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HIGHER EDUCATION IN MICHIGAN,  
1958 to 1970

VOLUME 1

By

Gerald Alden Faverman

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to

Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Administration and Higher Education

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## ABSTRACT

### HIGHER EDUCATION IN MICHIGAN, 1958 to 1970

By

Gerald Alden Faverman

From 1958 to 1970, Michigan higher education grew most rapidly. Its student population increased 500 percent and its state appropriation base 300 percent. In this period there was debate on the constitution and governance issues of higher education. These issues were the following: 1) Institutional autonomy versus centralized control; 2) Statewide coordination versus voluntary cooperation; 3) The designation of institutional roles and the restriction of programs to fit these roles versus the encouragement of a comprehensive range of structures and programs devised and articulated through the democratic political process.

These social challenges raise questions about restructuring and reforming the higher education delivery system in Michigan. The debate was couched in the following terms: How does the state provide: 1) Increased access, choice, and equal opportunity; 2) A balance between supply and demand for technical and professional manpower; 3) Flexibility and adaptability of institutions and programs

to meet changing demands and circumstances of society; and  
4) State leadership, support, and direction for these  
objectives.

An historical study of the following reports, the  
Survey of Higher Education in Michigan<sup>1</sup> conducted by John Dale  
Russell, the Citizens Committee on Higher Education Report,<sup>2</sup>  
the State Plan for Higher Education in Michigan,<sup>3</sup> and the  
proceedings of the Constitutional Convention and all relevant  
public documents, was conducted.

One of the continuing problems of contemporary history  
is the paucity of published materials that reflect the competi-  
tive interplay of personalities and passions that result in  
the determination of public policy. This dissertation  
attempted to extend the public record by conducting 26 in-  
depth interviews with members of the decision elite for higher  
education in Michigan. This approach has not been used before  
for a specific area of public policy concern on a state level.  
It has the advantages of extending the historical literature  
by reaching those men of action whose activities have left  
them little time to write, and of demonstrating the value of  
studies of public policy through oral history techniques.

This study demonstrates an amazing unanimity amongst  
all participants about what had occurred. This shows the  
great love of the people for higher education in Michigan  
because of the force of historical tradition and the

noteworthy success of higher education in the fulfilling of social aspirations of the citizenry.

Since higher education during this period met the social objectives serving as a most effective mechanism for social change, there was little support for statewide coordination and control through a higher education board. Further, policy makers were satisfied with the results of policies that encouraged the entrepreneurial energy of individual institutions.

The strong attitudes for the preservation of local autonomy and regionalism further created the climate that permitted Michigan's baccalaureate institutions to have a constitutionally autonomous status and permitted de facto autonomy for Michigan's 29 community colleges.

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<sup>1</sup>John Dale Russell, The Final Report of the Survey of Higher Education in Michigan, Michigan Legislative Study Committee on Higher Education, September 1958.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Citizens Committee on Higher Education, Harold T. Smith, Executive Director (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1965).

<sup>3</sup>Michigan Department of Education, The State Plan for Higher Education, Harold T. Smith (Lansing, Michigan, 1969).

## DEDICATION

To my wife, Fran, and my sons, David and Paul,  
whose love and encouragement have strengthened me over  
the days of this exciting journey.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Michigan has been a state open to talent and receptive to newcomers. On the long journey there have been many warm friends and considerate teachers whose affection and counsel have been much appreciated by my wife Fran and myself.

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to explain the Michigan record, which I had begun to comprehend while working for them.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM

#### Framing the Questions

Michigan has a proud record in higher education extending back to the period when the state was a sparsely populated Territory. In past generations the people of the State of Michigan have accomplished prodigious feats in higher education, building a network of institutions without peer in the land. It is the intention of this dissertation to attempt to determine and explain the nature of these higher education enterprises in Michigan.

This explanation will involve the following points:

1) A determination of the public policy for higher education in Michigan in the period from 1958 to 1970; 2) An explanation of how the system was constructed and what the forces were that created the public policy so favorable to higher education in Michigan; 3) A determination of the real agenda of political issues, aspirational goals and institutional objectives; 4) A clarification of the public debate, stripping away the rhetoric that has beclouded these concerns; and 5) An examination and explanation of the reasons for the uniqueness of Michigan's devotion and support for higher education.

It is the hope of the author that by understanding the past we may effectively meet the challenges and opportunities awaiting us in the next generation.

One of the continuing problems of contemporary history is the paucity of published materials that reflect the competitive interplay of personalities and passions and explicate the compromises and decisions so starkly presented in the official reports. The historian working in earlier periods has the advantage of memoirs, autobiographies, correspondence and private papers that are rarely available to those concerned with more contemporary periods.

Hence, this dissertation attempted to extend the public record by conducting 26 in-depth interviews with members of the decision elite for higher education in Michigan. This approach, which has not been utilized before for a specific area of public policy concern on a state level, has the following advantages: It extends the historical literature by reaching those men of action whose activities have left them little time to write. It demonstrates the value of studies of public policy utilizing oral history techniques, for it is the conviction of the author that studies of public policy for health, housing, energy, elementary and secondary education, and the environment on the state and national level would be of immense value to future historians. Further studies of these types can improve the public debate over social issues and thus

strengthen our legislative and democratic procedures by studying public policy determination in a more rational and lucid manner than now possible. This study of higher education in Michigan might also encourage similar studies in other states.

It is the intention of this dissertation to explain what we have done in higher education in Michigan, why we have done it, and what remains to be done to enhance the system for future years.

Higher education has, over the last 17 years, been a source of study, concern and controversy. This study proposes to describe: 1) the historical, sociological, economic, and political forces in the period from 1958 to 1970 in Michigan that created the supportive climate for rapid enrollment expansion; 2) the creation of the new institutions of higher education; and 3) the establishment of new programs and services.

The reports and documents relating to higher education management and its coordination, authority, and control will also be studied to ascertain the real agenda of public concerns. The reports and studies to be considered are the Survey of Higher Education in Michigan<sup>1</sup> conducted by John Dale Russell and his associates under sponsorship of

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<sup>1</sup>John Dale Russell, The Final Report of the Survey of Higher Education in Michigan, Michigan Legislative Study Committee on Higher Education, September 1958.



the Michigan Legislative Study Committee on Higher Education. The final report by Russell was published in September, 1958. This study, containing 45 major recommendations, was the most significant of the reports because of its political auspices and the technical expertise.

The second report is that of the Citizens Committee on Higher Education<sup>2</sup> which was issued in March of 1965 and contained about 40 recommendations. This report appeared at the beginning of the impressive expansion of higher education in the mid-1960's, especially for junior and community colleges. This report was influential on the third major report to be considered.

The third report to be considered will be the State Plan for Higher Education in Michigan<sup>3</sup> published in February, 1970, which contained 38 specific goals, mainly directed toward structural questions and with lesser concern about future goals and objectives.

The subsidiary report of the Davis Committee<sup>4</sup> issued in 1964 concerned the entire question of branch campuses and

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<sup>2</sup>Report of Citizens Committee on Higher Education, Harold T. Smith, Executive Director (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1965).

<sup>3</sup>Michigan Department of Education, The State Plan for Higher Education, Harold T. Smith (Lansing, Michigan, 1969).

<sup>4</sup>Michigan Coordinating Council for Public Higher Education, Report of the Advisory Committee on University Branches, (Lansing, Michigan, December, 1964).

specifically the Michigan State University branch at Rochester and the University of Michigan branch at Flint. This also will be evaluated. This less known report hardened attitudes that prevented optimal cooperation between the universities, Legislature, and the State Board of Education.

The study then proposes to analyze the conclusions and recommendations of the Michigan Constitutional Convention, 1961-62, isolating the issues that have continued to be a source of great vexation surrounding Article VIII, five of whose nine sections relate to higher education.

#### The Agenda of Higher Education Issues

Since the period of marked institutional growth within the state's higher education system is largely at an end, Michigan higher education in the foreseeable future is likely to be characterized by stable or possibly declining enrollments and programs. This will increase demands on institutions to change internally and externally and thus accelerate the statewide debate on reorganization, restructuring and reform in higher education.

These policy questions can more clearly be understood and solved by a study of the historical basis of these issues, identifying and placing these issues in their historical and public policy context. These issues have classically been framed in the following context: 1) Institutional autonomy versus centralized control; 2) Statewide coordination versus

voluntary cooperation; 3) The designation of institutional roles and the restriction of programs to fit these roles versus the encouragement of a comprehensive range of structures and programs devised and articulated through the democratic political process. In addition to these broad issues are the issues of a more social nature, for example, how does the state provide: 1) Increased access, choice, and equal opportunity; 2) A balance between supply and demand for technical and professional manpower; 3) Flexibility and adaptability of institutions and programs to meet changing demands and circumstances of society; and 4) State leadership, support, and direction for these objectives.

Based on the author's experience in state government during the late sixties, as well as a preliminary review of primary documents, several underlying issues appeared paramount in shaping the social and political context for higher education during the 1960's. The author believes that a more useful understanding of the public policy issues would be categorized as societal issues, aspirational issues, and institutional issues.

There are three major societal issues:

1) The necessity to broaden Michigan's economic base by creating a diversified industry. From 1940 on it was clear to astute observers that Michigan's dependence on the automotive industry was no more sound than its earlier dependence on the fur trade or lumbering. A state that was a one-economy state was subject to too many downturns, compared to mixed-economy states with a broad base of

diversified industries. Hopefully, one of the mechanisms to create that was to develop a trained manpower pool that would draw, encourage and nurture high-skill industries to the state.

2) The use and mobilization of higher education as a resource to meet the Soviet challenge to American supremacy. It was a tremendous shock to the American sense of pride in the supremacy of our social system and our industry when the Soviet Union placed its Sputnik into orbit on October 4, 1957. This caused a tremendous national debate about what was deficient with American life, education, and technology, compared to the Soviets. The Soviet education system stressed technology and hard sciences and investment in state-supported research.

3) The use of education as a social engine for integrating the disadvantaged into the good life of the middle class was another social issue. A crucial element in American history has been the religious belief in progress. Americans have always believed, perhaps because of the frontier experience and because of the opportunities that existed in the rich lands opened up in the modern period, that the way to get ahead was through hard work. This important element in the mythology of America was expressed in the Horatio Alger dream. This element energized immigrants from Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and later from America's own South. The dream of success could be attained not only by perspiration and luck-and-pluck, but in the twentieth century education would be

that additional key to success. This social mobility would create a classless society that would be based on ability and not based on restriction.

While in recent times some have been disillusioned about the value of education, in Michigan, education continued to be deeply appreciated by a majority of the people. For while some would say that the promise of higher education could not be delivered for the many, in Michigan it truly has been accessible and has expanded to meet the growing demand.

There are several aspirational issues:

1) The citizen demand for access and utilization of higher education services was significant in specific regions of the state and demand for additional regional resources was compelling. Areas such as Detroit, Flint, Grand Rapids, Saginaw, Muskegon, Jackson, and the state's rural areas had a deficit ratio between the percentage of students and the population in 1960.

2) The conflict between the demand for entrance and matriculation versus restriction of availability in order to conserve resources and enhance status was the next crucial aspirational issue. Michigan's population had grown more than one million in the previous decade, creating a huge demand for access. A significant proportion of Michigan's population had reached college age, the highest percentage in Michigan's history. Michigan was faced with the policy

issue of restricting entrance and therefore being able to masquerade in the guise of quality. This would create a system much like Ohio where every graduate of a high school had the opportunity to go to college but post-freshman places in the system were limited, creating the revolving door system.

3) Another aspirational issue was how to provide the real opportunity for blue-collar labor to purchase higher education for themselves and their children; what mechanisms should be established to deliver these services. Since, for the first time in more than 30 years the increase of purchasing power by Michigan's workers was significant, the leadership of labor became concerned about having appropriate outlets in which to spend these increased dollars.

Wealth that does not have a market causes instability, inflation, and a decline of true value. Hence labor leaders such as the Reuthers, Woodcock, Fishman, Fraser, Scholle, and Marshall became concerned that there be an adequate place in higher education so that Michigan's workers could buy the desired product.

College had always been regarded as unattainable, available only to the rich and the elite, previous to the end of the Second World War. The most revolutionary piece of legislation passed in the United States since the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 was the passage of the GI Bill which created the fiscal opportunity to go to school for all of

the soldiers returning after the Second World War. This important act created the belief that higher education was really an obtainable objective for all of the citizenry.

Hence the institutional concerns involved questions of how to implement and how to select from the various alternatives. These "How" questions were the following:

1) How many institutions should Michigan create and where should they be placed? Where should Michigan encourage the growth of the two-year transfer programs in liberal arts and where should that growth be inhibited?

2) Where should Michigan encourage appropriate vocational/technical training for both current and future employment?

3) Which four-year, baccalaureate-granting institutions should Michigan enhance and give additional academic scope?

4) Should Michigan encourage the establishment of new institutions where existing institutions could not fill the projected demand?

5) Which graduate and professional programs, that is, law, medicine, engineering, nursing, computer science and electronics, needed to be encouraged or established de novo?

6) How could Michigan create financial mechanisms--scholarships, loans, grants, work-study programs, assistantships and fellowships--that would broaden access and educational opportunity to those groups in Michigan who were not currently included?

7) How could Michigan deliver continuing education for degree credit and adult education for avocational and cultural ends?

8) How could the education system meet the objectives of manpower training while still serving the historical tradition of encouraging civilization and contributing new knowledge?

9) How could Michigan most effectively deliver research knowledge to industry and agriculture, bridging the gap between theory and practice?

10) How could Michigan accomplish all of the societal, aspirational and institutional goals without destroying the private sector whose schools and colleges had a long history of contribution to the public good?

11) The most vexing question of all was how to direct the above implementation; by centralized control, utilizing planning, control and coordination, or by encouraging voluntary coordination and harnessing institutional autonomy and entrepreneurial energy in the service of the above goals?

The third set of issues were the institutional issues: How to create the machinery to deliver higher education services for societal and aspirational objectives.

Planning has never been a strong point of Michigan's government. In fact, planning has been most significant by its lack. Virtually the only area of Michigan public government where planning has ever occurred was in the construction



of the highway system. No other areas of social concern--welfare, employment, housing, health, or education--have been noted for their planning, yea, to the present day.

Michigan's institutions were formed by a variety of historical energies and accidents. It is not easy to pinpoint the reasons for the importance of education in Michigan, but from the earliest days the state has placed the greatest emphasis on higher education. The University of Michigan was virtually the first state university to be established in the United States in 1817. Michigan State University was the nation's first land grant institution, established in 1855. It was also the nation's first agricultural college.

Michigan had the first teacher college west of the Alleghenies with the establishment of Eastern Michigan University in 1849. It was the first state where it became legally possible, with the Kalamazoo Case in 1874, to have free public education past the primary grades. Michigan was the first state to have a separate department of education, the first state to have a superintendent of public instruction, the first state to provide for public libraries in its Constitution, and one of the first states to have a junior college, founded in Grand Rapids in 1914.

The University of Michigan was the first state institution to admit women in 1870; the first state university to have a chemical laboratory in 1857; it was the first state

school to establish full-time professorships of science and the art of teaching; the first to have a dentistry school in 1875; the first to organize a pharmacy college in 1876; the first state university to offer forestry in 1881; and the first to establish a department of speech in 1892.

Because of these kinds of activities, higher education has always been vitally important to Michigan. Education has been the single social institution in Michigan widely beloved across all sectors of society and has enjoyed a greater degree of social confidence than any other Michigan institution.

## CHAPTER II

### SETTING THE SCENE

#### Geography

Michigan borders on four of the five Great Lakes, Superior, Michigan, Huron and Erie, and has two distinct peninsulas, the Upper which has its base along Wisconsin and the Lower which borders on Ohio and Indiana.

Michigan ranks twenty-second in size among the states of the Union with a total of 57,890 square miles<sup>1</sup> and is adjacent only to three other states of the Union--Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, and the province of Ontario.

The geology of Michigan is based on an ancient rocky skeleton. The state is essentially a basin in which have been deposited layers of sedimentary rock wherein lie the state's resources of iron, copper, limestone and salt. This rocky skeleton, except in the western Upper Peninsula, is everywhere covered by a layer of material laid down by the ice of the glacier period. This mantle carries resources of sand and gravel and the various soils it produces differentiate the state into two parts: a southern region which is

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<sup>1</sup>Bert Hudgins, Geographic Backgrounds and the Development of the Commonwealth, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1953, rev. ed.), p. 2.

principally agricultural, and a northern region which is heavily forested and of marginal farming utility.

The state extends through some six degrees of latitude with resulting temperature differences. This pattern is additionally complicated by westerly winds and the influences of the Great Lakes. The limitations of climatic patterns to agriculture are partially masked by the soil differences in the state, but are vital for its agriculture.

While conventionally divided into the Upper and Lower Peninsulas, probably the best way to understand the geography of Michigan is to draw a line horizontally across the Lower Peninsula from Muskegon on Lake Michigan to just below the tip of Saginaw Bay. This line, called Townline Sixteen, is the traditional division between industrial and agricultural lower Michigan and upper Michigan--a land of sparser agriculture, little industry except for mining, and the remains of a once-great lumbering empire. North of this line lie the 15 counties of the Upper Peninsula, plus 33 of the 68 Lower Peninsula counties. While containing 48 of the 83 counties of the State of Michigan, in 1960 this northern region accounted for less than ten percent of the population of the state.

The original forest cover of Michigan has been greatly altered by agriculture, logging and fire. When white settlement first began, 90 percent of the land area of the State of Michigan was forested, but this soon changed. By 1840 farms

were scattered over most of the southern hardwood belt, and land-clearing was producing more timber than was needed. Also, because hardwood timber was not easily worked with the hand-tool technology of the day, much of it was burned to clear the land. The pioneers coming to Michigan and the Midwest needed white pine for construction. Michigan had quantities of pine believed at that time to be inexhaustible and was the leading lumber producing state in the nation from 1875 to 1900. This was a great--now legendary--era. The wealth produced by lumbering was largely responsible for some of the early fortunes which were the basis for future financial and industrial investment in the State of Michigan.

The peak of Michigan's great timber harvest was in 1890 when mills cut a total of 5.5 billion board-feet of lumber. This is ten times the present annual production of all species. Forests today grow on more than half of the entire land area of the state.<sup>2</sup> The Upper Peninsula comprises only 29 percent of the state's entire area but supports almost half of the forest area of Michigan. As we move south the forests become scattered and we arrive in an area that is essentially agricultural, industrial and urban.

Mining is still important today, although certainly not as much so as in the nineteenth century when copper and

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<sup>2</sup>Charles M. Davis, Readings in the Geography of Michigan. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1964), p. 91.

then the immensely rich iron of the Upper Peninsula contained in the Gogebic, Marquette and Menominee Ranges were first found. Iron ore, cement, sand and gravel, petroleum, salt, copper, gypsum, and natural gas were the key mining outputs of the State of Michigan in the mid-twentieth century.

The center of Michigan's agriculture is located below Townline Sixteen, in the southern region of the state along the Lake Michigan shoreline and in the rich lands of the Thumb area in the East.<sup>3</sup>

In 1959 the number of farms was 111,000 and farm cash receipts were estimated at \$705 million. Not all these farms were large farms; many were small and their numbers declined as the requirements of capital and machinery increased. The largest crops in Michigan are corn, oats, wheat, hay, field beans, soy beans, sugar beets, potatoes, fruit, and vegetable crops such as asparagus, cucumbers, sweet corn, snap beans and onions. Livestock farming, especially dairy, as well as beef cattle, swine and sheep production, was important in generating some \$375 million of sales in 1959.<sup>4</sup>

The productive agricultural sector supports a large urban population. In 1960, 73.4 percent of the population of Michigan lived in the cities. The chief cities of

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<sup>3</sup>"Michigan's Agriculture", Michigan State University Cooperative Extension Service Bulletin 785.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Table 3.

Michigan are all located south of Townline Sixteen.

The main industrial areas are Grand Rapids, with furniture and machinery as its main industrial products; Kalamazoo, with pulp and paper products, chemicals and metal products; Lansing, with automotive products, primary metal forging, and machinery; Jackson, with transportation equipment, rubber products and textiles; Flint, with automotive equipment; Saginaw, with metal products, automotive, and machinery; and of course the largest industrial area in Michigan, Detroit and its ring of suburbs, with automotive, machinery, metal products, primary metals, food processing, and chemicals.<sup>5</sup>

While not frequently noted, the Civil War was the key period for the industrial development of Michigan. After 1860 agricultural production never generated as many dollars as industrial production. The development of heavy industry in Michigan was facilitated by the excellent transportation routes of the Great Lakes and the river courses, the large amount of sand available for castings and the abundance of iron.

The heavy industry of automotive production began at the turn of the century in Detroit, Lansing, Grand Rapids, Flint, and Saginaw, and has been the basis of the state's prosperity in the twentieth century. In fact, in the

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<sup>5</sup>Emergence and Growth of an Urban Region; The Developing Urban Detroit Area, Constantinos A. Doxiadis (Detroit: The Detroit Edison Company, 1966), p. 131.

post-Second World War period it seemed that the old Herbert Hoover prescription for a good life, a chicken in every pot, had become two cars in every garage. There are many positive features to Michigan's alliance with this one industry, for when it has been healthy, Michigan has been immensely prosperous. Unfortunately, when this industry has had difficulties, so has Michigan.

Today motor vehicle manufacture is only one facet of Michigan's economy. The state is also an important producer of other transportation equipment, machinery, metals, chemicals, rubber and petroleum products. However, all of these industries are closely bound to the cycle of the automotive industry. It is not likely that the automotive industry will be replaced in its position of predominance in Michigan. But the importance to policy planners of other alternatives was apparent as early as 1940.

During the past one hundred years, with minor exceptions, Michigan's rate of population increase has been greater than that of the nation. The net balance of migration into Michigan has been the primary factor causing Michigan's population to grow. Table 1 demonstrates the extraordinarily rapid growth of Michigan's population from 1870 to 1960. Michigan's share of the national population rose from 3.07 percent in 1870 to 4.38 percent in 1960.

The basic composition of Michigan's original population was British, Irish, German, and Canadian. But later



TABLE 1  
POPULATION GROWTH AND SOURCE  
GROWTH IN MICHIGAN  
(1870-1960)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Percentage of U.S. Population In Michigan</u>	<u>Total Population (in thousands)</u>
1960	4.38	7,823
1950	4.23	6,372
1940	3.98	5,256
1930	3.94	4,842
1920	3.47	3,668
1910	3.06	2,810
1900	3.19	2,421
1890	3.33	2,094
1880	3.26	1,637
1870	3.07	1,184

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SOURCE: William Haber, W. Allen Spivey, and Martin R. Warshaw, Michigan in the 1970's, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1965), p. 120.

immigration infused Michigan with a great deal of ethnic differentiation. Large numbers of Dutch-speaking people settled in western Michigan--Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Muskegon and the lake shore--and preserved their own culture, religion and ethnic heritage. The large influx of Germans brought their tradition to the Saginaw Valley. At Frankenmuth, an agricultural community in the Saginaw Valley, German was the language of instruction in the schools until the 1940's.

A significant number of people came to Michigan in the twentieth century from southern and eastern Europe. This Slav/Mediterranean group, with Poles constituting the largest foreign-born group in Detroit, included Italians, Russians, Hungarians, Yugoslavians, Rumanians and Greeks. In some census tracts of Detroit in 1930 the proportion of foreign-born was as large as 60 percent.

Ten percent of Michigan's population today is black workers who emigrated from the South to take advantage of the greater opportunities in Michigan's industry. While in 1960, 30 percent of the population of Detroit was black, the overall population in 1960 numbered 717,000 Blacks, which was virtually ten percent of the population of the state.

Michigan's culture is enriched by the Cornish miners in the Upper Peninsula, the Dutch influence in western Michigan, the Germanic influence of the Saginaw Valley, the

Slavic influence in Flint and the northern ring of Detroit suburbs and Macomb County, and the large and significant population of Blacks in Wayne County.

Many believe that this period of immigration brought significant changes in patterns of living and that those changes brought many problems. But challenge is the very essence of opportunity and triumph. For that reason the strong desire for success and fulfillment was a vital force in the psychic make-up of three of Michigan's largest ethnic groups--the Dutch, the Blacks and the Slavs. Industrious and eager to work, they adjusted to urban life, not perhaps as successfully as theoretical planners would have liked, but far more successfully than many other migrant people had. These three groups strongly believed that advancement in America depended on education. It would be these peoples who would fuel the drive for better schools and greater accessibility of these schools for their people in the period from 1958 to 1970.

### Politics

At the beginning of the twentieth century Michigan was a one-party state. In fact, one author referred to Michigan as a state operated much as a company town.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>James Reichley, States in Crisis; Politics in Ten American States, 1950-1962, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 25.

Jackson, sixty miles west of Detroit, claims to be the birthplace of the Republican Party. For almost 70 years following the Civil War, Michiganders regarded Republicanism as synonymous with patriotism, morality and sound thinking. From 1860 to 1932 the Republican nomination for public office was virtually the equivalent of election.

Politics at the beginning of the century was colorful and often fought viciously with minimal attention to ethical considerations. Primary elections had not yet displaced the convention as the principal nominating device. Newspapers were more numerous and of more varied political complexion. The functions of government were far fewer than they are today, and the role of government was far less vital.

Between 1852 and 1932 the Democrats were able to win the governorship only four times: in 1882 by supporting a Greenbacker; in 1890 when monetary and agricultural reformers backed the Democratic candidate; in 1912 when Republicans were split into regular and progressive camps; and in 1914 owing to continued internal Republican strife.<sup>7</sup> Only in 1890 did the Democrats elect a subordinate state official and win control of the Legislature.

The main activity of the Democrats in Michigan was to fight for federal patronage during Democratic national

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<sup>7</sup>Stephen B. Sarasohn and Vera H. Sarasohn, Political Party Patterns in Michigan, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1957), p. 8.

administrations. But it should be noted that such Democratic administrations were rare; Cleveland and Wilson were the only Democrats to win the presidency between the Civil War and the Great Depression.

Table 2 shows the governors elected in Michigan from 1908 to 1970. It demonstrates that until 1948 Michigan was essentially a one-party state. For the 88 years after the Civil War, only six Democrats were elected governor, and a consideration of the pluralities will show that the Democrats were not comfortably in office until 1954.

Democratic membership in the State Legislature remained weak; in fact, not a single Democrat was elected to the Senate in the elections of 1918 through 1928. In the House of Representatives the number of Democrats ranged from zero to five during this period. An evaluation of Table 3 demonstrates the Democratic weakness. From 1914 to 1932 interparty politics in Michigan lost any real sense of division along public policy lines. Most party factions existed around personalities. The issue was, really, who should control the store and not what the store should sell. There was not much difference between the factions over the philosophy of government, only over who should enjoy the emoluments of power.

The general upsurge of Democratic strength throughout the state in 1932 inaugurated a new era in Michigan politics.

TABLE 2  
SUMMARY OF VOTE ON GOVERNOR

<u>Year</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Plurality</u>
1908	Warner	Rep.	9,530
1910	Osborn	Rep.	43,033
1912	Ferris	Dem.	24,054
1914	Ferris	Dem.	35,809
1916	Sleeper	Rep.	99,284
1918	Sleeper	Rep.	108,596
1920	Groesbeck	Rep.	392,614
1922	Groesbeck	Rep.	138,681
1924	Groesbeck	Rep.	455,648
1926	Green	Rep.	172,409
1928	Green	Rep.	556,633
1930	Brucker	Rep.	126,326
1932	Comstock	Dem.	190,737
1934	Fitzgerald	Rep.	82,699
1936	Murphy	Dem.	48,919
1938	Fitzgerald	Rep.	93,493
1940	VanWagoner	Dem.	131,281
1942	Kelley	Rep.	72,021
1944	Kelley	Rep.	219,552
1946	Sigler	Rep.	359,338
1948	Williams	Dem.	163,854
1950	Williams	Dem.	1,154
1952	Williams	Dem.	8,618
1954	Williams	Dem.	253,008
1956	Williams	Dem.	290,313
1958	Williams	Dem.	147,444
1960	Swainson	Dem.	41,612
1962	Romney	Rep.	80,573
1964	Romney	Rep.	382,913
1966	Romney	Rep.	527,047
1970	Milliken	Rep.	44,409

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SOURCE: Michigan Department of Administration,  
Michigan Manual, 1971-72, (Lansing, Michigan, 1972),  
pp. 454-458.

TABLE 3  
FORMER LEGISLATURES

Year	Membership		Senators		Representatives	
	Sen.	House	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
1909	32	100	--	32	2	98
1911			4	28	12	88
1913			5	27	35	65
1915			3	29	5	95
1917			5	27	12	88
1919			--	32	2	98
1921			--	32	--	100
1923			--	32	5	95
1925			--	32	--	100
1927			--	32	2	98
1929			--	32	2	98
1931			1	31	2	98
1933			17	15	55	45
1935			11	21	49	51
1937			17	15	60	40
1939			9	23	27	73
1941			10	22	32	68
1943			7	25	26	74
1945			8	24	34	66
1947			4	28	5	95
1949			9	23	39	61
1951			7	25	34	66
1953			8	24	34	66
1955	34	100	11	23	51	59
1957			11	23	49	61
1959			12	22	55	55
1961	34	110	12	22	54	56
1963			11	23	52	58
1965	38	110	23	15	73	37
1967			18	20	54	56
1969			18	20	57	53
1971			19	19	58	52

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SOURCE: Michigan Department of Administration,  
Michigan Manual, 1971-72, (Lansing, Michigan, 1972),  
pp. 98-99.

This new era brought about the invigoration of the common man, the rise of labor, the movement towards government as a mechanism for social reform and the role of government as a major element in society.

However, while Democrats increased in representation by a phenomenal percentage compared to the impotency of the previous 80 years, their power did not become predominant statewide. The Republicans maintained their strength in many parts of the state. There is probably no state in the Union where state politics has been more polarized between an urban, liberal, labor coalition on the Democratic side, and an outstate, rural, business coalition on the Republican side.

After the advent of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, much of the United States continued to be Democratic. However, after 1934 the Democratic Party in Michigan declined in strength. Their peak of strength had been in 1932 when they had control of the Senate and the House of Representatives. But by 1946 there were only eight Democrats in the Senate and 34 Democrats in the House.

The Democratic Party atrophied because of the weakness of the party structure and the inability to find vigorous candidates who could compete with the likes of the internationally recognized Arthur Vandenberg, Republican from Grand Rapids. It appeared that Michigan was returning



to old habits of Republicanism and that Democratic elected officership had been but a temporary disease on the body politic. It would continue this way until 1948 when G. Mennen Williams, with the assistance of Neil Staebler, Walter Reuther, Hicks Griffiths and several other liberals, built the beginning of the modern Michigan Democratic Labor Party.<sup>8</sup>

G. Mennen Williams, a Princeton graduate, was heir to the J. B. Williams Toiletries Company and popularly known as Soapy. He was by origin an aristocrat, but had almost a religious sense that he was his brother's keeper, and he was dedicated to creating a government that would improve the lot of his fellow man.

While these Republican electoral successes seemed on the surface to have reinstated the GOP as the majority party in the State of Michigan, the electoral foundation of Michigan politics was shifting steadily toward the Democratic Party. The increasing concentration of the state's population in the southeast corner of the state, particularly in

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<sup>8</sup>Theodore H. White, the astute observer of national politics has a most interesting insight to describing these men: "Leadership in Michigan in 1960 lay in the hands of three men, C. Neil Staebler, Walter Reuther, Governor G. Mennen Williams. High-minded yet hard-knuckled, each of these three had been measured and analyzed. In the course of twelve years Neil Staebler, State Chairman and one of the most moral men in American politics, had built one of the most efficient citizen-politics organizations in the upper Midwest." The Making of the President 1960, (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1961), pp. 137-38.

the Detroit metropolitan area, was favorable to the Democrats. So was the pattern of migration into the state during the thirties and forties when Negroes and poor whites from the southern states came into Michigan in large numbers. These people had not been bred to the belief that Republicanism was patriotic and correct, and that voting Democratic was somehow unsound and unwise.

The basic ingredients for a Democratic resurgence were clearly present in Michigan by 1948. However, prior to this time the Party had been handicapped by a lack of effective leadership and by an almost nonexistent state organization. In 1948 these defects were remedied dramatically. A political coalition between liberals and labor was formed in Hicks Griffiths' recreation room on November 21, 1947.

Labor became loyal to the Democratic Party due to the legacy of Governor Frank Murphy, for it was during his 1936-38 administration that the crucial labor confrontations for the unionization of the automotive industry occurred. The activities cast the Democratic Party in an extremely pro-labor light which would be remembered for many years, as the UAW and CIO began to build a political machine. Gradually they reached the point where, by formal resolution on March 13, 1948, the state CIO Political Action Council announced its decision to participate in harmony with the Democratic Party with the following manifesto:

Progressives and liberals within the Democratic party have often been outnumbered by conservative and reactionary elements. The PAC [Political Action Council] is unanimous in its opinion that the best way of supporting liberalism within the Democratic party, to conform to the national CIO policy, and to serve the best interests of Michigan labor is to join the Democratic party.

It is our objective in adopting this policy to remold the Democratic party into a real liberal and progressive political party which can be subscribed to by members of the CIO and other liberals. We therefore advise CIO members to become active precinct, ward, county, and congressional district workers, and to attempt<sup>9</sup> to become delegates to Democratic conventions.

So complete had the relationship become between labor and the Democratic Party that by 1948 Michigan CIO President Gus Scholle would formally abandon any semblance of the "reward-your-friends-and-punish-your-enemies" philosophy, enunciated by Samuel Gompers which had been the central tenet of political laborism. Scholle gave notice to the Republicans that they could expect no further endorsements under any circumstances. He was reported to have said, although later denied making such a statement: "I now think that in the interests of simplifying the mechanics of voting, that the CIO should endorse only Democrats, endorse no one for any office where a Democratic candidate is unacceptable."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Sarasohn and Sarasohn, p. 53.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

The Williams-Staebler coalition mobilized the latent strength of the Democratic Party and led it to an unprecedented series of political victories. No Michigan governor had ever been elected to more than three two-year terms, but Williams was elected to six consecutive terms and retired, undefeated, in 1960. In the early years of his tenure as governor, Williams was stronger than the Party. In 1950 and again in 1952 he was the only Democrat elected to statewide office. However, the effectiveness of the Democratic Party organization was increasing and by 1954 the Democrats were able to elect the entire state ticket. From that time Michigan has become a bitterly contested, two-party state, with the Democrats in increasingly predominant control of the Legislature and the political conflict occurring essentially in the middle of the road.

During the period from 1948 to 1970 the Democrats controlled the Senate only during one term, 1965 to 1967, and the House twice, from 1965 to 1967 and from 1969 to 1971. The inability of the Democrats to control the Legislature was particularly bitter for them because the division of the total state vote for the members of the entire Legislature was very close throughout this period. In several elections the Democrats had a clear majority of all votes cast for the Senate and for the House of Representatives. The Democrats developed the belief that

the cause of their inability to effectively control the Legislature was based on malapportionment. This bitter feeling was best expressed by the Democratic members of the Committee on Legislative Organization:

In the past ten years, ten legislative bodies have been elected in Michigan. On the basis of the popular vote for legislators, five of these bodies should have been Republican and five Democratic. In fact, all ten were Republican. Thus, (a) the legislature is not responsive to public opinion, and (b) it is biased against Democratic voters and in favor of Republican voters.<sup>11</sup>

John Fenton in his book Midwest Politics said the Midwest was divided between two classes of political orientation. Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota were regarded as issue-oriented states where programmatic politics was crucial and vital. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were regarded as job-oriented states where the function of a political party was to win jobs, making issues less vital than employment.<sup>12</sup>

The issue-oriented politics of Michigan was based to a great degree on the "Michigan Declaration", a statement of party principle prepared with the help of professors

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<sup>11</sup>Karl A. Lamb, William J. Pierce, and John P. White, Apportionment and Representative Institutions: The Michigan Experience, (Washington, D.C.: The Institute for Social Science Research, 1963), p. 314.

<sup>12</sup>John Fenton, Midwest Politics, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. 21.

at state universities in 1956. The Declaration was a twentieth-century liberal document which emphasized the egalitarian approach to solving the problems of society and the importance of the government in securing those objectives.

In dealing with the various problems of American society, the document made clear in each case that the Democratic Party did not rely on any "invisible hand" or "natural laws" to solve the problems. The "Michigan Declaration" urged positive government action in thirteen areas of public policy: foreign policy, segregation, civil rights, civil liberties, labor policy, atomic energy, automation, economic policy, agriculture, natural resources, health, education, and social security.

The following quote captures the dedication and commitment of issue-oriented politics:

The Democratic Party of Michigan. . . pledges itself to continued service to all of the people in the perpetual task of making government the instrument of achievements for the common good, and of guarding the public weal against those who would use the power of the few against the just progress of the many.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Robert Lee Sawyer, Jr., The Democratic State Central Committee in Michigan, 1949-1959: The Rise of the New Politics and the New Political Leadership, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1960), p. 72.

In a pamphlet issued on the occasion of Governor Williams' fourth inauguration in 1955, the following statement best reflects the tone of the Democratic Party at that time:

The roots of the political philosophy of G. Mennen Williams, and of the Democratic Party, lie in a well-integrated concept of "government for social progress"--in the belief that government reflects the people's desire to make their political system work under changing conditions, and work better than before. . . . The Democratic program. . . has been founded on the principle that government is built on people and for people--that the function of government is to assume those social, economic, and educational obligations that the people want it to have, and do those things that only government, acting as the people's agent, can properly and efficiently discharge. . . .<sup>14</sup>

The first sentence of the economic policy statement reflects the concerns the government would have under Williams and Swainson, and later under Romney and Milliken.

Government has a dynamic responsibility to assist the people to achieve the economic growth made possible by new science and skills and to see that there is equitable participation in that progress.<sup>15</sup>

The statement on education reflects some of the equalitarian and social action doctrines of the "Michigan Declaration" with its central notion that man is his

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

brother's keeper and is responsible for the welfare of his fellow man to the limits of his ability.

Complete opportunity for every child to a full education commensurate with his ability at public expense in modern, safe schools staffed by teachers and administrators paid in proportion to the immense importance of their vocation. Federal aid to achieve this goal in any school district obeying the laws of the United States.<sup>16</sup>

Probably the statement of the "Declaration" best representing the idealistic framework is the following:

So long as one human being is hungry and we can feed him and do not, so long as one person is naked and we can clothe him and do not, so long as one person is sick and we can minister to him and do not, so long as one worker or farmer is deprived of a just living and we can remedy it and do not, so long as one person is unwillingly illiterate and we can educate him and do not, so long as one nation is subjugated by another against its will and we can work for freedom and do not, the American task is not done.<sup>17</sup>

This clarion call for social action with an implicit belief in the use of government as the tool for social change would be the basis of the role of government in education in Michigan from 1958 through 1970. The strong adherence of Michigan's people to this philosophy is represented in its electoral support for its political and social institutions, which would carry it over from Democratic Williams and Swainson administrations into the Republican Romney and Milliken administrations.

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 75-76.



Williams' inability to command a reliable majority in the State Legislature severely limited the success of his aspirations. However, between 1949 and 1961 Michigan more than tripled its annual expenditures for highways and education, doubled its outlays for mental health and spent more than half again as much on public welfare. The gross state budget rose from less than \$500 million in 1949 to almost \$1,200 million in 1961. Annual tax revenues during this period rose more than 150 percent.<sup>18</sup>

The question of expanding services is today not severely debated, for the state has never turned back from its initial attempts to create a society where all of the people have better opportunities through government assistance.

Whether greater increases should have been made, or whether those that were made were financed with maximum fairness and efficiency, were questions that would lead to the Constitutional Convention and some of the associated issues which are not yet settled even today. Table 4 demonstrates the growth of Michigan governmental activity in the period from 1950 to 1970.

In 1954, 1959, 1969 and 1974 the State of Michigan has undergone serious economic downturns which caused difficulties and serious fights over the question of

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<sup>18</sup>Reichley, p. 25.

