had been so devoted to their students, which is not out of fashion either, or because the so-called establishment in the department was of a different political or polemical persuasion. There was hardly an instance in which, at least consciously, they blamed themselves. There was not enough consensus in the field as to what was quality work, or indeed, work worth doing. (Happily, there are institutions where even a sociology department can agree that there are various kinds of work which are good, but these are perhaps the exception.) The unfortunate result is that many people emerge with Ph.D.s in sociology with no sense of what it means to specialize, no feeling of controlling any bit of the intellectual landscape. This may not mean that they are not gifted rhetorically or that they are not quite seductive teachers, at least for the first few years. I might add that in anthropology there is not enormous consensus either, but there is a tradition of field work, and in the best schools, supervision of that field work, which creates a different climate, for the experience of field work is sufficiently taxing as to be a kind of initiation rite rarely provided in sociology.

Let me illustrate the kinds of things I have in mind by what may seem a far-fetched example. Three years ago I visited a new state college in one of those backward eastern seaboard states which is just catching up with Illinois and the rest of the country in public higher education. Virtually all of its faculty were young and trained, if that is the right word for it, in the late 1960s. It was, of course, interdisciplinary, proud of having no departments and therefore, I argued, no floor for quality control. It is no use taking off the ceiling if one does not also have a floor. Departments may not be the only way of attaining a kind of floor to protect an institution from antidisciplinary charlatans; ad hoc committees from outside may be another way. This college had no such protection and thus seemed headed for instant tenure for popular faculty members.

I was asked after a few days on campus to address the faculty, and I made this and other criticisms. As an illustration I mentioned that I had noted that a course was being taught in New Left History for a commuter student body, first generation in college, a large proportion of whom I would assume did not know whether the Renaissance preceded the Reformation or what each of these terms, of which professional historians have become wary, stood for. After that, the young man who was going to be giving the course in New Left History asked if he could speak to me privately. We got together the following day.

This was his first teaching job after the Ph.D., and he asked me what I would do in his place. I said I did not know, but I did have one thought I would like to try out on him. How could he involve his students in a collective endeavor which would give them some sense of how one goes about collecting and organizing historical data? The college is located in a fast-changing area, and I suggested that students might be taught to do work in oral history with older residents who had watched the area change, seeking to get from them what it had been like in the earlier era, what they thought was happening now, what might happen in the future. They would need tact in approaching these older individuals; they might even have to cut their hair, but that was a small price to pay for learning how to do something, and such learning, as I have said, seems to me the best form of vocational insurance, as well as one form of introduction to the liberal arts. The young man with whom I was talking was interested in the possibility, but then he sighed and said that he had not learned to work in oral history himself when he was in graduate school, as if that ended the matter. I found myself depressed. It illustrated something about what seems to me misguided in graduate training.

In graduate school one needs both to specialize and to go beyond specialization. Plainly, graduate school had not given this neophyte the self-confidence that he could learn to do something other than what he had already learned, which seemed to be how to handle the latest revision of revisionism. Furthermore, he had learned to work alone, which is important, but he had not learned to work collegially, which is also important. And since his chance to teach his own specialty successfully would, I thought, not be very great, it seemed to me that he would spend all his time setting up new courses and have little time to publish material from his dissertation. He would therefore be the captive of the institution of first instance and eventually, I feared, an embittered and resigned one.

I want to make one further point about this example which, of course, is only that and should not be overgeneralized. Oral history could itself become an easy way of succumbing to post-McLuhanite allergy to books. In these matters of higher education, it is the context that is important, and the modes employed to stretch the horizons and capacities of faculty and students alike depend, understandably, on what the starting point is, what is available locally, through consortium arrangements, or through external placements and internships. In a milieu in which students will steal books but buy records and complain, as everyone does, about the high price of books more than about the high cost of other things, one would hope that such a history course would be able to weave back and forth between oral history and archival history, between texts to provide a kind of framework of a

geographic, chronological sort on the one side and specialized monographs which exhibit the various crafts of the practicing historian on the other side. Yet if one thinks of those crucial half dozen years after the doctorate in which the impulse to do research will either be nourished or will atrophy, one also begins to consider the rearrangement of the structure of undergraduate education in major universities such as the campuses of the University of Illinois or my own institution. I would hope that in graduate training every prospective scholar/teacher would have an opportunity to do some teaching inside and outside his or her immediate arena so as to have a wider choice of occupational possibilities, and also because specialized work profits intellectually from the stimulus provided by a broader intellectual culture.