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF AGENCY REQUESTS, GOVERNOR'S  
RECOMMENDATIONS, LEGISLATIVE ACTION AND ACTUAL EXPENDITURES  
(in millions)  
GENERAL FUND -- GENERAL PURPOSE

<u>FISCAL YEAR</u>	<u>AGENCY REQUEST</u>	<u>GOVERNOR'S RECOMMENDATION</u>	<u>LEGISLATIVE ACTION</u>	<u>ACTUAL EXPENDITURE</u>
1950-51	382.6	340.6	285.	285.1
1951-52	372.1	328.8	311.	312.6
1952-53	419.1	354.3	327.8	322.3
1953-54	415.	345.2	341.	331.6
1954-55	434.3	365.5	366.3	371.4
1955-56*	343.3	292.2	285.1	277.7
1956-57	378.8	339.4	330.4	330.9
1957-58	511.4	411.	340.9	366.
1958-59	507.3	349.4	332.5	376.3
1959-60	580.6	424.	400.	386.2
1960-61	583.1	409.3	418.	429.9
1961-62	663.6	462.2	462.6	476.4
1962-63	692.3	528.3	512.5	492.3
1963-64	708.4	547.	550.3	523.5
1964-65	796.3	689.5	694.4	650.2
1965-66	996.2	788.5	824.9	793.9
1966-67	1,214.6	944.9	1,067.0	1,049.3
1967-68	1,630.7	1,153.2	1,155.3	1,152.5
1968-69	1,830.9	1,334.1	1,360.5	1,339.0
1969-70	1,757.4	1,510.6	1,535.3	
1970-71	2,142.2	1,736.8	1,750.2	

\* Constitutional amendment earmarked 2¢ of the sales tax for special School Aid Fund.

SOURCE:

Legislative Fiscal Agency Statistical Report, Aug. 1970, Schedule 3.

raising revenue. It is interesting to observe that when times are prosperous opinion leaders say, "This is not a good time to reform the fiscal structure because everything is going well and who would want to ruin it." And in bad times they say, "Good heavens, things are bad enough without fussing and taxing those people least able to afford it." Apparently, for tax reform and new taxes there is never a good time. Part of this discussion of finding a more propitious moment is delusional; while there is always enthusiasm for increasing services, there is much less enthusiasm for paying for them.

The main concern in programmatic politics was finding the revenues to finance those programs. Governors Williams and Swainson quarreled frequently with the Republican legislatures on a variety of subjects, but the main area of dispute was early established in the field of finance. Williams sought the enactment of a tax on corporation profits to supplement Michigan's general sales tax, which produced almost 40 percent of the state's tax revenue. This proposal was annually rejected by the Republican Legislature on the grounds that it would drive tax-shy industry beyond the state's borders.

In 1953 the state enacted a business activities tax drawn up in consultation with the lobbyists and economists for the automobile companies. Williams was opposed to this

tax but allowed it to become law without his signature. This tax, along with repeated increases in nuisance taxes on cigarettes, liquor, and petroleum, could not create adequate revenue to meet the state's spiraling demands, for in the twelve years of Governor Williams' tenure, the population of Michigan increased by one million.

In this time of difficulty the Legislature enacted a series of gimmicks to be used later by more liberal legislatures. The inventories of the state liquor stores were liquidated; bills for the shipments of inventories of liquor were not paid until subsequent fiscal years; due dates on business taxes were moved ahead to provide two payments within a single fiscal year; and state institutions were authorized to borrow money to help finance their operations.

Williams, badly sapped by this constant fight within the malapportioned Michigan Legislature, decided to retire in 1960, hoping for a high office in the Kennedy administration. John Swainson was then elected to the governorship with the help of labor, beating James Hare, the popular Secretary of State. But in winning this fight, the Party split, creating the opportunity two years later for George Romney to win.

Swainson was badly hurt by a split between labor and the liberals, and between the urban-suburban sectors, over a tax fight. He was unfairly characterized as being inept and

too closely tied to labor. He lost an extremely close election to George Romney in 1962 because he did not carry the campaign to his opponent and insist on a campaign of greater specificity rather than global rhetoric. Romney campaigned on intangibles such as leadership and unity, avoided close identification with other Republican candidates and carried the day by the force of his personality and style. His style is perhaps best characterized by the sentiment, "Believe in me, I can lead Michigan to better days." Romney was elected by 80,500 votes out of 2,760,000 cast, while the Democrats captured most of the other offices.

Romney was an energetic and unconventional businessman who had made his reputation by pushing for a compact car and cementing relationships with labor as the head of the first automotive company to sign a profit-sharing agreement with the UAW. In 1959 a group called Citizens for Michigan established itself in Ann Arbor led by Romney and supported by other groups. Amongst its membership was Robert McNamara of the Ford Motor Company, later to go to high office in the Kennedy administration. Romney forged a winning coalition much like the Williams-Staebler group had in 1947.

He was an extraordinarily vital man who encouraged the politics of accommodation pursuing centrist policies that brought moderate Democrats and Republicans together on matters of social policy. He rapidly fought a vigorous

battle with the conservative forces in the Legislature, convincing the public to support his point of view at the polls. They replaced the conservatives who had worn the sobriet "mastodons" so proudly. Improved financial mechanisms for generating new revenue, open housing, and increased funding for higher education were accomplishments of his administration. The period from 1962 to 1968 was a period of immense prosperity for Michigan, resulting in tax collections of fantastic amounts compared to the grim days of 1959.

Romney was open to talent and brought many able individuals to the public sector. Chief among them was Glenn Allen, former Mayor of Kalamazoo and a Con-Con delegate, who became the Budget Director. Allen, by his subtle and dexterous dealings with the Legislature, was able to accomplish the majority of the Romney administration's legislative program, chief of which was the improvement in the resources available to all of education.

Romney's Lieutenant Governor William G. Milliken replaced him in 1969 and continued his centrist policies. Milliken was extraordinarily successful in continuing the policy of accommodation with urban Democrats and labor.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction to Oral History

The study began with an in-depth search of the public documents: considering the John Dale Russell Report and its supporting studies; evaluating the Citizens Committee for Higher Education Report; searching through the published documents of the State Board of Education; obtaining unpublished documents of the Superintendent of Public Instruction; studying the debates of the Constitutional Convention held in Lansing; and studying closely all of the relevant constitutional literature, particularly that of Sturm and Friedman.

The decision was made to avoid analysis of the Salmon Case inasmuch as that case is still on appeal to the Supreme Court of the State of Michigan to this date. The excellent study of Dr. Norman Schlafmann of legal, constitutional and juridical aspects of higher education in Michigan made further study of this segment repetitive and unnecessary.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Norman J. Schlafmann, "An Examination of the State Legislature on the Educational Policies of the Constitutionally Incorporated Colleges and Universities of Michigan through Enactment of Public Acts from 1851 through 1970" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1971).

After complete consideration of the documents, the author encountered a serious dilemma: how to evaluate what was the public sentiment in the influence elites of Michigan. There was a significant lack of written records that would elucidate the cut and thrust of individual opinions and the variety of private debates. Perhaps the inner workings of how elites function has been no better stated than by the eloquent words of Theodore White:

There are fifty states in this union, each of them endowed with a separate sovereignty by the Constitution. These sovereignties are genuine; they create in each state two major parties; and within each party from two to four separate political groups contend for capture, first of the state party's leadership, then of the state's sovereignty. Where true power lies in these hundreds of revolving, dissolving, nascent and fading political groups is known only by local folklore, below the threshold of public report. Such information is the trade gossip of politicians, the treasures of wisdom that political reporters exchange among one another from state to state, a baffling perplexity for academic political scientists who seek permanent truths, the aspect of mystery that the average voter confronts as he seeks to understand who controls his government.

The laws of libel, the decencies of political reportage, the conventions of friendship and custom, the obstacles of distance and parochialism, all effectively conceal the ever-changing topography of American politics. It is impossible to report publicly which world-famous governor of what state was commonly called "The Boob" by his political boss; which apparently sinister boss is only a paper tiger in the hands of other men; which labor leader can really deliver votes and money and which cannot; which great industrialist is a political eunuch while his neighbor is master of the state; which nationally eminent Negro is considered an "Uncle Tom" by his people, while some unknown kinsman really controls the



wards; which aging leadership no longer controls its county leaders and which does. The root question of American politics is always: Who's the Man to See? To understand American politics is, simply, to know people, to know the relative weight of names--who are heroes, who are straw men, who controls, who does not. But to operate in American politics one must go a step further--one must build a bridge to such names, establish a warmth, a personal connection.<sup>2</sup>

White's discussion in the above cited passage is particularly useful when one considers that Michigan is a state whose influence elite is probably on the order of some eight or nine thousand people. By the term "influence elite" the author means to suggest those people in a variety of walks of life and stations whose attitudes and activities cause opinions and public policy to occur. People in this influence elite would include labor leaders, public officials, leaders of social action organizations, special interest groups, religious groups, industrial groups, and local and ethnic occupational groups concerned with their own regional interests.

This thesis contends that influence elites vary in size from state to state but that Michigan has had, in the postwar period, very open politics and hence has a large influence elite. The Michigan influence elite is amazingly open to new talent and takes advantage of the vigor and diversity of the population. Yet, specific social issues

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<sup>2</sup>Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1960, (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1961), pp. 135-36.

such as highways, housing, health, and higher education are determined by what the author calls "operational decision-making elites," which are subsets of the larger influence elite. Each of these decision elites is modest and limited in size.

In Michigan higher education there are probably no more than 50 people at any specific time who are the operational decision elite. These people would be the governor, his counselors, the chief technocrats of the executive branch, particularly in the Bureau of the Budget, some officers in the State Department of Education, the presidents of the three major universities and the key deans inside those colleges, particularly agriculture, business, education, representatives of the athletic groups and some selected presidents of state colleges and community colleges. About 12 legislators from the leadership and from the appropriations committees of both houses, labor leaders, business leaders, and foundation leaders are also in the decision elite. This limited elite has remained fairly constant over the past 20 years. While the personalities may change, some of these elites owe their decision influence to the place that they hold. For instance, the presidents of the University of Michigan, Michigan State University and Wayne State University, the Chairman of the House and Senate Appropriations Committee, the Speaker of the House, and the

Minority and Majority leaders of the House and Senate are classically the members of this decision elite by virtue of their office rather than their personality. It is not an elite based on wealth as a criterion for membership, but rather on personality, energy, interest, commitment, and hard work, as well as on position.

Most of the people are acquainted with each other. Generally in Michigan politics there has been a lack of vituperation, or the politics of the grudge fight, and instead there has been a sense of friendship and accommodation. While people may be split by bitter issues, they have found in Michigan the opportunities to break bread together and to enjoy the comforts of civilized life. Conflict in Michigan has most frequently been institutionalized so that men inside the competitive decision elites still can cooperate with each other. Accommodation rather than conflict has been the rule in these activities.

When incredibly divisive issues have come about, such as abortion, Parochialism, daylight savings time and busing, the decision elites have stepped aside to let the issue be fought by the fanatics in order to preserve their continued working relationships.

With the lack of a written record, the author had great difficulty ascertaining that which was real. With the paucity of written records that reflect the real nature

of the transactions of public policy, additional techniques had to be employed. Oral history was selected. It had not been applied to this subject before.

Frank Freidel, the eminent American historian, states the case for the value of oral history:

I was aware that oral history was increasing as a discipline, but I had no idea it was exploding even more rapidly than other phenomena in the United States. And I'm very happy about this, too, simply because I've had the feeling that in this new technical age, historians have been put into considerable difficulty by the telephone, by the fact that so often manuscript collections, archival materials, will contain the ratifying letter which is written when a decision has been made, and will tell us little about the decision-making process. I'm well aware that in terms of reaching accommodations, it is wise not to have notes made. But we don't have many people who have taken the time to write [for] posterity the kind of letters that must make research on TR such a joy. And often we are left with simply this fait accompli, in terms of the letter which often gives exactly the wrong impression of how something or other was achieved.<sup>3</sup>

Professor William Leuchtenburg makes the trenchant observation that:

There are, I think, two kinds of ways in which oral history memoirs are of value. On the one hand, they offer sources of information which one cannot get easily or at all elsewhere. This is particularly true when, for one reason or another, the manuscript sources for a particular subject are inadequate, or where oral history has decided to concentrate on a particular field which is not dealt with adequately elsewhere. . . .

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<sup>3</sup> The Oral History Association, The Second National Colloquium on Oral History, (Harriman, New York, November, 1967), Louis M. Starr, editor, (New York: The Oral History Association, Inc., 1968), p. 7.

The oral history memoirs are, I think, especially valuable where the source of information is unique, where one person knows a particular historical episode. . . .

The second area in which I think oral history is helpful is in providing the historian as writer with a source of vivid expression. . . .<sup>4</sup>

Some of the discussion in the National Colloquium on Oral History is particularly valuable in discussing the methodological and philosophical problems. As Leuchtenburg points out:

Yet, although the oral history memoirs have been, as I've said, of great value, there are problems, and obviously the chief problem is knowing what kind of credence to give to a statement made many years after the event, particularly when there's no other kind of documentation for that statement. This is a new kind of historical document which I think requires new kinds of historical methods for assessment, some of which I think we've not yet fully developed. . . .

One has to remember, too, that as the hero of the story, he is going to reconstruct history, not necessarily by lying, not by deliberate falsification, but in order to present his position in the best historical light.<sup>5</sup>

The difficulties of how individuals respond in the presence of a tape recorder was particularly vexing in view of the Watergate scandal which was occurring during the collection of the interviews. Freidel was sensitive to such difficulties of interviewing.

Now, this has meant oftentimes that people have talked more freely to me, often more wildly,

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 2-3.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 3-4.

because one of the things that is lost in the oral history editing, when the person reads over his interview, is, on the one hand, a good deal that he feels was indiscreet, but more that I think he realizes is inaccurate, and which he has to tone down. I think many people tone down just by having a tape recorder in front of them. Some people, of course, do not. So I think probably the oral history interviews are more accurate than my pinpoint interviews, but I have discovered more things in the pinpoint type of interviewing that I have done. And perhaps, working with a tape recorder, I have gotten somewhere further.<sup>6</sup>

Freidel's discussion of his interview with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt points out one of the inhibiting factors of the tape recorder.

For example, take the case of Eleanor Roosevelt. Al Rollins, in that excellent piece of his in The Nation magazine, points out among other things that we can't tell how Eleanor Roosevelt actually thought and what she would say about, say, her mother-in-law. The fact is that Eleanor Roosevelt could not have been more explicit in expressing to me her extreme antagonism toward her mother-in-law, and the fact that I was there was very handy, because I will never forget the way in which she simply almost shrieked at me in her indignation at some of the things her mother-in-law did. I have a feeling that if I'd had a tape recorder in front of me, or if this were going to be typed over, she would have been considerably more generous and less from her heart. . . .

Now, what does this add up to altogether? Well, it means simply this, that there can be shortcomings in this material, that there can be I think some real assets in it, that it is not going to achieve miracles, but it involves a lot of history which otherwise would have been lost. It can involve, in terms of a good many of these people, very colorful turns of phrase, which are very well worth remembering. From this standpoint I feel very badly that I did not have a

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 10-11.

tape recording of some of the things that Mrs. Roosevelt said to me when I was interviewing her. And it's a body of material which I am sure will stand the test of time, and will have new uses 50 years from now which we don't even think of today.<sup>7</sup>

What, then, is the value of oral history? In Technology and Culture, John Rae says the importance of oral history lies not in producing facts, which he believes historians could supply with documents, but in giving (as he puts it) the "'feel' for these facts which can be provided only by one who lived them."<sup>8</sup>

James MacGregor Burns further states the case by saying: "Oral history is both an indispensable weapon of research and a risky endeavor. It cuts into a complex tissue of events at a very certain point, or along a very certain channel. It cuts in at the action point. But not only is it subject to all the problems that have been mentioned this afternoon, bad memories and the desire for vindication and all the rest, but it particularly will turn on the perspective, obviously of the person being interviewed."<sup>9</sup>

Cornelius Ryan raises the question: "It has been said before that anyone who dares write history, when faced

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-12.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 18-19.

with a statement of fact, must ask himself first the question: 'Who said so, and what opportunities had he of knowing it?'"<sup>10</sup>

It is the contention of this study that the 26 individuals interviewed were involved at the action point in the complex tissue of events, and as members of the decision elite, had the opportunity to know what really occurred.

The written record is incomplete and even misleading because many of the important decisions were not recorded in correspondence or formal documents. Many significant transactions occur by contact among the decision elite through breakfasts, lunches, suppers, social occasions, telephone calls, and informal face-to-face meetings.

Negotiations that frequently result in agreement are sealed by one's word or his handshake. Also, the respect that one group inside the decision elite has had for the other on a human basis has prevented vindictive and self-serving argumentation. The production of memoirs and reminiscences has, for a variety of reasons, been unfortunately sparse in Michigan.

The value of memoirs, political biography and reminiscence, so useful in other states, is, to the contrary, not useful in Michigan because of the sparcity of such

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 16.



literature and the quality of that produced. Even the most generous evaluation of this genre would be mediocre. Titles such as Milliken: A Touch of Steel<sup>11</sup> are an example of this.

Facing these kinds of problems one could not truly reflect the determination of public policies because of the immense number of transactions of an informal, private and social nature between the membership of the decision elite. Therefore it would have been impossible to record an accurate history of higher education in Michigan, especially since none of the major figures--members of boards of trustees, college presidents, senators, representatives, governors, or political party leaders--had written any sort of record that could be cited to clarify these issues.

The majority of the revealing materials came from newspaper articles. In writing this dissertation it was therefore the dilemma of the author that the documents did not substantiate the realities of what he knew had occurred. The author had been a member of the Department of Education from 1966 to 1968, and a staff member for the Legislature from 1968 to 1971. Observing many of these events as a participant, he could not write a history that reflected the reality.

Hence the decision was made to attempt an oral history because of the fortuitous circumstances of: 1) the

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<sup>11</sup>Dan Angel, William G. Milliken: A Touch of Steel, (Warren, Michigan: Public Affairs Press, 1970).

limited nature of the Michigan decision elite; 2) the overall lack of rancor which permeated the decision elite of Michigan higher education public decisions and politics; and 3) the accessibility of the author to members of the decision elite whom he either knew personally or had introduction to through other members of this decision elite. It was decided to undertake an oral history, interviewing those who had played instrumental roles in higher education during the period 1958 to 1970. None of the interviewed personalities had ever been interviewed about this area of Michigan history.

#### Executing the Study

Interviews were requested based on the author's perception of the membership of the decision elite and consultation with a variety of people. The author extended the range of interviews based on responses to questions 18 and 19. Ultimately, interviews were requested of 28 people, 26 of whom responded in the affirmative. Harold T. Smith of the Upjohn Institute, who had been the staff director of the Citizens Committee on Higher Education and later served in the same capacity with the State Plan for Higher Education, unfortunately was too ill to stand the rigors of an interview. Durward Varner, former President of Oakland University, had moved to Nebraska to become Chancellor of the state system there and was not available.

The following men were interviewed: four governors of Michigan: G. Mennen Williams, John Swainson, George Romney, and William Milliken; five current and past legislators: James Farnsworth, Robert Waldron, Garland Lane, William Ryan,

and Frank Beadle; two superintendents of public instruction: Ira Polley and John Porter; nine current and former college presidents: James Miller, Father Malcolm Carron; Charles Anspach, John Jamrich, David Ponitz, Robben Fleming, Victor Spathelf, John Hannah, and Harlan Hatcher; two senior college administrators, Edward Cushman and Milton Muelder; one labor leader, Leonard Woodcock; one educational lobbyist, Robert Cahow; one party leader, Neil Staebler; and one representative of business, Stephen Nisbet.

An interview instrument of 19 questions was constructed and submitted to all of the selected interview respondents. Of the 26, 25 responded. The present Governor of the state, William Milliken, much pressed by the activities of his public office, responded to a more abbreviated subset of the same questions. The questions for the 25 were as follows:

1. What in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?
2. What were the social and economic factors that led to this significant growth?
3. What were the policy objectives that underlaid this expansion?
4. What were the key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflict in the attempts to attain the above policy objectives?
5. Did any of the policy goals for the enhancement of higher education have as their objective the destruction of class and culture barriers?

6. Do you regard as one of the key issues of this period 1958-1970 popularism in higher education versus elitism in higher education?
7. How important were vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education?
8. Did the growth of culture and the arts have importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?
9. What was the position of labor in regard to higher education?
10. What was the position of industry in regard to higher education?
11. What was the position of commerce in regard to higher education?
12. What was the position of agriculture in regard to higher education?
13. What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government?
14. What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the private sector of higher education?
15. What was the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another?
16. What in your opinion were the reasons for the failure of the branch campus system that had begun to be developed in Michigan with Oakland, Flint and Dearborn?
17. Why in your opinion did an institutional system for the coordination of higher education not come about after 1964?
18. Who in your opinion were the significant opinion leaders in higher education in Michigan in this period?
19. Who were the influential individuals whose insights were of the greatest significance to you?

The subset of questions for the Governor were as follows:

1. From 1958 to 1970 the state funds appropriated for higher education have increased from \$82 million to \$284 million. What in your opinion were the reasons that led to this expansion?
2. What in your opinion were the objectives that elected officials had as their goals in view of the significant investment of public funds?
3. Obviously, in the construction of public policy, conflicts amongst secular and regional interests arise, as we know so well from our experiences with K-12 school reform. What were these interests in higher education and what were their positions, as you recollect them, in their attempts to modify or constrain public policy formulation?
4. In 1967, shortly before you became Governor, the Detroit riots occurred. What were the public policies you attempted to construct to create more educational opportunity in higher education and ease class and cultural barriers?
5. Do you have observations about the need or desirability of additional management or policy coordination mechanisms for higher education in order to attain your administration's objectives? Further, do you have any insights into why coordination of higher education failed in 1964?

The above questions were designed as an organic whole, to facilitate an evolving discussion. The author did not feel pressed to insist that the interviewee answer the questions in order. If the interviewee responded to a particular question within the framework of another, the author did not belabor the question. The essential purpose of the interview was to draw out the respondent, encouraging him to reflect on his experiences and observations. This approach is to the contrary of the more rigidly constructed survey questionnaire frequently used in research.

Hence, Figure 1 is but a guide to the pages on which an individual discusses the various issues. Some of the spaces were left blank because the question was either answered indirectly throughout the conversation, or was not germane to the discussion.

Each of the recipients received the interview instrument and a copy of the dissertation proposal in advance so he could consider the questions beforehand. It was made clear that the entire interview would be on the record. Each received identical questions and realized other members of this decision elite were being interviewed.

The interview was taped, a transcription thereof was made and then edited into a transcript suitable for reading, punctuation, capitalization and the like being added since written English is different from spoken English. These transcripts were annotated and then submitted to the individuals interviewed for review and approval. The individuals had the right to make any changes that they wished in order to best reflect the sense of the discussions.

After all editings of the transcript were completed, a signed letter of release giving permission for the transcript to be published was issued by the interviewee. These 26 letters have been filed with the Chairman of the Dissertation Committee. Further, the interviewee gave

FIGURE 1  
GUIDE TO DISCUSSION OF QUESTIONS SUBMITTED  
(Pages "A" in Volumes 2 and 3)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Swainson	1	2	4	5	6	7	8		11	12	13	13	14	15	16	17	18	20	20
Williams	22	24	25	28	29	31	32	34	34	35	35		37	38	<del>39</del> 27	39	41	44	44
Cushman	46	47	48	51		55	63	64	65	<del>66</del> 51	67	68	68	69	70	71	<del>72</del> 54	58	73
Polley	75	79	82	86	89	<del>90</del> 84	91	92	93	94	94	97	97	101	102	105	107	115	117
Farnsworth	118	119	122	122	124	125	126	127	127	128	129	129	130	133	134	135	138	142	143
Cahow	145	146	150	150	157	157	159	159	160	160	160	161	162		163	165	170	148	
Miller	172	173	175	176	179	181	182	184	187	187	188	188	189	193	194	195	198	199	199
Waldron	202	203	204	205	207	208	209	211	211	213	214	214	214	215		218	219	220	220
Lane	225	226	227	229	232	236	237	238	240	241	243	243	242	244	245	230	<del>246</del> 239	248	248
Staebler	250	253	257	258	261	259	263	266	264	265	267	267	268	275	255	276	270	279	
Milliken*	283	283	286	290	288		284	286	291			291			290	291	294		
Carron							307						<del>314</del> 302	301			304		
Porter	318	319	323	328	330	331	334	335	336	337	339	339	341	326	342	344	346	<del>350</del> 323	

FIGURE 1--Continued

Anspach	352	353	355	<del>359</del> 358	365	366	369	371	380	380	382	382	372	373	376	377	378	384	384
Ryan	388	389	390	391		393	393	395	<del>395</del> 392	396	397	397	398	399	402	403	404	407	
Jamrich	409	412	417	422		426	429	430	430	431	431	432	434	436	419	438	440	441	
Ponitz	444	447	452	458	468	469	<del>472</del> 454	473	476	<del>476</del> 448	478	478	479		<del>482</del> 468	483	485	486	
Fleming	490	491	493	504	504	504	510	<del>511</del> 500	513	515	515	516	517	518		519	521	522	
Beadle	524	525	528	531	534	536	537	539	541	542	543	543	545	548	546	549	554		
Nisbet	574		578	590	587	588	593	593	576	575	<del>576</del> 595	576	595	596	599	602	<del>603</del> 584	<del>605</del> 561	
Spathelf	607	609	613	615	620	616	625	628	630	630	630	630	633	634	634	635	637	640	
Woodcock	645	645	649		650	653	656	660	<del>662</del> 645	665	666	666	666	667		667	668	670	
Muelder	<del>668</del> 673	673	667	683	683	683	688	690	691	692	693	695	<del>696</del> 690	698	701	703	705	708	
Romney	712	715	717	720	717	720	725	729	729	731	731				719	734	735	736	
Hannah	739	743		749	755	754	758	761	762	763	765	764	766		767	768	771	722	722
Hatcher	776	776	787	788		801	802	805	807	808	811	812	813	814	814	<del>815</del> 792	781		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19

\* Milliken was asked different questions, but pages direct reader to discussion relating to.



permission for the audio tape to be submitted to the Michigan State University Voice Library under a two-year time bond. At the end of two years these tapes of unedited transcripts would be available for researchers to use. These tapes will lend additional insight to future researchers because they capture the emotive factor of communication and expression to the printed transcript. These tapes will also be useful for studies in other fields because many members of the higher education decision elite had a multiplicity of roles and the conversations frequently involved a host of other issues.

It was stimulating, as the interviews proceeded, to discover that there was a real difference in communication as the author experienced the warmth and ambience of the face-to-face interview. In the personal interview, facial expressions, intimacy and the reality of contact created one sense of the interview. Listening to the tape rendered a second kind of experience, for the interview now was a purely auditory sensation rather than one in which all of the senses were involved. The consideration of the raw transcript is difficult because in normal conversation there are interruptions and interjections that come out of enthusiasm for the subject. It is indeed hard to find anybody sufficiently dispassionate who speaks in clear, concise sentences, developing one thought to a conclusion before then taking up the next thought.

Humans learn to communicate on several basic levels. One level of personal contact is complete with all of the activities of body motion, intimacy or hostility. A second level of communication may be a purely auditory sensation where the words are filtered into a matrix in one's head and responded to differently. A third form of communication is readings. When the transcripts were completed after being converted into written texts suitable for reading, a completely different sense was present.

The format was free-flowing; interviews ranged in time from one hour to three hours. There was no constraint of time and no attempt to fit an answer into a format such as is so necessary for the electronic media of 30 seconds or 60 seconds or, at most, a minute-and-a-half. There generally seemed to be a sense of pleasure as people attempted to put their point of view on the record for history and a sense of enjoyment reminiscing about their activities and their perception of how events occurred.

The interviews were a success. There was a frank and open exchange of opinions. Few, if any, of the interviewees attempted to be evasive. The general tone of the interview was not to seek a victorious or a vanquished party, but rather to have a free play of opinions; the adversarial nature of much of the current interviewing in the reporting of political affairs and news affairs was notably absent.

A general problem of classical interviews is that most of them have a dominant and a submissive participant. Generally the person being interviewed is more knowledgeable than the interviewer who is not expert in the field. Hence communication is distorted by the superior and inferior modalities of an interview. This causes either the unquestioned acceptance of materials that should frequently be challenged, or creates a tone of patronization, both of which impair a free flow of discussion in the pursuit of truth.

Another important element, if an interview is to be successful, is the need for a relationship of intimacy. Many of the interviews conducted for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson Oral History Projects were conducted by co-equal people who were knowledgeable about the problem.

This interviewer was acquainted with many of the individuals interviewed and had known them in a variety of settings. Those with whom he was not acquainted were introduced to him with recommendations as to the validity of his efforts and the attempt to ascertain truth rather than to seek scandal or to create rancor or fractiousness. The study specifically attempted to seek root causes for public policy determination and avoided the attempts for gossip-mongering or scandal-mongering. It was the opinion of this author that questions of the nature of "who struck John" would not truly elucidate what had occurred.

Therefore, the interview attempted to deliberately stay away from gossip-mongering because the author was convinced that in a lengthy interview the essential motivations and humanity of the individuals would come through. This is particularly true in a careful reading of these interviews. It is hard not to have an affection for John Hannah as a human being, no matter what the legend of John Hannah is, when he recalls the poverty and hardship of his youth in Grand Rapids when he biked to school. One is also struck by Robben Fleming's remark that, notwithstanding his current position of eminence, he had not forgotten his origins. He reflected on how his family struggled when he was in high school after his father had died and they had perhaps \$200 a year cash to live on.

One only had to know a little bit about John Swainson's background to understand his strong dedication and interest in vocational rehabilitation. The former Governor had lost both his legs in a mine explosion in the Second World War and had risen above these problems, seeking to be judged by his talents and not by his handicaps. This kind of intimacy adds insight into the character and energy of the interviewed personalities.

Dr. Maurice Crane, Curator of the Michigan State University Voice Library, made an extremely penetrating point, that if oral history is to be successful, there has to be some intimacy and affinity. He said, for example,

that if a young Caucasian, who had not shared in the struggles of the Depression or of migration, were to interview an 85-year-old black man in Detroit and say, "Tell me, how was it when you came from Georgia 60 years ago?", the capacity for a successful interview would be severely limited because of the cross-cultural barriers.

Dr. Crane said that a great variety of people are now being interviewed by scholars using the oral history technique. Such interviews are more likely to succeed if they are between persons of similar historical or cultural background. Further, he said that disciplines such as history, political science, and sociology should become more involved in the interview technique and it should not be left only to the anthropological projects.

Anthropologists have lead the way with the tape recorder in dealing with non-literate peoples and have demonstrated that in certain situations a higher level of veracity, feeling and communication has resulted. Other disciplines, much tied to the written word and the typewriter, must follow the path blazed by the anthropologists. These techniques developed for non-literate cultures have great value also in literate cultures.

One of the biggest problems in approaching history is that people have been trained to expect a "yes" or a "no", expecting that everything is either black or white. This distorts the real situation. Each individual views an event

from his perspective and his reality with a most personal viewpoint. None of the interviewed individuals had seen the total scope of events; some had not been involved with labor, some had not been involved in industry, some had not been involved in the legislative process, some had not been involved in the management of the institutional enterprise, some had not been scholars, some had not been researchers. Each one of them, from his vantage point, saw a particular facet that for him was reality, and it is the summation of all of these perspectives that is in fact the real history of higher education in Michigan.

A particularly telling example was the polarity of discussions in the interviews of John Hannah and Harlan Hatcher, both with similar vantage points as university presidents, but with different styles of operation and different activity involvement. During the interview, Dr. Hannah said the role of labor was crucial in its support of higher education. "Labor, like agriculture, always supported it. The laboring man always wanted an educational opportunity for his youngster, just as the farmer did. The group that you could always count on--or that I could always count on in the many years that I was dealing with the Legislature--was labor."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>See page A762 for more discussion.

Dr. Hatcher, however, said he never found labor helpful. This exchange between Dr. Hatcher and the author demonstrates this opinion:

Hatcher

It [labor] was supportive, yes, but I never felt as supportive as it might well have been. It's hard to indicate. It was never very helpful in securing appropriations, for example, or in the general planning. I found it not unsympathetic and wanting the benefits thereof, but compared to, for example, the more aggressive efforts on the part of the business community, I never found those in the labor community too eager or effective.

Author

The labor community has a lot of political muscle in this state to the contrary of the experience in many other southern and western states and even eastern states. They didn't deliver that muscle for you for appropriation levels?

Hatcher

I was never very much aware of it.<sup>13</sup>

How does one evaluate this type of contradiction? Was one man right and the other wrong? Again we come to perspective, and vision, and involvement. It is pretty clear by a variety of testimonies that John Hannah was deeply involved in the most active way in prosecuting the public sector ventures of Michigan State University with the Legislature, the executive branch, and the variety of industrial and labor groups.

Dr. Hatcher, on the other hand, was not that kind of man. While a direct and vocal leader and a strong fighter for the interests of the University of Michigan, he was not

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<sup>13</sup>See pages A807-08 for more discussion.

engaged in the day-to-day lobbying and day-to-day attempts to create a favorable climate of public opinion.

While many report that John Hannah was central to the lobbying activities of Michigan State University, others have reported that at the University of Michigan it was the Executive Vice President Marvin Niehuss and his associates who handled the lobbying activities.

It is worthwhile to observe that the officials responsible for creating a sense of public opinion and a climate favorable to Michigan State University reported directly to the President of the University. Whereas, the officials responsible for the same at the University of Michigan reported to the Executive Vice President. Hence it was not disagreement, but a difference in perspective that resulted in this seeming contradiction.

The interviewer was not discomfited or insistent that, in order to create a true understanding of what had occurred, each individual had to see the event in the same way, and if two interviewed individuals replied differently, then one was telling the truth and one was not. One has to make the case in history that truth is a multiplicity of realities and that this synthesis of the various perspectives is as close as one can come to some true sense of history.

In order to capture the sense of commitment and involvement, as well as the ambience and mood of the interviews, it is vital that they be read in their entirety.



Hence the interviews were most valuable because they portrayed the variety of personalities and the variety of perspectives in higher education in Michigan, thus creating a mechanism to expand the written record in order to explicate that which had truly occurred. The dissertation proposal could only be accomplished by adding the additional elements derived through oral history.

## CHAPTER IV

### INITIATIVES FOR CHANGE

#### The Constitutional Convention

The Michigan government constructed in 1908 was antiquated by the 1950's because of its inability to use modern administrative mechanisms. These were necessary for the government to respond quickly to problems but were not present in either statutory or the constitutional prerogatives of the government structure. Michigan government found itself strapped to act, and this was one of the reasons for the strong consensus of reformist opinion, both Democratic and Republican, for a new Constitution.

The Citizens for Michigan set up study groups to conduct nonpartisan analyses of such problems as taxation, spending, and governmental organization. They soon decided a new state Constitution was necessary for more effective government, and a referendum drive was organized in cooperation with the League of Women Voters and the Junior Chamber of Commerce. The drive for a new Constitutional Convention was opposed by both conservatives and liberals. The conservatives were afraid that their control of the Legislature might be imperiled by reapportionment. Some leaders of the

labor-liberal coalition argued that the delegates to the Convention would be chosen on the basis of current apportionment and thereby place them, the Democrats, in a minority. The Democratic attitude was that in view of the ridiculous apportionment they might as well keep the 1908 Constitution and wait for a more propitious moment for change.

The Citizens for Michigan were able to cast this program in terms of better government and pull a strong segment of opinion from the middle of the road. But liberal-labor opposition to the referendum turned out to be a strategic error because after approving the Convention, the voters elected, at a nonpartisan election, an overwhelming majority of Republicans even from the traditionally Democratic districts in Wayne County and the Upper Peninsula.

The question of calling a Constitutional Convention was approved at the election of April 3, 1961. In September, 144 delegates were elected under the provisions of Act 125 of the Public Acts of 1960. The Constitutional Convention of 1961-1962 met on October 3, 1961, at Lansing in the Civic Center and a proposed Constitution was adopted by the Convention on August 1, 1962. This close and bitterly fought election was won by a vote of 810,000 to 803,000, hardly a mandate. But still it was a Constitution which has, except

for one or two minor deviations, not been amended by constitutional act since.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Constitution adopted on April 1, 1963 has had only the following Amendments proposed to it in the subsequent seven years.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF 1963  
SUMMARY OF ADOPTION OR REJECTION

<u>Title of Amendment</u>	<u>Article</u>	<u>Section</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Action</u>
Right of 18-year-old to vote	2	1	Nov. 1966	Rejected
Judicial Tenure Comm.	6	30	Aug. 1968	Adopted
State Officers Compensation Commission	4	12	Aug. 1968	Adopted
Manner of filling judicial vacancies	6	20, 22 23, 24	Aug. 1968	Adopted
Permit election of members of legislature to another state office during their term of office	4	9	Nov. 1968	Rejected
Permit graduated income tax	9	7	Nov. 1968	Rejected
Prohibit public aid to non-public schools and students	8	2	Nov. 1970	Adopted
Lower minimum voting age from 21 to 18 years	2	1	Nov. 1970	Rejected

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SOURCE: Michigan Department of Administration,  
Michigan Manual, 1971-72, (Lansing, Michigan, 1972), p. 72.

The Convention selected Stephen Nisbet of Fremont as its president, Tom Downs of Detroit, Edward Hutchinson of Fennville, and George Romney of Bloomfield Hills as vice-presidents, and Fred Chase of Lansing as secretary.

Romney, elected on the Republican slate as a delegate from Oakland County, took an active role in the Convention, and lost some early skirmishes with conservatives led by D. Hale Brake. These defeats seemed to only confirm the popular impression that this was an unbossed man seeking the best for the people. Romney even enhanced this view by criticizing the Republican Party for being dominated by business and the Democrats for being dominated by labor. Ultimately, he united the Republican delegates at the Convention partly through making concessions to the conservatives.

The major agendas in the Constitutional Convention were to create a system of executive power capable of solving Michigan's problems, and a concurrent mechanism for raising revenue equitably without deleterious effects on Michigan's economy.

Neil Staebler spoke from his long experience in Michigan politics about the fiscal concerns.

The heart of the problem, of course, was taxation. It always is. We spent our first ten years trying to unlock the treasury, the people's willingness to tax themselves. We kept trying to get the progressive income tax. Williams began

with that in 1948 and it wasn't until we got the new Michigan Constitution that we got an income tax at all.

That was one reason why some of us wanted to favor having a Constitutional Convention. We thought we'd get some progress and that was the most important piece of progress we secured. We didn't get the progressive tax and haven't gotten it yet, but it opened up the income tax. That was a terribly important thing because they state was simply hog-tied previous to that time trying to meet its needs.<sup>2</sup>

The success of these goals of fiscal reform and enhanced executive power was dependent on the strength of those who sought integration for its own sake and those who were not interested in integration itself, but saw it as a device for achieving substantial ends in public policy.

Although failure of the state government to solve the financial problems created perhaps the greatest ground swell for constitutional reform, no one wanted to scrap the entire document. Most advocates of reform and revision acknowledged that the Constitution contained many laudable features such as provisions for a merit system, municipal home rule, the initiative and referendum, and the methods for amendment. Few wanted to alter the basic framework of government, although there was some sentiment for a unicameral legislature. The guarantees of personal liberty and property rights were regarded as inviolate provisions of the Constitution.

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<sup>2</sup>See page A257 for more discussion.

Further, one should not forget that Michigan is essentially a moderate state, not a radical state, and its political behavior focuses mostly on the center. When there have been upheavals in the political structure, it has not been because of radicalism, but because the party organizations and the opinion elites that led them had atrophied and could not find the new center. After all, the center, the right and the left, in the history of political opinion are not fixed locations, but are relative to the climate of opinion, and the expanding objectives of the society. Hence, the middle, as well as the right and the left, is continually shifting to new areas of consensus. When opinion elites and leadership elites do not cohere in the center, they lose power.

What has generally happened, then, throughout Michigan's political history, is that a new group of opinion elites will come to the fore and move toward the center, one side taking the right of the center, another side the left, and the moderates occupying the new middle. This process of constant but vital movement of controlling the center for political power has been the continuing feature of Michigan political history. The Sarasohns' book clearly points out that even in the period of one-party rule, the change of leadership involved the ability of the various factions to change as they fought for control of the center. The decline of formerly powerful factions could be attributed to their atrophying and misunderstanding where the new center was.

Because of the above, many at the Constitutional Convention felt that radical alterations would only result in a defeat at the polls. Stephen Nisbet, President of the Convention, in his interview with the author, portrayed the atmosphere of caution.

I think everyone was suspicious of the Convention. It was only passed by a few votes, people were afraid of it. A lot of people are afraid of change. I think the conservatives wanted to be sure they had control of the Convention. The Romney group wanted to control the Convention. . . .

. . . There were three problems: The first one was getting anybody to agree to have a constitutional convention; the second one was to produce a document that was good for the state; but the most important thing was to get the darn thing adopted. Many of them never got them adopted.<sup>3</sup>

Hence, in all of the considerations for change, the delegates were very cautious, aware that precipitous action would alienate the electorate. For after all, none of the people participating in the Convention wanted to work hard for months only to have the enterprise repudiated at the polls.

The following survey from Albert Sturm's excellent study of the Constitutional Convention ordered the issues

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<sup>3</sup>See pages A562 and A566 for more discussion.



in the priority the delegates saw them.

1. Legislative reapportionment
2. Tax and debt limits
3. Earmarking of revenue
4. Four-year term for governor
5. Reorganization of county and township government
6. Strengthening governor's powers
7. County home rule
8. Unified judicial organization and administration
9. Limit on number of executive departments
10. Appointment of judges
11. Short ballot
12. Modification of education provisions
13. Elimination of statutory detail
14. Strengthening legislative staff
15. Modification of civil service
16. Addition of new personal and property rights
17. Unicameral legislature
18. Reduction of voting age.<sup>4</sup>

The Constitutional Convention was profoundly influenced by major power groups within the state. The distribution into rural and urban districts of the 144 delegates was one measure of the strength of regional pressures. The majority of the Republican delegates were from rural and small-town areas and virtually all of the Democrats were from the metropolitan area.

The delegates agreed to the establishment of 13 standing committees. The Committee on Education was composed of 21 members:

Republicans

Alvin M. Bentley (Owosso), chairman  
 Charles L. Anspach (Isabella), first  
 vice-chairman  
 Vera Andrus (St. Clair)

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<sup>4</sup>Albert L. Sturm, Constitution-Making in Michigan, 1961-1962, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1962), p. 155.

Roscoe O. Bonisteel (Ann Arbor)  
 Anne M. Conklin (Livonia)  
 John A. Hannah (East Lansing)  
 Bert M. Heideman (Hancock)  
 Dan E. Karn (Jackson)  
 Richard D. Kuhn (Pontiac)  
 G. Keyes Page (Flint)  
 Leslie W. Richards (Negaunee)  
 George W. Romney (Bloomfield Hills)--  
     listed as an independent  
 Allen F. Rush (Romeo)  
 H. Carl Spitler (Petoskey)

#### Democrats

Adelaide J. Hart (Detroit), second  
     vice-chairman  
 Frank A. Blacer, Jr. (Detroit)  
 Sidney Barthwell (Detroit)  
 Theodore G. Brown (Garden City)  
 Edward L. Douglas (Detroit)  
 Jack Faxon (Detroit)  
 Charles L. Follo (Escanaba)<sup>5</sup>

Several members of the Committee had been involved in higher education. Charles Anspach had been the longtime president of Central Michigan University, Roscoe Bonisteel had been a longtime member of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan, and John Hannah was the president of Michigan State University.

While of course important to educators, the educational concerns were far less vital than other issues before the Convention. Actually, Michigan's citizenry was not unhappy with the educational system, was not worried about its well-being or its future, and had few serious objections

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<sup>5</sup>State of Michigan, Constitutional Convention, 1961, Official Record, Austin C. Knapp, editor (Lansing, 1963), pp. 99-101.

to the way the system was being handled. In the following exchange Harlan Hatcher succinctly stated that view.

Hatcher

Higher education was not an issue or critical point because, as everybody acknowledged, we had one of the best [systems] to be found anywhere in the nation.

Author

I would assume the critical issues were the reorganization of Michigan government and the development of a more modern taxing system.

Hatcher

Sure. But there was a group who extraneously dragged in the concept that in the new Constitution they ought to tamper with the system of higher education in Michigan.<sup>6</sup>

Hence the Committee on Education did not make significant changes in the public education structure of Michigan in its deliberations and probably would have found very little support on the floor of the Convention if it had. The Committee was mostly concerned with elementary and secondary education.

The key issues that faced the Committee about higher education concerned the question of administrative supremacy and how to deal with the problem of coordinating Michigan's colleges and universities. Considerable favor was expressed by some for a single governing board for all state-supported colleges and universities, whereas spokesmen for the colleges

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<sup>6</sup>See page A819 for more discussion.

and universities strongly urged separate governing boards with voluntary coordination. The main issue in higher education therefore was whether or not to create an all-powerful state board of education that would have the power to coordinate, control and set the objectives and evaluate the performance of the schools. The decision of the Committee represented a compromise between these two points of view, but leaned very strongly towards the autonomous perception of the schools.

The language of Article VIII, Section 3, clearly decided the issue in favor of institutional autonomy for the baccalaureate institutions: "The power of the boards of institutions of higher education provided in this constitution to supervise their respective institutions and control and direct the expenditure of the institutions' funds shall not be limited by this section." [author's underline]. This is notwithstanding the following language which has been the source of ambiguity over the prerogatives of the State Board to plan, advise and coordinate: "It [the State Board of Education] shall serve as the general planning and coordinating body for all public education, including higher education . . . ."

This Article essentially reflects the satisfaction of Michigan citizenry toward the higher education structure in Michigan. The autonomy of the institutions was preserved

because the vague palliative statements encouraging general cooperation and planning urged coordination rather than control, thereby leaving authority and responsibility unclear.

Tom Downs, Vice-President of the Convention and a prominent Democrat closely allied with labor, said on February 21, 1962, in discussion about the selection of boards for the state's colleges and universities: "I think we have said time and time again on the floor, that one of the reasons Michigan's great educational institutions have developed is that the educational system, for practical reasons, has been kept, as far as practical, as a separate entity. I believe this has fostered education."<sup>7</sup>

The compromise on the question of the selection of boards of control is contained in Article VIII, Sections 5 and 6. Michigan and Michigan State both wanted to continue the popular election of their governing boards. Adelaide Hart perhaps best stated this sentiment in a discussion about the election of the superintendent of public instruction, an argument which had the same force for the elected boards.

(1) Elected policymaking officials are historically more effective before the legislature and its committees;

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<sup>7</sup>Constitutional Convention, p. 1190.

(2) an elected superintendent makes it his business to meet the public in every part of the state and will be more inclined to bring the story of the needs and problems of education to all manner of groups.<sup>8</sup>

The University of Michigan, Michigan State University and Wayne State University were allowed the prerogative of continuing to elect their boards of control. The other seven colleges and universities were given constitutional status, but their boards were selected by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate.

George Romney explained to the Convention on February 20 what was then called Committee Proposal 47, later to become Article VIII of the Constitution of 1963, in reference to changes from the Constitution of 1908.

[What] the proposal does is to relieve the board of education of the responsibility for providing the operating direction of the normal colleges. . . . The new board of education is given leadership and supervision over education other than colleges and universities. . . . [It also gives] this board overall planning and coordinating responsibility for all of education. . . . This board is in the position to determine where community colleges should be located, for instance, with the advice of the community college board, whether 4 year colleges should add additional departments, or whether universities should add additional post graduate work. . . .

It is believed that this body will establish a stature, a prestige, that will enable it to be very influential in terms of its recommendations. . . . It does not interfere with the

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 1189.

operating autonomy of the colleges and universities. The boards of regents, the governing boards of the universities and colleges will retain their autonomy in the operating area.<sup>9</sup>

The report of the Education Committee was accepted by the Convention with relatively little debate. In summary, the sections dealing with higher education made some important innovations in the state system of education for colleges and universities but the influence of tradition was also most important. The ten state-supported institutions of higher education, including Grand Valley State College which was not yet in operation at the time of the Convention, were enumerated. It was made the duty of the Legislature to appropriate funds to maintain them and such other educational institutions as would be established by law.

The Article also provided that the Legislature be given an annual accounting of all income and expenditures by each of the educational institutions. This was the same proviso that had been in the 1959 amendment to the 1908 Constitution that gave Wayne State University constitutional status. This change was a departure from tradition because in the 1908 Constitution, the University of Michigan and Michigan State University were not under any constitutional obligation to render an accounting of income and expenditures.

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 1190.

Each of the ten state-supported institutions was given a separate governing board with constitutional status. The Article stipulated that the respective boards of control have general supervision of their respective institutions, and the control and direction of all of the expenditures from the institutions' funds. This phrase, first written in the Constitution of 1850, had been interpreted by the courts repeatedly as giving the governing boards of the University of Michigan and Michigan State, after 1908, complete independence from legislative control. This had been recognized by the courts of Michigan in the landmark case, *Sterling versus the Regents of the University of Michigan*, 1896, the court saying in part:

The board of regents and the legislature derive their power from the same supreme authority, namely, the Constitution. Insofar as the powers of each are defined by that instrument, limitations are imposed, and a direct power conferred upon one necessarily excludes its existence in the other . . . . They are separate and distinct constitutional bodies, with the powers of the regents defined. By no rule of construction can it be held that either can encroach upon or exercise the powers conferred upon the other.<sup>10</sup>

The other landmark case in institutional autonomy occurred in 1911 in the *Board of Regents of the University of Michigan versus the Auditor General*. The Michigan Supreme Court ordered the Auditor General to pay over funds for the

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<sup>10</sup>Lyman A. Glenny and Thomas K. Dalglish, Public Universities, State Agencies, and the Law: Constitutional Autonomy in Decline, (Berkeley, California: University of California, 1973), p. 20.



normal travel expenses of the university's president, and characterized the Board of Regents as "the highest form of juristic person known to the law, a constitutional corporation, which, within the scope of its functions, is co-ordinate with and equal to that (sic) of the legislature."<sup>11</sup>

The Detroit Free Press of March 27, 1963 approved of the Constitution in general and specifically praised the elimination of the superintendent of public instruction from political activity. It pointed out the superior coordinating powers of the enlarged State Board, the stronger methods for state support of libraries, and the contractual obligations of the state in regard to fully funding pension and retirement systems for state employees.

The Ann Arbor News of March 1, 1963, expressed the sentiment of President Hatcher of the University of Michigan and others. They were relieved that the schools had not been forced into a super-board situation such as existed in California or New York, and would continue to have the room for entrepreneurial activity and that the real definition of coordination had not been defined to the point of control.

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

The Survey of Higher Education, 1958

No other single study has had as much impact on a given state enterprise as The Survey of Higher Education has had on higher education in Michigan. Popularly known as the John Dale Russell Report, the study was well-conceived and executed. It was most exhaustive in its treatment of student enrollment, programs and services, facilities, staffing patterns, financial need, community college developments, extension services, patterns of institutional governance, and system coordination concerns. Of the 45 major recommendations contained in the final report, 35 have been implemented completely or partially. Only ten of the basic Russell Report concerns have failed to be implemented. This is a rather incredible success ratio, for the history of most study commissions in Michigan is to go through the motions of research, submit an impressive, bound volume which is thence filed and ignored.

Two reasons exist for this success: The first is that the survey conducted by Dr. Russell and his associates was developed by order of the Michigan Legislature and had the benefit of the overview and support by a joint legislative study committee. The second reason is that the study was published at a most auspicious time for major changes in higher education. Anticipated increases in enrollment and demand for services were conditions favoring constitutional revision, during a period when the political climate

was supportive of higher education. Former President Victor Spathelf assessed the favorable conditions.

. . . I don't think that John Dale Russell and S. V. Martorana--he used to work for me, you know--came up with anything new. I think they were astute in going in and sensing what the popular feeling was and then trying to give a pattern to the thing. In a sense they were using some of the national theorization and philosophic thinking about junior and community colleges and transplanting them here; taking some of the latent public support and fusing it into a document which gave them something to hold onto and at least provided the springboard for more public participation and acceptance of the idea.<sup>12</sup>

The Legislature of the State of Michigan in 1955 adopted a resolution creating a joint committee of the House and Senate to study and recommend ways and means to meet the increasing needs for higher education in the most effective and economical manner.

The commission was headed from 1955 to 1957 by Senator Don VanderWerp and from 1957 to 1958 by Senator Frank Andrews. The committee had 22 meetings, five of which were attended by a citizens advisory committee which had also been appointed. The study was jointly financed by an appropriation of \$77,500 from the Legislature and a grant of \$88,500 from the William K. Kellogg Foundation. In 1956 the legislative committee engaged the services of John Dale Russell, then Chancellor and Executive Secretary of the New Mexico Board of Educational Finance, to direct the survey of higher

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<sup>12</sup>See page A610 for more discussion.

education in Michigan and to make recommendations. Russell and his associates published a preliminary report in 1957, 12 staff studies, and published their final report in 1958.<sup>13</sup>

The study was well-conceived, well-executed, and in an astonishing departure from other reports, was clear in its recommendations. Other studies had mixed the recommendations with the text. The final report of the John Dale Russell Committee collected all of its recommendations in Chapter 8 and published them in one succinct section of seven pages. While a minor point, it was one of the reasons the Report was so successful. Its recommendations were easy to comprehend and available for scrutiny without going through the 2,000 pages of text that had been produced by this study commission and its staff.

The Report was designed to inform and guide the Legislature. The 45 recommendations were rather specific, more pragmatic and less philosophical than other reports of this type. They proposed that the Legislature make appropriations sufficient to improve the quality of education provided in the tax-supported institutions, and at the same time provide additional facilities to take over an estimated

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<sup>13</sup>John Dale Russell, The Final Report of the Survey of Higher Education in Michigan, Michigan Legislative Study Committee on Higher Education, September 1958. For a listing of the 12 staff studies, see the Bibliography, pp. 280-81. Hereafter cited as Russell Report.

73 percent increase in enrollments in state-controlled institutions, and 90 percent increase in community colleges by 1970.

To improve the quality of higher education in the state, the staff report also recommended that the Legislature provide additional support to Ferris State College and the various community colleges so they would be able to be accredited by the regional accrediting associations.

The John Dale Russell Report recommended increasing faculty salaries in all tax-supported colleges and universities. This later was accomplished by the activities of Alvin Bentley, Chairman of the Education Committee of the Constitution, with the Citizens Committee on Higher Education on which Alvin Bentley also served. His active role is discussed quite frankly in the interview with Edward Cushman.<sup>14</sup>

The Russell Report recommended the creation of 23 additional community colleges, while 14 others were suggested for second priority. There were only 15 community colleges in Michigan when this study was written. At the present time that number has grown to 29, Oakland Community College having four campuses throughout the heavily populated county, and Macomb having two campuses in that fast-growing county. Two additional state-supported four-year colleges were recommended. Grand Valley State College in Grand Rapids and

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<sup>14</sup>See pages A58-60 for more discussion.

Saginaw Valley College in Saginaw would be created within the next six years because of these recommendations and the climate of public opinion.

While a considerable increase in the enrollments of the four regional institutions was anticipated, the Report recommended that no new branches be established and that those branches already in operation become autonomous colleges as soon as possible. There were four branches: The University of Michigan at Flint; the University of Michigan at Dearborn; Sault Ste. Marie, a branch of Michigan Technological University, later to be Lake Superior State College; and the Michigan State University branch at Oakland. To this date only the two latter branches have become autonomous. But Michigan will never go the way that seemed likely in 1957 of having a system of branch campuses of the major universities throughout the state.

The Report made no recommendations for limiting the enrollments of the state's colleges and universities because of the consensus that this was not a good public policy. It further felt that no substantial increases in tuition should be made and no limitations should be placed on the enrollment of out-of-state students.

Based on the work of Paul McCracken, the prominent economist at the University of Michigan, the Russell study asserted that only a small increase in the percentage of

the income of Michigan citizens would be needed to defray these costs, based on the increased productivity of the Gross State Product. There was a strong sentiment that the people of Michigan would be willing to devote a larger share of their income to higher education in order to enlarge facilities and to keep pace with the demands for admission, as long as the standards for admission and tuition rates remained constant instead of becoming more restrictive.

The Report also dealt with the problems of administration and coordination in Michigan's system of higher education. It recommended that each four-year college or university have its own governing board, and that the governing boards be appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate instead of being elected by the voters as was the case at Michigan, Michigan State, Wayne State, and the four normal schools with the solitary, elected State Board of Education. The Report also recommended state-level supervision of the founding and operation of community colleges, and the creation of a community college board.

It strongly urged a coordination mechanism called the Michigan Board of Higher Education to coordinate the state's system of higher education by collecting data concerning facilities, finances, and operations of all state institutions of higher education. It further

recommended that this board make an annual estimate of the needs of each institution for presentation to the budget division and the Legislature. This board would advise the Legislature and other state agencies on all policy matters affecting higher education in the state, including the establishment of new institutions, the development of any new areas of service such as additional medical schools, the admission of out-of-state students, and self-liquidating projects.

The members of the Survey of Higher Education Committee were the following:

Michigan Legislative Study Committee

Senators

Frank Andrews, Hillman  
 Frank D. Beadle, St. Clair  
 Patrick J. Doyle, Dearborn  
 Clyde H. Geerlings, Holland, Vice-Chairman  
 Edward Hutchinson, Fennville

Representatives

Charles A. Boyer, Manistee, Chairman  
 Arnell Engstrom, Traverse City  
 Allison Green, Kingston  
 John J. Penczak, Detroit  
 Frank D. Williams, Detroit

Citizens Advisory Committee

George W. Dean, President, Michigan Federation of Labor, Lansing  
 S. D. Den Uyl, President, Bohn Aluminum and Brass Corporation, Detroit  
 Merritt D. Hill, General Manager, Tractor and Implement Division, Ford Motor Company, Birmingham  
 Benjamin Levinson, President, Franklin Mortgage Corporation, Detroit  
 W. D. Merrifield, Director of Industrial Education, Chrysler Corporation, Detroit  
 Stephen S. Nisbet, Vice President-Public Relations, Gerber Products Company, Fremont



Stanley M. Powell, Legislative Counsel, Michigan  
 Farm Bureau, Ionia  
 Don Stevens, Education Director, Michigan C.I.O.  
 Council, Grand Rapids  
 Robert L. Taylor, Secretary-Treasurer, State  
 Mutual Cyclone Insurance Company, Lapeer  
 Don VanderWerp, former State Senator, Fremont  
 James M. VerMeulen, President, American Seating  
 Company, Grand Rapids

#### Survey Staff

John Dale Russell, Director of the Survey  
 John X. Jamrich, Assistant Director, September 1957  
 to September 1958  
 Orvin T. Richardson, Assistant Director,  
 September 1956 to September 1957

#### Task Force Members

S. V. Martorana	Eldon B. Sessions
W. T. Sanger	Julius M. Nolte
Earl W. Anderson	Robert Bell Browne <sup>15</sup>

The Committee was reorganized during the 1957 legislative session. Senator Frank Andrews replaced former Senator Don VanderWerp, who joined the Citizens Advisory Committee, and Senator Clyde Geerlings replaced Senator Carlton Morris. The other members of the Committee from the Senate and the House of Representatives continued. Representative Charles A. Boyer was elected Chairman of the Committee succeeding Senator VanderWerp, and Senator Geerlings was elected Vice-Chairman to succeed Representative Allison Green.

Dr. S. V. Martorana of the U.S. Office of Education was brought in as a member of the task force on community

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<sup>15</sup>Russell Report, p. iii.

colleges which reported in Staff Study No. 1. Dr. W. T. Sanger, Chancellor of the Medical College of Virginia, was brought in for the Staff Study No. 3 on medical and nursing education in Michigan. Dr. Earl W. Anderson, Chairman of the Department of Education of Ohio State University, and Dr. Elden B. Sessions, Associate Professor and Research Associate from Ohio State University, were brought in to do the physical plant needs study, Study No. 4. Dr. Julius M. Nolte, Dean of University Extension Services of the University of Minnesota, and Dr. Robert B. Browne, Dean of University Extension Services of the University of Illinois, were brought in for the study of extension services, Staff Study No. 7.

In the introduction to the final report, Russell most aptly stated the case for an investment in higher education:

The most precious resource of any state is the intelligence of its population. The funds that are put into the development of that resource, by means of education, constitute an investment that is certain to pay huge returns in the future economic productivity and human welfare. Particularly in times such as the present, when the State, the Nation, and the free world all need the highest level of service that every citizen is capable of rendering, the State has a responsibility to see that its facilities for higher education are such as to encourage the widest possible participation in programs of advanced study. Such programs, to be effective,

must be of good quality, yet the State needs to be assured that it is getting full value in educational service for the funds it invests in the maintenance of colleges and universities. Basically the purpose of the present survey has been to study and to analyze the present programs and facilities for higher education in Michigan, and to point out the situations where improvements could well be made, bearing in mind always the interests of those who must furnish the funds necessary for the support of the institutions, as well as the interests of those who are the recipients of the educational services.<sup>16</sup>

The Russell Report made the following 45 recommendations:

1. It is recommended that the Legislature provide Ferris Institute sufficient support so that the Institute may receive institutional accreditation by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, together with accreditation by appropriate agencies in those technical and professional fields in which such recognition is now lacking.
2. It is recommended that the programs of the community colleges that have not yet been accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools be strengthened so as to meet fully the standards for such accreditation.
3. It is recommended that the State Department of Public Instruction, in collaboration with the Michigan Association of Collegiate Registrars, the Michigan College Presidents Association, and other interested groups, take steps to work out a completely uniform pattern of reporting enrollment statistics, that can be followed by each institution of higher education in the State in all reports of enrollment.
4. It is recommended that Wayne State University College of Medicine be granted additional operating expenses, with the understanding that its freshman

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. xiii.

class can then be increased from 75 to 125 students by the fall of 1958. (This recommendation of Staff Study No. 3 was in process of being carried out at the time of the preparation of this final Survey report.)

5. It is recommended that the State undertake, probably not earlier than 1963 nor later than 1966, a comprehensive study of its need for medical practitioners and their distribution, to develop suitable plans for medical education to meet these needs as they appear at that time.

6. It is recommended that:

- a. The university schools of nursing be developed in size and with more graduate work; this recommendation has special reference perhaps to the University of Michigan, which seems to have much unrealized potential, with many factors favorable to expansion.
- b. Substantial scholarship and loan funds be provided from philanthropic sources for the university schools of nursing.

7. It is recommended that Michigan attempt to find a part of its answer to the nurse shortage by supplying ample resources for enlarging and cautiously increasing the number of two-year schools in the State.

8. The following recommendations are made regarding extension services in the State-controlled institutions of Michigan:

- a. It is recommended that the institutions have in view as an ultimate objective a single, State-wide extension system, pooling the resources of all the institutions and applying these resources as wisdom and economy indicate that they should be applied.
- b. It is recommended that, in order to give better service to the people of Michigan, a judicious but substantial enlargement of joint offerings in extension services be seriously and studiously undertaken.

- c. It is recommended that there be a greater measure of self-imposed limitations on extension services by the various institutions, extending to a refusal to operate activities that could be made available or ought to be made available through the services of such local educational institutions as the high school, the community college, or other nearby State-controlled institutions, or perhaps private institutions, unless the local or neighboring institution is unwilling to undertake the services.
  - d. It is recommended that a serious analysis be undertaken of the total educational needs of the State for extension and adult education, and that a reasonable determination be made of the proportion of public funds which should be made available for such purposes, with the idea that subsidies for adult education and extension activities need to be enlarged sufficiently so as to remove from such activities the burden of almost complete self-support.
  - e. It is recommended that there be a cooperative examination and analysis of the available curriculums and programs in extension and adult education on the part of all the State-controlled institutions in order to determine whether or not the offerings are responsive to actual needs, in order to confine the offerings and activities of each of the State-controlled institutions to fields in which the institutional resources are adequate, and in order to insure that the instructional quality of such offerings and activities will be maintained at a level consistent with collegiate or university performance and standards.
9. It is recommended that the Michigan institutions of higher education be provided with sufficient operating funds to enable them to make marked improvements in faculty salaries, to the end that scholars of the highest levels of competence may continue to be attracted and retained on the teaching staffs of the colleges and universities in the State.

10. It is recommended that the listings of plant needs for the various State-controlled institutions, as shown in Staff Study No. 4, be considered by the Legislature, as capital outlay requests for new building projects are presented to it in the future.

11. It is recommended that appropriations to the State educational institutions be continued at a level that will permit the maintaining of high quality programs, that will gradually improve the quality of the programs in all the institutions, and that will rapidly improve the quality of institutions that are now below the State average in support.

12. It is recommended that immediate efforts be made to set up a uniform system of financial accounting and reporting in all the State-controlled institutions of higher education in Michigan, with categories, classifications, and definitions in conformity with standard practice, to the end that the State fiscal authorities, the Legislature, and the institutional officials may have truly comparable financial information as a basis for determining the needs for support and the effectiveness with which supporting funds are being used in the institutions under State control.

13. It is recommended that the Legislature regularize the use of general, unrestricted institutional funds for scholarship purposes, especially that part of such funds which may be derived from unrestricted appropriations. The Legislature might well also develop a plan of equalizing the amount that may be used from this source for scholarship purposes in the various institutions.

14. It is recommended that the community colleges in Michigan develop a better balance in their instructional programs, so that the offerings in pre-professional fields and in the lower-division courses in arts and sciences are supplemented by a varied range of offerings in organized occupational fields.

15. It is recommended that the community colleges in Michigan that are not now accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary

Schools strengthen their programs and facilities so that they may qualify for membership in the regional accrediting agency, and also so that they may receive recognition and acceptance from appropriate national agencies that accredit programs for the preparation of technicians and semi-professional personnel.

16. It is recommended that the community colleges keep up their efforts to maintain a supply of technicians and semi-professional personnel for the economy of the State.

17. It is recommended that professional, educational, and lay leadership in Michigan make some effort to formulate a policy regarding the relative roles of the several post-high-school institutions, and to promote a sequential and coordinated system of higher education.

18. It is recommended that steps be taken toward the establishment in Michigan of a number of additional community colleges in locations that offer a good potential for the development of an institution of satisfactory size.

19. It is recommended that, in each locality of the State that seems to offer the possibility for developing a community college of satisfactory size, a thorough study of the area be made before decision is reached about organizing a new institution there.

20. It is recommended that the community college laws in Michigan be extended to allow the formation of community college districts encompassing two or more adjoining school districts.

21. It is recommended that the present specific stipulation of 10,000 population, now found in the community college law, be abolished.

22. It is recommended that a minimum foundation program for the support of community college programs in Michigan be formulated.

23. It is recommended that the State contribute to the support of the community colleges an amount equal to one-half the minimum foundation program.

24. It is recommended that the State continue to assist the community colleges in financing capital outlay projects, to the extent of 50 per cent of the total cost of approved projects.

25. It is recommended that the capital outlay assistance from State funds be permitted to apply to costs of site acquisition and improvement and such facilities as parking areas and student centers, but not to dormitories or residence halls.

26. It is recommended that further consideration be given to the introduction of a State-wide plan by which any district not maintaining a community college would be responsible for contributing to the support of each community college in which any of its residents are enrolled anywhere in the State.

27. It is recommended that in those situations in Michigan where the needs of the population are such that two or more types of post-high-school educational institutions are necessary, the State adopt the policy that is now being followed in California. This policy puts the community college as the first type of post-high-school institution that should be developed and supported. On later study and continued evidence of need for additional types of higher institutions, these also are authorized.

28. It is recommended that, if and when a convention is called for a general revision of the State Constitution, consideration be given to revising the method of selecting board members for the State-controlled institutions, so that all will be appointed by the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

29. It is recommended that, if and when a convention is called for a general revision of the State Constitution, consideration be given to the elimination of ex officio membership by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction on any Board that controls a State college or university.

30. It is recommended that, if and when a convention is called for a general revision of the State Constitution, consideration be given to the elimination of all provisions for ex officio, non-voting members of the controlling boards of the State institutions of higher education.



31. It is recommended that the statute providing for the Board of Control of Michigan College of Mining and Technology (C.L. 390.352) be amended by striking out the clause requiring four of the members to be residents of the Upper Peninsula.

32. It is recommended that, if and when a convention is called for a general revision of the State Constitution, consideration be given to the elimination of the provisions that the Presidents of the University of Michigan and Michigan State University shall be the presiding officers of their respective governing boards.

33. It is recommended that the statute governing Wayne State University be amended to provide that the Chairman of the Board of Governors shall be elected from the membership of the Board and shall preside at Board meetings.

34. It is recommended that steps be taken at once to create a separate board for the control of each of the four institutions now under the State Board of Education--Central Michigan College, Eastern Michigan College, Northern Michigan College, and Western Michigan University.

35. It is recommended that, if and when a convention is called for a general revision of the State Constitution, each board for a State-controlled institution of higher education be given the same kind of constitutional authority and responsibility for management and control of their respective institutions as the Constitution now extends to the boards for the University of Michigan and Michigan State University. There should be no change in the constitutional status of the boards for the University of Michigan and Michigan State University.

36. It is recommended that the Legislature take immediate steps to create and establish a board for the coordination of the State-controlled program of higher education in Michigan.

37. It is recommended that the Legislature provide for the creation of a Community College Board to exercise the necessary State-level supervision over the community college program in Michigan.

38. It is recommended that the agency, to which central State authority over the community college system is assigned, prepare an annual budget request for appropriations for the current support and capital outlay needs of the entire system of community colleges; and that this budget request be submitted to and be reviewed by the proposed Coordinating Board, in the same manner as the budget requests for appropriations for each of the State-controlled, degree-granting institutions are reviewed; and that the Coordinating Board be responsible for recommending to the State fiscal authorities and to the Legislature the total amount to be appropriated from State funds for current support and capital outlay projects in the community college system.

39. It is recommended that the Legislature transfer the function of the supervision and accrediting of high schools in Michigan to the State Board of Education and the State Department of Public Instruction, with a corresponding transfer of the funds needed to operate this service.

40. It is recommended that the present privately controlled institutions of higher education in Michigan make every effort to continue their operation on a satisfactory basis without considering the possibility of a change to public control, and that no steps be taken by public authorities to encourage any institution operated at present under private control to seek to become publicly controlled.

41. It is recommended that it not be the policy of the State of Michigan to make further necessary extensions of the facilities for publicly controlled higher education through the establishment of branches of the State-controlled colleges and universities.

42. It is recommended that, as rapidly as is feasible, each of the existing branches of the State-controlled institutions in Michigan be set up as an autonomous State institution, with its own board of control and administrative staff. It is recognized that considerable time will be required to carry out this recommendation, and that the solution reached may be different in various locations.

43. It is recommended that the Legislature authorize the creation of a commission to consider the establishment of an additional State college or colleges, with an appropriation so that this commission can make a thorough study of the situation and prepare a report that will guide the proposed State Coordinating Commission and the Legislature in taking the necessary steps to insure the best possible institutional development for services to higher education in Michigan.

44. It is recommended that no additional barriers be imposed by the Legislature of Michigan against the attendance of students from other states in the publicly controlled institutions of higher education.

45. It is recommended that the policy of the State be to provide sufficient financial support to its institutions of higher education so that they are able to furnish education of good quality at the lowest possible cost to the student for tuition fees.<sup>17</sup>

As has been said earlier, this Report was astonishingly effective. Virtually every recommendation was adopted in one form or another. Several areas that did not succeed were those regarding: Coordination of extension services in the state-controlled institutions of Michigan; the formulation of a policy regarding the relative roles of several post-high school institutions and the promotion of "a sequential and coordinated system of higher education"; the creation of a minimum foundation program for the support of public community and junior colleges; the transfer of the functions of the supervision and accrediting of high schools in Michigan to the State Board of

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 171-77.

Education; and the recommendation that no additional barriers be imposed by the Legislature of Michigan against the attendance of students from other states in the publicly controlled institutions of higher education.

President John Jamrich of Northern Michigan University, Assistant Director of the Russell Report, commented with pride on the accomplishments of the Survey. "That study came out with 45 basic recommendations. The one and only major recommendation which has not yet been put into effect in any way in the State of Michigan is the one having to do with coordination and planning."<sup>18</sup>

All of Russell's recommendations for enhancing the power of a coordinating agency as an effective centralized control mechanism were not in fact adopted. He and his associates strongly recommended on one hand the establishment of a state coordinating board for higher education, and on the other hand the extension of constitutional status and fiscal autonomy to all of the state-controlled colleges and universities. Both of these recommendations were written into the Constitution and have led to considerable confusion, particularly for those who like their government clean and neat. It is apparent that the separate concepts of institutional autonomy and state coordination are basically

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<sup>18</sup>See pages A413-14 for more discussion.

conflicting, particularly without some clear-cut consensus and statutory or constitutional direction.

Even though language would later be adopted in the Constitution, it was clear that centralized control was not to occur either through the Russell Report recommendations or the Constitution. Lip service but not much energy was given to voluntary control, nor was this particularly high on the agenda of the public mind, for as Representative James Farnsworth said in his interview:

I am amazed at the amount of waste that the American people are willing to pay for in order to protect some things that they hold very, very dear. Let's take education, for instance. They so value the right to determine where their kids are going to go to school, whether they are going to go into the trade school or whether they are going to go into some other higher education setting, that they are willing to put the kids in on the front end even though somebody could judge right then that they are going to fail, and put them through that process and pay for it to protect that kind of choice.<sup>19</sup>

Michigan's people are a sturdy, proud people, suspicious of state control and not at all sympathetic to creating overwhelmingly powerful centralized bureaucracies. Virtually every recommendation of the John Dale Russell Report that enhanced the delivery of services or improved the capacity of the institutions to serve the public and deliver programs was enacted through statute and by the Constitutional Convention from 1958 to 1970. Virtually none of the control

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<sup>19</sup>See page A139 for more discussion.

mechanisms that were dear to the hearts of centralized planners have been enacted, and it appears that the quality of higher education has not suffered by that lack.

Jamrich, sensitive to Michigan's proud traditions, pointed out why centralized coordination has not succeeded.

To go back to why central coordination has not found a good nest in Michigan. I think that has some obvious reasons and it goes back to the point I was making before. This state's higher education enterprise has been of such long standing--since 1837 [U of M], 1855 [MSU], 1849 for Ypsilanti as a teacher-training institution--and of such high reputation, and all in a setting of individuality and individual performance.

Anyone who thinks about it for any length of time has to ask the question: "If we've done so well under these conditions of individuality and autonomy, who says there is anything better to be obtained by merging all of this under one board?" South Dakota has had a single board since 1800-something, and fame and stature don't happen to reside in higher education in that state. It is modest, it does its job, but certainly nothing like the fame and stature of U of M, MSU, et cetera.<sup>20</sup>

Really, the John Dale Russell Report placed the agenda before the public, the Constitutional Convention enacted most of its recommendations, and the Blue Ribbon Committee reported to the public that all was well, that the institutions were a great treasure, they needed more love and more support, and that was that.

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<sup>20</sup>See page A414 for more discussion.

The Citizens Committee on Higher Education

The Citizens Committee on Higher Education, known as the Blue Ribbon Committee, was appointed by Governor George Romney in the fall of 1963.<sup>21</sup> It was an astutely selected group of 56 members representing the broadest cross section of the power elite of the State of Michigan. There were seven members from labor and 26 representing industry; of that 26, five were from commerce, four from banking and finance, three from the media, five from the major automotive companies and one member was C. S. Harding Mott, of the Mott Foundation whose wealth was deeply entwined with General Motors. Four members were religious leaders; four from the law profession; three were certified public accountants, two were physicians, nine members were women, and one represented the Department of Health of the City of Detroit. Only one member was employed in higher education, Dr. Charles F. Whitten, M.D. Charles Boyer, whose occupation was insurance, had formerly served in the Michigan House of Representatives and had been a member of the Michigan Legislative Study Committee that supervised the work of John Dale Russell.

The most prominent members of the Citizens Committee were Irving Bluestone of the United Automobile Workers; Alvin Bentley, a U.S. Congressman, Regent of the University

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<sup>21</sup>Report of Citizens Committee on Higher Education, Harold T. Smith, Executive Director (Kalamazoo, Michigan, March, 1965). Hereafter cited as Citizens Committee.

of Michigan, and Chairman of the Education Committee of the Constitutional Convention; Richard S. Emrich, the Episcopal Bishop of Michigan; Ray Eppert, President of the Burroughs Corporation; Carl Gerstacker, Chairman of the Board of Dow Chemical Company; Alex Fuller of the AFL-CIO of Wayne County; Creighton Holden, a powerful member of the Republican Party; Mildred Jeffrey, National Committeewoman of the Democratic State Central Committee; Judge Wade McCree of the U.S. District Court in Detroit and later Circuit Court Judge of the United States; John McGoff, owner of Panax Corporation of Michigan which owned newspapers and radio stations. C. S. Harding Mott of the Mott Foundation; Earl Wolfman of the United Bakery and Confectioners Union of Detroit; Theodore O. Yntema of Ford Motor Company; Dan Karn of Consumers Power Company; and Edward Cushman of American Motors and later Executive Vice-President of Wayne State University.

The Governor entrusted the Committee with the following specific assignments:

1. Review the present and future needs of higher education in Michigan, and define the needs that must be met.
2. Create a general understanding of the role that institutions of higher learning must play in meeting the needs.
3. Indicate the support necessary to provide the kind of higher education that the modern day requires.



4. Recommend to the Governor for transmission to the legislature and the general public suitable plans for meeting the needs with economy and efficiency.<sup>22</sup>

The Committee submitted its report to the Governor on March 19, 1965. They made between 35 and 40 recommendations not all of which are major.<sup>23</sup>

The majority of these recommendations were made not to the Legislature but to the State Board of Education which had not been overly successful in effecting change in public policy for higher education. The Committee believed that the State Board of Education had the power and the means to effectively implement the recommendations. Further, one would suspect that the public and many members of this group, having just come out of the Constitutional Convention, were trying to set the agenda for the State Board of Education in the area of higher education before the Board went too far down the road. Edward Cushman, an extremely influential member of this Committee, reflected:

In the report of the Romney Blue Ribbon Commission that chapter on the community colleges was probably the best single part of that report. I think that the growth

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<sup>22</sup>Citizens Committee, letter of transmittal.

<sup>23</sup>A significant historical analysis of the work of the Committee has not been published. Dr. Gerald Beckwith, staff associate to Governor Milliken's Commission on Higher Education, has written an extremely useful staff paper, as yet unpublished. The author is indebted for some of the discussion to his unpublished staff paper of March 21, 1973.

of the community colleges that you have described has been one of the best things that could happen to the people in our state. That is because of the very reasons that you have identified: mainly that it has made education beyond high school available to more and more students.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, the majority of the study was oriented to community colleges and the need to extend and enhance them. Many other recommendations were made in the manner of cautions to institutions or other agencies to not engage in certain types of behavior. For instance, the following quote from page 31 of the Report was hardly a clarion call for action: "The Committee recommends, therefore, that the now autonomous boards of the state-supported institutions take the necessary steps to reorganize budgets in view of working toward competitive faculty salary scales when such do not now exist."

The Report recommended the development of higher education services in Flint and in the Saginaw-Bay City-Midland region.

The Blue Ribbon Committee came out most strongly against branch campuses and recommended that no additional branch institutions be established in Michigan and that the four branch campuses of Michigan State University at Oakland,

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<sup>24</sup>See page A56 for more discussion.

University of Michigan at Flint and at Dearborn, and Michigan Technological University at Sault Ste. Marie be made independent.<sup>24</sup>

The Committee also recommended that community colleges be created outside of the then current Michigan practice of being parts of K-12 school districts and that they be freestanding and have larger districts. This recommendation argued for the principle of separate community colleges rather than community colleges being departments of school districts, as was the case in Grand Rapids, Dearborn, Alpena and other cities.