At the same time, it is senior faculty members who can afford to take the chance of undergraduate experimental teaching, while it is newly recruited faculty who need the opportunity to teach the specialized upper-division courses so that they are encouraged to publish something from their dissertations rather than putting them aside to plunge entirely into introductory courses. Nevertheless, it will be some time before most colleges and universities will be able to persuade senior faculty to give introductory courses, while leaving upper-division and specialized courses to newly recruited junior faculty. The latter will therefore need to have some experience during the years of graduate training in lower-division undergraduate teaching. For the sake of their long-term futures, I believe that an additional graduate year in which the emphasis is on supervised teaching would help the neophyte faculty cope with the hazards of their first positions when they may suddenly find themselves plunged into three courses unrelated to their areas of specialization. I recognize the high cost which graduate students themselves in large part bear, including income foregone, and hence understand their reluctance to prolong their graduate studies even for the sake of long-term advantages. I also recognize that the Chicago Circle campus has been identified as one of the two campuses in the state offering the Doctor of Arts degree, and I believe that the Chicago Circle experiments with that degree can become crucial.

In summary, what I am saying is that the first years of teaching are hazardous, both for those who have no real commitment to a specialty and for those who know only a specialty which they can perhaps teach to three students every second year. And the problems of junior faculty are intensified by the current demand that everyone participate in the governance of the institution.

The burdens of participatory democracy

I was talking recently with an assistant professor at Williams College who said that until the late 1960s, only tenured faculty served on com-

mittees. They could afford the time because their positions were secure, though of course in the present era almost no small private college, perhaps no large private college, no matter how distinguished or well endowed, is really secure. But then this was denounced as oligargic, inegalitarian, elitist, etc.; assistant professors were put on committees. Now they wish they could get off, get some relief so they would not be totally cannibalized by their service to the college, and establish some visibilities so that they would not either be captives of the college or exiled victims of its demands. But of course they feel they cannot ask for such relief, at least publicly, for this would restore power to the oligarchs. In so much of the discussion of governance the distinction between influence and formal power is almost never made, and both students and faculty believe they must sit in on committees even though they exercise influence in ever so many other ways.

There is another factor in the preparation of graduate students which needs to be thought about much more seriously than in an earlier era, and that is the growing prevalence of two-career families and the changing mores of family life by which fathers can no longer delegate more than half the parental responsibilities to their wives. Furthermore, even when it is possible to get domestic help, the egalitarianism of young people finds this morally and emotionally impossible, and they often rationalize by saying it is impossible to get help. Thus the uninterrupted bouts of work possible for predominantly male, or some unmarried or late married women, scholars in an earlier era are seldom available now. Instead, of course, many students, both undergraduates and graduates, are either married early or living in legally transient arrangements or sometimes in communal settings which involve efforts at participatory undifferentiated, usually incompetent, management. And even if both spouses are not pursuing professional careers with the difficulties of movement that that almost invariably implies, there is a widespread belief among highly educated young people about community, about roots, about not taking young children out of school or away from their play group simply in pursuit of the husband's achievement and renown.

It is curious that graduate schools which reacted so quickly to the changing occupational prospects for students, and somewhat less quickly to changing interests and opportunities, have not reacted in any serious way to the changes I have touched upon concerning preferred modes of life or lifestyle or the values of their graduate students. I am thinking here especially, but not exclusively, of the social sciences and humanities, although one can find the same issues cropping up in medical education and in internship programs for physicians who no longer want to work 120-hour weeks and see their children or spouses only at rare, mutually wakeful instances.

Viewing these matters, I have been saying for many years that we in the United States, like the United Kingdom, have become post-industrial in our attitudes even before we can afford it in a world economy in which we are not so good at many things in which we used to excel, with the notable exception of high technology agriculture and perhaps the dismal exception of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. But long-run considerations of this kind are not likely to be seriously discussed in our society because of the financial squeeze on higher education in general, and its centers of public and private distinction in particular. These are increasingly subjected to funding formulae that count only bodies, even though it is sometimes these same statewide formulae which have in the past permitted the great state universities to build their graduate distinction on the basis of undergraduate neglect.

To return to the beginning. David Henry began his career as a professor of English. He learned what scholarship is like in his own field of expert learning and by extension has a sense of it in other fields. As an administrator at Wayne State, at New York University, and then at this University he prepared himself for what might be thought of as a third career, specialist in the study of higher education, for which these university presidencies may be considered internships, each of which has been served longer than a Peace Corps term. I trust that he will continue fruitfully in this third career for many years, and I expect that many who come to give the David Henry Lecture will learn from his work and wisdom as I have had the opportunity to do.

Questions and Responses

Following the address Dr. Riesman responded to questions from the audience.

1. **Question:**
   Internal decisions regarding the relationship between teaching and research are affected by fiscal decisions in a state university. State universities are vulnerable in attempting to influence what a state legislature does because what it can give with one hand, it can take away with the other, and therefore, even though a university might be disposed to offering its faculty alternate teaching and research years or to investing money in basic research, very few legislatures are perceptive enough to see the pay-off. Do you, Professor Riesman, have any advice of a political nature for a young university seeking its future?

Response:

I have several suggestions. One would be that I consider it part of my duty to cultivate our sources of support, which are primarily our alumni. Although I dislike traveling, my wife and I are going to Seattle next month ("Harvard Comes to Puget Sound") to talk to alumni. I consider this part of my job; most of my colleagues do not. They think we should be subsidized because we're such marvelous critics of society. It's idiotic. We do need to cultivate all the diverse sources of support. That would be the first point.

The second point is that these sources should be diverse. If you have only one source of support — as you suggest, the legislature — you're in a bad way. If you have a number of different sources of support, even from the state, you're in a better way. For example, the fact that there are Illinois State Scholarships brings you support via student tuitions which you wouldn't get as part of your direct legislative subsidy. If David Henry has his way, the National Science Foundation will continue its brave program of merit fellowships. Some of them will come to the university. You need as many diverse sources of support as you can find privately. It's not out of the question. In fact Illinois has found it's not at all out of the question. The Krannert Center in Urbana is an example of private donations to public universities. I've been deeply impressed by the extent to which this goes on. Michigan, Berkeley, Illinois, Texas — a number of public universities — have been able to get private money.

Now of course there's always the danger, and I'm sure you would speak of that, that as soon as you begin to get other money the legislature will cut your budget correspondingly. If you raise tuition in order to provide more money from students, which they'll pay off in inflated dollars over a lifetime if they strike it rich as pediatricians or sociologists, then you're afraid that the scholarship budget won't be increased accordingly so that you can take care of low income students who can't pay the raised tuition.

At the same time I would say that it is possible to work with legislators and not to regard them as in a way that the last part of your question did, as beyond redemption. I think that one has to appreciate that we academics tend to have snobberies, which if they were ethnic we wouldn't be allowed to voice even though we had them. We have snobberies toward Middle America; we have snobberies toward legislators, toward bureaucrats, and, as I was indicating at the outset, toward administrators. These are as depressing as any snobberies, and I think one has to see that they are false. It may be, for example, that one would find, if one would talk to specific legislators, that they had more of an interest in broader questions than your comment suggests. They might regard other legislators as you regard them, that is, as