The Committee recommended against locating four-year baccalaureate institutions on the same sites as community colleges. There had been extensive dialogue about a new four-year college in the Saginaw-Bay City-Midland area. It was concerned that a four-year institution with its higher prestige competing with community colleges in offering certain types of community services would hurt the smaller college. It further recommended the development of budget formulas and the development of uniform systems of accounting and reporting for community colleges, including redefinition of what a full-time-equated student was.

The Blue Ribbon Committee came out in favor of full state districting of community colleges. To this day there

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<sup>24</sup>Citizens Committee, p. 15.

is not community college service available to every citizen because a significant portion of the state's land is unavailable for such services and not generating taxes to support in-district community colleges. The Committee was most concerned that community colleges be within easy driving range to all citizens. They recommended equal state and local shares of capital outlay for the development of community colleges; state foundation support for community colleges at 50 percent of the average systemwide cost, or average institutional cost, whichever was the lesser.

In setting the agenda for the State Board of Education, much taken with the ambiguity over voluntary coordination, the Report recommended "that the State Board of Education take immediate and firm control" with regard to the approval or disapproval of graduate and graduate-professional programs. The Committee stated that it believed that in the area of coordination of graduate and graduate-professional education, this is "an area into which the State Board of Education needs to move promptly in exercising its responsibility for overall planning and coordination."<sup>25</sup>

The Blue Ribbon Committee also recommended: coordination of the general extension division with the cooperative extension services; the establishment by the State Board of Education of a continuing advisory commission on research

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

and development; the adequate funding for the efficient operation of the State Department of Education and the State Board of Education; that the four-year institutions continue to adjust the admission of students to the point where unnecessary attrition, which is costly to society and damaging to the individual, may be avoided; that the State Board of Education carry on constant studies of the needs for faculty, the sources of faculty, salary scales, retirement policies, and so forth, so that the institutions would be well-informed when advising the Legislature concerning budgets.

The Committee then recommended the development of share-of-cost formulas in higher education between student tuition and appropriation; the development of uniform standards of definition of out-of-state students; uniform accounting and reporting procedures for the state colleges and universities; the establishment of a state center for the processing of information on student financial aids and the coordination of available scholarships and loan funds between state, federal and philanthropic areas; the development of cost-effective procedures and studies with regard to graduate and graduate-professional programs, being concerned about the extremely limited enrollments of some high-cost programs; and a long-range capital outlay funding and coordination under the State Board of Education. The

Committee tiptoed almost up to the brink of recommending bonding for capital outlay, but didn't go quite that far since it was really against the conservative bent of people accustomed to pay-as-you-go construction.

Dr. Beckwith in his staff paper on the Citizens Committee on Higher Education suggests that "Insofar as it provided needed encouragement and direction for improved state fiscal support of higher education in a period of rapid expansion, and insofar as it provided needed policy guidance for the State Board of Education in its formative stages, the impact of the Citizens Committee was considerable." But, he adds: "In terms of specific action recommendations the Citizens Committee Report seems not to have been near the influence of the earlier John Dale Russell Report."

What, then, was the impact of the Blue Ribbon Committee's Report of March, 1965?

The document was extremely encouraging to the State Department of Education and the elected State Board. They were very troubled over the specific responsibilities and the support for those responsibilities because the constitutional language was complex and ambiguous. It contained language in favor of voluntary cooperation but provided no administrative mechanism to make it occur. The colleges themselves had no desire to cooperate. The growth of higher education was historically driven by entrepreneurial energy and an imperialistic interest by those who were strong

advocates of particular institutions. In competition there was success and in cooperation there was only failure.

The community colleges could only be immensely encouraged by the language and tone of the higher education report. It said essentially that community colleges were the most vital part of the apparatus that had not yet been put in place, therefore more must be encouraged, and a greater share of funding must be allocated to them.

The Report also attempted to set the agenda for a new state board and a department of education which were riven by the difficulties of selecting a superintendent of public instruction, and by the general quality of the state board, which was not politically balanced or in touch with the influence elites or decision elites.

The Report states: "Three of the universities had enjoyed autonomous government from the time they became state-supported institutions and the 1963 State Constitution extended autonomy to the rest. At the same time, the Constitution created a new State Board of Education to serve as the general planning and coordinating body for all public education, including higher education. It was clearly the intent of the framers of the Constitution to retain for the institutions the freedom of action that autonomous government

provides, but at the same time, to provide for such planning and coordination of higher education as may be essential for educational efficiency and operating economy."<sup>26</sup>

This frank advertisement from the governor's appointees, the representatives of the power structure of Michigan and some of the framers of the Constitution's education article, was intended in a subtle way as a caveat to the ten state institutions of higher education.

The Blue Ribbon Committee made a special plea, although again in the style of the Report, no concrete recommendation, that the State Board of Education, the state government, the Legislature, all interested groups and individuals in the state be on the alert for what could be done to strengthen and enlarge the entire private college program. This would give the private institutions a more adequate place in the total educational scene of the state.<sup>27</sup>

The Committee further recommended that a statewide system of community colleges be developed as an essential part of the Michigan system of higher education. The colleges would serve primarily as commuter institutions offering the technical and vocational programs, as well as the freshman

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 17.



and sophomore academic programs, and be geared to the needs of the communities.

It set the following planning tenet as its view of the needs for the restricting of program competition:

The Committee believes that this can best be accomplished by adhering to the following principle, a principle that may become a major tenet of a state plan for higher education and, indeed, a principle around which a state plan might evolve. This principle is: Any institution in the state should be permitted to offer any educational program provided the State Board of Education is satisfied that (1) there is a social need for it, (2) there is a valid unsatisfied student demand for it, and (3) the institution is well qualified in scholarly tradition, staff, facilities, and location to offer it effectively, efficiently, and economically.<sup>28</sup>

The Blue Ribbon Report made a strong case for review, by the State Board, of requests for new programs and requests by one institution for a program held by another. The program review process was implemented ineptly and failed to win credibility in later years for the State Department of Education.

In summary, the Blue Ribbon Committee suggested:

- 1) setting up a clear plan for the State Board of Education, giving them advice and counsel about which way to go;
- 2) attempting to encourage by every way the need for enhancing the new State Board of Education; and 3) enhancing the private sector and enhancing the role and scope of community colleges.

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

The very tone of the Report was captured in its beginning: "The citizens of Michigan may be justly proud of the quality and excellence of the system of higher education that has been developed thus far . . . ." And, in a departure from its prevailing style, the Report said most eloquently:

There is one conclusion that stands out above all others. It is that the educational needs of today and tomorrow demand immediate and responsible attention; they demand an immediate commitment on the part of the citizens of the state to meet the financial burden that coping with these needs will require. It must be understood that there are no bargain-basement prices for a wholesome and successful educational system. The crisis in higher education will become more and more acute and compelling; only bold, adequate action can prevent it from becoming a catastrophe.

The ability of the state of Michigan and its people to meet the challenge is beyond question. The crucial question is whether the state and its people have the desire, the aspiration, and the will to turn the challenge into a living reality, so that our young people may have the opportunity of fulfillment for themselves as individuals and that the welfare of the society in which they live will be enhanced. The Citizens Committee, therefore, urges that the people of Michigan pay special heed to the needs outlined in this report and dedicate their efforts and their energies to the fulfillment of these needs; the future well-being of our children and our children's children may well depend upon it.<sup>29</sup>

Some regarded the Blue Ribbon Committee Report as important, but the evidence does not indicate that it was

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., Foreword and Acknowledgments.

influential as a change agent. It was congratulatory to the higher education establishment of Michigan, but did not make many recommendations for improvement. It was not as lucid and clear-cut as the John Dale Russell Report. It was careless in its using of the words "suggest" and "recommend", unlike the Russell Report which listed its recommendations. The Report made no recommendations that were easy to ascertain without an extremely close reading of the text. One can only regard it as a progress report rather than a call for action.

The Report best reflects the fact that Michigan's people, as reflected through the selection of this leadership elite on the Blue Ribbon Committee, were most satisfied with the state of higher education. The Committee was concerned that additional higher education opportunities be created, additional community college institutions be put in place, and that adequate money be appropriated, but saw no need, as the John Dale Russell Report had seen earlier, to make significant changes.

Report of the Advisory Committee  
on University Branches

On June 12, 1964 the Michigan Coordinating Council for Public Higher Education authorized the appointment of a five-member committee to study the university branches. The committee is popularly known as the Davis Committee

after its chairman Harvey H. Davis, Provost Emeritus of the University of Iowa. Warren Huff, the chairman of the Council, with the aid of the other members, appointed the following people to the committee:

Harvey H. Davis, Chairman  
Provost Emeritus  
University of Iowa

Richard G. Browne  
Executive Director  
Illinois Board of  
Higher Education

Cyril O. Houle  
Professor Education  
University of Chicago

Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr.  
Executive Director  
American Association  
of Junior Colleges

Leland L. Medsker  
Vice Chairman  
Center for the Study  
of Higher Education  
University of California<sup>30</sup>

Two of the members, Edmund J. Gleazer and Leland L. Medsker, had been active as staff resources to the Blue Ribbon Committee which had not yet, at the time of the Davis study, published its report.

The Committee held its first meeting at the Illini Center in Chicago on August 27 and 28, 1964. It was briefed on the Michigan situation by Chairman Huff and the Executive Director of the Council, Dr. Ira Polley, who would later become the superintendent of public instruction.

Meetings were held on October 3 and 4 in Detroit, and on October 18 and 19 in Lansing. At these meetings the Committee visited with the presidents or their representatives

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<sup>30</sup>Michigan Coordinating Council for Public Higher Education, Report of the Advisory Committee on University Branches, (Lansing, Michigan, December, 1964), p. 2. Hereafter cited as Advisory Committee.

from all ten of Michigan's public universities and colleges, representatives of the junior colleges, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Superintendent of Schools from Flint, and with the Executive Director of the Citizens Committee on Higher Education, Harold Smith.

A final meeting of the Committee was held on November 7 and 8 during which the report was formulated. The final report was published in December of 1964.

The Report said that the growth in population of college-age students was certain to be spectacular. College enrollments were more than likely to double from 1965 to 1975, and the growth in higher education would be 20,000 students per year. The Report indicated that before the Committee could really begin to study the relative advantages and disadvantages of the establishment in Michigan of university or college branches offering two-year or four-year educational programs, it needed to evaluate the problem of the proper development of a total system of higher education for Michigan.

The Advisory Committee politely averred that in Michigan there was no system and that there were two basic positions:

The first holds that the best growth will come through the exercise by each institution of its legal right to pursue its own destiny and to do what it believes to be best for the people of

Michigan. Those holding this position find a clear mandate for the independent exercise of authority granted by the new Constitution to present and future universities.<sup>31</sup>

The Report explained that the holders of this position made the case that the long tradition of freedom had been enlarged and embodied into law and the proper course of action was for each institution to pursue its own destiny, doing what it believed to be sound. It quoted Adam Smith arguing that the entrepreneur is "led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was not part of his intention", and that same benign influence, though not now perceived, may ultimately prove to have been the chief source of a sound total program. The Committee stated clearly how Michigan's higher education system had come to be and as it is now actually in place.

There was a middle view that those who believed in autonomy must face the reality that cooperation was vital if free institutions were to survive. The institutions of higher education must learn to work together for the common good. It said that there may have been a time when Michigan education was an uncharted sea in which anyone might fish at will, but now that that frontier had been reached, the need for planning and coordination was recognized. The middle position also held that the separate institutions must operate not only according to the letter of the new

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<sup>31</sup>Advisory Committee, p. 7.

Constitution, but also according to its spirit. It further emphasized that the Constitution which granted autonomy also required the State Board of Education to do the general planning and coordinating for all public education including higher education.

The Advisory Committee warned that when institutions of higher education "use their freedom to act without due regard to the best growth of a total pattern of education in Michigan, liberty becomes license."<sup>32</sup> James Miller reflected some of this concern.

Dearborn became a reality with the gift from the Ford family. Matilda Wilson and her husband, particularly Matilda, were very anxious to have their estate developed into a campus. The contribution that they were making in terms of the land and buildings, in particular, was a handsome inducement.

I think at that point, then, the fears started to grow that there was going to be a wide-open scramble for a branch concept, one in Traverse City, one in Battle Creek, here and there and all over the state. That naturally upset other four-year, degree-granting institutions who said, "This isn't the way that it should be done."<sup>33</sup>

The opposite view was held by those who argued that the need for coordination was so great that it transcended the machinery available or contemplated for the future. It warned that, "if the present conflict continues, that feeling will crystallize into the belief that stronger measures are

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>33</sup>See page A196 for more discussion.

essential, including, most probably, a single controlling board and an over-all chancellor for higher education."<sup>34</sup>

The Report pointed out that there was uncertainty among Michigan educators as to the wisdom of establishing freestanding institutions as compared to branches, and that there was apprehension as to the effects of university branches on the well-being of community colleges. There were questions about the community colleges' role and place if they would seek to become baccalaureate-degree-granting institutions. There was also concern about whether they would be able to provide an adequate variety of programs, especially in the sparsely settled areas of the state. The Report then raised the question as to why there were no community colleges in the City of Detroit.

The Committee recommended that: 1) the State Board of Education give high priority to the preparation of a Michigan Plan for Higher Education; 2) special consideration be given by the Legislature to research and public service activities as well as to high-cost instructional programs; and 3) an Advisory Council for Planning and Coordination of Higher Education be established that would be parallel to the State Board for Public Community and Junior Colleges. Both the Council and the Board would have no power except to advise the State Board of Education. The first job of the Advisory

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<sup>34</sup>Advisory Committee, p. 8.



Council would be the development of a Michigan Plan for Higher Education.

The Committee then addressed the question of branches, a particularly vexing problem which would be the cause of one of the greatest difficulties of the State Board of Education. The branch issue became one of the historical watersheds in the construction of the Michigan system of higher education and the question of the role of the State Board of Education.

The Committee stated that all of the branches were initiated either by generous gifts of property, or funds on the part of either the federal government or public-spirited citizens. It stated, therefore, that those who favor branches tend to regard them as ways of supplementing scarce public dollars by finding private support for capital expenditures.

Those who opposed branches pointed out that the acceptance of such funds meant that the new institutions could not be placed on the best sites, located in the most needy service areas, nor be started at the best time.

The Report pointed out that neither argument was directly related to the basic issue of whether new institutions should be branches or autonomous units. One distinguished university president noted to the Committee that the basis for the establishment of campuses in the past had been based on acts of God or acts of philanthropists.

The arguments in favor of branches were that a branch college can 1) win immediate accreditation by the regional

association; 2) profit immediately from the prestige of the parent institution, which may help it to attract students, faculty, and other funds; 3) secure continuing counsel and support from the parent institution; 4) have its central administrative services handled more economically than if it were independent; 5) have a body of local alumni of the parent institution who are immediately available to act as interested local sponsors; and 6) aid the parent institution to fulfill its sense of obligation, strengthen its program, and win support for itself.

The arguments against a branch institution were these: 1) it may arouse the fears of other established institutions that the parent institution is empire-building or acting in its own interest without due regard for the total needs of the state; 2) it may lead to the indiscriminate opening of other branches by other competitive institutions; 3) it may destroy the possibility of sound development of community colleges and other autonomous institutions; 4) it may create tension locally and in the Legislature because of opposition by supporters of other institutions; 5) it may be so remote from the parent institution's central interests that the faculty and students feel isolated; 6) it may orient its standards and programs to the home campus, rather than to the local community; and 7) it may lead students to choose an

institution on the false basis of accreditation or prestige rather than in terms of the programs which it can offer.<sup>35</sup>

On the other hand the arguments for an autonomous institution were: 1) it can have a board of trustees and administrative leadership which give undivided attention to it and therefore greater incentive, and make better policies than a board which proliferates its concern for a number of institutions; 2) it can invite a greater identification of the people in its community with the institution; 3) it can command a greater degree of local faculty authority and responsibility; 4) it can offer a greater opportunity to protect the richness and diversity of higher education; 5) it can grow naturally, accepting its eventual maturity from the start and not having to go through a succession of dependent stages; and 6) it can identify its own distinctive functions and programs and not be constantly polarized into either accepting or rejecting those of the parent institution.<sup>36</sup>

The Committee made the following recommendations:

- 1) that no additional university branches be established;
- 2) that no university establish a branch except by specific legislative authorization and with separate, designated state appropriation;
- 3) that when there is evidence of the need for a new degree-granting institution or upper-division institution in a given region, the State Board of Education, with

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 11-12.

appropriate consultation, make recommendations. No existing institution of higher education should act unilaterally to enter the situation until a report has been made; 4) that any change in the basic structure of an existing branch, such as autonomy or the addition of upper or lower divisional work, be examined through the same kind of multi-representational committee; 5) that appropriate concern be taken by the branches for existing or future community colleges; and 6) that the gifts of funds or property not be the determination of what the state is going to do.

The Committee then specifically recommended the following concrete steps: 1) Steps should be taken to explore the possibility of establishing Oakland University as a wholly autonomous institution. 2) The Dearborn branch should continue to operate as an upper-division and graduate institution under the auspices of the University of Michigan. 3) The University of Michigan should postpone the offering of a lower divisional program at Flint. If and when lower divisional work, that is, freshman and sophomore, is offered there, steps should be taken by the University of Michigan toward acquiring a separate campus. If a full four-year program is offered, there should be a careful delineation of the relative assignments of the community college and the university branch. If a four-year institution is developed, it should be given complete autonomy, as soon as the size of enrollment justifies

it. 4) Michigan Technological University should postpone the offering of an upper divisional program at their branch at Sault Ste. Marie.<sup>37</sup>

The Report was eloquent, but succinct, stating the arguments on both sides with clarity and force. But its recommendation that the branch institution in Flint be impeded from growing to a complete four-year program and that plans be made to give it complete autonomy, flew in the face of the will of the power elite of the City of Flint, particularly Charles Stewart Mott and the powerful and influential Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Senator Garland Lane. Ten years after this issue had been concluded, Senator Lane still felt passionately about it.

Lane

But the State Board went there and said: "Even though you planned before we came into existence under the Constitution, we'll let you have the first and second year, but you shall phase it out and you shall go to another structure." The City of Flint said, "We want the University of Michigan structure." It meant, by picking the fight with me that it was a head-on collision constantly for about four or five years. Everybody saw it, and looked at it, and said it really wasn't what they wanted . . . .

Author

If they had not picked that fight with you, do you think that could have brought about...

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 13-14.

Lane

It would have survived and it probably would have functioned.<sup>38</sup>

Espousing the recommendation of the Davis Committee, the State Board of Education shortly thereafter decided to take on the University of Michigan to get them to give the Flint branch autonomy. They found a worthy foe in Harlan Hatcher, the able and vigorous President of the University of Michigan, who felt most strongly about the autonomy and the constitutional personality of the University of Michigan. He allied with the elite of Flint, which was indeed a most impressive group, represented by General Motors and C. S. Mott.

This fight severely constrained the growth and the power of the State Board of Education. Ira Polley, however, says in his interview that the issue was well lost before this because of the complexities and ambiguities of the Constitution. The ten state institutions wanted to continue to fish in the uncharted seas of Michigan and to continue to follow entrepreneurial institutional interests where each institution would pursue its own destiny, doing what it believed was sound.

The espousal of this one specific subissue would severely handicap the State Board's final slim chance of attaining success in voluntary coordination. In time the

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<sup>38</sup>See pages A246-47 for more discussion.

Sault Ste. Marie branch campus would become independent from the Michigan Technological University. The University was an institution whose program was deeply committed to the hard sciences, whereas the branch needed a far broader curriculum of a community college nature in liberal arts and vocational/technical programs if it was to gain enrollment and survive. Some 250 miles away from Sault Ste. Marie, the University found it onerous to manage the branch and was eager for this institution to be a separate entity.

Michigan State University, having succeeded in its original objective of preventing the statewide establishment of branch campuses of the University of Michigan, encouraged the ambitions of the Oakland branch to attain institutional skill in the management of its own resources and actively endorsed the self-determination of this institution.

If the Davis Committee had come out solely against future branch campuses, the weight of legislative opinion and popular sentiment in the state would have supported that view. The failure of the University of Michigan to add a line-item specifically authorizing the branch campus in the Saginaw area was proof indeed that the time and the attitudes in the State of Michigan had changed.<sup>39</sup> If the

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<sup>39</sup>Section 20 of the Public Acts of 1971, a section which had been appended in one form or another for many years, best exemplified the legislative attitude. The section stated in part: "It is a condition of this appropriation that none of the appropriations contained in this act shall be used for the construction of buildings or operation of institutions of higher education not expressly authorized in section 1."

Davis Committee had left well enough alone, the Report would have been an emphatic, declarative statement of that which was.

The State Board, not content to consolidate its influence and pick its fights wisely, picked an unwise fight in the spirit of "machismo". This only alienated the University of Michigan toward the State Board as the coordinating board, and since the other nine institutions of higher education were indifferent at best, there was little chance thereafter for the State Board to succeed and succeed it did not.

The dreams of the framers of the Constitution were laid to rest in an overwhelming sense of disappointment. Romney, the central figure in this period, expressed his regret.

It was a disappointment that the Board didn't have the status and influence that it was anticipated it would have. Those who were advocating the elective board with the broad responsibilities that were given to the Board of Education anticipated a board of such a status that it would attract outstanding people throughout the state to run for the State Board.

Well, that didn't really prove to be the case. As a matter of fact, the early Board did take kind of a partisan approach and made it difficult to develop a coordinated effort between the Board, the governor's office, the budget bureau, and so on.<sup>40</sup>

Hence the State Plan for Higher Education of 1969, which began as the result of the specific encouragement of

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<sup>40</sup>See page A724 for more discussion.



the Blue Ribbon Committee, would not have much influence, since the constitutional questions were settled de facto.

### The State Plan for Higher Education in Michigan

On June 11, 1969, the State Board of Education officially adopted the State Plan for Higher Education in Michigan.<sup>41</sup> This three-year task was completed under the leadership of Harold T. Smith of the Upjohn Institute who had earlier been the Executive Director of the Citizens Committee on Higher Education. Twenty of the 38 goals outlined by the State Board of Education in its 1969 State Plan for Higher Education in Michigan were redevelopments of recommendations made by the Blue Ribbon Committee.

The plan for preparing this document was, insofar as possible, to involve interested and concerned parties. This was accomplished by the organization of a number of committees involving a large number of people and many meetings. The principal committees were the following:

Study Steering and Advisory Committee A, composed of university and college personnel of the public and independent baccalaureate institutions, community colleges, and their respective associations.

Study Committee B, on Present and Future Needs for Postsecondary Education, composed of university and college personnel and citizens.

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<sup>41</sup>Michigan Department of Education, The State Plan for Higher Education in Michigan, Harold T. Smith, (Lansing, Michigan, 1969). Hereafter cited as State Plan.

Study Committee C, on Students Unable to Pay the Cost,  
composed of university and college personnel and citizens.

Study Committee D, on Faculty Advisory and Study  
Committee, composed of faculty members representing the  
educational institutions.

Study Committee E, on Finance, composed of university  
and college financial officers and citizens.

Citizens Advisory Committee for Higher Education,  
composed of citizens.

Former Governor G. Mennen Williams was Chairman of the Citizens Advisory Committee, and John Letts was the Vice-Chairman. Judge Letts, Ivan Brown of the United Automobile Workers, William Defoe, President of the Defoe Shipbuilding Company, Carl Gerstacker, Chairman of the Board of Dow Chemical Company, Robert Herrick of the Muskegon Chronicle, and T. A. Saunders of General Telephone had all been members of the 56-member Governor's Blue Ribbon Committee. Others included Leon Fill, M.D., a former member of the State Board; Warren M. Huff, a Trustee of Michigan State University; Robert Kinsinger, Vice-President of the William K. Kellogg Foundation; Francis Kornegay of the Urban League of Detroit; T. John Lesinski, a circuit judge and former Lieutenant Governor of the State of Michigan; and Donald M. D. Thurber, former member of the State Board and a Regent of the University of Michigan.

The study attempted to replicate the astute selection of the earlier Blue Ribbon Committee, but several significant aspects were lacking. The first was that implicit in the

Blue Ribbon Committee was the support, intense interest and advocacy by the chief executive of the state, George Romney. Further, many of the 56 members were busy members of the power elite of the state. While the names on the new Committee were familiar, many of the people having been involved in higher education issues for a decade or more, the members did not reflect those who currently had power and were the real change agents. It did not have the support and advocacy of the Governor, nor the support of the bureaucratic technocracy; it did not have legislative members on the Committee; it did not have the powerful members of the Democratic or Republican Parties, nor the powerful members of the UAW, as the earlier Blue Ribbon Committee had had. Hence the capacity of this plan, if it can be called a plan, for creating change and implementing new policy was really minimal, if it existed at all.

The State Plan for Higher Education included 38 specific goals, but they were all actually subsets of one goal and of the following philosophical statement:

The State Plan for Higher Education includes 38 specific goals. Some of them refer to actions that must be taken, or are in process, to improve higher education in Michigan. Some refer to methods which will be used in the planning and

and coordinating process. Others deal with such things as projecting statistical and financial data, use of advisory groups and support of legislation.<sup>42</sup>

Goal 1. The role of the State Board of Education as the principal agent for general state planning and coordination of higher education is clear, and in this capacity it is the duty of the State Board of Education to plan for and encourage the orderly development of a comprehensive state system of education beyond the secondary level that will effectively and efficiently serve all the needs of the state.<sup>43</sup>

The Plan stated in a plaintive tone that "the State Plan is not a scholarly treatise or a research report to be noted and put on the shelf. It is an action document, and it will be used for action purposes."<sup>44</sup>

The reality was quite the contrary. It was neither an action plan, nor an action document. It was a proposal for a future agenda for enhancing the Department of Education's role. For the most part, the various goals represented State Board of Education guidelines. It contained statements of performance objectives and references to structural or procedural mechanisms to alleviate the concerns of the various publics, the executive office, the Legislature,

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<sup>42</sup>Michigan Department of Education, Implementation of the State Plan for Higher Education (Lansing, Michigan, 1970), p. 1.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid, p. 9.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid, p. 1.

and the higher education community. They had, by benign neglect and subtle opposition, thwarted the Department from having any significant role in higher education.

The two superintendents of the Department, Ira Polley, former Executive Director of the Michigan Council of State College Presidents, and John Porter, former head of the first Bureau of Higher Education, had significant objectives for the Department in the area of higher education, virtually none of which had come about since the Constitution.

From 1964 onward, the Department of Education and State Board of Education had virtually no significant role in the determination of government policy for higher education. Neither the Governor, the executive staff, nor the Legislature paid much heed to their programs, ideas or recommendations, when occasionally they were propounded.<sup>45</sup>

John Porter made a statement to the Governor's Commission on Higher Education on July 17, 1973. His words best stated what the State Plan of 1969 really had been:

The role of the State Board of Education, as the principle (sic) agent for general state planning and coordination of higher education,

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<sup>45</sup>The Department still clung to the constitutional prerogative as fiscal advisor for community colleges to the executive and legislative branches. However, due to its ineptitude and inability to make hard decisions in a timely fashion, relating to need versus institutional requests, the Governor, in a gracious, but firm letter of June 7, 1968, relieved them of the responsibility of giving fiscal advice. See Appendix I for a copy of this letter.

is clear; and in this capacity it is the duty of the State Board of Education to plan for and encourage the orderly development of a comprehensive state system of education beyond the secondary level that will effectively and efficiently serve all the needs of the state . . . .

In this document thirty-eight goals were set forth as "directional" statements for the planning and coordination functions of the staff of the Department. Even though the document was labeled a "state plan" its implementors have recognized that it fell short of the purposes of a state plan. The document, in fact, provided a sound base upon which a state plan could have been developed. In the context of these goal statements, the staff began to address the many issues of planning and coordination for what was then called higher education and what is more appropriately now called postsecondary education.<sup>46</sup>

Hence the Superintendent of Public Instruction recognized that the State Plan was not truly a plan; it was rather a prospectus for a future agenda, and further, that no plan had yet been developed, notwithstanding the requests of earlier educational groups and studies such as the John Dale Russell Report, the Davis Report, and the Blue Ribbon Report.

Dr. Porter explained that the State Board of Education categorized its responsibilities in the area of postsecondary

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<sup>46</sup>John W. Porter, "A Statement by the Superintendent of Public Instruction before the Governor's Commission on Higher Education," Lansing, Michigan, 17 July 1973, Exhibit B, p. 2.

education within five broad fields, and distributed the 38 recommendations within those five categories.<sup>47</sup>

1. To engage in comprehensive and continuous planning and coordination at the post-secondary level involving both long-range and short-range goals.
2. To develop a statewide system for collecting appropriate information from both public and private institutions as well as government agencies.
3. To approve or disapprove all proposals for the establishment of new public institutions, and to approve or disapprove the establishment of new programs at those institutions, and to make recommendations concerning the reallocation or discontinuance of existing programs.
4. To review and make recommendations concerning operating and capital budgets of public institutions.
5. To administer or coordinate state and federal programs resulting in grants to postsecondary institutions or students attending these institutions.<sup>48</sup>

Dr. Porter continued in a most eloquent statement:

"One of the failing ingredients of most state agencies charged with the responsibility of planning and coordinating higher education is that the state agency has not been able to identify to the satisfaction of all of the decision makers, such as the Governor, the Legislature and the institutions of

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<sup>47</sup>See Appendix II for the itemized 38 recommendations.

<sup>48</sup>Porter, Exhibit B, p. 3.

higher learning, just what the term 'planning and coordination' entails and what will be planned, and what will be coordinated."<sup>49</sup>

One must conclude that there is no reason to think that in the assessment of the planning mechanism Michigan has gone beyond that. There is no consensus about just what "planning and coordination" means, about what the distinction is between voluntary mechanisms and control mechanisms, about what is cooperative and what is coercive, and who will listen to whom, and who will take whose advice.

In summation, notwithstanding all of the ballyhoo of the 1969 Plan for Higher Education issued by the State Board of Education, this was not a plan but really an attempt to create a broader consensus of public support for the Department. It was a suggestion of mechanisms that could be created to enable the Department to fulfill the expectations of the Constitution for general supervision, to fulfill the language of Article VIII, Section 3, which said, "It shall serve as the general planning and coordinating body for all public education, including higher education . . . ."

The State Plan of 1969 was really saying that if Michigan higher education was in fact to have state planning and coordination, this was the way it would have to organize to accomplish it. Dr. Porter's astute statement of

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., pp. 3-4.



July 17, 1973 speaks more adequately to how to organize this procedure, an agenda not yet begun.

There has not been overwhelming statewide support for statewide planning and coordination from 1958 to 1973. Michigan's citizens and decision makers have been confident that allowing the institutions to follow their own academic objectives has served the people best. There really has been no incentive for creating an additional centralized bureaucracy of greater power and control. Those who look to the neat organizational structures of other states as the criterion can cite Michigan's unique lack thereof as the failure to complete the institution of administrative power. Many in Michigan can say, "What have we lost and what would we have gained?" The answers to this are not clearly on the side of coordination. For our unique "nonsystem system" has worked rather well, and the demand for change has not received any overwhelming public support.

Michigan has been controlled by the executive power to recommend and the legislative power to appropriate. The schools are comfortable with that procedure and so apparently are the Legislature and the executive. The schools have been sensitive to public demands and have responded in very astute ways so that there is a consensus that the schools are susceptible to the needs of the people. Generally, the executive and legislative branches have regarded the higher

education system as a responsive instrument of social change. Frankly, the purposes of voluntary coordination and cooperation of the state are not really concerns about fiscal matters, but rather concerns about the higher education mechanism fulfilling the social agenda.

If, then, fiscal concerns are less important in the creation of control bodies throughout the Union, and the primary hidden agenda is the desire that the institutions serve as effective social engines, it is hard to make the case that the institutions have not done so in Michigan.

Hence the case for coordination as a mechanism for state control to create a useful social engine has not been necessary in Michigan as long as the schools are sensitive to the public agenda. There is no reason to think that there will be additional social or political energy to bring the schools under that kind of centralized control.

Former Speaker Ryan's comments are instructive, however, in warning that this era of good feeling may not prevail in the future if the institutions cease to be responsive.

Ryan

I think in Con-Con the representatives of the institutions fought hard for autonomy and were the main voice that was heard.

Author

And they won.

Ryan

And they won, as you say, but there's been no countervailing force that's been giving the other side of the argument. Occasionally, though, the politicians who have to be responsive and accountable to the people do use in their argumentation with the citizenry the limitations to their power that the autonomy of the institutions impose upon them. It may be that some point down the road the citizens may rise up against autonomy on the grounds that the institutions can do anything they want to and the elected representatives of the people are powerless to prevent them.

In most cases you might talk about not so much the economic but the social trends in institutions which people get all concerned about and ask the legislators go do something about it and which they just have to say, "Sorry, we don't have any power to do something."<sup>50</sup>

#### Constitutional Amendments

Between 1964 and 1970 some 15 constitutional amendments relating to higher education were offered in one house or the other of the Michigan Legislature, none of which passed in either house. The main force of these resolutions to amend the Constitution of 1963 was in relation to Article VIII, Section 3, of the Michigan Constitution which provided for the establishment of the State Board of Education. This Section vested the Board with leadership and general supervision over all public education, including adult education and instructional programs in state institutions, such as prisons and mental homes, except those

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<sup>50</sup>See page A406 for more discussion.

institutions of higher education granting baccalaureate degrees. Further, Section 3 provided for the appointment of a superintendent of public instruction by the State Board and prescribed his duties and powers. It also stated that the Board shall serve as a general planning and coordinating body for all public education including higher education.

Section 5 of Article VIII has also been a source of discussion. This Section established the Regents of the University of Michigan, the Trustees of Michigan State University, and the Governors of Wayne State University as body corporates, giving them general supervision of their institutions and control and direction of all expenditures from the institutions' funds.

Section 6 prescribed like power and duties to the boards of control of the other state institutions having the authority to grant baccalaureate degrees, providing, however, that the members of such boards be appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate.<sup>51</sup>

What, then, were the main focuses of concern that these proposed amendments have raised against Sections 3, 5, and 6 of Article VIII?

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<sup>51</sup>The author is indebted for this discussion to the unpublished staff report of the Governor's Commission on Higher Education, February 21, 1973.

The resolutions can be grouped under the following categories: the powers, duties and responsibilities of the State Board of Education;<sup>52</sup> the authority of the State Board of Education; the authority of the boards of control of the various state colleges and universities; the methods of selection of the members of the State Board of Education; the methods of selection and the composition of the various boards of control, particularly the three elected boards of Wayne, Michigan State, and the University of Michigan; those dealing with the method of selection of the superintendent of public instruction.

The debate was related to the following concerns: The first dealt with the specific enumeration of the institutions of higher education with both elected and appointed boards of control having constitutional status. Michigan is

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<sup>52</sup>Judge Salmon of the Circuit Court of the County of Ingham had little sympathy for the plight of the State Board. In his opinion regarding the suit of the University of Michigan, Michigan State University and Wayne State University against the State of Michigan and the State Board of Education as an intervening defendant, he stated: "[The] State Board of Education has constantly stressed upon this court the opinion that its constitutionally imposed duty to plan and coordinate would be rendered virtually meaningless if it is denied the authority to require plaintiffs to receive its prior approval of any new programs. . . . Thus, whether the Board's authority is rendered virtually meaningless is a matter more within the discretion of the Board than of this court." Regents of U of M, Trustees of MSU and Governors of Wayne vs. State and State Board of Educ., 7659-C Mich. (6 Sept. 1971).

virtually unique in this practice because most other states treat the concerns of higher education institutions in statutory rather than constitutional reference.

The second concern was to clarify the language stating that the State Board of Education shall serve as a general planning and coordinating body for all public education including higher education. The Section is ambiguous as regards the concepts of institutional autonomy versus centralized state planning and coordination.

The third concern had to do with the continuing dispute about the relative merits of elected boards of control versus appointed boards. Essentially, the feeling was that qualified men and women who were not by training or attitude prepared for the strain of political life opted not to offer themselves as candidates for the three elected boards of higher education, or the State Board of Education. This debilitated the quality of citizen service on these boards. The attitude also developed that these candidates were really not scrutinized in the long election ballot by the voters and, notwithstanding their ability or lack thereof, were elected by the electoral pull of the top of the ticket. This concern also involved the hidden agenda that the University of Michigan, Wayne State, and Michigan State, and the State Board of Education would be more susceptible to

executive control and legislative overview if their boards had to be appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The fourth major concern had to do with the method of selection of the State Board of Education which is an elected body. There had been widespread disappointment with the overall quality of the Board since its establishment. Some people argued that an elected board would more closely reflect the will of the people, while others countered that an appointed board could bring to service on the state level the best and the brightest. Another argument was that if appointed, the board would be less responsive to political pressure, whereas others feared that if appointed rather than elected by the people, the board would be more subject to political pressure because it would be a tool of the governor or a tool of the Senate.

The fifth concern was the desire to split the functions of the State Board of Education between elementary and secondary education, and higher education with the creation of a second board. The argument was that the Board could not efficiently administer public education, provide general supervision and serve the planning and coordination requirements of elementary, secondary, adult, community college, four-year college and the variety of other concerns under

the Board's authority. Hence a constitutional addition of another board would sharpen the power of each and divide responsibilities so they both could work more effectively.

The sixth concern had to do with the role and function of the appointed board of the junior and community colleges. There was ambiguity over the role of the State Board for supervision of two-year institutions with local control compared to the more specific language of the Constitution as to four-year institutions.

The seventh concern was over the role and function of the superintendent of public instruction. This official is named by the State Board of Education and is responsible for executing the policies of that Board, yet is subject to the controlling influences of the Legislature respecting the operation of the Department of Education. An example of this is that the State Board has not found it within its power to set the salary of its own employee, that power remaining with the Legislature. So there had been additional dialogue over the question of the capacity of the superintendent to execute the instructions of the Board while still being subject to the pressures of the Legislature.

Adelaide Hart stated the case in the Constitutional Convention over the value of returning the state to the system of electing the superintendent.<sup>53</sup> Others argue that the

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<sup>53</sup>See above, pages 80-81.



governor rather than the State Board of Education should appoint the superintendent, pointing out that the governor cannot truly exercise executive leadership if he does not have that power. It is interesting to observe that as a result of the 1963 Constitution, that six of the chiefs of Michigan's 19 departments are not appointed by the governor but by boards or commissions. These are the directors of transportation, agriculture, civil rights, corrections, natural resources, and the superintendent of public instruction. Two offices are elective, the attorney general and the secretary of state.

A further concern was the question of the length of the term of office for members of the State Board of Education and members of the institutional boards of control, whether elected or appointed. Whatever the ideal length of term--eight, ten, twelve, sixteen years--some would argue that one needed to serve that long to be experienced, and others would argue that shorter terms would make the members more responsive to the public will.

The earliest amendments proposed to the Constitution expressed the continued strong feeling of Democrats, liberals and labor that the superintendent of public instruction should be elected rather than appointed. Much of the Democratic concern relating to this was alleviated by the Supreme Court decision of one man, one vote, for the Democrats

were not quibbling over the structure but essentially that the Constitution was cementing the constitutional gerrymander of 1908 into the 1963 Constitution. However, after the determination of one man, one vote, Democratic majorities began to win control in the Senate and in the House. Also, under the pressure of public opinion and the dynamic leadership of Governor Romney, the Legislature moved from its formerly recalcitrant and negative position to a far more accommodating position in a wide sector of public issues.

In the 1965 session those who had strongly urged a centralized board of control introduced Senate Joint Resolution (hereafter referred to as S.J.R.) "G", which recommended that all of higher education be placed under the State Board. There were no amendments offered in 1966, in 1967 or 1968. Figure 2 is a list of the proposed amendments from 1964 to 1970.

In 1969 there was tremendous social disapproval with the student unrest and the violence that was occurring in American colleges. Many people in Michigan felt that the college students were demonstrating extreme ingratitude for those gifts of resources that the citizenry had made to advance their knowledge and well-being; opportunities that they themselves had not had the privilege of enjoying. Thus there was a strong attitude that colleges and universities should be controlled by the governor.