hopelessly Philistine. But I don't think that's fair. My observation has been when I have met, as I have, with federal legislators concerned with higher education (and again I consider that part of my job, simply part of my obligation) that what they want from me are not defenses for the great glory of research or scholarship; they already believe that. They are themselves mostly university graduates. What they want are arguments to justify their support against populist leveling. This is when one has to be ingenious, imaginative; this is when one has to do what David Henry's Board has done, namely to say: It is true in the 1970s that we don't need many Ph.D.s in English literature; we may need people who can teach remedial English, we may need people who can teach English in community colleges, but we don't need many people with Ph.D.s who specialize in Shakespeare or Chaucer or Middle English. What we have to say to the state and the federal legislators is that by 1980 our seed corn will have run out, and we will be sorry if we have no such people. It's that kind of argument that I would make.

2. **Question:**
   In this period when the new "careerism" is on the rise, how do we encourage our good students to enter graduate work rather than professional school? Specifically, what do I as a chemistry professor say to my better students who plan to go to medical school because medicine is a secure profession?

Response:

I think that's a marvelous question, and I'm grateful for it because it will help illustrate what I was getting at. I've thought many times, sir, about the chemistry professors who are today employed because of the premeds. They must endure watching the flood of premed people going through, for whom they are simply a way-station or service, even though this flood helps employ their own sparse T.A.s as premed lab instructors. In their view, the premeds are marching off into a kind of applied technology whose social and scientific ramifications they rarely understand, into a profession which looks glamorous as well as secure, and the periodic boredom of which (as patients come who are querulous, have ill-defined diseases, and do not obey instructions) underlies the glamor and, generally, long-delayed economic reward.

My judgment, when faced with a student in a science course who has fallen into, rather than chosen, the well-traveled premed path would be based very much on the individual student. I'd make several different kinds of judgments about the individual student who is in the

situation you describe. In the first place, I never try to convert a student to my field. My interest is to help the student develop his or her own goals and then to see if these are realistic and, if not, how one can provide career insurance. If this student is especially talented, I would have a very different reaction than if this student were simply of high intelligence. In the latter case, let him or her go and join the well-paid technologists in the medical profession and assume that's the best use of the person's moderate, capable, industrious talents. If this student is exceptionally gifted, then I would ask about family resources. I would ask whether the student had any ways of earning a livelihood while waiting for a job in chemistry at Bell Labs or Dupont or Standard of Indiana, if no particularly inviting academic job were opening up at the time.

Now students don't like that because this puts them on the platform they try to get off, the launching pad of their families and their institutions. Let me give you an example that struck me the other day. I was talking to a tutor at Harvard concerning a brilliant, black, senior woman, devoted to French literature, who wanted to go to graduate school in French literature but said, "I guess I'll have to go to law school." Her tutor was astonished. "Why do you have to go to law school?" "Well, you can't get jobs in academia." I assume she didn't want to think of the fact that both as a talented woman and as a talented black, she was worth her double weight in gold in academia in the field in which she wanted to enter, even if it's a field in which there aren't many jobs. It would have taken a good deal of tact and discretion to make plain to her that she had a platform on which to stand, that there weren't many blacks in French literature, that one should spread blacks throughout the arena. (I was delighted to see in the Illinois catalog a course, and it must be one of six in the country, on Francophone literature in French West Africa — indigenous literature.) There would be jobs; these jobs would be rewarding for her; and if she wanted them she was taking no great risk in going after them. Furthermore, she would have the Harvard platform, which is not a bad platform to stand on for postbaccalaureate opportunity. Moreover she came from an upper-middle class family; there are such even now despite inflation and recession. So in every way I wanted her to be told things which she might not want to hear because all that is "elitist" and "bad," and yet it's the task of realism to say so. I would say the same vis-á-vis the chemist.

I must tell you of an experience I had that came to mind when you were asking your question. In an earlier era, I remember going to talk to the Alpha Omega Alpha Society that I'm sure you're familiar with at medical schools — the honorary society of the medical school, in this case, Harvard Medical School. This must have been in the late 1950s.