## FIGURE 2

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS 1964-19701964 SessionH.J.R. "F"

Superintendent of Public Instruction; powers and duties; limitation on powers and duties of State Board of Education. (Amends Sec. 3, Art. 8, State Constitution.)

H.J.R. "I"

Highway Commissioner, Superintendent of Public Instruction; recreate as constitutional officers, election and duties.

1965 SessionS.J.R. "G"

Higher Education; place under control of State Board or Education. (Amends Secs. 3, 5, and 6, Art. 8, State Constitution.)

1969 SessionS.J.R. "C"

Colleges and universities; The University of Michigan, Michigan State University, Wayne State University; governing boards, appointment by Governor with advice and consent of Senate. (Amends Sec. 5, Art. 8, State Constitution.) (CF H.J.R. "E")

S.J.R. "P"

Education; abolish State Board; create director appointed by Governor. (Amends Secs. 3 and 7, Art. 8, State Constitution.) (CF H.J.R. "FF")

S.J.R. "S"

Education; State Board, provide for election of members. (Amends Sec. 3, Art. 8, State Constitution.)

S.J.R. "U"

Education; eliminate State Board; elect Superintendent of Public Instruction. (Amends Secs. 3 and 7, Art. 8, State Constitution.) (CF H.J.R. "II")

H.J.R. "HH"

State Board of Education; members to be appointed by Governor. (Amends Sec. 3, Art. 8, State Constitution.)

H.J.R. "PP" State Board of Education; members, number, creation of educational districts, election procedures. (Amends Sec. 3, Art. 8, State Constitution.)

H.J.R. "MM" Community and junior colleges; State Board, create; powers and duties. (Amends Sec. 7, Art. 8, State Constitution.)

1970 Session

S.J.R. "QQ" State Board of Higher Education; create powers and duties. (Amends Art. 8, State Constitution by adding Sec. 10a.)

H.J.R. "XXX" Colleges and universities; governing boards; term of office, reduce. (Amends Secs. 5, 6 and 7, Art. 8, State Constitution.)

S.J.R. "LL" Colleges and universities; constitutional mandates, remove. (Amends Secs. 5 and 6, Art. 8, State Constitution.)

H.J.R. "HH" State Board of Education; members, to be appointed by Governor. (Amends Sec. 3, Art. 8, State Constitution.)

S.J.R. "RR" Remove autonomy from boards of three universities. (Amends Sec. 5, Art. 8, State Constitution.)

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SOURCE: "Constitutional Concerns", Staff Report prepared for: The Governor's Commission on Higher Education, 21 February, 1973, Exhibit A.

In the spring of 1969, while S.J.R. "C" enjoyed the same fate as earlier proposed constitutional amendments, restrictive language was added on the House floor by amendment to the boiler plate<sup>54</sup> of the higher education appropriations bill concerning violence and destruction.

The S.J.R. "P" in 1969 recommended abolishing the State Board and designating a director appointed by the governor. The wish was that eventually all of the 19 major departments of Michigan government would be appointed by the governor, subject to his control and could evolve into a true cabinet form of government.

However, the floor discussion of Charles Anspach, President Emeritus of Central Michigan University and a member of the Education Committee at the Constitutional Convention, best reflected the prevailing attitude. "I don't believe that a governor can dominate--there is a possibility he can dominate a board; this is true--on the other hand, an elective board of outstanding individuals undoubtedly could resist the governor. I think it is a very good check, but I don't believe that he can dominate all boards; he might dominate some."<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>"Boiler plate" is the technical term referring to the sections in the back of the appropriations acts establishing the conditions under which the money may be disbursed.

<sup>55</sup>Constitutional Convention, p. 1199.

Senate Joint Resolutions "S" and "U", and House Joint Resolutions (H.J.R.) "HH", "PP", and "MM" of 1969 further related to the disquiet over the State Board, its lack of functioning, effectiveness, the disputes and politicalization of the Board.

The then Superintendent of Public Instruction resigned over the controversy with the State Board about Parochiaid, an area unrelated to the State Board's mission and role in higher education. It would be fair to say that S.J.R. "C" related to backlash over student unrest and violence, S.J.R. "P", "S", "U", and "MM" related more to the Board and its role toward parochial schools and relationships with the executive branch of government, rather than concerns about higher education.

S.J.R. "QQ", "LL" and "RR", and H.J.R. "XXX" and "HH" were offered in the 1970 session and fell into the same pattern. S.J.R. "QQ" sought to create a new state board of higher education because of the lack of confidence in the present State Board of Education. H.J.R. "XXX" and S.J.R. "LL" and "RR" attempted to limit the autonomy of the colleges and universities. H.J.R. "HH" attempted to do the same for the State Board. The staff of the Governor's Commission on Higher Education issued 23 briefing papers on a variety of issues, all most useful and interesting. The document entitled "Constitutional Concerns", dated February 21, 1973,

stated that "the discussion demonstrates the continuing lack of universal satisfaction with Article VIII in its present form both in terms of construction and with the effect of its implementation."

A contrary point of view can be espoused far more easily. Between 1964 and 1972 only one of the 30-odd resolutions, SJR. "Z", passed the Senate in 1972 by only one vote and died in the House. No other constitutional amendment relating to education has been voted out of either house of the Legislature. It is not impossible to place constitutional amendments on the ballot since, in the period from 1964 to 1972, thirteen constitutional amendments were placed on the ballot, six being adopted and seven being rejected.

Hence the contrary case can be proven in light of the fact that no constitutional amendments in regard to education have succeeded.

This indicates that while the Constitution is not universally satisfactory to those who seek centralized control or more political leverage, the fact is that Michigan's people and its representatives are not dissatisfied with the way things are functioning. They value localism and independence as the highest forms of public virtue rather than centralized control or politicalization of higher education.

Edward Cushman describes well the reasons for this, pointing out the variety of subtleties that made the Michigan system responsive.

Cushman

I would say because nobody really wanted it. The institutions didn't want a strong central mechanism and the arrangements that existed had led to a rather good result.

Author

As I said earlier using the term subtle, the institutions really are accountable in very many ways to the public sector. Don't you feel that way?

Cushman

I do. As I say, that's what I got out of the two years of study that I had in that commission [The Blue Ribbon Committee].

I started out, as I indicated, with the idea of a strong central group. I ended up with a realization--I like your word subtle because I think it does describe it--[that] there are so many checks and balances and forms of accountability that exist both within the institution itself and in terms of its relationships to the various branches of state government--executive branch in its various forms, and the Legislature which has been increasingly interested and concerned and involved, the general increased interest in the part of the public and their involvement in these institutions--all of these have led to, I think, some real feeling that the institutions are quite accountable.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>See pages A71-72 for more discussion.



## CHAPTER V

### A SYNTHESIS

#### A Summary of Attitudes

The questions discussed with the decision elite were designed to cover the history of higher education in Michigan from 1958 to 1970 programmatically as well as chronologically. After a detailed investigation of the published and unpublished sources and after an evaluation of the immense body of interviews, the author offers the following synthesis of what he believes to be the energies, forces and compelling factors that caused the upwelling of higher education during this period.

What in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

Between 1948 and 1960 the population of Michigan increased by about one million people. It was evident that there would be a tremendous demand for more education. Table 5 shows that there were 99,106 individuals reaching college age in 1958, and 177,835 by 1970. These figures document part of the reason for the growing demand.

Also, for the first time people had come to accept, culturally and intellectually, that higher education was a

TABLE 5  
MICHIGAN BIRTHS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>BIRTHS</u>	<u>YEAR REACHING COLLEGE AGE (18)</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
1937	91,566	1955	97,911
1938	96,962	1956	
1939	94,432	1957	
1940	99,106	1958	
1941	107,498	1959	
1942	124,068	1960	122,645
1943	125,441	1961	
1944	113,586	1962	
1945	111,557	1963	
1946	138,572	1964	
1947	160,275	1965	164,107
1948	153,725	1966	
1949	156,469	1967	
1950	160,055	1968	
1951	172,451	1969	
1952	177,835	1970	197,184
1953	182,968	1971	
1954	192,104	1972	
1955	196,294	1973	
1956	206,068	1974	
1957	208,488	1975	194,332
1958	202,690	1976	
1959	198,301	1977	
1960	195,056	1978	
1961	192,825	1979	
1962	182,790	1980	169,798
1963	178,871	1981	
1964	175,103	1982	
1965	166,464	1983	
1966	165,794	1984	
1967	162,756	1985	161,450
1968	159,058	1986	
1969	163,842	1987	
1970	171,664	1988	
1971	161,667	1989	

SOURCE: Senate Fiscal Agency Statistical Report,  
(Lansing, Michigan, 1972), Schedule 13.

commodity available to the middle and lower classes, and not just available to the upper classes. After the GI Bill had been enacted the veterans had the opportunity to go to college. They aspired for the same advantages for their children who were coming of college age in the 1958 to 1970 period.

There was a very definite sense among the people of Michigan--the Blacks, the Poles, the Dutch, and the host of other peoples that make up the diversity that is Michigan--that the only way to get ahead in this world was by additional education. The author has called this the Horatio Alger dream. At the turn of the century there was a series of books espousing the philosophy that hard work, luck-and-pluck would bring success. The new Horatio Alger dream added another dimension--higher education--as the ticket to success. Former Speaker Robert Waldron expressed some of the compelling force of this dream.

I think educating our children has always been a very important factor in America: the idea of a guy pulling himself and his family up by the bootstraps, the Horatio Alger story, all that sort of thing. I think that's part of the American dream: that everybody, regardless of where he starts, has the opportunity to be President of the United States--and he supposedly should have a college education to do that.<sup>1</sup>

The new political center that came to power from 1948 onward was based on social programming. Their view was that

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<sup>1</sup>See page A204 for more discussion.

government had to begin to offer expanded services in mental health, welfare, highways, and education, both elementary and secondary, community college and higher education. It had to improve working conditions and the rights of the common man.

The areas that caused the least conflict were highways and higher education because they crossed the polarities of Michigan politics. Both rural, urban and suburban people across all occupational, interest, and class barriers wanted to consume higher education.

Table 6 demonstrates that the growth of 90,635 fiscal year equated students in 1960 to 198,611 in 1970 was accomplished by prodigious growth within the individual institutions. For instance, Central and Eastern each had about 5,000 students in 1960. By 1970 these figures had grown to 14,000 and 18,500 respectively. That is a tripling of the enrollment in only a decade.

This tremendous population growth is a reason for the popular support for expansion. During this period, Michigan put the educational system in place. The state built 14 new community colleges, created two new colleges, made two branch campuses autonomous and expanded the capacity for enrollment by almost 500 percent. Table 7 shows that the state also expanded the available physical facilities by 29 million gross square feet.

TABLE 6

FOUR-YEAR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES  
FISCAL-YEAR EQUATED STUDENT ENROLLMENTS\*

	<u>1960-61</u>	<u>1961-62</u>	<u>1962-63</u>	<u>1963-64</u>	<u>1964-65</u>	<u>1965-66</u>	<u>1966-67</u>	<u>1967-68</u>	<u>1968-69</u>	<u>1969-70</u>	<u>1970-71</u>
Central	5,152	5,564	6,092	6,512	7,214	8,321	9,451	10,722	11,733	13,237	13,995
Eastern	5,018	5,453	6,082	7,207	8,110	9,743	12,063	14,145	16,111	17,086	18,594
Ferris	3,549	3,837	4,593	5,191	5,767	6,659	7,349	8,280	8,816	9,026	9,350
Grand Valley	---	---	---	193	463	1,046	1,308	1,668	2,166	2,587	2,993
Lake Superior	448	495	576	566	530	715	877	1,042	1,185	1,374	1,550
Michigan State	21,418	23,428	25,377	27,632	30,573	35,499	37,946	39,497	41,061	41,678	41,659
Michigan Tech.	3,201	3,178	3,229	3,287	3,386	3,825	4,153	4,515	4,786	5,057	5,418
Northern	2,272	2,609	3,017	3,479	4,099	5,224	6,638	6,943	7,200	7,745	7,808
Oakland	765	1,087	1,290	1,480	1,849	2,551	3,283	4,086	4,852	5,870	6,415
Saginaw Valley	---	---	---	---	---	83	173	268	589	1,066	1,500
U. of M.	24,562	25,234	26,471	26,840	29,569	31,196	33,196	34,459	34,931	35,178	35,195
Dearborn	185	305	432	584	627	689	703	675	754	800	886
Flint	340	367	382	524	453	634	737	834	1,065	1,274	1,458
Wayne State	14,858	14,654	15,485	16,232	18,409	21,877	23,574	24,764	25,803	27,464	29,368
Western	8,867	9,417	10,417	11,519	13,205	16,688	17,188	18,890	19,928	21,888	22,423
TOTALS	90,635	95,628	103,443	111,246	124,254	145,176	158,639	170,788	180,980	191,330	198,611

\* Includes off campus enrollments.

SOURCE: Legislative Fiscal Agency Statistical Report, (Lansing, Michigan, 1971), Schedule 15a.

TABLE 7  
PHYSICAL FACILITIES OF COLLEGES  
GROSS SQUARE FEET  
(in millions)

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1969</u>
Public 4-Year	31.5	56.3
Public 2-Year	1.9	6.3
Private	6.6	13.2

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SOURCE: Unpublished staff papers,  
Governor's Higher Education Reform Commission,  
1972-73.

A consideration of Table 8 demonstrates the growth of appropriations from \$80 million to \$280 million from 1958 to 1970. Table 9 dramatically illustrates the increase in construction dollars not included in Table 8. Construction dollars increased from \$7 million in 1951-1952 to \$31 million in 1969-1970. It should be understood that capital outlay dollars were used to balance the budget, since construction could be postponed when times were hard, and could be rapidly expanded when times were more prosperous--hence the range from \$19 million in 1956-1957 to \$1.5 million in 1959-1960.

The figures on these tables demonstrate a record of prodigious achievement in the expansion of Michigan higher education.

What were the social and economic factors that led to this significant growth?

The Horatio Alger dream has already been discussed. It was certainly an important factor. Governor John Swainson best expressed the social attitude.

. . . Many of us who had returned from World War II and had had the opportunity of education ourselves--through the application of the GI Bill of Rights in many instances--wanted to provide educational opportunities for our children, and we all had children at that time that were probably born immediately after the war in 1946, 1947, and 1948, depending upon whether you bought your house first or had the baby first. . . .

TABLE 8

FOUR-YEAR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES  
SELECTED YEARS GENERAL FUND APPROPRIATIONS  
(in thousands)

	1951-52	1956-57	1958-59	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71
Central	\$ 1,392	\$ 2,360	\$ 2,405	\$ 3,239	\$ 3,476	\$ 4,177	\$ 5,503	\$ 7,093	\$ 7,578	\$ 9,106	\$ 10,786	\$ 12,787
Eastern	1,590	2,650	2,650	3,485	3,733	4,795	7,037	8,500	10,300	11,648	14,698	18,281
Ferris	488	1,315	1,510	2,435	2,646	3,255	4,633	5,919	6,784	7,555	9,096	10,175
Grand Valley	--	--	--	100	558	1,097	1,698	2,138	1,985	2,449	3,059	3,723
Lake Superior#	--	--	463	--	124	504	658	946	1,037	1,155	1,484	1,862
Michigan State	11,929	23,675	25,315	31,170	30,698	37,197	44,655	51,320	45,233	49,008	54,086	59,932
Ag.Exp.Sta. *	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4,088	4,632	5,017	5,588
Coop. Ext.*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3,044	3,646	4,040	4,541
Michigan Tech.	1,533	2,531	2,262	3,389	3,403	3,594	5,006	6,149	6,532	7,074	7,889	8,671
Northern	653	925	1,050	1,639	1,832	2,410	3,448	4,768	5,122	6,437	6,988	7,984
Oakland*	--	--	--	--	1,562	2,195	2,624	4,251	4,385	5,046	6,248	7,154
Saginaw Valley	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	431	505	864	1,469	2,091
U. of M.	14,845	28,075	30,000	36,667	38,225	44,086	51,255	58,095	59,161	59,915	63,829	69,295
Flint **	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,458	1,596	1,909
Dearborn**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,900	1,892	2,300
Wayne State	--	3,240	9,719	16,482	17,623	20,128	26,684	32,319	33,556	38,176	41,835	45,050
Western	2,132	3,766	3,675	5,476	5,951	7,720	11,428	14,495	14,879	16,165	18,234	22,257
Med. Supplements	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	195
Gerontology	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	200	211	75	270
Computer Network	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	200	--	--
TOTALS	\$ 34,561	\$ 68,537	\$ 79,049	\$104,082	\$109,831	\$131,158	\$164,629	\$196,424	\$204,588	\$226,645	\$252,322	\$284,066

#Included with Michigan Tech. thru 62-63.

\*Included with Michigan State thru 66-67.

\*\*Included with U. of M. thru 67-68.

SOURCE: Legislative Fiscal Agency Statistical Report, 1971, Schedule 15. (Column 1958-59, Bureau of the Budget, unpublished working papers.)



TABLE 9

HIGHER EDUCATION CAPITAL OUTLAY EXPENDITURE  
AND ENROLLMENT FALL HEADCOUNT

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Higher Education (Excluding Comm. Coll. &amp; Planning) Capital Outlay Appropriations</u>	<u>Enrollment Fall Headcount</u>
1951-52	\$ 6,944,624	41,374*
1952-53	4,561,089	42,391*
1953-54	4,365,332	43,930*
1954-55	8,663,980	48,347*
1955-56	10,668,352	54,669*
1956-57	19,550,450	80,148
1957-58	13,139,800	84,098
1958-59	1,690,440	88,134
1959-60	1,524,013	91,480
1960-61	7,856,181	97,136
1961-62	13,150,000	103,085
1962-63	14,273,638	107,880
1963-64	22,024,780	111,246
1964-65	31,314,810	124,254
1965-66	38,749,871	145,176
1966-67	44,847,452	158,639
1967-68	35,874,553	170,788
1968-69	45,238,301	180,980
1969-70	31,120,491	191,330
1970-71	18,656,157	199,391

\*Wayne not included.

SOURCE: Senate Fiscal Agency Statistical Report, 1972,  
Schedule 18.

Higher educational opportunities were to be restricted to the few rather than be provided for the many. Whereas, I think the newer members coming in took an opposite view--that a person should have the opportunity of education to their highest potential.<sup>2</sup>

Leonard Woodcock pointed out that it was senseless to get a raise if there was nothing to buy with it. We had to have useful things to spend the money on in order to enhance the working man, anything else is just foolishness. For the first time since the 1920's there was a real increase in purchasing power. Men and women wanted a better life for their children. Having lived through the adversities of the Depression and the hardships of the Second World War, they wanted to guarantee a better future now that, at last, they could afford it. They shared the attitude that higher education was something which would enhance them and give their children better income and status.

The public policy was simple. The people were bound and determined not to deny access to their children. Access was denied in places such as Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, because they didn't make enough places available to those who wanted them. The people of Michigan were determined to make higher education geographically available across the length and breadth of the state. The doctrine developed that education services past the high school should

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<sup>2</sup>See page A 1 for more discussion.

be available within driving range of virtually all of the citizens of the state. Two Michigan Governors, Williams, a Democrat, and Romney, a Republican, eloquently expressed this doctrine.

#### Williams

It was my philosophy and the philosophy of my administration, and I suppose I should say the Democratic Party, that a university education ought to be available to everyone who is intellectually capable of undertaking it. There ought to be some system of hothouse growth, so to speak, so that people who had been unfortunate in their secondary education should be able to get into some sort of university development.

Now this meant that most of us would, if we could, have free university education. Obviously that wasn't in the cards, but we did what we could behind the scenes to keep the costs down. We welcomed the community college program and I must say that one of the things that concerned me was at the beginning that they be indeed community colleges rather than high school extensions, and I think that there was some danger of that.<sup>3</sup>

#### Romney

I've always felt that one of the distinctive aspects of American life was the adoption of the concept of universal educational opportunity, the recognition that if people were going to exercise ultimate power in our society, they had to be informed. And number two, that to the extent that we could achieve it, there ought to be equal educational opportunity.

To make that possible I felt it was necessary to strengthen organizations. Not only in the urban areas, but also we did something to strengthen our institutions across the state, [most] importantly in the Upper Peninsula. If

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<sup>3</sup>See page A32 for more discussion.

you would take a look at what was done with respect to Tech and Northern and also Lake Superior College...which made it easier for young people in that area as well as in the urban areas.<sup>4</sup>

The economic realities were pretty clear from 1940 on. The automotive industry wasn't going to continue to be the bellwether. It looked good, it looked prosperous, and there were years when it brought in a lot of money. But Michigan had to build more than one industry in the state because when the automotive industry was prosperous, this state was extraordinarily rich; but when it was sick, this state died. Such ups and downs were destructive to an orderly society. Hence the desire to create a broader, more diversified industrial base was another factor for the expansion of higher education. People wanted more diversified educational opportunities to create a talent pool. This would entice high-talent industry, which paid good salaries, rather than bring in low-talent-need industries, which paid low salaries and hence would not improve the lot of the working man.

The enhancement of the schools was energized on October 4, 1957 when the Russians put up the first satellite, Sputnik. That said to many that American schools were inferior, our technology was inferior and we might fail in the race against the hated Communists. That was an affront

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<sup>4</sup>See page A718 for more discussion.

to our pride. What were the means that could create economic, technological, and social opportunities, bring in new kinds of industry, and attain supremacy in the competition against our international adversaries? It had to be higher education.

Since Karl Marx, there had been the concept of three classes in America: an upper class, a middle class, and a lower class. Somewhere on the agenda was the intent to create the classless society, not in the Marxian sense, but an objective similar to it. The objective was to have the middle class envelop the lower class, and, since in this state the upper class has never been that sizeable because of progressive taxation, to create essentially a one-class society of educated people, able to work and prosper. How do you move people across the historical chasm of technological incompetence and cultural disadvantage? How do you create social cohesion from the disparate groups who lived in Michigan? Our people have come from deprived situations in Central and Southeastern Europe, and the agricultural South, both white hillbillies who had lived on the fringes of prosperity in the piedmont areas, and the lowland Blacks who had been agricultural laborers and slaves.

There was the alternative either to create the peaceful society or to experience social upheaval and revolution. The solution was the moderate approach of education as the mechanism to create a middle class of the broadest extent,

coalesced by education and enhanced by prosperity. This mechanism had to build a career ladder of opportunity and educational skill that would give people the chance to move as far as their ability and merit would take them.

In a way, it was a very traditional attitude clothed in a new rhetoric; it was the frontier again. It was not a frontier of geography, but a frontier of knowledge. Americans believe in opportunity. It is part of the Protestant Ethic that is the basis of American society. This was a new frontier that would give all of the energetic the opportunity to succeed. Thus the strongest, those people with drive, would emerge from the disadvantaged and make society stronger and better. This Darwinian principle has renewed our society time after time.

What were the policy objectives that underlaid this expansion?

The policy objectives were clear-cut. The first objective was to create post-high school vocational and occupational training opportunities in every region of the state. This would involve: 1) enhancing the existing community colleges and creating new community colleges so they could provide vocational and occupational training; 2) providing skill training courses for nondegree training to assist industry; 3) developing continuing education, both avocational and occupational; 4) continuing the freshman and sophomore years of liberal arts courses so that boys and girls

could live at home and wouldn't have to pay the high costs of room and board. These measures broaden the number of people going to college.

The second policy objective was the deliberate policy to increase the number of people able to go to college by widening the financial aid base through the State Scholarship Programs and Tuition Grants created and instituted in this time. This assistance was to be used at both private and public institutions.

The third policy objective, which Dr. Harlan Hatcher expressed so well, was to strengthen the colleges to meet the demand.

So that the first breathing space that universities had had in many years began to be visible. They had suffered through the long depression when nothing whatever could be done, they just had to hold it together--no building. Then we went right into the war with all of its strictures and before anything further could be done, we added the GI's.

So we had one, two, three long crises periods which had practically arrested the growth of expansion of the physical plant. . . .

It was then obvious through population studies that we had only a limited amount of time to get ready for another bulge and the question before me--before all of us here at Michigan--was: "Can we get together the right plans and the right support so that when we move into the next big enrollment pressures, we will be in a reasonable shape to guide it and direct it instead of being buffeted by it."<sup>5</sup>

The colleges were so pressed by meeting the demands of the late 1940's and the early 1950's after the famines of the Depression and World War II that they needed help to

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<sup>5</sup>See pages A776-77 for more discussion.

meet the onslaught of the 1960's. Hence there was the policy objective to put the machine in place, facilities, campuses, faculty and programs, so that the instructional load could be met and the demand to come could be delivered.

The last policy objective that underlaid this expansion was the decision to enhance industry in Michigan by supporting research in order to improve their competitive position. Using the universities through the instructional programs would create trained manpower pools of highly skilled men and women.

What were the key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflict in the attempt to attain the above policy objectives?

First of all, there were not many fights. Conflict made the headlines because the real issues were too subtle or hard for people to understand. So, while people made much of the fights, the author believes that people were actually supportive of higher education. From the historical record it is clear that for Michigan's people higher education was a very important investment to them. The conflicts were not about whether or not higher education should be expanded, but rather about how many institutions should be created, where they should be established, who should do it, and how soon.

The first fight was over where Michigan would get the resources. It wasn't until the automotive industry turned around and some of Governors Williams' and Swainson's programs,



and especially Governor Romney's victory in attaining new sources of revenue besides the sales tax, that revenues were generated and significant progress was made.

The second fight was the attempt by the subway alumni--this term was used because the author thinks the institutions were somewhat more seemly about it--to prevent Michigan State from pressing the University of Michigan so strongly. The Legislature decided to give Michigan State College the title and recognition of university status, which it had attained in fact but not in name. The 1963 Constitution gave all of the state schools, except for Ferris State College and Grand Valley State College, the title of university and also gave all of the state schools constitutional status. After Michigan State won the fight for recognition in the Legislature, the Constitution made the issue moot for the others.

The third fight was about the expansion of the major universities, Michigan and Michigan State, to set up branches throughout the state. The questions were whether the state would go like Ohio, California or Wisconsin and have virtually an imperial system, or whether it would have local institutions with local control.

The fourth fight was the competition for the location of new institutions that would be established. Grand Valley State College and Saginaw Valley State College won this fight and eventually Lake Superior State College and Oakland

University became autonomous institutions instead of branches. The normal schools--Central, Eastern, Northern, and Western--wanted to change from offering just teacher-training curricula to comprehensive institutions offering a wide degree of curricula. Further, they wished to be autonomous and removed from the authority of the State Board. They were well satisfied by the determinations of the Constitutional Convention.

The fifth issue was what kind of fiscal resources were needed to create capable, comprehensive community colleges, and whether the community colleges should continue to be departments of elementary and secondary school districts or become independent with broader service areas than school districts. That issue wasn't very divisive, since the realities of the new financing modes made the formerly predominant mode--the K-14 school district--an historical anachronism.

In recapitulation of the fights over higher education policy from 1958 to 1970: The first issue was finding adequate resources; the second issue was the recognition of the proper role and status of Michigan State University; the third fight was the question of an imperial system versus a system of regional colleges; the fourth conflict was about where the institutions would be established and whether the four-year normal schools would be enhanced, as they desired; and the fifth fight was about how to protect and enhance community colleges and free them from the relationship with the elementary school districts.

Do you regard as one of the key issues of this period 1958-1970 popularism in higher education versus elitism in higher education?

When the study was started, it seemed that this was the handle of the whole thing, this was the right answer. Susan Jacoby's article in the Saturday Review,<sup>6</sup> stated the case that the "Cow College" triumphed over the "aristocrats" of Ann Arbor because they were popularists who met the public needs, while the vanquished had not. But a scenario cast in the sense of the grachii of ancient Rome against the haughty Senate is too simplistic to be extrapolated here in Michigan in the 1960's.

All of the people who ran the higher education establishment in this state wanted it to grow. They did not want to deny access to the tens of thousands of Michigan citizens. They didn't want to run the system like Ohio, where they allowed every freshman in and then flunked them out by the tens of thousands. As John Cantlon, Provost at Michigan State University, once said to the author in an insightful conversation, such a system created a large group of people in Middle America who had hatred for themselves, and felt antipathy for higher education because they had failed. The State of Michigan built a system that would enhance people and encourage them to succeed, and not a system in which one could easily fail.

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<sup>6</sup>Susan Jacoby, "The Megapopulist Multiuniversity: Michigan State Redefines the Land-Grant Philosophy," Saturday Review (14 October 1972): 63-67.

A look at Table 6 shows that the prestigious institutions of Michigan were so large that "elite" was not a useful description, because elite normally implies exclusion rather than inclusion.

In the heyday of the mid-sixties, the University of Michigan enrolled almost 60,000 human beings.<sup>7</sup> It is hard to make a case that the school was catering to an elite. Probably the University of Michigan was a little more reserved, much taken with its historical tradition. Michigan State University was a little scrappier because it was in the Avis position of being the underdog and having to try harder. Some of its popularity derived from the American affection for the underdog.

This state wasn't involved in a conflict of popularism versus elitism. Rather the state was working out a mechanism to deliver higher education as quickly as possible, while being careful that institutions didn't bite off more than they could chew. Quality was still a factor that the policy makers did not want to abandon, while still meeting the quantitative demands. Hence the policy was for expansion of enrollment and continuation of quality.

Colleges and universities wanted to serve. Their styles and publics were somewhat different but both were dedicated to their mission to serve the people while

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<sup>7</sup>The FTE and FYES figures are statistical compilations of full-time students. But individuals often carry less than a full-time load, so five students, each carrying one 3-credit course, would be enumerated as not five, but one FTE.

remaining true to their origins, aspirations and visions of a more civilized world.

How important were vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education?

The discussion with Harlan Hatcher is the best way to start. He said that if one is willing to include engineering, medicine, and baccalaureate and graduate technical training in the sciences, it was very important to higher education. The author leans to that belief, because vocational training should not be categorized by the level of the institution offering the curriculum and the imputed status of that institution; but rather by the concept of the skilled manpower pool for societal goals. Thus, all endeavors of this type were vocational, whether taught at a high school or a university.

The state was attempting to create in the community colleges an additional track where it had not existed before, because previously, community colleges didn't have the fiscal means to afford the tremendous costs of instituting complex curricula. For example, some of the equipment for teaching computer tooling costs as much as \$100,000. It was a distinct policy objective to improve the vocational/occupational training not only in elementary and secondary schools, but in community colleges and the whole gambit of

institutions of higher learning, encouraging each to teach that which it did best.

Quite candidly, this is probably the mission that we have done the least successfully. If one looks at the social agenda of the previous 25 years and asks what the agenda is for the next ten years, this is one goal that has not yet been met or successfully handled. We may need to take an additional look at how to do it and how to bring the proper machinery, the proper political and administrative mechanisms to bear, to deliver the money and enhance the program, in order to accomplish better vocational training for society.

Did the growth of culture and the arts have importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

One wants to say "yes, it was important in the growth of higher education" in order not to appear a barbarian. But this just was not the case in Michigan from 1958 to 1970. Neil Staebler rather vividly explained the reason for this.

We're hardly emerged from being a state of fender-benders. We just barely appreciate... well, I'm a little too harsh. There's a lot of feeling but the sense was one of a little desperation, that, "Damn it, we're in jeopardy on our financial base in the state, you'd better not fritter it away with schools of music and theaters."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>See page A267 for more discussion.

There was very little money for cultural things. Even to this day the quality of the state's museums, the quality of its orchestras, the precarious position of dance and ballet, the fact that Michigan does not have a single opera company that really is successful, the marginal nature of our theater programs, the fact that educational television is so poorly supported, all go to say that this is another agenda still unmet.

One of the few places that has sustained the arts is in the institutions of higher education. But it is still most tenuous without adequate support and is unable to make its way at the box office.

The best way to see this is to look at most communities in this state where there is little support for cultural events. In Ann Arbor, where there is a legitimate market, the cultural programs are still not as fiscally strong as they are in the eastern states.

Culture is on the agenda for the future. Only after the attainment of success does one then seek the expansion of the arts. One has to first have a sense of his own worth, of being able to produce and contribute. The time for expansion of culture and the arts will come, but only after Michigan develops an educated, broadly based middle class.

What was the position of labor in regard to higher education?

The author believes that labor was tremendously supportive across the broadest base because education was an issue that was hard to oppose. It did not divide the membership as did other issues, such as housing, or equal opportunity. The leadership did not get into trouble with the workers, they didn't lose their power base because every blue-collar worker participating in the Horatio Alger dream said: "Working in this damn factory is horrid. The factories are loud and ugly and dirty and the management is a bunch of dopes. I can't wait to get out, and I want my kids to do something better, I want to see some of this political clout used to create more opportunities."

Throughout most of the United States labor has been mostly oriented to lunch-pail issues. They wanted to improve salaries, working conditions and fringe benefits. But in the upper Midwest, politics were issue-oriented because the labor power was interested not only in lunch-pail issues, but also in how society worked, and how men lived.

Labor support was crucial. In Michigan the labor factions got on really well. The leadership was involved in public service, on boards of colleges and universities; they cared and gave strong support to the educational structure.



As has been stated, Michigan has an influence elite of some 8,000 members. Probably 700 to 800 of these people are labor or labor-related. The fact that they were in agreement about educational goals was vital.

What was the position of industry in regard to higher education?

While Michigan labor was interested in supporting higher education across the broadest spectrum, their support for particular institutions was less vital and less powerful than was that of industry. Industry's interest was more regional than global in scope.

Michigan has two sectors of industry. The automotive industry is the major industry and practically runs the state. It is composed of not only the giant car and truck assemblies, but also the host of supportive and related industries, such as glass, rubber, steel, plastic and machine tool industries. The second industrial sector includes the local financial and commercial enterprises.

The automotive industry has not always been quick to see the advantages of training and educating people in the areas for which it has direct consumable need, such as engineers and business administrators. It was even less interested in liberal arts curricula where broad knowledge has societal values and application for industry in encouraging innovational change. Quite bluntly, the automotive industry has been static lately because of its

inability to conceptualize uses for broadly trained, supple minds. Without a doubt, the industry needs the leadership of another Alfred Sloan, once President of General Motors. More than 50 years ago his views constructed the automotive industry as we know it today.

Industry was mostly concerned about taxation and keeping the cost of government services in check. The main way to keep things in check is not to permit the money to be collected in the first place. Yet, in spite of their myopia regarding their own condition, they had civic pride in Michigan and its local institutions. Thus a tourist folder for Michigan states:

In conclusion, no better testimonial can be offered than that given by one of the world's most foremost engineering geniuses, K. T. Keller, former chairman of the Chrysler Corp., who remarked, "Michigan has more to brag about than any other state in the Union!"<sup>9</sup>

Michigan industry did not lend aggressive leadership to higher education, but rather benign approval. The case was drastically different in the local context.

The chemical, pharmaceutical and smaller industries, and the commercial and financial interests were much more regionally centered and their attitudes were somewhat different. They espoused higher education in terms of its advantages for their particular geographical area. This was the energy for the establishment of individual schools.

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<sup>9</sup>The Michigan Experience, Chamber Publications, (Livonia, Michigan, 1974), p. 52.

Grand Valley State College received much of its support from the financial community. Saginaw Valley State College received its support from the Dow Chemical, Wickes Lumber and Defoe Shipbuilding Companies and the local General Motors assembly and foundry plant leadership. The Dearborn branch of the University of Michigan was supported by the Ford Motor Company. The Flint branch of the University of Michigan was supported by the philanthropist and largest stockholder of General Motors, Charles Stewart Mott, and the leadership of the local General Motors plants.

The Oakland branch of Michigan State University received much of its support from Mrs. Matilda Wilson, the widow of John Dodge, the automotive pioneer. She donated the site for the university, and to her death gave great support to the fledgling institution. The corporate leaders from the automotive companies who resided in the Birmingham and Bloomfield Hills area also devoted immense energy to Oakland University.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>In 1968, when Governor Romney was running for President of the United States, he made his recommendations for higher education in January. His former associates from American Motors and supporters of Oakland University visited their friend, seeking greater funding for their school. A short paragraph on a piece of blue paper was sent to the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee. It stated that on Friday, before departing for New Hampshire, the Governor had directed an increase in the executive recommendation for Oakland. Such are the ways things happen in Michigan when the correct elements are present.

Both sectors of Michigan industry cohered and fought for local colleges, not for purely industrial or economic reasons, but because of their vision of the good life. Higher education was equally as important for a well-rounded community as museums, parks, cultural programs, or good hospitals. Hence industry used its influence in regional contexts but never on a statewide basis.

What was the position of agriculture in regard to higher education?

The agricultural people were a fragmented group. They didn't speak with one mind any more than industry did, although industry had full-time lobbyists and such organizations as the Michigan Chamber of Commerce, and other groups.

A host of groups made up the influence elite of Michigan agriculture. The Michigan Agricultural Conference, an umbrella group, at one time had as many as 80 organizations participating in its activities. Some of these groups were: the Michigan Milk Producers Association; Michigan National Farmers Organization; State Grange; Michigan Animal Breeders Cooperative; Dairy Council of Michigan; Michigan 4-H groups; the Farm Bureau; Michigan Horticultural Society; Michigan Association of Extension Homemakers; Michigan Pesticide Association; and the Michigan Association of Nurserymen. State agencies included the Department of Natural Resources, the Department of Agriculture, the Agricultural Marketing and Bargaining Board, and commissions and committees for the

apple, cherry, potato, bean and beef industries. Federal agencies in the state included the United States Department of Agriculture, Corps of Engineers, the United States Soil Conservation Service, and of course, the Agricultural Experiment Station and the Cooperative Extension Service of Michigan State University. All of these groups cohered around their own specific interests.

People note that in 1958 there were 111,000 farms, and in 1970 there were only 81,000 farms. But while the number of farmers has declined, the power of agriculture has not declined at all. One has to realize that everyone must eat and there is a direct and vital relationship between those who eat and those who produce the food. The size of the farms increased, the capitalization of agriculture increased dramatically, and the contribution to the Gross State Product continued to increase. With the challenges of famine looming on the horizon, agriculture and agribusiness will become increasingly important in future years.

The influence of the agricultural sector for higher education was quite important and their concerns were several. They wanted to enhance the contribution of the Agricultural Experiment Station, the Cooperative Extension Service, and the various research aspects of Michigan State University. Further, as the number of farms declined, the old 40 acres

and a mule ceased to be suitable for the subsistence of farm families because of the tremendous requirements of capitalization, equipment and land. It became quite apparent that rural families were looking for higher education opportunities for their children in order to create the good life for them beyond agriculture. Higher education would enable them to have the capacity to move into agribusiness and other careers as they saw fit since agriculture was rapidly becoming less and less labor-intensive and more and more machine-intensive, requiring fewer workers.

There was a difference between the role of agriculture and the other sectors of labor and industry. In labor, the leadership was very centralized and coordinated. In business, three or four groupings could speak very strongly, representing the interests of business, especially if the automotive and financial institutions of the State of Michigan were brought into the tent. Agriculture was far more fragmented, and but for occasional activities of the Grange and the Farm Bureau as spokesmen for agriculture, did not coordinate its activities. It has been observed that they really did not need one statewide spokesman because John Hannah, the head of Michigan State University, knew them, was trusted by them, and was extremely effective in representing the aspirational objectives of agriculture in higher education.

Agriculture was supportive especially in the area of the regional community colleges, the growth of regional institutions, the enhancement of research at Michigan State University and the continued policy of increased places in higher education, low tuition and adequate scholarships and financial aids. Governor Swainson's insightful remarks sum up this view best.

Agriculture, I think, had a somewhat different position; and if I could voice that, it was if we were going to have an expansion in the area of higher education, then they certainly wanted to have their share in the agricultural skills and technologies that were fast developing.

The production of food and fiber was undergoing a tremendous change from the Second World War until the present; the science of growing things, the testing of soils, the training of people in the operations of the new equipment, and different things like this. They were interested, but they weren't the initiators. But, if it was going to happen, "we want our share."<sup>11</sup>

What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government?

The rhetoric in recent years has said either that the federal government provides all the solutions or that the federal government is creating a fantastic tentacled bureaucracy which will smother us all. The facts are different than the rhetoric for the period 1958 to 1970.

The role of the federal government in higher education nationally was supportive but not controlling. Their

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<sup>11</sup>See page A13 for more discussion.

activities enhanced the research in the national interest, tried to supply skills for the national manpower pool in the sciences, technology, and foreign languages, and attempted to broaden access for disadvantaged populations with scholarships, grants and loans. Further, the federal government contributed a sizeable amount of dollars for construction in public and private institutions of higher education across the nation. But the federal government did not attempt to get involved in the management of institutions. This sentiment is expressed by men of two very different perspectives in Michigan, from the academic community and from the state government.

President Hatcher of the University of Michigan did not feel any pressure to control from the federal government.

Hatcher

No. The federal programs were many and varied, of course. By far the biggest chunks came in in places like public health, but there were no special constraints that I was aware of there.

Author

It may be that the federal market was different. I'm not sure of this but I have the suspicion that much of federal aid was project research, behind specific things for specific objectives and not generalized support as some of the federal programs are not tending to become.

Hatcher

I think in general that was true. We spoke about the Sputnik era. You know there was quite a period of federal support for almost crash



training or recycling of teachers of science to get back to the high schools to teach the on-coming young generation. There was lots of federal money for the physical plant in many of these fields, for libraries and for public health and so on.<sup>12</sup>

Representative James Farnsworth explained the reason for this.

Author

And I think the federal contribution in social welfare and social services has mandated many state policies as the basis of participation. Now federal support for education seems not to have come with the same degree of mandates for the delivery. It didn't seem to mandate the admissions, or the size of institutions, or their expenditure ranges.

Farnsworth

I believe there is a reason for that, as against the comparison with social services, for instance. Institutions, as you well know, of higher education are extremely sensitive about their own autonomy. I suspect that when Congress got into the business of aiding higher education they were very much aware of that, and would be most reluctant to infringe on an institution of higher education to the extent of trying to dictate any kind of policy.

Author

Much has been made by the people I've talked with about that--not only from Michigan but also from the national scene--of the sense of tradition of history, of some basic fabric of the Republican idea.

Farnsworth

I think more basic than that perhaps. You have to remember that Congress is made up of people that

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<sup>12</sup>See pages A813-14 for more discussion.

were formerly in state and local government so they were well aware when they went there of this sensitivity. But it seems to me, beyond that, that even politicians occasionally will be statesmen long enough to be most reluctant to have legislative bodies get into any kind of position where they can from time to time influence what happens on a campus of higher education.

I think back to the McCarthy period when there was a tremendous urge for legislative bodies to rule out the possibility of any person with communistic leanings from teaching, for instance, at the university, or speaking on a campus. That hysteria was carried so far that there was a proposal put through the Michigan Legislature putting on the ballot the proposal relative to Communism and actually put this proposal to the people and the people voted it into the Michigan Constitution--the old Constitution, the pre-1963 Constitution.

But some way higher education resisted that, and successfully. That taught me one thing: that I'd better be very, very careful in legislating that I don't break down this autonomy that universities have. This freedom to teach what they want and to try to teach all the truth.

I just think that in their saner moments in Congress they felt much the same.<sup>13</sup>

What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the private sector of higher education?

The author was much concerned about the strong antagonism between the private and public institutions. He came from Massachusetts, where the strongly entrenched private schools had fought the public schools, and was also

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<sup>13</sup> See pages A131-32 for more discussion.

impressed by what had occurred in the West, where the stronger public schools had fought the private schools in their attempts to survive.

In Michigan it is naive to ignore the tremendous hold the private schools have on the minds of men in spite of the predominance of the public sector from the very earliest days of statehood. Hope, Calvin, Kalamazoo and Albion colleges and the University of Detroit, for example, are all vital institutions which have made a great many contributions to this state. This was the basis for establishing tuition grant programs by the state to aid students to attend private colleges. The private schools didn't want to harm the public schools and public schools didn't want to harm the private schools. There was enough for all to do, thus there was a gentleman's agreement to aid and abet each other.

There was a good deal of statesmanship and gentle behavior. Former President James W. Miller of Western Michigan University spoke of that good will.

I don't think the conflicts between the private and public sectors were very severe in Michigan. In Indiana, frankly, the presidents of the private and public institutions pretty effectively killed off a community college thrust.

There was an effort at accommodation in Michigan. With only a few exceptions I've never noted any strong antipathy between the private and public. . . . I really can't say that I ever detected any strong antipathy. We used to meet with them regularly and we got along famously as a group, I thought.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>See pages A176-77 for more discussion.

In the mid-sixties a multiplicity of coordination mechanisms were set up whose main function was to encourage communication between the groups. The position in Michigan was clear. People in both sectors of higher education were conscious of the responsibility to be met, recognized their interdependence, and neither side desired to harm the other. Mutual respect and admiration were the keynotes of the relationship between the public and the private colleges and universities.

The role of both was the same--to deliver the societal objectives of higher education. The private colleges were also quite powerful in their communities because of the people on the boards. (See Appendix III for names and occupations of the boards of the private colleges.) John Porter, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, pointed out the strength of these boards in his interview.

Porter

My observation would be that that's because Michigan's private institutions, although they're not very powerful individually, are quite powerful collectively because of their boards of trustees. You just look at Albion or Adrian or Olivet and see who makes up these boards. When you add all that up I think you get a unique phenomenon.

Author

It may be a strange thing, but I'm quite struck by the fact that in terms of physical muscle, Michigan's universities are much more powerful than those in other states--because of the Constitution and the alumni.

But I also, in spite of the weak enrollment mixes, wouldn't want to take on a Calvin, an Albion, a Hope, or U of D because they have some hold on the spirit of men. I think about Hope in a very forceful way. Governor Williams mentioned the influence that President Lubbers had. It strikes me that these men were influential, and still are.

Porter

With influential board members you generate quite influential institutions.

Author

I haven't studied that. I think I'll have to take a look at who was on the boards.

Porter

That's the key, and I think that's partly why the institutions didn't go public. I suspect that the private colleges have more influence across the street [at the State Capitol] than the public institutions if it came to a showdown on any one of these. You've got to realize that the Gerstackers and the Dow Chemicals or the Kresges, and the people who give money to public institutions aren't on public boards. That's something people don't realize.<sup>15</sup>

What was the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another?

The strong affection the people of Michigan have for their own regions was the basis of these conflicts. A region wanted to be able to have a place where its children could go to school without migrating or having to pay the

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<sup>15</sup>See pages A327-28 for more discussion.

additional cost of room and board. As mentioned earlier schools were an important component of the good life.

Grand Rapids wanted a college, Saginaw-Bay City wanted a college, Sault Ste. Marie wanted to enhance the Soo branch of Michigan Technological University. In Flint and in Dearborn there was the strong desire for higher education services, through the University of Michigan. People in Oakland County had a great desire for similar opportunities. Hosts of rural and isolated areas pushed to create community colleges, and in places like Roscommon, Sidney, Clare, Gladwin, Monroe, and Ironwood, community colleges were created to serve their regions. In the period of 1958 to 1970, 14 additional community colleges were established.

The aspirations and the needs for higher education were most acute in the rapidly growing suburban and urban centers. It would be in these areas where the score of new colleges and universities would be established.

Interestingly enough, this class of regional ambitions for institutions did not result in bitter fights that destroyed the individual suitors. Rather, an accommodation developed by the competitors that worked in the following way: "I'll help you get yours, and next year you will help me to get mine." The only time when this

did not work was when the local groups in a region fell out with each other. This is what happened in the case of Saginaw Valley College. The local lack of unanimity probably delayed the placement of that specific institution for five years.

The decision elite was in favor of these new institutions particularly in areas that were underserved by the whole range of public services. The discussion with former Speaker of the House William Ryan best highlights the advantages of the establishment of new institutions of higher education.

Author

What was the nature, Bill of the regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another?

Ryan

I think it's economic and civic.

Author

Were they an advantage to you? A lot of people, particularly planners, make a great fuss about the rivalry between, say, Saginaw and Grand Rapids or Oakland and Dearborn.

I myself lean to the belief, based on my experiences working for the Legislature, that that's not bad at all. As a matter of fact it wired people in who were never in. It brought people into the game who had the privilege and legislative tactic of voting no. All of a sudden you brought in Grand Rapids people and Saginaw people and Dearborn people and you could wire them into a system where in order to get this they had to give something else too.

So I wasn't sure that that kind of competition was at all divisive or bad for the objectives of the state.

Ryan

No, and it certainly has stimulated the particular legislators who came from those areas to fight hard for this growth and expansion.<sup>16</sup>

In summary, the prevailing attitude in Michigan in regard to higher education was to make sure that the pie was big enough for all and not fight so hard as to ruin it for everyone.

What in your opinion were the reasons for the failure of the branch campus system that had begun to be developed in Michigan with Oakland, Flint and Dearborn?

In the late fifties and early sixties there was a chance that the State of Michigan was going to develop a system of branches like Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois, Alaska, and California had. This issue was strongly polarized between three sectors of opinion.

One group did not believe that new institutions which were managed in a colonial manner by an imperial campus could do the job of representing local interests or aspirations. Another group said that in order to put a good school together with good faculty, facilities and programs, and get it accredited, the most expeditious way was under the auspices and accreditation already granted to a main campus.

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<sup>16</sup>See page A402 for more discussion.



President Victor Spathelf of Ferris State College was immensely concerned about the imperialism of the University of Michigan. He stated this in his extremely trenchant memorandum of March 12, 1963. He first quoted from The Grand Rapids Press, February 13, 1963, statements by the University of Michigan.

"Hatcher in this appearance before the Senate Appropriations Committee, proposed legislative adoption of a resolution supporting citizens' efforts to develop a branch plan. He suggested a \$50,000 appropriation to complete the plans. . . .

"He (University of Michigan Vice President Marvin L. Niehuss) did say the University of Michigan has a flexible plan for establishing branches to suit a community and under questioning conceded the University might seek as many as seven or more out-state branches 'under proper conditions'."<sup>17</sup>

Spathelf then argued that:

There is no comparable analogy known to the writer anywhere in the United States where an existing major university proposes to absorb an existing community college and build upon it a future complex university branch in any state which even nearly approximates the burgeoning Michigan pattern of thirty existing state colleges, universities, public junior colleges, and an array of private colleges and universities. The examples cited within the report as possible precedent for the UM-Delta proposal are immaterial and irrelevant.

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<sup>17</sup>Victor F. Spathelf, Memorandum to The Michigan Council of State College Presidents and The Michigan Coordinating Council for Public Higher Education, March 12, 1963, p. 9.

The proposal is sent to the legislature for adoption in totality or in principle as an ultimate complex university branch of unknown financial consequence either on operational costs or ultimate capital expenditure requirements. There is evidence to support the contention that branch college operation, as this is presently conducted, is a more expensive way to effect enlargement of state educational opportunities in a given area than a number of other alternatives.

The proposal should be considered for precisely what the following summary accurately describes it as being: A plan of general authority to develop a complex university branch, conceived without presentation of operational or ultimate costs, or an analysis of its impact upon other public or private institutions (and consultation with them), or the pattern of state higher education as viewed from the vantage point of two affected institutions, for one selected geographic area, one of which was "invited in" and after much extended "negotiation" has accepted on the assumption that this action, without investigation and common agreement, is in the best interests of the State of Michigan. In the opinion of the writer, this can well be considered unilateral action. It has all of the elements to further muddle the orderly development of higher education in Michigan.

The proposal to develop a major complex university branch is of vital importance to the entire state pattern of education, both as an undertaking and as a precedent. Any proposal by any institution to develop its own pattern of expansion, including an array of branches, is of prime issue as a matter of basic state policy and to the existing components of higher education.<sup>18</sup>

The prevailing force of public opinion developed in the six years from 1958 to 1964. The clear implications of the John Dale Russell Report, the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, the Davis Report and the Report

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 26-27.

of the Citizens Committee on Higher Education, were all anti-branch. That, coupled with the hostility of the state's burgeoning community colleges and the nine other baccalaureate institutions, killed any additional expansion. No further branches were established after the Oakland branch in 1958. This, quite bluntly, should be regarded as the successful curtailment of the expansionist drive of the University of Michigan.

The University was thwarted from moves into Saginaw, Grand Rapids and into Oakland and Macomb counties. If they had succeeded in placing institutional branches in the suburbs and out-state communities, the story of how this state developed would have been entirely different. Suffice it to say that after branch expansionism was checked, Michigan State University's interest in Oakland declined precipitously.

Another key element against branch campuses has been the strong and abiding localism of Michigan's people and their inherent suspicion of super bureaucracies. Universities with many branches and 30 or 40 thousand students met the criterion of such super bureaucracies. Academicians have used the term "mega-universities", but there is no reason that this term makes the beast any more palatable.

The discussion with Governor William Milliken reflected some of this feeling.

Milliken

Based on my observation it really hasn't worked particularly well.

My impression, as I have talked with the administrations at Michigan State and U of M, is that they seem, somehow, once they get a branch established, to lose interest in that branch and the branch becomes quite autonomous in its own right. Their essential interest seems to be in the parent campus itself. . . .

Author

Jim Farnsworth said one of the reasons the Human Services Bill was in trouble was that Michigan people fear big government. There's a sturdy sense of local independence. . . .

Milliken

There just doesn't seem to be the kind of climate in the state which is supportive of a very large and impersonal system of higher education which all flows back to a single parent.

Jim Farnsworth may be right. Maybe that's one of the problems that we are encountering in the human services effort.<sup>19</sup>

The University of Michigan was successful, however, in allying with key elements in Flint and Dearborn and was able to prevent the destruction of its entrepôts in those cities. Harlan Hatcher, former President of the University

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<sup>19</sup> See pages A292-93 for more discussion.

of Michigan, quite persuasively presented his view in defense of the branch campuses.

Hatcher

Now you spoke about the branch campuses. There was a great deal of misunderstanding on that one, brought about for lots of reasons that we don't have time here to go into. But the basic points are these.

If you take yourself back to the period of the late fifties when the whole new generation was beginning to pour into the colleges, we were turning away perfectly qualified students because we did not have the space, or in some instances, didn't have living room for them. At one point we were actually turning away students because there was no place for them to live.

Combine that pressure for enrollments with the rapidly rising costs of students living away from home--their board and room particularly--plus their tuition made it very difficult for many of them. The question came up almost as a corollary of the concept of the junior college: "Why does a student have to go to East Lansing or to Michigan to continue his education when he might, at much less expense, carry right on in his own home community?". . . .

Instead of bringing people into the campus at Michigan, couldn't we extend the campus there for those who wished to carry on. That was the concept of it.

The Legislature was highly pleased with that concept and though I haven't an overwhelming number of pleasant memories of going to Lansing, one of them was when C. S. Mott and I went down to the committee, in which Senators Beadle and Garland Lane were the most prominent members at that time, and laid before them the concept of an added two years of work at Flint coordinated with the junior college, so that if they wished they could go on, or could transfer.

Now behind this concept at all points was this: If and when and at any time this kind of institution ever needed to go out of existence, or to become locally autonomous, freestanding, it would certainly do so. But what we were concerned with was that the lead time, the pressures and all that part were so great, that it seemed sense to everybody that we talked with, and it certainly seemed sense to me as the president of this institution, to say that we can give almost instantaneous existence to a first-class continuation by this method which you cannot possibly do without a long, difficult lead time. So we set up Flint and we set up Dearborn.

Author

To some, though, it looked like the California model or the Wisconsin model was attempting to be set up, with [the University of] Michigan controlling all the schools.

Hatcher

Yes, I know that was an interpretation of it. Some of my own colleagues in the Council of College Presidents were fearful of that, particularly Spathelf, who thought that we were embarked upon some kind of Nazi conquest to take over.

Author

Well he viewed it as an imperialistic drive. . . .

Hatcher

...Which it was not at all. Now I don't know how to explain that beyond saying what I did. I know what the motives were and why we did it and where we went with it. And it worked and it gave [University of] Michigan immediately a new form of continuation in these two institutions.

### Author

Well, some regarded it that in the locus of power in this state you have Detroit, you have Flint, you have Grand Rapids, you have the suburban part and then you have the rural part. The rural part was diminishing in influence because of the migration and the change in the nature of American agriculture. Some, therefore, did think that Michigan moving to Flint, to Dearborn, and being strongly romanced by Saginaw-Bay City, and with its preeminent position in Grand Rapids where you'd been a long time--for instance, you still have a radio station there--was an attempt to bring them all in under one tent with Michigan as the head of it.

### Hatcher

Well, as I said, that was not true.<sup>20</sup>

However, the level of suspicion and anxiety on the part of the other institutions, and the ineptness of the University of Michigan in presenting the above case, if such was its policy, caused a coalescing of forces that effectively barred the door.

Oakland University, formerly known as the Oakland Branch of Michigan State University, and Lake Superior State College, formerly known as the Sault Ste. Marie Branch of Michigan Technological University, have both become sovereign institutions.

President Robben Fleming of the University of Michigan discussed the future of the remaining two branches of the University.

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<sup>20</sup>See pages A792-94 for more discussion.

Fleming

By the time I came on the scene it was pretty much over and the only ones left were our own two.

I think what's perfectly clear about them is that there is great local political pressure from the people, the faculty, plus the students in Flint and Dearborn to remain a part of the University of Michigan. I think that's what keeps them there, basically.

Author

I guess when I said failure... I worried about your looking at that question. In Wisconsin you ended up with the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and so forth. I guess when I say failure, I mean I don't believe the time will ever come again that we'll have branch campuses of the University of Michigan at Port Huron or at other additional cities.

Fleming

I think that's right. I don't believe that will happen.

Author

The concept of the branch system as part of a satellite farm system I think is gone. The same with local political energies that want the prestige of Michigan to husband their campus. It may sometime come when nationalism and political climates could be different and they may strike off on their own.

Fleming

Yes, and we have, in fact, made deliberate efforts now to operate them as independently as we can.

Author

I was going to ask that. It's my observation that in your presidency you have taken direct efforts to make these schools more autonomous,



more capable of their own management, and delegated many decisions to them that formerly stayed here in Ann Arbor.

Fleming

Yes, we've done that deliberately in order to make them as autonomous as possible. Therefore, if there ever comes a time when public policy directs that they be spun off, they could become independent quite easily.

Author

Whereas when you came, the Michigan State capacity to do that with Oakland, which occurred right in your first year, was not a viable choice for you.

Fleming

That's right

Author

That could be so five years hence.

Fleming

It wasn't viable in terms of either administration or politics. I would say it is viable now in terms of the administration. It is not viable in terms of politics. You'd see an enormous uproar from those localities.<sup>21</sup>

Hence, the branch campus issue was divisive, but still was only an aspect of larger matters. More than likely, within the next ten years these institutions will become autonomous regional colleges.

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<sup>21</sup>See pages A519-21 for more discussion.

Why in your opinion did an institutional system for the coordination of higher education not come about after 1964?

There are several reasons. First, the Constitutional Convention gave all of the state's baccalaureate institutions constitutional status. Michigan is one of the very few states in the Union to do so. Once all of the four-year colleges had constitutional status, it was just too appealing to give up. Second, there has been a long ongoing sense of suspicion about strong centralizing agencies because the line between coordination and control is very delicate, needing great skill to execute.

The ineptness of the State Board in its early moves, the lack of Republican representation, the inability of the Board to win the colleges and universities to any real accommodation with the Department of Education's Bureau of Higher Education, all are reasons for the Board's failure to play a strong role in Michigan.

President John Hannah of Michigan State University best expressed the sense of disappointment.

Author

You speak and sound as if you believed in some of this cooperation, yet at the Constitutional Convention George Romney had this sense of coordination run by the State Board, and you and Roscoe Bonisteel and some others had a sense of the autonomy of the institutions. That came through in a very mixed way. The

State Board ended up with constitutional language but no real prerogative because the institutions came out with a sense of their historical importance as institutions with legal power.

Hannah

I think you're mixing up two things. Every time the State Constitution has been rewritten, since the University of Michigan was given constitutional independence, this matter has come up. You say Bonisteel, myself, and maybe some others insisted that we not lose the relative independence from the Legislature, from the internal affairs managed by political forces. It provided no problem, really, to extend this to the whole system. There was a recognition that there had to be a coordination. There had been various limping movements before and it was perfectly clear that sooner or later it was going to be.

I was on the Education Committee, as was Bonisteel, though that wasn't my primary role in the State Constitutional Convention. The mistake we made, looking back on it, was in providing for the election of the State Board of Education. No one could foresee that that first slate of candidates for the Board would be picked by people that didn't seriously regard what they were doing.

If half of the first Board had known something about the role and purpose of public education, it would have been one situation, but by and large, they didn't have that understanding. There weren't even any strong people that could educate them and they went off in all directions.

Author

Without getting involved in personalities, because that's a delicacy, I have the sense--and I've said this in some of the other interviews--that nobody expected eight members of one party to win. It happened in '32, but the rest of the time things had been balanced.

We ended up without strong representation from people like Bentley and Briggs and the like. We ended up with a Board that wasn't of high

quality. The election process frightened out some of the people who weren't politicians but were men of civic responsibility.

Hannah

They would not go through the process of being nominated and elected. I think now, I didn't at the time, that all of the educational boards would, by and large, be better off if they served long terms, were selected by appointment by the governor, maybe with approval of the Senate, for the good reason that you mention. There are very few people who wouldn't gladly serve on these boards, but very few of them will go the election route. They just won't go through that requirement of nomination by a political party and required campaigning all over the state.

Author

Therefore, you lose from the boards a certain talent stream in society that the institutions and society need.

Hannah

What you really need is some management skill and competence and understanding. You need the point of view of people in the middle categories of society, you need agriculture to be represented, you need all of these points of view working towards the common objective of the kind of an institution that will serve the purposes of all of them.<sup>22</sup>

Governor G. Mennen Williams stated the case quite well, pointing out the unique influence in Michigan of history and tradition and its hold on the minds of men beyond the language of statistics. He expressed regrets that cooperation and the mobilization of the most

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<sup>22</sup>See pages A753-54 for more discussion.

thoughtful could not be brought about, yet he recognized the extreme challenges to accomplishing a dynamic new mechanism of government.

Williams

Well, I think there are two reasons. First of all, I think the spirit of autonomy and the strength of the individual institution was too strong to permit any board to operate successfully, despite the Constitution or despite the law. The second thing was that the Board itself, while they had a number of fine individuals on it, never pulled together. They never were able to exercise any organized strength, and as a consequence, even if they... [or] any board could have done it, this Board just wasn't staffed in such a way. . . .

It was tragic that the Board didn't have the kind of dynamism that it might have had with another mix of individual leadership. But any board would have had an awfully rough time. . . .

[The universities] have a loyal and faithful alumni. I don't know so much about Wayne because they are somewhat newer and the commuting campus may not inspire the same unity. Anyway, State and the University, have got a strength, you know, that's pretty hard for anybody to contain and then they've got this long history. The idea that anybody could put a cork in this bottle is just... out of it.

Author

That's well said.

Williams

I think, however, that what is required is a high degree of statesmanship on the part of the Governor and the Commissioner of Education, or whatever else, and to try and work with the Legislature. The Legislature is really the only one that has any kind of competitive equality of power with these institutions. Of course

they are dispersed among so many members so that they don't bring that power to bear quite so directly.

Author

But there is one Governor and 148 legislators. . . .

Williams

No, but I was thinking more of not between the Governor and the Legislature but between the institutions and the Legislature. Theoretically the Legislature could just cut them off because they've got the power of the purse. But you know the people of Michigan wouldn't let the Legislature get away with that. Then on the other hand our people wouldn't let the universities go too hog-wild either. I think it's that kind of recognition of the important factors that has got to keep people living together as a family and nobody is going to be sole and exclusive boss.<sup>23</sup>

George Romney, Governor during five of these six crucial years, when the Board met its difficulties, summarized the case:

Author

They picked the fight over the Flint campus right off. I wonder if that might have sealed their doom. Some say yes, some say no. But that was early and you were right in the middle of that, weren't you?

Romney

As I think back, they never pursued an approach that resulted in establishing a good working relationship, even in my office. Maybe that was my fault, I don't know.

Ira Polley--my recollection is that that wasn't too happy a selection.

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<sup>23</sup>See pages A41-42 for more discussion.

### Author

There was a split, and there was a period of time when they didn't select anybody. Kloster was acting superintendent for a while.

### Romney

As a matter of fact I think that was a disappointment to the institutions and a lot of people in the Constitutional Convention. They had visualized attracting an outstanding educator and leader and so on, and they didn't. I think there was a feeling that Polley was not a man that measured up to what they expected.<sup>24</sup>

The State Board, which people had hoped would bring the best and the brightest together, had not. They had picked the wrong fights and had quickly lost credibility.

It all came to the fact that the institutions of higher education in this state didn't want coordination. Only by a failure of the institutions to maintain public confidence was coordination going to come about.

Then who in the public sector was for it? Certainly not the legislative or the executive branches, nor the opinion elite of Michigan, all of whom were well satisfied with the colleges and universities in this state. The institutions were effective mechanisms for social change because they were sensitive to public need. It wasn't necessary to coordinate them, and to this day there is no appetite for centralized control. Thus, virtually no one wanted coordination of the institutions of higher education.

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<sup>24</sup>See page A736 for more discussion.

In summary, from 1958 to 1970 Michigan's people, operating through its leadership structures, constructed one of the largest systems of higher education in the country. Through this system, quality, diversity of programs and opportunity to obtain these services were spread throughout the land. The system has worked effectively and well. The things that are still left undone do not raise significant doubt as to the capacity of the entire system.

#### The Future Agenda

In the period covered by the study, 1958 to 1970, much was accomplished. However, there are still aspirations within the social structure to do more. It is fair then to ask what the agenda is that remains to be fulfilled.

Now that the period of extraordinary growth within Michigan's post-secondary education system is past, the issue as to the development of additional factors of quality to enhance the institutions for the next generation should be addressed. Questions of quality rather than quantity will become the primary concerns facing the public sector.

Issues of broadening the base of the service beyond degree instruction must begin. The mechanisms must be constructed to deliver adult education in the communities of our state beyond the campuses.

Continuing education programs for the enhancement of skills for those who need constant up-grading, because of



the tremendous technological expansion of knowledge need also to be developed.

Further it is apparent that the vocational training system for first-entry jobs is not working as well as needs demand. Additional thought must be devoted to what delivery mechanism and what financial support mechanisms can be put in place to create a truly effective vocational and occupational training system in the state for first-entry jobs.

The thorny issue of who should pay for higher education must also be faced. Because of the increasingly high cost of higher education, brought most directly to the attention of the opinion elite by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, a debate has begun to develop about the appropriate share to be paid by the student and by the public sector.

Decisions must be made to prevent the cost of education from rising so high that the disadvantaged cannot aspire to their place in the broadening middle class. The society seems to be comfortable with paying for elementary and secondary education and is moving very strongly in this state, through the mechanism of local tax support and state support, to extraordinarily low tuition for junior and community colleges. We must begin to face the fact that if education serves a public good and has a public value, tuition must be done away with for all levels of education.

It is hard to make the case that higher education is not socially useful. Just as earlier educational and societal leaders faced the issues of free public schools in the United States, so must we bite the bullet by creating the public policy mechanism through the opinion-forming apparatuses of Michigan society to create a day when there will be no tuition barriers for higher education.

New institutions of higher education must be created in northern Macomb County, in Oakland County, and at Traverse City. It is also necessary in the urban area of Detroit to establish an institute of technology whose programmatic charge would be most similar to Ferris State College.

Now that the main agenda for the enhancement of institutions of higher education as manpower trainers has been accomplished, public policy must strongly urge that we move beyond that goal to goals that enhance civilization. We must begin, as a part of the public agenda, to say that not only are we trained to live this life, but the quality of this life must be enhanced. Not only must we make strong efforts in the environment for the preservation of trees, fresh water, animals, birds and bees, but we must also make strong efforts to enhance the life of the mind by encouraging state support for music, theatre, art, dance, literature, and the other aspects that make the good life worth living.

The search must be encouraged, for only through additional knowledge can ignorance be conquered. One of the highest priorities of the system of higher education that the State of Michigan has built is to get other products from it besides instruction. We must begin to obtain new knowledge and new understandings of the very underpinnings of man's social and environmental relationship with the world and with life itself. This objective becomes worthwhile and necessary in the lives of our citizens. Knowledge and the means to attain it--research--must be strongly encouraged.

All areas of the state must be included in community college service areas, and these vital programs must be enhanced with equal and equitable fiscal mechanisms. Currently, a significant portion of the state's land, about 50 percent (estimated), levies no voted taxes for community colleges, and in about 30 percent of this state, no programs are available for local residents.

The determination of public policy for higher education through a capable, consultative process has been notably absent in Michigan. If the institutions of higher education are to be qualitatively enhanced, a new mechanism must be created, for it is far easier to accomplish quantitative growth, as in the past, than qualitative enhancement.

Hence, a State Council for Higher Education, separate from the State Board of Education, should be created. It would be responsible for developing new strategies and mechanisms to serve the people. This Council should be appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. The composition of this Council should be broad-ranging and diverse to reflect the multiplicity of views and interests.

The junior and community colleges should be given constitutional status equal to the baccalaureate institutions. The 29 junior and community colleges should also be participants with the public four-year institutions and private colleges in this State Council for Higher Education.

A public policy dialogue must also begin on what alternatives the higher education system in Michigan could develop if out-of-state tuition is found by the courts to be unconstitutional. In an age when virtually all benefits of citizenship and eligibility for governmental programs are instantly available to new residents, except higher education, it is hard to believe that this last barrier to free access will continue to stand.

These are the major agendas that remain to be performed. It is a challenging and useful agenda for the next generation. Michigan, since 1835, has proved that these agendas can be fulfilled. The public policy agenda must

begin to face these in the next generation. If they are obtained with the base we have already built from 1958 to 1970, the public will be well served and Michigan will continue to remain predominant in the Union as the state with the finest system of higher education with the greatest utility to the well-being of its people.

It is the strong conviction of the author that the future can be better than the past only by the same dedication and commitment that motivated these "giants in the public service" who accomplished so much in this past generation. The need is clear, the opportunity for men and women in the public service awaits. It is the author's hope that this study will encourage them to set out to master the future as the earlier generation of giants mastered their generation.

## APPENDICES

Appendix I

LETTER OF JUNE 7, 1968 FROM THE GOVERNOR TO THE  
SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION



APPENDIX I

STATE OF MICHIGAN  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR  
LANSING, MICHIGAN 48903

GEORGE ROMNEY  
GOVERNOR

June 7, 1968

RECEIVED  
JUN 10 1968

Dr. Ira Polley  
Superintendent of Public Instruction  
Department of Education  
Lansing, Michigan 48902

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Dear Dr. Polley:

In your March 14 letter transmitting the State Board of Education's Second Annual Report to the Michigan Legislature on financial requirements for higher education, you recommended that the Board, working in cooperation with the Bureau of the Budget, be responsible for the development of budget request materials for all of the public colleges and universities.

I understand that two years ago the Budget Division requested your Bureau of Higher Education to solicit budget requests from the various community colleges and transmit a combined request on their behalf. This arrangement was made due to a shortage of staff in the Budget Division which would have precluded its effective review of the individual requests.

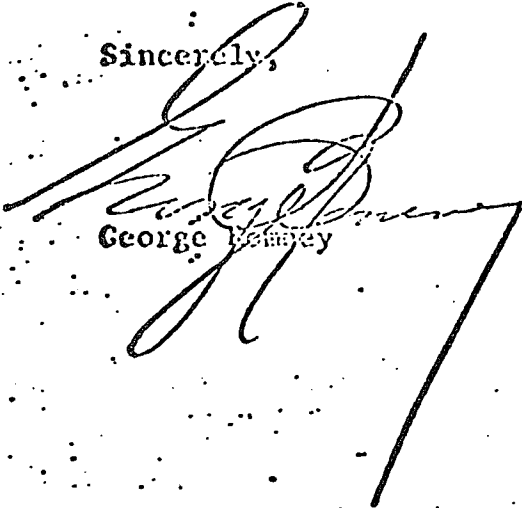
I understand that one of the reasons for your request of March 14 is to strengthen your capability to advise the legislature of the financial requirements of our publicly supported institutions of higher education. Two essential points bear on the essence of your request. First, as a member of the constitutional convention and its education committee, it was and is my belief that the financial advice language is oriented toward long-range financial planning and program coordination requirements. Further, I do not believe it was intended that the State Board of Education supplant this office in the annual budget processes for these institutions, but that it was to deal with those factors having financial ramifications beyond the scope and time allowed for the annual budget cycle. Second, as I indicated in my General Departmental Communication No. 25 and in my remarks at the department head meeting of May 8, I am determined to strengthen the budget process by instituting a spring budget preview to gain an early identification of program issues, and by requiring greater emphasis on systematic planning, programming and review of state government service programs. I believe the assignment of your higher education staff to the annual budget process would simply defer your



efforts and responsibilities in this regard, as well as those relating to planning and coordination of the further development of our system of higher education.

Therefore, I am directing the Bureau of the Budget to develop the budget request materials for the community college capital outlay program for 1969-70 and for current operations commencing with the 1970-71 budget. I understand there has been excellent coordination between the two concerned offices for the period of time involved in the split responsibilities. I believe it would be to our mutual benefit for this consultation and coordination to continue. I also believe this delineation of roles to be proper and necessary not only from our point of reference, but also from the perspective of the individual community colleges.

Sincerely,



George Romney

Appendix II  
THE GOALS OF THE STATE PLAN  
FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

## APPENDIX II

### THE GOALS OF THE STATE PLAN FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

- Goal 1 The role of the State Board of Education as the principal agent for general state planning and coordination of higher education is clear, and in this capacity it is the duty of the State Board of Education to plan for and encourage the orderly development of a comprehensive state system of education beyond the secondary level that will effectively and efficiently serve all the needs of the state.
- Goal 2 As an initial step in carrying out its constitutional mandate, it is the responsibility of the State Board of Education to assemble information concerning the existing educational pattern of each baccalaureate institution and community college and analyze such information in terms of its recognized educational responsibilities and the scope of its services and offerings.
- Goal 3 The State Board of Education will establish AS NEEDED advisory committees of colleges and university BOARD MEMBERS, administrators, faculty members, AND STUDENTS. In addition, the State Board, from time to time, will create other advisory committees as may be appropriate.
- Goal 4 The State Board of Education expects to seek additional methods by which the private institutions can be properly assisted. Therefore, the State Board reaffirms its support for private higher education, and will seek to foster its welfare and development by appropriate measures, consistent with constitutional and statutory provisions and sound public policy.
- Goal 5 Because of the increasing demands for greater numbers of technically trained people and the rapidly increasing number of vocational-technical programs in community colleges, it is the intent of the State Board of Education, in cooperation with the four other state agencies responsible for the supervision of

proprietary schools, to develop administrative relationships to coordinate the program developments of proprietary schools as part of the overall system of higher education.

- Goal 6 Since revisions of long-range enrollment projections are necessary in determining the need for educational programs, space, and faculty, and because of the important variables affecting the college-going rate, it is the responsibility of the State Board of Education to maintain updated long-range projections of potential and probable student enrollments.
- Goal 7 The State Board of Education will continue to take the initiative and encourage the community colleges, public and private colleges and universities, and others involved with education and welfare of our youth to seek out and assist those who have the ability to do the required academic work but who, because of inadequate academic preparation or other reasons, are unable to meet the prescribed admission standards of the institutions.
- Goal 8 Therefore the State Board of Education will continue to support and promote the liberal arts programs in the colleges and universities, and encourage all studies which aim at producing responsible members of modern society--citizens who are knowledgeable of our western heritage, appreciative of other cultures, concerned with social problems, and respectful of common human values.
- Goal 9 The State Board of Education needs to be informed concerning changes in demands for persons trained for the professions, sciences, and technical fields of various kinds. Therefore, the State Board of Education will encourage and initiate studies of the needs of people for professional preparation in specific areas and exercise leadership in securing the necessary cooperation among the concerned departments of state, professional associations, and the higher education institutions in carrying out such studies.

- Goal 10 There is continuous need for studies of society's demands and needs for people with vocational skills. Therefore, the State Board of Education will exercise leadership in promoting and encouraging continuous study of society's demands and needs for people trained in the various vocational and technical skills, and to initiate such studies in its own behalf as circumstances dictate.
- Goal 11 The State Board of Education reaffirms its position that the community colleges should admit any high school graduate or other out-of-school person and counsel with him about the programs or courses for which he is prepared and from which he may benefit.
- Goal 12 In order that community college transfers to baccalaureate institutions may have the opportunity to achieve their educational goals, the State Board of Education will request baccalaureate institutions to accept the special responsibility to admit academically qualified community college transfers, and to provide them with essential counseling and assistance during the period of transition.
- Goal 13 Because of the lack of knowledge related to the admission policies and practices of the institutions, the State Board of Education will, in cooperation with the colleges and universities, initiate studies designed to culminate in recommendations concerning admission and retention policies and practices.
- Goal 14 The State Board of Education will foster the coordination of state, institutional, and federal funds available to students, and will recommend that sufficient state financial assistance be available to every individual who is academically qualified to undertake a higher education program of his choice.
- Goal 15 The State Board of Education will seek legislative action to provide sufficient funds for the state guaranteed loan fund and to accomplish greater participation by financial institutions.

- Goal 16 The establishment of an incentive awards program that would identify high school students from disadvantaged backgrounds who can benefit from further education, is of utmost importance if more young people are to be given an opportunity for higher education. Therefore, the State Board of Education will continue to give high priority to the implementation of such a program and will urge the legislature to provide sufficient funds to meet the financial needs.
- Goal 17 For the purpose of enabling the State Board of Education to make annual reassessments of higher education, each baccalaureate institution and community college shall file its updated five-year plan of operations showing its educational roles, its actual and proposed inventory of programs, its required faculties and staff, and its projected operating and capital costs, including self-liquidating facilities.
- Goal 18 As a result of the growing demands for off-campus programs including educational television and mail order AND CONTINUING EDUCATION courses at the undergraduate, graduate, and graduate-professional levels, and because there is not now a clear direction as to the overall state planning and coordination of such activities, the State Board of Education will develop, in cooperation with institutional representatives, a statewide plan whereby off-campus education can be encouraged, fostered, and coordinated.
- Goal 19 As a matter of policy the State Board of Education will, from time to time, recommend that certain community colleges, especially metropolitan community colleges, undertake such of the high-cost vocational-technical programs as they are particularly suited to offer.
- Goal 20 In order to avoid unnecessary duplication of institutions, facilities, and programs, it shall be the policy of the State Board of Education that, where community colleges exist, the community college shall serve as the postsecondary area vocational school for the said area.

- Goal 21 Due to the great need for pre-vocational technical skills at the secondary level, and in the interest of efficiency and economy in teaching, the State Board of Education will establish appropriate standards for secondary area vocational centers and community colleges to avoid unnecessary duplication of programs and facilities.
- Goal 22 For the purpose of stimulating cooperative educational, research, and public service programs, the State Board of Education will strive to expedite coordination of regional programs within the state, with neighboring states, and with private organizations.
- Goal 23 Although it is not clear that there is a unique optimum size for educational institutions, it is believed that an educational institution cannot wisely be expanded indefinitely. Therefore, the State Board of Education will study and recommend a state policy concerning institutional size, and the distribution of students among the institutions.
- Goal 24 The State Board of Education reaffirms its policy of April 1966, that the existing branches should be provided their autonomy in an expeditious manner.
- Goal 25 The State Board of Education is responsible for making recommendations concerning the formation and scope of new public institutions. In recommending the establishment of any new public institution, it will offer guidelines to the new governing board on how the public institution should grow, the level of instruction to be offered, and the variety of professional programs and the timing of their introduction.
- Goal 26 The State Board of Education believes every resident of the state should have access to community colleges services. It is therefore the policy of the Board that all areas of the state be included in independent community college districts.