I would say 40 percent of the seniors in AOA were going on for the doctorate after the M.D., and I laughed. I said, "I know who you fellows are; you're the sons of Jewish mothers who are worried about your security. Now that you've insured your security by going to medical school, you can afford to do what you want." Today, of course, there are many Ph.D.s who are going into medical school, and you must have some of them among your student body, because that seems more secure. But that may not be totally the case, as I have implied. Ten years from now we may find other ways of using paramedical people, nurses, and others to deal with the bulk of the population who don't have anything really wrong with them and whom doctors and other hospital personnel call "crocks" and don't know what to do with. So again, I would make individual judgments based on the platform from which the launching occurs: family, the student's gifts, the student's ability to endure frustration and waiting, and the student's genuine interest. I would make my judgment accordingly because, of course, the country will continue to need chemists. It will need chemists if only to train the medical students!

3. **Question:**
   In terms of minority students, do you feel the university should accommodate the goals and interests of minority students even though in many instances they might be different from those of the university itself?

Response:

Let us look at the question historically. I spoke of the urban campus as the urban-grant university. The universities in America accommodated themselves to students of agriculture and the mechanic arts in the last century. I think there was one great difference which is that many of these students brought their own resources with them rather than asking for resources from the institution. But in terms of the university expanding its missions and its interests, this has been characteristic of the American university, I would say, from the beginning. It's always been a vocational college or university, going back to the colonial college which was training ministers.

I think one has to ask: Is the university able to make adequate differentiation among minority students and among their long-run and their short-run aspirations? I have had a modest amount of experience with efforts of universities to respond to minority students with an ideological predisposition as to what the minority students would be interested in. I told you about the young woman who wanted to go on in French literature at Harvard but thought she ought to go to law

school because she'd never get a job. I could tell you also about another young woman who wanted to study modern European history, a young black woman at Harvard in the more agitated years of the late 1960s, who came to a white liberal tutor and was asked, "Why do you want to major in modern European history? Why don't you work for your people in Afro-American studies?" This was condescending to the minority on the part of the white liberal university, as if everybody belonged to a single category because of particular origins. It is absurd. In other words, what I'm looking for is variety within these groups, so that the so-called minority student is not pressured into a single channel, and so that the faculty's effort is devoted to helping each one move from where he or she is presently to the capability of making wider choices and of seeing larger horizons.

Let me give you another example. I think that it's been very provincial of Americans to have so little knowledge of the Islamic world. It has struck me in the last years that all the European countries have, in one way or another, had contact with Islam: through colonialism, through romanticism like Lawrence of Arabia, through culture contacts as in the case of Spain, or through direct contacts as in the case of Greece. America has been as insulated as possible from the Moslem world. This has made hard our relations with Africa, it's made hard our relations with the Arabic and Islamic non-Arab countries, and if bringing minority students into the university would be one way of adding to our sense of a multiethnic world and enriching our Indo-European languages with wider orbits of Islamic culture, this would be one area to which minority students and others could make a contribution.

Again I want to differentiate and to say that I've seen in many institutions an alliance formed between white liberals and black ideologues to the disadvantage of black students in general. An example is insisting on the teaching of black English to people who are told, "This is your real authentic gut language. Why do you want this dehydrated white Anglo-English?" You, I'm sure, have heard that yourself. In fact many of the students who have come to the university already know ghetto English; they want and need something else.

Now how to move from there to here, from the university's interests to the student's interests and back again, seems to me the real task and job of the urban university. It's done badly almost everywhere. Many places claim to do it well; most places, in fact, do not know how to do it. One way, I would think, of improving present dispensations is to make sure that the range of faculty engaged in such work does not come exclusively from one ethnic group, or one or two ethnic groups. To give you one example of what I mean, since I think really what can happen in secondary education may be more important for the ques-

tion you ask than what can happen in university education, I've often dreamed of, and I've discussed for more than twenty years, the possibility of some black boarding schools which would take black youngsters into a very demanding environment, physically and intellectually, a kind of Outward Bound program run by a Senegalese who was good at polo, and moving from there into high science and technology around the world. This gives you some idea of how I'd at least begin to think about a question on which we could spend the whole afternoon.

4. Question:

In this city and on this campus we hear a good deal about the urban mission. How would you define the university's urban mission?

Response:

In the first place, I'd begin by going back to the first question about this being a public institution. I'll give you an example. A friend of mine who had been in the Peace Corps was considering taking a job as the director of field placement at the so-called Third World College of the University of California at Santa Cruz about 1968. He came to talk with me after he'd been out there, and I said to him that he would have a lot of very activist students, many of them white, many of them bursting with ideals and ideology, yet of limited experience, from upper-middle class, affluent backgrounds, who would be out organizing the grape pickers and trying to find nonwhite clientele to patronize, and they wouldn't really be very helpful with Governor Reagan, I thought. I said I would, in his place, take the job under only one condition — that the students would agree to dress neatly and swear off drugs. He went back, was told that this was an impossible demand, that it would deny the students' authenticity. He didn't take the job. I think that the public university taking on an urban mission which is really missionary or evangelical, which is putting students out into the field, has to be extremely careful that the backlash that could be created by the results of the mission won't undo the work of the university and bring about the legislative reprisals that the first question raised. That is one caveat I would make.

The second thing I would say is that the long-term service of the university located in a major city is to get its students to do what is an old Chicago tradition, an old Hull House tradition, namely, to understand the city and all its neighborhoods and all its ethnic varieties, flavors, and paranoias, and turn out people who can work in the civil service, in urban planning, in mass transport, both in the city and the state. This means making alliances that people would deprecate, such

as with Mayor Daley, but which I would favor. It means giving students a sense of mission, but at the same time a sense of almost infinite patience. It's very hard to do. I work at it all the time, and I'm not always successful — I'm far from successful — in giving students a sense of the realities of life without making them more nihilistic and cynical than they already are, and in giving them a sense of what can be accomplished incrementally rather than dramaturgically.

In the late 1960s, in part as an outgrowth of the anti–Vietnam war movement and in part as a result of linked movements for student power and other protest movements, there was a momentary period of euphoria which gave students and the minority of faculty who led and influenced them an extravagant sense of power. There was a belief in the unconditional surrender of evil, that society could be changed overnight — or at the very least, that the attempt to do so would demonstrate the utter corruption of the society and the repressiveness of its authorities. In this milieu, incremental steps were regarded as merely reformist, merely liberal, merely keeping "the system" going — therefore wrong or cowardly. The student movements in fact had considerable influence; they helped force Lyndon Johnson to withdraw from the 1968 campaign; they helped in many locales to create New Politics organizations which helped capture the Democratic Party for George McGovern in 1972; and they won a number of Congressional seats for Democartic Party liberals in 1974. Yet of course these steps did not create total victory, and the outcome of the earlier euphoria was often despair, and again disparagement of incremental steps. When you, sir, were asking about what students could do with the legislature, I was thinking of the experience I repeatedly had, as someone who had been against the Vietnam wars since 1954, in trying to get my Harvard students to act sensibly vis-à-vis the war rather than, as I believe was the case, prolong it by the forms of their activism, by protests. That is, I do think Nixon was reelected because of the antiwar movement as it took its more violent forms in 1968 and following. I know that's an arguable view. I used to say to my students, "Look here, you come from all over the country. Go back to your home towns, look neat, be polite, don't be dogmatic, listen as much as you talk, or twice as much as you talk (as you're good talkers). Go to the local newspaperman, to the local minister, to the local Chamber of Commerce; talk to the Rotary Club about the war; talk soberly, modestly; try to get pressure put on your congressman as to how your community feels. Make clear to your community that the student antiwar movement is not merely a movement of fear of the draft by the rich, although it was partly that." And I would say the same as far as the urban mission goes. Namely, the first thing I would ask of students is to observe.