- Goal 27 The State Board of Education will, based upon appropriate advice, establish guidelines for locating community college sites within the respective districts in such a way as to provide the greatest services to all of the people of the district and surrounding territory.
- Goal 28 The State Board of Education shall, based upon appropriate advice, establish guidelines for determining the appropriateness of residence halls on community college campuses, and the construction of a residence hall by a community college shall require the prior approval of the State Board of Education.
- Goal 29 It is the policy of the State Board of Education that no community college should be transformed into a baccalaureate institution. If and when it is determined that an upper division or four-year institution is needed in an area, it should be established in its own right, rather than as an outgrowth of an existing community college.
- Goal 30 Because of the growing concern over rising tuition and fee charges, the State Board of Education will initiate a study and make recommendations concerning the entire gamut of student charges by the public baccalaureate institutions and community colleges.
- Goal 31 Baccalaureate institutions shall file financial information upon request consistent with terms of such definitions of accounting and reporting terms as are agreed upon by the institutions and state agencies involved. In addition, the State Board of Education will cooperate with the baccalaureate institutions to bring about a speedy completion of an accounting manual that will be acceptable in meeting the uniform accounting and reporting needs of the state.
- Goal 32 The present system of counting and reporting students by the public baccalaureate institutions is practical and acceptable to most agencies. The State Board of Education will adopt the system of counting and reporting students as set forth in Table 3.



- Goal 33 Because the educational programs of community colleges vary widely and some are penalized by the standard per student appropriation, the State Board of Education, with the advice of the boards of trustees of community colleges and the State Board for Public Community and Junior Colleges, will recommend a new way of determining appropriations for community college operations consistent with their roles as institutions of higher education.
- Goal 34 It shall be the policy of the State Board of Education that, when a student attends a community college as a nonresident student because he does not live in a community college district, the excess of the tuition charged over the standard charge to resident students should be paid by the student's local school district. When a student from a community college district attends another community college in order to enroll in a high-cost vocational-technical program or a specialized program not available in his community college, the sending community college should make provisions to pay the difference in tuition charges.
- Goal 35 As a result, the State Board of Education will assist and encourage the public baccalaureate institutions and the public community colleges to arrive at optimum utilization of their facilities and improved operating efficiency wherever possible; always in light of the need for quality in the education processes.

Appendix III  
NAMES AND OCCUPATIONS OF BOARD  
MEMBERS OF PRIVATE COLLEGES

## APPENDIX III

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Appendix IV

ELECTION OF THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

## APPENDIX IV

### ELECTION OF THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION November 3, 1964

DEMOCRATS	TOTALS
Donald M. D. Thurber	1,802,962
Leon Fill	1,701,368
Carmen L. DelliQuadri	1,691,002
Marilyn Jean Kelly	1,724,930
Peter Oppewall	1,688,130
Thomas J. Brennan	1,770,868
Charles E. Morton	1,637,056
Edwin L. Novak	1,692,056

#### REPUBLICANS

Ellen M. Solomonson	1,149,323
Karla Parker	1,192,664
Bourke Lodewyk	1,179,218
Joyce Hatton	1,228,961
Robert P. Briggs	1,213,112
John C. Kreger	1,161,060
Alvin Bentley	1,305,045
James F. O'Neil	1,242,387

The Freedom Now Party also ran a late of eight candidates. Their top candidate received 6,816 votes.

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SOURCE: The State of Michigan, Office of the Secretary of State, Michigan Manual, 1965-1966, (Lansing, Michigan, 1966), pp.464-71.

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HIGHER EDUCATION IN MICHIGAN,  
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VOLUME 2

Interviews

By

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to

Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Administration and Higher Education

1975

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TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH

JOHN B. SWAINSON<sup>1</sup>

F--Is it your recollection that one of the important factors that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan was the national concern in 1957 over Russia putting a Sputnik into orbit?

S--The realization that their technology seemingly had outstripped ours. I think that was the most dramatic thing that had happened in that year. The awareness of the members of the Legislature of this event, and an explanation of it in the technical aspects, I think, gave everyone pause to think.

But I say that that was only the dramatic event. I think that prior to that many of us who had returned from World War II and had had the opportunity of education ourselves--through the application of the GI Bill of Rights in many instances--wanted to provide educational opportunities for our children, and we all had children at that time that were probably born immediately after the war in 1946, 1947, and 1948, depending upon whether you bought your house first or had the baby first.

I think that there was a greater awareness on the part of members being elected to the Legislature. [To] the members who were there--the older members--this was not as important to them. They still were very much involved in how things were in 1939, the year of normalcy. Higher educational opportunities were to be restricted to the few rather than be provided for the many. Whereas, I think the newer members coming in took an opposite view--that a person should have the opportunity of education to their highest potential.

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<sup>1</sup>John B. Swainson; Democrat; Governor, 1961-62; State Senator, 1954-58; Lieutenant Governor, 1959-60; Circuit Court Judge, 1965-70; elected to Michigan Supreme Court in 1970. Interview conducted March 20, 1974.

Swainson

F--Then there was a clear-cut feeling that we were going to have to move toward expansion of the system as it then existed when you were in the Senate because it was not capable of handling the baby boom that was coming from the post-Second World War marriages.

S--I am sure that is true. We were quite aware of the development in our primary schools. You had to build many, many more classrooms for the primary grades, and this was going to go right through the high schools. And then what do you do with them? So there was an awareness that we had to get started on providing the facilities and the personnel to provide for this group of students coming in. I realize these are generalities, but I think...

F--No, I think they are important, though we'll come down to more specific reasons later.

We were in bad economic times, in part because of all of the restricted fund gimmicks that were going on, and the like. Was there still willingness to spend the money?

S--There was not a willingness. I think you had the dichotomy there. There was an unwillingness on the part of the people that were in control of the machinery of the Legislature, your chairmen, but there also was a great willingness on the part of the governor at that time.

If you recall, I was the minority leader in the Senate, and as much as we were termed at times a programmatic party, we took every opportunity to expand. I recall supporting their [Hannah and Hatcher] positions on the floor of both Houses to expand the universities.

F--After working in the Legislature I am aware of the one-third group that's always against everything, so I realize how, when I ask you the question, I'm really talking about that one-third in the middle. My view of it is that one-third are for programs, one-third always against, and the other third you've got to coax and sell.

S--Yes, they were the ones that could determine one thing or another.

F--They could go either way, too.

S--Depending on the issue and other issues that they were primarily interested in.

Swainson

But I think that the influx into the Legislature, the post-World War II legislators [who] generally speaking had conducted their campaigns in the fast-growing suburban areas with people that had had the opportunity to be homeowners, and, too, as I say, had benefited from training provided them by the GI Bill would be important.

F--But that kind of entitlement was running out as a federal program and therefore the state had to move in.

S--The state had to move in. You had the parents who had had the opportunity of education; they could realize and did realize the benefits and wanted to provide that educational opportunity for their children.

F--Therefore, this being for many of the parents the first generation that had ever gone to college, that dream for their children to have equally as good and better was an important force socially.

S--Yes, and without the war that provided the impetus that gave them the education.

I think that on a personal note that I would be just that example. Had it not been for my injuries in World War II the direction of my life might have been quite different. But here I was provided with an education. Because of the severity of the injuries it became apparent to me that I would have to have the education. I wasn't going to be a truck driver or something else, and you could see the benefits.

Now, I would certainly want to provide that for my children. I have one boy who was born in '47 and subsequently a boy born in '49.

F--I can understand that on a very personal sense. I'm the first son to go to college. My dad is a printer and when I was a boy only the rich went to school.

S--It was a hoped-for dream that maybe you could go to college, but you certainly couldn't depend on your family.

F--It didn't exist to go to college until after the war when people found out it was a possibility. Back in Boston, Harvard and places like that weren't for working people.

Were there economic factors such as industry thinking about the value of improving the trained manpower?

Swainson

S--Well, I'm sure that this varied with the people that you talk to. I know I talked to the president of Chrysler Corporation in those years and his attitude was that if you could only afford kindergarten that's all anybody would be entitled to, you don't raise taxes for this purpose. It was a pay as you go. How he related that to the school children I don't know.

F--I asked the question specifically because one of the things that has struck me in my experience is that when people talk about Michigan they talk about the power of Michigan industries.

In my time, from 1966 to the present, I have never felt the slightest bit of interest in education from Michigan industry, or the slightest concern, except from Chrysler in one specific instance. The only time you ever see the automobile people is in the tax committee.

S--I think that is very true. I think also that in 1967, when we had the civil disorder down in Detroit, that brought them together.

F--That's what I'm referring to--Wayne County Community College. Before that, never, and never since.

S--That's right, never since, and it has diminished since that time.

F--But you didn't feel that kind of pressure, although the automobile industry went through a tremendous expansion in terms of plant and wealth.

S--Yes, and at the same time, to my mind at least, they took every opportunity to suggest that Michigan was on the rocks because of the 1958 recession, and that it was because of the policies of the governor at that time, the Democratic Party in particular, and this is what caused all the problem.

[They suggested] that plants were going to be moving out and yet when the studies were made by Dr. Haber<sup>2</sup> he indicated that Michigan, because of its strategic location, the availability of water, transportation, and

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<sup>2</sup>William Haber; Dean, College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, University of Michigan; noted analyst of the Michigan economy.

Swainson

skilled workers, would still be the hub of the manufacturing industry.

F--As an aside, Hiram Todd<sup>3</sup> still sings that same line and it is still one of self-serving interest, because they located in states which had sales tax and industrial profit taxes of one sort or another.

S--They could never justify their position when you got right down to it; except it was a refrain that everybody sang for a while and we argued and debated it and made advances, I think, during that time.

F--So one of the policy objectives was to create an opportunity for the children of Michigan residents to go to college who had never had that opportunity. Their parents, many of them, had seen it was possible and many had had the GI Bill. And, the second one, obviously, was the concern about the Soviet technology.

S--Here we thought we were heads and shoulders above the Russian people and we find out that they were capable of putting a missile, a vehicle, in space and we had not done it. And, of course, in 1960, as you recall, President Kennedy undertook a ten-year program and achieved it much before the ten years. We've gone through the space program.

F--Were there partisan and parochial conflicts--by parochial I mean institutional interests, for instance, Michigan State for Michigan State, Wayne for Wayne, and the like--over the attempt to encourage the growth of schools?

S--I think they were all interested in the expansion but obviously there was parochial conflict between the institutions as to which one should be developed, and how it should be developed.

Wayne State University always felt that they, being sort of a city campus, were providing more education to a greater number of persons and should be supported perhaps more than they were at the time. Whereas most of the people in the Legislature were not really graduates of Wayne State but were either Michigan or Michigan State.

You had the partisanship whether the University of Michigan was superior to Michigan State. It seems to me

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<sup>3</sup>Hiram P. Todd, Jr.; Chrysler Corporation legislative liaison.

Swainson

that just a few years before we had changed the name of Michigan State College to Michigan State University, which was a matter of debate. We undertook the funding of Wayne State University.

F--Were there antagonisms over this? I still heard some<sup>4</sup> of these things, like when I dealt with John Sobieski. He was the Wayne County lobbyist later, but he had been on the Appropriations Committee and not notably an easy man to live with, as I had heard.

S--Oh, yes, there was personal prejudice. That was always there, but in my role as the minority leader we tried to follow a general policy of expansion of education.

And yet we were quite aware that there were parochial interests amongst the members of that caucus, notably Garland Lane. At that time [the University of Michigan Flint branch] was in the talking stage... to receive a great deal of its funding from the Mott Foundation.

F--We'll come to that. I'm going to talk to him, but I'm not sure how one can do that delicately. He's still warm about it after all these years.

Did you have maybe a private agenda or deliberate hope to break some of the class and cultural barriers?

S--Oh, I would think that that would be a fair statement. To open up the colleges, so to speak, that had heretofore been closed to many of the ordinary people of this state. The encouragement, as I say, as a general policy matter, that each child, each young person, should have the opportunity of education to their highest potential.

At the same time that we are talking about higher education we were also expanding our mental health programs, and quite frankly our mental health institutions were in a deplorable condition. New words, new knowledges were being developed. We had a tremendous challenge in convincing people that there was a difference between mentally retarded persons and emotionally disturbed persons, and that an emotionally disturbed person was capable of education. And yet we had no educational facilities at any of our mental health institutions,

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<sup>4</sup>John N. Sobieski; Democrat; State Representative from Wayne County.

Swainson

but merely the commitment procedure, in a storehouse sort of arrangement.

So that at the same time we were expanding higher education we were trying to take care of some of these other details also.

F--Did any of the policy goals that you worked at bring in the question of popularism? By that I mean mass education versus elitism.

I think about listening to people like Niehuss<sup>5</sup>, who was at Michigan and had been Hatcher's man, much concerned about quality and testing procedures and not bringing in those people obviously unsuited.

S--Well, at this same time, of course, the concept of community colleges was developing. Whether or not we were going to have sort of a chain-store approach to the expansion of the University of Michigan having a campus at Dearborn, and a campus at Flint. And then what about Michigan State? Would they have extension programs, here, there... or would it be better handled by the development of the community colleges?

If we were going to have so-called community colleges, how were they going to be financed? Would they be two-year institutions, or would they be four-year institutions? This was a completely new concept, at least for our legislative bodies.

F--And for educators too.

S--And for educators too.

And to reserve perhaps major institutions for the professional training or the graduate work after a person had gone to a community college.

At the same time, of course, we were expanding our state-supported institutions with the development of Grand Valley College, the expansion of Western Michigan, Eastern Michigan, taking away the so-called normal school image that they had.

F--Some of the efforts were really truly psychological rather than programmatic, like, as you say, changing the

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<sup>5</sup>Marvin L. Niehuss; Vice-President, University of Michigan.

Swainson

normal school image, changing the title from college to university. When the Constitutional Convention was concluded there was hardly a college left that didn't have the title university.

S--This status was very important. I think that everybody realized that when you get a degree you want to have as much on that certificate of graduation as you possibly can. You didn't want to have gone to the normal school--sort of a live-in/teacher arrangement of the frontier days--when you graduated.

Of course it wasn't that understandable to the newer members but quite understandable to the older members of the Legislature.

F--I'm curious. How important, and I know they were, were the vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education?

Certainly in community colleges there was that component part.

S--Yes, and I think also in the area of Ferris, which was Ferris Institute, now I guess is Ferris State College.

F--But it had burned down, hadn't it?

S--It burned down in '52 I think, and was undergoing a rebuilding process. Certainly Vic Spathelf was a very articulate and persuasive administrator. One that I came to rely on in many instances for general information and found him always accessible and very knowledgeable in the area.

Particularly, the development at Ferris was to provide the practical education, whether that be an auto mechanic or in the area of pharmacology or printing or any number of things. And I think that it has been demonstrated that perhaps we did not give enough emphasis at that time in the development of occupational skills.

When we developed--after the Constitutional Convention--our State Board of Education, the debate was shifted to how we provide people with the opportunity of earning a living. Not everyone is going to be a doctor, a lawyer, or an Indian chief. We are going to have to have cabinet-makers, mechanics and television repair persons.



Swainson

F--Michigan State, for instance, had developed the School of Packaging; the Engineering Schools at Wayne and Michigan; and the whole growth at Tech; were there concrete policies to enhance those kinds of programs?

S--Well, I think we relied upon the people that we were successful in electing at that time. Whether it be a Cornelia Robinson<sup>6</sup>, [or] some of the people that went directly from the labor movement, like Don Stevens<sup>7</sup>, into the educational sphere, [people] that would very much be interested in just what you are discussing, the expansion of the curriculum.

F--So there was some close contact. It's hard always to feel the informal role of trustees. The three major schools elected them and the others were really appointed. Generally we've not been successful in selecting board members who had stature in and of themselves.

S--The method that we utilized for selecting of our board members, of course, was based on the partisan elections and sometimes you had people to fill the ticket, sometimes you had educators, the pendulum swings. But in the area that we are talking about we were eminently successful in attracting candidates that did have depth of understanding and also the ambition and determination to change things. We were in contact with each other as legislators, as executives, as educators, and tried to develop through seminars and conferences exactly where we should be heading.

F--I noticed that when Bluestone<sup>8</sup>, for instance, was put on the Grand Valley Board--which was in a sense far from his constituency, but not far from his interests.

S--That's right. And people that were energetic people and dedicated people, and were elected because the ticket was elected, and not because of their individual attainments.

F--I think that is still true.

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<sup>6</sup>Cornelia A. Robinson; Member, State Board of Education.

<sup>7</sup>Don Stevens; Member, Board of Trustees, Michigan State University.

<sup>8</sup>Irving Bluestone; UAW executive; Member, Grand Valley State College Board of Control.

Swainson

S--Yes, I'm sure it is. Horstein's Law I guess. There's a big ferry coming in and it brings everything in its wake.

F--Governor, were there some of the trustees that were really crucial, whose opinions and attitudes about the whole enterprise were important and significant, that you relied on?

S--Yes, at that time I felt the Democratic Party was almost like a family organization. We relied on each other for expertise in the various areas that we were functional in. Eugene Power was on the Board of Regents at the University, Don Stevens on the State Board of Trustees, [and] Cornelia Robinson. These people that we had worked with, had confidence in, we would rely on for information and we generally received very reliable information.

F--I think an example of what you talked about, for instance, is the Institute of Gerontology at the combined Wayne and Michigan program. It came very strongly out of the UAW interest.

S--Right, and their broad range of social interest, basically the people they represented, but more [generally for] the general population of the state.

F--The academic people are always concerned about the fact that we will become so occupational, so vocational, that we won't stress the value of civilization itself. It's always easy to point to vocational objectives. It's harder to point to the value of, for instance, the discipline of law as an intellectual as well as vocational thing, or music or theater.

S--Or just pure research. And we generally had these debates; that the person that is doing research, although he could not put his finger on a concrete accomplishment, is going to be better for the general population. To have accomplished this research, where he might take a sabbatical, or he might be looking at an egg and deciding just why it turns which way at which time.

F--People like Jack McCauley<sup>9</sup>, for instance, were always terribly critical of the whole research thing. It's easy to beat upon politically.

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<sup>9</sup>John E. McCauley; Democrat; State Senator from Wyandotte.

Swainson

S--Right, and people like Senator Porter<sup>10</sup> --who was my seat-mate in the Senate--would periodically take the catalog of Michigan State University and their extension services, and say, "Here we're spending money for someone to teach a housewife how to bake an apple pie. Do we really need that?", or, "Here's a course in the dance. Is this the kind of thing that we are called upon to support?" And, yet, we recognize that the development of the individual is more than just bread and butter.

F--But aside from the rhetoric, when you had to count the votes, were the votes there?

S--Generally. We never obviously received exactly what had been proposed or recommended, but we made an advance from the year before, or two years before that, and we were satisfied that we were progressing.

F--It's still that way.

S--Yes. That will never change.

F--What was the position of labor? I'm quite struck by the strong sense that the UAW had a much broader interest than just bread-and-butter issues.

S--I am too. Of course, when we talk about the UAW, we are talking about a labor organization that is horizontally organized, rather than, say, trades unions that are vertically organized, and their interest was greater in the whole spectrum of higher education. They did, when they could, provide persons who had the capability to develop programs and policies.

This was not true when you talk about building trades or the Teamsters, or the other large labor organizations, while they were members of the AFL-CIO.

F--How much, I wonder, do you think it was the personality of Walter Reuther himself?

S--Well, I think there was a great. Walter was a stellar figure obviously, and very articulate.

F--I was always impressed that in the end he lived on the campus at Oakland.

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<sup>10</sup>Elmer R. Porter; Republican; State Senator from Blissfield.

Swainson

S--Yes, and his development of the Black Lake institution as more of an educational development of that union. He was the leadership. You had leadership through education. You brought in your committeemen, you brought in your local union presidents, and gave them the opportunity to develop.

Obviously, Doug Fraser<sup>11</sup> is one of the prime examples of a man coming from the shop to leadership position. He was very much interested in that and very much interested in higher education, and thought that laboring people in this country had not had their fair shake in this area.

F--And Bluestone obviously was of the same mind because he had been in the Constitutional Convention. Were there other labor leaders? I don't know enough yet about where Gus Scholle<sup>12</sup> was, for instance.

S--Gus Scholle was very supportive of this area. Their disagreements, of course, were more internal than they were public. How you proceed, whether you had a constitutional convention, whether you increase the sales tax in the Constitution or not increase the sales tax, whether you have earmarked funds, and things like this. But generally supportive of education, and I don't think there was any dispute between the leadership in this regard.

F--As for instance, the main pressure felt from the Teamsters was over health and not over education.

S--And rates for the benefit directly of their membership.

F--But not a long-range...

S--No, not a long-range educational program.

F--We've talked a bit about industry, do you want to amplify it?

S--No, I think we have discussed this. Theirs was a general reluctance and grudging advance more than anything else. They didn't see it as their responsibility.

F--I've made a distinction between industry and commerce, because looking over Governor Romney's Blue Ribbon

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<sup>11</sup>Douglas A. Fraser; Head, UAW, GM Division.

<sup>12</sup>August Scholle; former Head, AFL-CIO.

Swainson

Committee that was established, and the Con-Con committee, I noticed the strong relationships of retailers.

I was curious if, in fact, the commerce people had a different attitude than the heavy industry people. I'm not sure that they did.

S--I don't think they had what you could call a different attitude. It seemed to me at the time that the people in commerce, mainly represented by the Chamber of Commerce, were forever going to Washington saying don't do anything because it would be better left to the state; and they would come to our State Legislature and say don't do anything here, it's better left to local government; and they would go to local government and say well, this isn't a function of local government. The whole posture was one of let's not do anything.

F--And that kind of eviscerates their position in many ways, because they always sort of held that way.

S--Yes. "The least government," they like to say, "is the best government," but then they don't want the government to be taking any initiatives at all.

F--What about agriculture?

S--Agriculture, I think, had a somewhat different position; and if I could voice that, it was if we were going to have an expansion in the area of higher education, then they certainly wanted to have their share in the agricultural skills and technologies that were fast developing.

The production of food and fiber was undergoing a tremendous change from the Second World War until the present; the science of growing things, the testing of soils, the training of people in the operations of the new equipment, and different things like this. They were interested, but they weren't the initiators. But, if it was going to happen, "we want our share."

F--I sense that to be an important element, but I sense one other thing, and I want to see if you have an attitude about it. It struck me that farmers were vitally frightened about their children leaving home and concerned about the migration of their children to the cities. They were hoping that local institutions, community colleges, regional colleges, would give their children a chance to learn other skills and still stay home.

Swainson

S--I'm not aware, as I say, of agricultural people initiating this sort of thing; but if it were going to happen, they would take advantage of it. I think they saw the changing in the farm technology, that the traditional 160-acre farm was just not feasible to provide the college education--the amenities of life.

Therefore, if they saw the handwriting on the wall--the consolidation of properties, the working of properties like almost corporate farms--then they wanted to provide the children with the education that would make them self-sustaining.

F--I asked the question: "What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy from the federal government, if any?" Now, I've been conscious of the fact that in programs like welfare, the federal requirements have been significant. I haven't sensed that about the federal government, but I'm curious if in your term in public life you felt requirements coming from federal encouragement to create state programs.

S--Well, generally I was not so much aware of them at the time I was in the legislative body as I became aware at the time I was in the executive office. A great part of any executive at this time, a state executive, is to have a portion of his staff skilled in writing proposals for federal grants that are available, whether they be in the area of research [or] health education and welfare. I think that their public policy in providing funds upon application was very important.

F--Of course, in the early days one sensed that there was legislative complaint about going for these funds. I recollect the story that the Appropriations Committee required every federal grant to come to the Appropriations Committee. I guess that Michigan delivered six file cabinets full; and they decided that was an excess... And so I assume that there has to be some pressure over the grant policy.

S--Oh, yes, there was pressure, particularly in the vocational education area. Funds were available to us, the monies were appropriated at the state level, and we found ourselves to be about 51st in the country in taking advantage of the funds that otherwise would be available for persons that had physical handicaps, particularly administered by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. I was particularly interested in this field because of my own handicap. It was ridiculous.

Swainson

F--That's something that slipped my mind, because of the fact they are funds.

And to some great degree, he [Ralph Peckham]<sup>13</sup> was the architect of that program. I went to school under it, and so I, myself, wouldn't perhaps have gone to college without that opportunity; because we didn't have in Massachusetts the tradition of education that was economical.

S--I spent many hours with Ralph Peckham. I had a personal interest, obviously, and a general interest, naturally; but to train a person to be a watchmaker and then not to have positions for watchmakers seemed a ridiculous use of money.

The opportunity of developing skills when you are physically handicapped, to make you a tax-producing citizen rather than a tax-using citizen, was to me just logical. [I felt] we should take advantage of the funds that were available. So it was always my position on the floor to be the leading spokesman for the OVR.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy from the private sector? I'm thinking about private colleges, the views of U of D, Calvin...

S--I don't recall those in a very specific way. At that particular time it seemed that our private institutions of education were operating in such a manner that they were not facing the near-bankruptcy that they find themselves in today, so we didn't have too much contact with those institutions. The enrollments, of course, had not...

F--They really hadn't begun the serious decline that they have...

S--That we've seen in the past, say, four or five years. I don't have any recollection of influence in that regard.

F--I was thinking that Father Steiner<sup>14</sup> and then Father Carron were very influential people and wondering if their views had been important.

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<sup>13</sup>Ralph Peckham; former Head, Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, State Department of Education.

<sup>14</sup>Father Celestin Steiner; President, University of Detroit, 1949-60; Chancellor, 1960-66.

Swainson

S--No, we were in contact with Father Steiner, Father Dane from the University of Detroit Law School, but more on a social-political plane than programmatic.

F--What was the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another? I recollect that the Saginaw Valley issue and the Grand Valley issue and the Oakland issue were...

S--Well, obviously, the western part of the state and the middle portion of the state, were interested in providing regional educational institutions to accommodate their citizenry and felt that the expansion of the traditional big three should be somewhat curtailed and the opportunity be given in these other areas. We got into a debate where a law school or medical school should be expanded. Of course, it was always south-eastern; and they interposed their objections to that traditional development.

F--Why, if I may interject, did the attitude come to curtail the big three? That wasn't the case, Governor, in places like California or Wisconsin.

S--No, I think it was a basic philosophical debate going on. Whether, as I say, we should have the continual development of the student body to 40,000 to 50,000, where does it stop?

Or should we not provide additional institutions and develop those institutions. And I would say that it was very persuasive. The people that organized Grand Valley College were undertaking in that area of the state to provide the monies required by the Legislature before they could get any [state] monies, and we now have seen it develop into a respected institution.

F--And that's a very important point you made. It seems to me to be the wrong kind of public policy to say that before we will do something that's in the public interest you must put up a dowry--which the Grand Valley and the Saginaw Valley and the Oakland and even the Dearborn people, in a sense, had to do.

S--I think that the third of the people that you mentioned in the Legislature that are against everything, wanted to exact tribute. Earn this money. This then was the expression of the will of the community to follow through. If you had your own money invested in it, you aren't going to let it default; and this was, I would say, the attitude of those legislators [who] controlled the machinery.



Swainson

F--I think about people like Spike Francis<sup>15</sup> and Lester Begick<sup>16</sup> getting into the wrong kinds of issues over Saginaw Valley; not whether it was useful for the people, but all kinds of peripheral and personal issues rather than public-policy issues.

S--I was on the floor with Spike Francis, and I could never quite understand--I wouldn't know whether he was the Senator from Midland, Michigan, or the Senator from Dow Chemical. On one hand arguing [about whether] the Department of Aeronautics should provide planes for the travel of the inspectors of the highway system to spend half-a-day and do their inspection, or whether they should get in their car and drive for a day-and-a-half and stay overnight to do the same inspection. Dow Chemical, of course, saw the advantage of the utilization of aircraft, and he could not. That was just frills for government.

F--What in your opinion were the reasons for the failure of the branch campus system? I think you talked about the desire for schools to be of creditable size rather than massive beyond the proportions for people to understand and, also, the desire for people to be able to locally identify with them.

S--I don't know whether it was more psychological or whether there was an administrative problem that couldn't be overcome. Psychologically everybody wanted to be on the main campus. There was something less about Dearborn and Oakland. I think perhaps Michigan State recognized this a little more than the Regents did at the University of Michigan.

F--It was quite a different public policy at State. State, from the very beginning, made Oakland prepare itself to be a sovereign entity, and Dearborn and Flint still became satellites. That is still to this day sort of a continuing problem all over, although I think that the branch campus issue is done. I don't see the day coming when we'll go back that way.

S--No, I think we'll see the development of independent institutions rather than branches.

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<sup>15</sup>Lynn O. Francis; Republican; State Senator from Midland.

<sup>16</sup>Lester O. Begick; Republican; State Representative from Bay City.

Swainson

F--Morton<sup>17</sup> made a very persuasive case--Charles Morton, who was on the State Board--for communities having their own kinds of institutions. I always found it personally persuasive, his view that Flint needed a Wayne State University rather than a branch. A comprehensive institution that crossed a lot of curriculum and class barriers rather than setting up...

S--...a branch for the prestige that was fostered by being one's underling.

F--In fact, to this day, I personally think that Flint, the second major city, is still deficient in the kinds of opportunity for middle-class people. The rich are still going to Amherst and Yale and Michigan without any fiscal problems.

S--I think that is very true.

F--You were quite close to some of the cutting and pushing and shoving over the institutional systems for coordination of higher education by the State Board. Do you have any thoughts as to why it didn't come about?

S--Oh, I think there was an attempt, and I think Ira Polley was sort of involved in trying to establish that coordination, but I think that the basic jealousy that always existed predominated. The relinquishment of what was considered a constitutional...

F--What a word. You're in that business, but that word is psychological.

S--And it sometimes was subordinated to the development of the system of higher education that would meet the needs, and we still have that today.

F--After the Goldwater flood, we ended up with eight members of the State Board being Democratic. Do you think their decision--feeling the muscle of that temporary Democratic upsurge--to take on the Flint campus issue was a political mistake that led to the...

S--Oh, I think in retrospect that what you say is very true. They were people that perhaps didn't expect to get along; that had half-formed ideas that really were not founded in the development of education in the State of Michigan,

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<sup>17</sup>Charles E. Morton; Member, State Board of Education.

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[that] wanted to accomplish what could be accomplished during their tenure in office and certainly made some mistakes and had a lot of internal problems at the time. Had it been a board that relied upon older members that were continued on with the infusion of new members, an ongoing development, it might have been...

F--Call that instinct; but in any case, it may be an erroneous view that the Flint thing prevented them from being effective. Because of the constitutional prerogatives and jealousy, they might have just foundered on another issue.

S--Right, but they wanted to argue that issue to establish themselves, really. You mentioned the Goldwater flood in 1964, but then this was also the first year that that body had come together after the Constitutional Convention--which went into effect in January, 1964. It was a big, big step and perhaps not treated as best as it could have been.

F--Well, we've gotten involved in a lot of shallow political analysis about the real nature of the party structure in Michigan. For instance, it is worthwhile to observe that in '64 the Democrats had only controlled the Michigan Senate four years in that century. And it's worth observing that in the 70 years I'm dealing with--from 1900 to 1970--that the Michigan Senate has been Democratically controlled only six years, '32 to '34, and '36 to '38, and '65 and '66.

S--And started to develop the insights--it's such a long time between drinks.

F--That's true, and in the same time span the Democrats controlled the House 12 years. I'm much taken by the story that we hear about Kowalski<sup>18</sup> that when they took power they didn't even have a clerk that they knew about. That must have made it extremely difficult being a minority governor, in a sense.

S--Very much so, and the same thing happened, of course, in the Senate about that time. Fred Chase<sup>19</sup> was a repository of all knowledge, yet he was intolerable to the new

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<sup>18</sup> Joseph J. Kowalski; Democrat; State Representative; elected Speaker of the House in 1965.

<sup>19</sup> Fred I. Chase; Secretary of the State Senate.

Swainson

majority. And yet, they couldn't find adequate replacement; and so there were organizational problems right away. Lack of knowledge and depth, and those problems beset the people who were trying to legislatively accomplish something.

F--So that, in a sense, when you attempted to bring executive policies to the Legislature, instead of really being capable of leadership, you had to really broker them because you didn't have the votes.

Well, let's answer both remaining questions quickly now. Who in your opinion were the significant opinion leaders in higher education?

S--Dr. Hannah, I think, would be one person I would have to point to as the leading exponent.

F--What about Hatcher?

S--Hatcher, I think, was a gentleman of the old school, but wasn't the activist that Dr. Hannah was.

F--I've heard many people talk about Vic Spathelf.

S--Vic Spathelf I'm a great admirer of, and I think he accomplished a great, great deal. And Varner<sup>20</sup> was an excellent man who was a leader at this time, too.

F--What about Henry<sup>21</sup> or anybody at Wayne?

S--I don't have a recollection as I do of these other gentlemen.

F--We have talked through the course of our conversation about some of the influential individuals, and I just thought maybe...

S--Well, I'd say Vic Spathelf, certainly Jim Miller, certainly Dr. Hannah; these are the people I would point to, Lynn Bartlett, of course, as Superintendent of Education.

F--Thank you very much, Governor.

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<sup>20</sup>Durward B. Varner; Vice-President, Off Campus Education, Michigan State University.

<sup>21</sup>David D. Henry; President, Wayne State University.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS<sup>1</sup>

F--What I'm trying to do is to evaluate why, in Michigan, we had the opportunity to build a very massive and unique system of higher education when in other states like us, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, that wasn't the case. Just taking a look at the relative wealth of Ohio and Michigan is always an instructive lesson--to see the differences in public services and quality of life.

This is outside of the area of our discussion, but I'm particularly impressed, for instance, that there's not a mile of toll road in this state. It's impressive the tremendous number of parks we have. It's impressive that our public school support ranks about second in the nation. Ohio--which is its ninth richest state, we're seventh, and the population mixes are quite similar--ranks forty-eighth.

W--I might say that their mental health facilities are practically medieval compared with ours.

F--And in your time, when you were Governor, one of the important areas of public policy was the construction of an adequate system of mental health facilities which got around the problem of just warehousing people.

W--Not only that, but we were able to make a very forward step in setting up the Lafayette Clinic, which I think is about the first such institution which wasn't dedicated to bed care. It was dedicated to research.

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<sup>1</sup>G. Mennen Williams; Democrat; Governor, 1948-1960; appointed Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, 1961-66; Ambassador to the Philippines, 1968-69; elected to Michigan Supreme Court in 1970. Interview conducted March 21, 1974.

Williams

F--And very strongly oriented to helping children, too.

Well, it's all of those kind of things that I want to get at, because I believe that this is a peculiar state. The fact that we were able to have programmatic politics rather than partisan politics in the area of education, I think, is instructive--certainly compared to Illinois.

So that's really the nature of the approach. I'm going to interview John Swainson, yourself, Governor Milliken, Governor Romney, Hatcher, Hannah, Vic Spathelf, Nisbet, and the like, and hopefully come to some sense of it.

Our government is truly one of men and people. Political scientists, who try to put so much stress on structure, don't understand much about human energy and vision and the like.

W--Well, I think in general that Michigan has had a great tradition as far as education goes. Of course, we shared with Ohio the Northwest Ordinance of 1789, but somehow or other we got started very, very early on public schools and also on a university.

I think that there has been a constant spirit of the people in favor of education that goes back a long, long ways. Of course, that may be the result of whatever conditions there are, but at least I think it's tracable.

F--I'm going to try to get to that. I'm going to move to the questions and let's see how it goes.

What in your opinion were the reasons for the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

W--Well, I think there were two reasons, primarily. One was the tremendous demand for education. The schools were just blowing up with new applicants. Secondly, I think that we had a Legislature which, despite their tendency to reaction in other areas, at least responded fairly favorably in the area of education. I'm sure that must be because the people of Michigan were sympathetic to education. I would say those were the primary reasons.

I must admit that we put on a very hard drive in favor of education, and I think that we had some degree of cooperation from the administration of the universities. We were able to bring the presidents together in a

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fairly tolerable cooperation, despite the tendencies of the boards of all of the institutions to fly off in different directions. I think the presidents obviously were responsive to the boards. I think they did recognize the need for some degree of cooperation vis-a-vis the Legislature.

F--But it's still true during this time that Michigan State and Michigan had some strong degree of institutional rivalry with each other.

W--There's no question about it, they always did have.

When I first became Governor I was approached by the presidents of these universities and we regularly met together.... I constantly drummed into them that if they didn't cooperate to some extent, that they would be faced by popular uprising in legislation which would set up a unified system, which of course was anathema to all of them.

So, I think that there was an understanding on the part of all of us that the Legislature did have to have at least some degree of cooperation and cohesion or otherwise the whole system was unmanageable.

F--Do you think there was some concern on the part of the institutions about the danger of state-mandated coordination?

W--Yes, I do indeed. I don't know that they felt, under the circumstances, it was imminent, but I think they did feel that if their rivalry went to too great an extent it could happen.

F--It is my understanding that M. M. Chambers<sup>2</sup>--who is today a recognized expert on school finance--came to this state and functioned for a year as some kind of coordinating personality before he left and the experiment collapsed.

W--Well, I don't recall Chambers, but I do know that surrounding the Russell Report and the other things there was always the spectre of a unified state system. I think that this always had a very sombering effect.

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<sup>2</sup>M. M. Chambers; Professor of Higher Education, University of Michigan, 1958-63; Executive Director, Michigan Council of State College Presidents, 1961-62; Consultant to Michigan State Board of Education, 1966; author of several books on higher education.

Williams

F--It still does.

What were the social and economic factors that led to this significant growth? Some have identified, for instance, the large number of veterans that came back and had the opportunity to have a higher education under the GI Bill and then had that aspiration for their children.

W--Well, I think that that was a significant factor, because that provided both a population pressure and an opportunity to finance the growth. I think that there was some growth in the state at that time, and then there was an increasing percentage of the young people who wanted to go to the universities. This made for a numbers pressure.

Obviously the GI Bill was the only new item in the economic factors at this time. In 1958, of course, the state's finances were very poor, so there wasn't any strong economic inducement. I think it shows the sense of responsibility of the Legislature and the administration that despite the economic difficulties, they did support education.

F--I was thinking, in my experience working inside the government structure, I have never noticed a strong sense of the value of education from Michigan industry. I can never recollect automotive companies urging the Legislature to set up vocational programs, manpower-training programs. Generally their posture has been to go to the taxation committee to escape burden, not to encourage new programs.

I wondered if that had been different, if you had had some sense from Michigan industry that expanding the trained manpower pool would advantage them and the people?

W--Well, I would say first of all that [although] I wasn't conscious of any concentrated drive on the part of industry to increase educational funding, I don't have any specific recollection of their particularly training their guns against education.

In some ways they were cooperative, at least in the philosophical sense. Industry strongly supported a commission I set up for research. I went to Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors and asked them for their



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top scientists. They did give me those scientists, and that committee did work. That committee was very strong in pointing out that education was an extremely important part of the state's assets and that the educational climate was essential if Michigan was to have an opportunity in the atomic age, so to speak. This committee tried to bring science-oriented industry to Michigan, or at least to create the climate so it would be attracted.

So, at least from that point of view there were people in industry who recognized this. This committee was broader than the three automobile companies: Bendix [Corporation] was there, Walker Cisler<sup>3</sup> was there, I forget who else. So there was that kind of interest and I think that in some specific instances, you earlier talked about Delta College, I think in the Grand Valley College near Grand Rapids--I know at least the commercial interest [was present]--Seidman<sup>4</sup> over there was very strong for it. I think that he had a strong business base where there was commerce rather than industry.

I don't think that industry was very forthcoming or wise taxwise, but I certainly couldn't make any blanket indictment of their failure to support education.

F--One of the most encouraging things about your time as Governor was the capacity, in my personal opinion, to move issues into rather broad programmatic approaches: the mental health, the transportation. I'm curious if there was some kind of broad policy aspiration that underlay the objectives that you had in view of the expansion.

W--You mean in the area of education?

F--Yes, higher education specifically. It's obvious that the committee of scientists had developed a more broad base for more modern industry would be of concern.

W--Well, I can't remember the exact quotation from Alfred Lord North, but it was to the effect that without education, society isn't going to go anyplace. I'm

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<sup>3</sup>Walker Cisler; President and Chairman of Detroit Edison Company.