For example, there is a course, there are several courses I notice given here, on the black church. I was delighted to see that. I know very few Afro-American studies programs that take the black church seriously in the way that Jesse Jackson takes the black church seriously. If I were teaching a course in sociology here, I would send students out every Sunday morning to go to church, not to do anything but to observe, to come back to report. Who's there? Do the men sit separate from the women, the old from the young? Are there more women than men? Who goes to the men's Bible class as against who goes to the sermon? Is the sermon more liberal than the Bible class? And then, on the basis of real knowledge of the neighborhood, at some later point, this student, once graduated, might make some contribution. This I would see as the kind of mission of the urban university. It's a long-run mission, not a short-run mission.

5. **Question:**
Would you speak in general on the continued development of faculty members so that quality graduate education can be maintained. How can faculty members' teaching and research abilities be mutually strengthened? And how can these abilities be properly evaluated?

Response:

Let me make a comment which relates to the very first question and to your admirable question. When I was recommending alternate bouts of teaching and research, I was thinking of my friend Lewis Dexter who offered at the University of Maryland–Baltimore campus to teach eighteen hours one year if he could teach none at all the next year; he was turned down. His eighteen hours would have been twenty-five hours of most people's time. He is a devoted teacher, and I thought it was a reasonable request. (I know it of myself too; I'm on leave this year, otherwise I couldn't come here much as I would like to honor David Henry and much as I appreciated the honor quite unexpectedly done me.) So I think there are ways, there ought to be ways, in which one shows that one has fully, or overfully, met one's teaching payroll one year in order to have a research opportunity the next. The anthropologists are lucky because they have field opportunities. One way I have already spoken of is to involve undergraduates in research. This may be difficult here. There may not be enough of a "critical mass" of able undergraduates collected in one place with whom faculty can work collegially on research projects. Yet I know you have the James Scholar Program. I don't know to what extent this program and others succeed in grouping together students with

whom you could engage in joint research as an aspect of your regular teaching.

I'll say several things of a practical sort about how to evaluate faculty so as to avoid the courting of immediate popularity. The best job I know of of this sort is done at Carleton College in Minnesota. The dean there, in the third year of a faculty member, asks the faculty member for a list of twenty to thirty students, and then he supplements the list with randomized computer lists of graduates, sometimes supplemented by students away from campus over the summer. These students are written a carefully worked out letter which evokes a highly considered response. For example, the student is asked to say what he or she considers good teaching, as well as where on a list of various dimensions the faculty member in question would be rated — the top, middle, or bottom third. In a variety of ways, the students are asked: "What did you learn? What is your legacy? What did you carry away?"

Now there are two major advantages to this kind of evaluation. Although it's tremendously arduous, and the dean spends an enormous amount of time at it, I think there's nothing more important because it really is fair, or at any rate, it's less unfair than what goes on generally. In the first place it avoids the ability to manipulate a constituency while still on campus because the students are scattered, and they don't club together as soon as they discover that somebody's about to be let go who can claim oppression. It's the students who often have been oppressed, but the faculty member claims oppression and often finds an alliance, no matter how terrible he's been to students. The second advantage of this is that even a year or two later the verdict is different. A person will feel, "Well this person made demands, was dull, but I really learned something, while that other teacher was flimsy and superficial even though I enjoyed it." So I would say there are better and worse ways of evaluating faculty members.

The third thing I would say raises difficulties so grave that I don't know whether it is feasible. I spoke of the privacy of the classroom. If there were more co-teaching, I think one would learn to become a better teacher. One could learn to use one's fellow teachers as a help in becoming a less awkward teacher, and one would also have other points of judgment, peer judgment, as to the quality of one's teaching to serve both as reassurance and as credentials. Now again, this could be exploited, but a careful administrator, department chairman, or dean would know how to evaluate the evaluation by the peer who had co-taught with the person in question. Obviously one would be careful about choosing co-teachers under such an arrangement. One wouldn't want as co-teachers people who are in the same position and competing for one's own job. That would put them in a situation of conflict of interest.

What else can I say about the problem of teach or perish, or the cannibalization of young faculty? I already referred to the problem for administrators, namely, to see that senior faculty teach lower-division, large courses, that they teach experimental courses, that they do the committee work and bear the burden of administration, and that the junior faculty, no matter what their instincts and ideologies, keep out of it and be glad to be out of it unless they want a co-curriculum in political science which so many students use as a substitute for learning. Administrators have to look out for faculty, young faculty, so that they don't get put in the position of letting somebody go because he or she has been so devoted or of keeping him or her because he or she has been so devoted, neither of which is a good idea. Instead, administrators must try to maintain a person's visibility.

For example, I know that funds for travel have been cut down everywhere. I think that's terrible. I think that if you have to beg, borrow, or hitch a ride to a professional meeting you should go and take undergraduates with you. Give them the smell of the field. It may turn them away, but take them into a hospital, too, and they might not want to be doctors, or take them to poverty law offices and they may have second thoughts about the glories of poverty law or how long they will last at it. In all these ways I feel it's terribly important for the administrator to protect the visibility of the faculty, to give them every opportunity to get off the campus.

One way in which this can be done, which I keep urging and have a very hard time and have gotten no support, is through consortium arrangements. As soon as you have been, let us say, at the Chicago Circle campus for a certain amount of time, the more responsive and responsible you are, the more it is necessary to think about alternative ways of temporarily cutting the ties that interfere both with innovative and experimental teaching and with arduous research. Even with women's liberation, it is still my sense that women are more responsible and responsive than men. If this were not the case, the human race would have come to an end long ago! Hence, women faculty members have a somewhat harder time than men faculty members because they are apt to respond less cavalierly to students and colleagues, even though they may seek to behave just as men have in the past, even while men in the current generation are seeking to become more generous and less competitive. Trading faculty among institutions, including arrangements between the public and private sectors as well as among private institutions, seems to me one possible remedy. I suppose it would be considered a sign of disgrace for a Chicago Circle faculty member to teach at Governor's State University, even if in terms of location it would not be inconvenient. But I would imagine that a change of pace and place between this institution and Governor's State

would be refreshing — both ways. Faculty and students would not yet have gotten to know you at Governor's State; you would not instantly be on so many committees, receive so many telephone calls. You might get more of what faculty members used to call "their own work" done.

And if the trade is between public and private, the opportunities would be even greater. You might find yourself teaching just as much at Mundelein or Barat as you would here, but you'd be in a different milieu with a different colleague group, a more interdisciplinary one by the nature of the case because it would be smaller. Correspondingly, you might discover who your true colleagues are in terms of people from whom you could learn, rather than your unavoidable departmental colleagues. Everett Hughes pointed out long ago that one of the problems in the career of the scholar is discovering who are one's true colleagues. And as I have indicated, for me they are not necessarily people in my field, but rather people who have similar or compatible styles of work, who think in the same paradigms as I do, who share common intellectual interests beyond the immediate academic horizon, and who can help me grow. For this sort of faculty development, the multicampus institutions have an advantage, and universities located as this one is, in a milieu where there are many other institutions, also have an advantage if the problems of status and logistics and finance, etc., could be worked out. I know that there are infinite problems. Fringe benefit issues, for example, can hold up an arrangement that seems otherwise ideal. But I think that this is the road of the future, or one of the roads of the future, by which young faculty members can survive and meet all the moral, academic, intellectual, and parental obligations that accompany the current ideologies and life-styles — ideologies and life-styles which, of course, have spread unevenly among institutions and among departments and that make such heavy demands on the energies and ideals of the educated and the would-be liberated.

The David Dodds Henry Lectures in Higher Education

"The Administration of Higher Education in an Era of Change and Conflict," by Clark Kerr, October 1972

"Can We Maintain Quality Graduate Education in a Period of Retrenchment?" by David Riesman, April 1975

Copies of these publications may be obtained from the President's Office, 364 Administration Building, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801.