<sup>4</sup>L. William Seidman; partner in Seidman and Seidman Accounting Firm in Grand Rapids.

Williams

convinced that a lot of the bulwark of society is education. Certainly for societal progress education is absolutely essential.

This is true everywhere. I know when I was in my African experience you could see that for a developing country education was absolutely essential. Of course, it was equally essential here--referring back to that science committee. If you haven't got education, you can't supply the needs of any of these science-oriented industries.

F--I'm thinking specifically, and I recognize the importance in Africa of the institutions of higher education, how at Makerere and in West Africa and Nigeria the institutions were so crucial to them.

But what I'm thinking about was that we had in this time of your administration significant proportions--virtually the majority--of first generation in college students. They came from working class homes, the middle class of that strong group of ethnic communities that surround Detroit. There's, frankly, no hope to bring agricultural minorities, such as a great host of our black citizens who have come from Alabama and Mississippi, without adequate education, into jobs. Did you have the expectation and desire to do it for that reason, amongst others?

W--Yes. Of course in this area we go beyond higher education, because the real problem in education in Michigan was that secondary education was just not supplying to the colleges and universities the kind of product that they could meaningfully process.

I was concerned about the education of these people, because you go to Jackson Prison and I think one percent of the people there have a college education. As you go down the line the other way, the people who are there in greatest abundance are those who have had the least education.

Of course this doesn't mean that some of the people who are guilty of fraud aren't highly educated, but the fact of the matter is that our society has little meaningful place for those people who don't have a good education. So, we must supply that in order to have a viable society.

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F--I recognize the strength of the Grand Valley pressure from the commercial interest rather than, say, industrial. Did you have strong pressures to create institutions about the state in various areas?

W--Well, there were several. Of course the Delta College-- I think it was at this time that Flint branch was started--Oakland, Northwestern in Traverse City, there was strong community pressure[at those locations]. Of course there was pressure for what has since become Lake Superior College. There were those kinds of pressures. Likewise, there was pressure in the Upper Peninsula and elsewhere to support the two existing institutions, Tech and Northern, which now are very flourishing institutions; but Northern, particularly, at that time [was not]. I think they had about 700 or 800 students.

F--It was really at that time, in the beginning of your administration, a normal school rather than a college.

W--Well, it was. I think it was Dr. Tape<sup>5</sup>, a very fine gentleman, but he was pretty old and he didn't have<sup>6</sup> the vitality to drive that place up like Edgar Harden subsequently did. So there was some pressure to keep it going. Of course it was always an embarrassment to the Upper Peninsula people, because it cost as much per student to keep that going as it did the University of Michigan with all of their higher educational programs. So they finally got over a thousand and had the nut there, so to speak, then the thing could go forward.

I think the answer to your question is yes, there were regional pressures. When we went into Ferris, this was not quite regional, but it was a specialized pressure. The moment that we started moving on that there was an interesting combination of pressures. There were a lot of old boys that came out of the woodwork everywhere. There was a school that had had a great pharmacy tradition. The pharmacy people came out and so on...

F--It had burned down and it had been built up anew in your time.

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<sup>5</sup>Henry A. Tape; President of Northern Michigan University.

<sup>6</sup>Edgar L. Harden; President of Northern Michigan University.

Williams

W--That's right. It would have vanished if the state hadn't taken it over. It would have been a tragedy, too.

F--Were there concerns about the state taking it over?

W--No, no. When we looked at it, we did the same thing we did with Wayne. We set up a committee to examine it, a broad-based committee. They made their report and then I think it was a three-year basis [on which] the state took it over. I think there were just a few buildings left [and] the faculty, which had lots of courage and devotion with no finances.

F--What, Governor, were the key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflict in the attempt to attain the objectives of creating mass education? Were there any that you saw or felt or had to be careful about?

W--I'm not sure that I understand your question, but it's broad enough so I can give you different answers.

There was, from time to time, a feeling on the part of some of the religious groups that we should not get away from an original basis of supporting a dual system of education. Of course there are various constitutional difficulties in connection with that. The GI Bill afforded one kind of opportunity and then there were federal grants for construction which helped.

I think also there was a concern that the state not give up the philosophical approval of a dual system.

At times I think some of the teacher groups were sort of secular-dominated and they felt a little challenged by the fact that in the religious schools the teachers were paid so little.

There were harbingers of problems, but I don't think of any actual problems that were difficult.

F--What I was thinking about specifically is that Wayne came into the state system. There were some antagonisms, because I could feel some of them many years later when the Wayne County Community College issues came up. They had had the expectation that in return for taking over the four-year, the two-year would be run by Detroit people.

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I had the concern and curiosity about how did places like the University of Detroit, Calvin, Albion, and Kalamazoo regard the quickening growing of this higher education? Of course it got much worse much later.

W--Well, I was very careful, and if I hadn't been, I would have been more strongly reminded in all of our educational committees and things of that sort that the nonpublic colleges and universities be represented so that our products would represent their concerns.

The problem was particularly acute because like Northern, many of these institutions were running at school populations of about 700, and we figured at that time you needed about 1,000 to be administratively viable. So there was a great pressure on them and a concern that if we did everything for the state universities and nothing for them that they would lose students.

I haven't followed it recently but I rather gathered that most of those institutions have gained some strength in numbers so that their situation isn't quite as perilous as it was.

F--I don't think that is true. I think that while the nut has moved up to 5,000 to be sound... there has been the ongoing decline of private schools--it's gone down about one percent per year for the last 15 years. Further, their difficulty is that they can't offer the graduate programs--where significantly larger numbers of our citizens are making the decision to go--because of the tremendous costs of law, medicine, engineering, and the like.

Did any of the policy goals for the enhancement of higher education have as their objective destruction of class culture barriers? We've talked a little bit about that. Did you want to add anything to that?

W--Well, there were, when I was there, special efforts. I think particularly at MSU. I think they were earlier than some of the others. Well, Wayne came naturally to help the minority groups, to work them into the programs.

One of the curious things was that when the new president came to the University of Michigan I advised him from a political point of view that he would be well advised to broaden his constituency so that vis-a-vis the Legislature

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he would have greater strength. I said that MSU has for years relied very strongly on the farm groups and I said, "Why don't you look to the union groups?" But they never took my advice.

But John Hannah never lost a bet. He was able to make oil and water mix. I think the unions ended up feeling pretty sympathetic to the goals of MSU because they made their extension facilities available, and so on. Eventually, of course a union man was elected to the board.

F--Don Stevens got on the board.

W--Yes, but I think even before he got on, and maybe one of the reasons they pushed to put him on, was that there was that sympathy there. While that isn't exactly a class barrier it was interesting that the agricultural and industrial groups did get together. I guess that if you looked at the charter it was the agricultural and mechanical...

F--One of the curious things that always struck me, which is a little bit outside of the scope of this, but still germane, is that all of the Northwest Treaty states had had the support of higher education by the sectioning of the land. Most of them followed the concept of one agricultural and mechanical school, and one university. In places like Ohio, Indiana with Purdue and Indiana, and Iowa, that is still quite the case.

For some reason, and I personally think it is quite a good approach, we made the decision to go for more than one university to blur that distinction between the arts and handicrafts. So over a period of time, much of it occurring during your administration, Michigan State became more than an agricultural institution, more than a mechanics school, and at the same time Wayne grew to become a school with an immensely sized graduate program. At the current time Western is on that same route. So we have probably three-and-a-half to four...

W--Well, I think that there are two explanations or at least two observations I would make. First of all, well, maybe not in any priority, but obviously John Hannah wouldn't be denied. He was going to make Michigan Agricultural College, which it originally was, into a university. He was particularly successful with the Legislature and was able to do a great job of building. I think that [the growth at] Western was due to Jim Miller, because

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from the very first when he got in there, it was one of his objectives and he went ahead. I can't say what happened at Wayne. I knew the presidents but I don't think there was any there that was as continuous or as outstanding as the other two I mentioned.

But I think that there was another thing going on here and that was that some of us felt that if we didn't create alternate outlets for the student population growth that the University of Michigan and Michigan State would, you know, grow not only too fast but too big. So, as we could, we had a conscious policy to try and develop what would then be the normal schools into larger institutions and, of course, institutions with a broader academic background. And so there was that kind of conscious effort.

F--And that culminated really after you left to go to Washington, with the Constitutional Convention session when the normal schools turned their backs on their names and became universities, and started themselves off on broad-base curriculums other than just teaching certificates.

W--Yes, and of course I remember when Michigan State College tried to get through the Legislature the change of name to university. My alma mater was most unseemly in its opposition to that kind of thing. Of course, today everything is a university.

I'm just glad that Ferris Institute, or Ferris State College, didn't become a university, because they have special opportunity school requirements which I think are absolutely essential to the complete mix in our university setups.

F--I'm going to come to that.

Did you regard as one of the key issues of this period mass education in higher education versus elitism? I constantly heard in my work the strong feeling that Michigan only served the rich and--though that's not easy to demonstrate when you take 40,000 students--the feeling that we needed to open the system up with the creation of community colleges. Obviously there was some conscious desire here, because other states did not have the system as early as we did nor in its complexity or size.

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W--Well, it was my philosophy and the philosophy of my administration, and I suppose I should say the Democratic Party, that a university education ought to be available to everyone who is intellectually capable of undertaking it. There ought to be some system of hothouse growth, so to speak, so that people who had been unfortunate in their secondary education should be able to get into some sort of university development.

Now this meant that most of us would, if we could, have free university education. Obviously that wasn't in the cards, but we did what we could behind the scenes to keep the costs down. We welcomed the community college program and I must say that one of the things that concerned me was at the beginning that they be indeed community colleges rather than high school extensions, and I think that there was some danger of that.

F--Seven of them, seven of the dozen that existed in your time, were really departments of school districts.

W--Yes, that's the way they originated.

F--Delta was the other kind of model freely set up under the legislation that was passed.

W--Well, of course, they were larger than any school district and so had reason. But there were some areas, as you pointed out, where, you know, this was a mixed blessing. [It] was great that they were interested in developing it, but it did have the danger that it would become an extended high school rather than a university.

F--How important were vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education? Were there significant concerns about that?

W--Well, yes, there were significant concerns and not only in higher education but in secondary education. I think that in secondary education we probably are still far behind where we should be. There originally was legislation which provided for vocational education largely directed to farm areas. This may have been successful for them, but the amount of vocational education available in industrial areas was very small, possibly because it was more expensive than general education. I think this was an area of great neglect.



Williams

Now in the university area, of course, we mentioned Ferris. Ferris had a sort of dual philosophy, it seemed to me. One was an opportunity school to take people from wherever, with or without completing their secondary education, and give them the equivalent of a college education. The second thing was that they were strong on all kinds of vocational schools. We talked about pharmacy, they had printing, and they had some other things. Now some of our universities disdained that kind of thing but I think Western...

F--They had a school of industrial technology and an aircraft program.

W--Right. Of course--we were talking about industry--there the paper industry was very strong in helping them out. The only thing I know about the auto industry [is that] they came in very late with \$10 million for the traffic safety school--but this was long after my time--at the University of Michigan.

But, oh, I don't know, they were training airline hostesses and everything else at Western. Which in a sense, you know, might be demeaning in a trade school sense, but on the other hand, I think it was fulfilling a need. I gather that today parents are more and more concerned about people having some practical education along with their classical education so that they can face the world.

F--And I imagine these vocational programs receive some greater degree of support from the Legislature. I can just see some of the legislators you had to deal with. As I recollect you never had a control in either House.

W--No, the closest we ever came for one two-year period was--we had a tie--55 to 55. But it was very interesting. One lady legislator was sick the day they organized and the Republicans organized the Legislature as though they had a 90 to 10 majority.

F--They did that again later too. That happened in 1966, I think. They had a 55-55 House, and Representative O'Brien was conveniently absent. So it's instructive to take a look and see really what a miracle it was, in a sense, that you were able to build a Democratic Party here, because from 1900 to 1970 the Democrats have controlled the Senate only six years.

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W--There were three times in this period when there wasn't a single Democrat in the entire Legislature.

F--It is astonishing. What happened in 1946 to accomplish the virtual slaughter of the Democrats? In the thirties you were able to build up so that you would have at least ten in the Senate and about 45 or 35 or 37 in the House. In 1946 there were five Democrats in the House and three in the Senate.

W--And we lost practically all of our Congressional representation too. I don't know whether we lost all of it, but heavily so. I gather that there was a national movement as well as a local movement involved. I don't know, I can't explain it.

F--It was really kind of astonishing when you take the historian's point of view to see how you were able to build this consensus over a period of time. It has been eight years now since a Democratic administration... no, 12 years.

What was the position on the growth of culture and the arts? Was there importance in that? Were there concerns about it?

W--Well, I think we had, to my knowledge, the first cultural commission that the state ever had. It was a large dimension [and] it had fine representation. We didn't have any money for it except I think the governor got \$10,000 a year for all commissions so we gave it some sort of staff, but that was about it. It functioned and it stayed alive. I think that was the most that could be said for it. Not that the commission wasn't good, but it just didn't have that much support. But it kept the idea alive, and it subsequently flourished. I don't know what else I could properly say to answer that question.

F--Did you want to add anything to what you have already said about what the position of labor was in regard to higher education?

W--Well, labor strongly supported higher education and they supported, of course, our tax program. On several occasions I would have to take my educational budget to the people and they were helpful in turning out people to come to the meetings and so on, and to help organize in the communities. They were concerned.

Williams

F--It struck me, for instance, that the position of the UAW was much more issue-oriented and less bread-and-butter-oriented. They seemed to actually have put muscle into social issues that wasn't typical.

W--Yes, the UAW was, as you say, issue-oriented. They were strongly in support of education, they were strongly in support of mental health that we were talking about, and a number of things of that kind.

Incidentally, we were fairly successful too in getting the veterans organizations, who now, of course, are not such an important part of our political scene. They too were helpful in issues other than the direct advancement of the cause of veterans.

F--The gerontology program between Michigan and Wayne is a direct outgrowth of UAW interest, for instance.

W--Yes.

F--What about industry? We've talked about it but I've tried to separate industry from commerce. I'm not sure, but I think they had different positions and feeling.

W--Well, I think what I said before about the industry vis-a-vis education probably covers most of it.

F--Would you segregate the difference into commerce? I noticed, for instance, that merchants like the J. L. Hudson people<sup>7</sup> were involved in some of the commissions that were established in this period. I wondered if the businessmen themselves had some interest that you could identify?

W--Well, there were individuals. I can't really place them in my mind now, but we called on industry in most areas for their support, and in many areas we got it. Obviously, we didn't get it in taxation. In civil rights we had to fight them for seven years, and then they came right over and joined up. I would say outside of election times and on taxes, that industry was generally cooperative. I mean we had industrial people, for example, helping in our conservation programs, and things of that nature.

F--I guess I was thinking was there pressure on the Chamber of Commerce for instance. In every administration you

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<sup>7</sup>Walter A. Crow; Corporate Secretary, J. L. Hudson Company, Detroit, Michigan.

Williams

always have men who have a broad view and get involved no matter what.

W--Of course, we had then something which doesn't appear at all today, and that was that John Lovett represented the Michigan Manufacturers Association. When you say he literally controlled the Legislature, that wasn't too far wrong.

Governor Milliken's father, for example, who was a small-time member of the Michigan Manufacturers Association, although as you say he was in commerce, nonetheless used to complain about John Lovett. But you know, John Lovett was really a boss in the sense that we don't have in the Legislature, we don't have in the government today. As you pointed out, historically Michigan had been Republican and I think in a sense it had been, well, we know what a company town was, it was pretty close to a company state, and John Lovett ran it for them.

The thing that I tried to talk to the industrial presidents, and they were all agreeable and gracious to me, was that they had to watch these people because they didn't, in my mind, always represent the truly best interests of the industry. It was easier for them to take a hard line than to take an understanding line. They could always go to their bosses and say, "Look, I really skewered this wage increase," or "skewered our safety legislation," and not expect much trouble.

Whereas,<sup>8</sup>I think you know, that if you had a Lynn Townsend<sup>9</sup> or a Cole, you could sit down with them and argue some of these things out. You would probably get some better agreement. But obviously those people didn't have that kind of time and while someone would say, "That's not a bad idea," nothing really ever happened. But I think that today there just isn't anybody with the practically autonomous control that this fellow exercised.

F--You shouldn't have any nostalgia for that.

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<sup>8</sup>Lynn Townsend; President and later Chairman of Chrysler Corporation.

<sup>9</sup>Edward Cole; President of General Motors.

Williams

W--Well, he was a character. Personally he was just as genial and personable as you could imagine, but my God, John Lovett was as hard as nails.

And they had a good recruiting system. They went out and picked likely Republicans in the primary and backed them in the Republican primaries and many of them were lawyers and had appropriate retainers. He had a real good system.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government for higher education?

W--We've talked about the GI Bill, I think that was a vitally important area. Obviously in the research area it did have an important impact. Of course this did not come through the state so I could observe that only indirectly.

F--But others observed that the executive process had to defend the institutions from legislative attack about research. It was usually easy to make fun of and to cast doubt about.

W--As I remember back I don't have anything standing out on this in my memory.

F--And, of course, you mentioned earlier the construction program, the federal construction program. But there were no... you can't recollect any others? My major professor suggested that I ask that because I really regarded the higher education thing to some great degree as a state function without much in the way of federal requirements or inducements.

W--Well, obviously if you take a look at the University of Michigan budget today I think it is about 25 percent federal money. Now that undoubtedly has some impact. What it was when I was there I don't recall. But again, since that money came directly to them and didn't come through us, I don't...

F--But there were some examples as I recollect where states made investments or had to encourage investments, like at Lake Superior. You know, there had to be some state indication that Fort Brady was able to come to Tech as a branch campus. And then we got Willow Run for Michigan, so...

Williams

W--Of course in the Willow Run and Michigan [transaction], they took care of that all by themselves. In the Fort Brady thing I was very active. Here again we set up a commission and they made a study before they made the recommendation. I personally had some dealings with the federal government about not disposing of the Fort in any other way until we could get this thing organized.

F--As an aside, have you been up there lately?

W--Yes, I was up there last summer.

F--Fantastic, isn't it?

W--Oh yes.

F--I remember walking through that Fort and it looked just like a 1930 movie. And then coming back and seeing what has happened really gladdens your heart.

W--Well, today it is one of the few bright spots in the Soo, which is economically depressed.

F--Maybe the only one.

What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy from the private sector of higher education? I'm thinking about the private colleges specifically. You've talked a little bit about that, but....

W--Well, as I said, they wanted a hearing. First of all, they wanted the state to retain the dual system. Second, they were always interested in such financial advantage that they legitimately could have.

F--Did the private college tuition program come during your time?

W--Yes, it started then.

F--Because that's become one of the real hidden bases of the support of private schools today through the Department of Education programs.

W--I don't recall the exact date, but I think that this was an outgrowth of the GI Bill...this showed a viable way. There were members of the Legislature that obviously were very strong for this and promoted it.

Williams

F--What was the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another? You alluded to the Grand Valley pressure, Delta obviously existed, and there was Flint and Dearborn, ...

W--And Northwestern up in Traverse City.

Well, there was pressure to assist local communities in establishing or expanding their existing units, but I don't know that I was ever conscious of any competing claims. So I don't have any answer for that.

F--It seemed to me that if there was a public purpose for the establishment of an institution we shouldn't have required the local people to put up a dowry.

W--I suppose that as a matter of legislative strategy it was easier for the Legislature to say, "Ok, we'll put this school in Grand Valley because they have come up with this." And that would answer the reason why they put it there rather than in Muskegon, let's say.

F--I suppose that's true.

What in your opinion were the reasons for the failure of the branch campus system that had begun to be developed in Michigan with Oakland, Flint, and Dearborn? Whereas, say in Wisconsin, that branch campus system rather flourished and became a model. I'm not espousing it in any way, but...

W--I noticed that question when I read over your questionnaire this morning. I never heard it discussed as to why it happened.

I would suspect that at Oakland from the very beginning this was such a large operation and did have some independent origin with that sizeable grant from Mrs. Wilson<sup>10</sup>... And then of course, Woody Varner was down there and was an empire builder in a good sense, a real strong, powerful individual. I think that, you know, it was bound to want to be autonomous.

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<sup>10</sup>Mrs. Alfred G. Wilson; widow of John F. Dodge, co-founder of Dodge Motor Company.

Williams

Dearborn, I think, started before my time and I have no reason why they continued to exist that way.

Flint, I don't know, probably if Mott<sup>11</sup> wanted it to stay with the University of Michigan, it would stay with the University of Michigan.

But I think the mutual jealousy of the large institutions would preclude their viewing with any favor this kind of expansionism.

F--Certainly the mutual jealousy was a very crucial factor. I think that it occurred this way is instructive, and I think it points out something, in the following sense: In some other states they are perfectly comfortable with a very rigid hierarchical system. California in my opinion failed because they built the plan without any room for human interest; they built a technocrat's plan.

In Michigan when we started these schools people began to regard them as civic and regional institutions of great value and they wanted them to be much their own. State established Oakland with a very strong dose of its own autonomy. The fact that they picked Woody, for instance, .... Hannah could not have been surprised because he had a track record of his own. They weren't picking a weak kind of lackluster guy. And, very quickly Woody got all the automobile tycoons involved in the cultural thing and gradually built a very strong sense of community around the institute.

W--You had Walter Reuther on the other end. You had the whole spectrum.

F--That's true. Reuther lived on campus, I believe, or close to it.

W--And his wife was out there quite a bit.

I was struck also that Michigan until recently had been strongly opposed to branch banking. It may be that a sense of local independence was...

F--I never thought about that. Why in your opinion did an

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<sup>11</sup> Charles S. Mott; major stockholder in General Motors; funded the Mott Foundation, a philanthropic enterprise.



Williams

institutional system for the coordination of higher education not come about after 1964?

W--You're talking about the Board of Education.

F--I'm thinking about the State Board.

W--Well, I think there are two reasons. First of all, I think the spirit of autonomy and the strength of the individual institution was too strong to permit any board to operate successfully, despite the constitution or despite the law. The second thing was that the Board itself, while they had a number of fine individuals on it, never pulled together. They never were able to exercise any organized strength, and as a consequence, even if they... [or] any board could have done it, this Board just wasn't staffed in such a way.

F--The Democrats won all eight seats in that tidal wave of '64. It's conceivable that if there had been a real consensus that something could have been done.

W--I think something could have been done. Let me put it this way, something was done, I think. I think the rapport that was set up between the Governor's office and the educational institutions subsequent to that act may have been an indirect benefit of it. I worked on that citizens committee of that Kellogg thing, and my observation was that the key legislators really placed quite a bit of confidence in the state's Department of Administration, or whatever it is, their counterpart. They had a pretty close working relationship, so whether this was a separate growth or a resulting growth, I don't know. In any event, I felt that the executive and the Legislature were closer together than I had observed it at some other times.

It was tragic that Board didn't have the kind of dynamism that it might have had with another mix of individual leadership. But any board would have had an awfully rough time.

F--And I noticed that, just as an aside, the latest gubernatorial committee recommends a statewide coordination system and a constitutional amendment. They are talking about that as a part of the governor's higher educational reform commission which will be outside the focus of this. But I would suspect that it is going to be an extremely difficult thing to accomplish because of that strong institutional thing.

Williams

W--Well, I can't recall offhand what the budgets of Wayne, State, and the University of Michigan are, but they are pretty enormous and...

F--100 to 200 million dollars apiece.

W--Yes, and not only that, they have a loyal and faithful alumni. I don't know so much about Wayne because they are somewhat newer and the commuting campus may not inspire the same unity. Anyway, State and the University, have got a strength, you know, that's pretty hard for anybody to contain and then they've got this long history. The idea that anybody could put a cork in this bottle is just... out of it.

F--That's well said.

W--I think, however, that what is required is a high degree of statesmanship on the part of the Governor and the Commissioner of Education, or whatever else, and to try and work with the Legislature. The Legislature is really the only one that has any kind of competitive equality of power with these institutions. Of course they are dispersed among so many members so that they don't bring that power to bear quite so directly.

F--But there is one Governor and 148 legislators....

W--No, but I was thinking more of not between the Governor and the Legislature but between the institutions and the Legislature. Theoretically the Legislature could just cut them off because they've got the power of the purse. But you know the people of Michigan wouldn't let the Legislature get away with that. Then on the other hand our people wouldn't let the universities go too hog-wild either. I think it's that kind of recognition of the important factors that has got to keep people living together as a family and nobody is going to be sole and exclusive boss.

F--Political scientists like to draw very neat charts full of hierarchical structures and boxes and bars and the like, but I'm struck by the fact that it may be that in Michigan, particularly, those peculiar balances keep things working without all the boxes. There is a sense of probity here with the people and a sense of their view of the world.

Williams

W--I think that's true. And of course in the field of education there is something else that is happening that I haven't thought of in this connection before, and that is there will be no more John Hannahs. John Hannah at the end, as you know, was barely tolerated by the faculty and if he hadn't been a John Hannah, he wouldn't have been tolerated at all. Presidents today in a university are no longer presidents, [but] are sort of mediators between the faculty. It's going to be very difficult for any president to exercise political or any other kind of dominance. He's going to have a lot of trouble right in his own backyard. I don't mean trouble, I mean he's going to have a lot of necessary problems.

F--Presidents are more mediators than they are leaders today.

W--That's right and in one sense I welcome it, but in another sense I regret it because the faculty can look after their own interests better. Obviously [in the] MSU of twenty years ago the faculty was underpowered, they didn't have the power vis-a-vis the president they ought to, but unless the future presidents from time to time have more power, it's going to be hard to direct the progress that may have to be made.... We're talking about vocationalism, you know, when you get all of the different faculties together they are not going to make a decision very easily that you've got to move into vocationalism. It's going to take one leader....

F--No, but the point is that there will certainly be future public demands that we cannot anticipate and there won't be any representation of that to-be-created-demand.

W--Let me just button that up. Again, I'm not talking in any invidious sense about faculty power. I am merely observing that the faculty is comparable to the Legislature and the Legislature with its dispersal of numbers vis-a-vis the Governor has difficulty in marshalling itself to turn around or to do something. I think it's going to be more difficult for universities to meet, as you say, novel challenges just because of the structure.

F--And I understood what you were saying about the days of solitary leadership rather than consultancy of things are probably past.

W--Oh, yes, that's gone forever, and probably rightly so.

Williams

F--Let me ask you two last questions. Who in your opinion were the significant opinion leaders in higher education in Michigan in your time? Secondly, who were the influential individuals whose insights were of the greatest significance to you?

W--Well, I saw that question, and I knew I was going to have difficulty in answering it.

The most powerful individual leader was, obviously, John Hannah, because he was not only a thoughtful person but he was always able to gather the votes to move things in his direction.

There were others. I mentioned Jim Miller who certainly performed at a somewhat later date a minor revolution over there at Western.

I don't know, I worked with all of them, I mean all the presidents, all the various individuals. I knew some of the professors who gave me somewhat of an insight. I really would prefer not to answer that without having time for further thought because obviously...

F--Let me tell you what the purpose of the question is. As I conduct some of this, there is always the public eye out there and everyone says and people have the view that governors do it all by themselves. There is always some guy in the back room.

W--Well, I had two people that were in the back room that were very helpful to me. One was Jim Miller because he was my budget director and all that, and before him was Bob Steadman. Now these two people were extremely helpful...<sup>12</sup> I was closely tied to the teachers' union and Adelaide Hart<sup>12</sup> was always very helpful in giving me a different perspective on these things. I had excellent relations with the MEA [Michigan Education Association] and Dr. Phillips<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup>Adelaide Julia Hart; Democrat from Detroit; Member, Executive Board, 17th Congressional District Democratic Committee; Delegate to Constitutional Convention.

<sup>13</sup>Albert J. Phillips; Executive Secretary of the Michigan Education Association, 1933-67.

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F--I wonder if there was somebody in the labor... like Mel Glasser particularly stands for health issues today, and I was wondering if there was somebody there I might talk to that I have missed.

W--If you would talk to Adelaide Hart she could tell you. I was sure there was somebody in the UAW and I was trying to place him or her in my mind, but I can't. I'll tell you somebody who was also helpful and she can't help you because she is dead, unfortunately; that was Margaret Price. She was interested in young people and their problems. You know old President Lubbers at Hope College gave me some interesting insights and I'm thinking of one professor at the University of Michigan, William Haber.

F--Governor, thank you so very much.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
EDWARD L. CUSHMAN<sup>1</sup>

F--What in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 to 1970?

C--I would say, basically, the numbers of students that were interested in higher education.

This was a result of two factors: one, the aspirations of students as they recognized the value of higher education; two, the fact that the economy continued to be essentially an expanding economy and revenue sources were sufficiently available to the state to make possible education beyond high school for more students.

F--One thing strikes me as a curious thing: In other states the number of the citizenry who made the decision to go to college was significantly lower.

Do you think there was something peculiar about our population, or peculiar about the public policy role of government and the institutions of our Michigan society, that created a desire way beyond the national norm for people to go to college?

For instance, Ohio has certainly got a lower percentage of people who have gone to college.

C--We've had, as you well know, a tradition since indeed before the founding of our state, for education beyond the high school. I think there is a serious condition that exists in public education in Michigan. I've

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<sup>1</sup>Edward L. Cushman; Director, American Motors Corporation, 1962- ; Co-chairman, Citizens Committee on Higher Education, 1963-65; Executive Vice-President, Wayne State University, 1966- . Interview conducted April 19, 1974.

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forgotten the exact percentages now, and you would know them.

In contrast with Ohio--where a wandering minister could open up a private college--from the beginning Michigan had its institutions, whether private or public, under reasonably close regulation. They had to be licensed and supervised, in effect.

Not that it was always done too well, but if you recall, the University of Michigan was originally, in effect, the body that had the authority to approve the creation of any private or public institution of higher learning in this state. This was true for a number of years when the state was first organized.

F--That's a good point. As a matter of fact, I recollect--and I had forgotten it until you refreshed my mind--that the University of Michigan also was the accrediting agency through the Bureau of School Services for all the K-12 programs in the state.

C--That's true, until not too many years ago in fact.

F--But it's still an important point.

What in your opinion were the social and economic factors that led to this significant growth? Some have identified, for instance, the post-war aspirations of returning soldiers.

C--Yes, I would agree that that was it, although there was great disappointment that there weren't more resources made available for them. From that point of view, that's true following World War II and since.

Opportunities were made available to greater numbers and the aspirations were such, you know.... Let's put it this way, when need or aspirations and resources get together at the same time, then you have the opportunity for it. That's what happened in this state.

I think, too, we had a growing number of first-generation immigrant families in Detroit who themselves had not been able to get to college, who with the war-time and post-war improvements in the economy, and when their own conditions were improved, encouraged and

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were able in fact to get their children to go to college. I think that's a pretty deep-seated feeling.

F--And it is still probably true to this day, isn't it?

C--I believe that to be true.

F--I think one of the main engines of Michigan's society has been what I call the Horatio Alger Dream; which is, in a sense, the belief that for our ethnic and agricultural minorities, Blacks and the like, the way to improve your station and status in society is really and truly education.

C--That's right, and that's true right now. Not only true here but all over the country there's been a much higher degree of career orientation and motivation of students in higher education than was true during the decade of the sixties, and it is indeed shown by the kind of courses that the students elect. I think that that's going to continue to be a major motivating influence.

F--Did you, from your vantage point, see that the labor, agricultural, commercial, automotive industry, other industry, and the government itself, had policy objectives for higher education designed to improve the quality of life in Michigan?

C--I would say so.

I think that it was primarily, however, stimulated by public leaders rather than by the leaders of commerce and industry, or indeed even of labor. Although both of these elements, industry and labor, have traditionally--and feel very strongly today in Michigan--favored education beyond the high school.

The automobile companies and the contracts with the UAW provide the various kinds of training allowances for people to improve their job-related skills. General Motors, for example, will pay the tuition of a student for a course at this university, or others throughout the country in fact, in order to permit that.

But I do think that the primary stimulus, if you want to call it that, came from the voters; the parents of



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students and students themselves. I think this was a citizen influence more than any other single factor, and that this, therefore, led people like legislators, governors, and so forth, to provide some real leadership.

The first of these reports that you were talking about was really a legislative-initiated report.<sup>2</sup> This sort of fell on deaf ears because it was filed and sort of just put away in libraries. There wasn't a citizen impact on it, that led to it, and then the governor didn't pick it up and give it any leadership either. The Constitutional Convention, of course, provided a very real opportunity for examination of this and the subsequent Blue Ribbon Commission that Governor Romney appointed was involved rather heavily.

In the Constitutional Convention, in which as you know I had some involvement, primarily through my wife [Catherine Moore Cushman] who was a delegate, but I had also served as the vice-chairman of Citizens for Michigan and vice-chairman of the Coordinating Committee that led to the calling of the Convention. And I did serve as the chairman of the committee that worked to try to get the new Constitution adopted in this state.

F--Let me ask you a question or two about Citizens for Michigan.

You were involved in the Citizens for Michigan, and that was in fact one of the vehicles that led to George Romney becoming Governor and perhaps even being nationally considered as a viable candidate for President of the United States.

Do you believe that education was one of the most important citizen concerns that came through that public movement? It was really one of the first public movements that we've had in this state in a long time.

C--Not as much as I would like to, because Citizens for Michigan was created to get at the problems that we had in the state government. At that time, as you recall, we were in a financial bind, partly because

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<sup>2</sup> A reference to a preliminary discussion about the John Dale Russell Report.

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we had so many of our resources earmarked under the old Constitution and the Legislature and the Governor weren't working together as effectively in facing up to the problems as they might have been.

We had just started to study these problems, including having a committee on education, when the League of Women Voters of Michigan--which had joined with the State Junior Chamber of Commerce in proposing a Constitutional Convention--got hold of me. The state president said that unless Citizens for Michigan got into this matter they were going to have to drop it because they didn't have the money. They didn't have the manpower--womanpower I suppose I should say these days--to do it. The Jaycees had proved to be no real help, a lot of talk but not much action, and they didn't have money.

And so we held a session and decided that no matter what the studies, both in the field of education finance or other dimensions of it, it was very clear that the Michigan Constitution was in need of modernization. We joined with them and the Jaycees and a number of other groups in creating a coordinating council that went to work to get petitions signed to call the Convention.

Now it's true that this focused some real attention on education because among the things that were discussed, it was. But once the Convention was called, however, Citizens for Michigan didn't continue to study this question of education on its own. But when the Convention appointed a Committee on Education under the leadership of Al Bentley<sup>3</sup>, the chairman, they spent considerable time on it. I think that this did focus some real attention on it.

F--Did you supply--the Citizens for Michigan--some of the fiscal muscle for this movement?

C--Yes.

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<sup>3</sup>Alvin M. Bentley; Republican; U.S. Congressman from Owosso; Member Citizens Committee on Higher Education; Regent of University of Michigan.

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F--Where did they get their money?

C--They got their money from the membership contributing to it. Some loans were made by the chairman and the vice-chairman, which I don't think ever got paid off, not very much of [it]. I know I got stuck for some of it.

F--I guess I was curious if Michigan industries had thrown money in.

C--No, no, these were individual contributions. We had something over 5,000 contributing members at one stage and that's where it came from. I know that in connection with it we borrowed some money. That is, Citizens for Michigan did.

F--We were talking about what the policy objectives were that underlay this expansion, and you identified the strong feeling of Michigan citizens on a very broad base to improve their own skills. And you talked some about that long sense of Michigan history, about being concerned about higher education, that had gone back to the time when we were a Territory--which I think is certainly appealing to a historian because of the value of tradition--which perhaps has not been so in some of the other states.

What were some of these key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflict in the attempts to broaden the base? Certainly, for instance, the question of a state university in the city of Detroit must have been one.

C--Well, I don't know about the degree of conflict that existed about it but the State of Michigan--I became acquainted with this in the two years I spent as Co-chairman of Governor Romney's Blue Ribbon Commission--has not only had this long tradition that we're talking about, but it has had a system that has encompassed both public and private institutions. Some of them are parochial or religious, in their origin at least, and some still continue from that point of view, although in a very sharply diminished number and relationship.

The growth occurred because the system was a viable system. I think there was a need. I think that the

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individual institutions tailored their programs to meet that need and I think that we have ended up with one of the better state systems of higher education in the nation.

F--It is certainly hard for people in other states to understand the subtle nature of our system because it is not bureaucratic, it's not really administrative, it's a very subtle system for the competition for resources.

C--Let me say this: During the Constitutional Convention I had tended to favor the idea of the California system. This indeed I pushed for with my friends who were delegates to that Convention. It was not, however, something that the Convention was willing to accept. They, in their wisdom, looked at the arrangements that had existed, thought that they were better than California or other systems, and retained essentially the same arrangement.

The only exception was that the State Board of Education that was created was given a responsibility to help plan and coordinate higher education in the state. Not with any authority over operations of the institutions of higher learning, but with some advisory or coordinating function--the word coordinate being a rather confusing word--subject to various kinds of interpretation.

But it was clearly understood by the Convention. I can say that from having talked to many members and delegates of that Convention. The intent was to continue the kind of operation that existed, with the autonomy that had existed, but to give to the institutions, other than the so-called big three institutions, a higher degree of status than they had had before.

At the time that this was approved I was not in agreement with it, although I've been told that I was by some people. I can say that I wasn't during that Convention. John Hannah, with whom I discussed it at the time, indicated that there was much to be said for some of the things I was saying, but it wasn't practical.

I think that he's probably right because, as you know, the new Constitution was adopted by a thin margin.

Cushman

If it had had the opposition of probably a few more people at the Convention, the result would have endangered the new Constitution.

I became much more aware of what you call the subtleties of the Michigan system during the two years of Governor Romney's Blue Ribbon Commission. I was the one who got Harold Smith made available as the staff director by the Upjohn group in Kalamazoo. He did a good deal to help me think it through.

Dr. John R. Richards, who used to be here at Wayne State University [where he] spent half-time as an assistant to President David Henry and half-time working with me in the Institute of Industrial Labor Relations. He later became, eventually, the Executive Director of the California Coordinating Council on Higher Education, and a member of the Governor's cabinet. That Council is supposed to be the group that helps to coordinate higher education in that state.

Knowing him rather well I called him after the Governor's study commission was created and invited him out to talk to us about it, which he did on several occasions. In my first telephone conversation with him, when I spoke to him with some degree of warmth about the values of the California system, he responded by saying that I didn't understand the system if that was my attitude, because the system didn't work the way it was supposed to on paper.

He also advised me that my good friend, Clark Kerr, was probably the biggest single stumbling block to working it out. He had gotten to know Clark and they had had some frank discussions. He used to run the Industrial Relations Center at Berkeley before he became Chancellor at Berkeley and at this time he was President of the University of California.

The University of California didn't try to tie in, apparently, as well as it might with the system of colleges--I think they have changed to call them universities recently--and with the community colleges. The regional colleges all aspired, as they have apparently now become, to being regional universities. They just couldn't seem to get the plan to operate

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the way it was supposed to on paper, and in his opinion by statute.

Have you talked to Harold Smith?

F--No, but I'm going to.

C--He's a great note-taker and he may have had some of that stuff from Jack Richards, who later became the President of the Institute for International Education in New York and unfortunately died some years ago.

I might also say that I talked to Dr. Kerr, who himself was not that enthusiastic about the system either. I never did get him to come out and meet with the group.

F--What, Ed, do you think were the reasons that the Con-Con delegates turned their backs on the administrative structure that was so much a part of the California system?

Jim Farnsworth--who is vice-chairman of the House Appropriations Committee--talked to me about that strong sense of history which you have alluded to, and also that sturdy sense of independence that Michigan residents have. He said there is a fear by Michigan residents of big government, big schools, big universities, big administrative structures. I wonder what your thoughts were from talking to delegates.

C--That's a good statement by Jim Farnsworth of my impressions. I think that all of those factors were present and motivated because of that attitude. I think that the delegates thought that it was unwise to depart from a system which they believed had resulted in some outstanding institutions of higher learning in this state, to change to something new and different, where bureaucracy and partisan politics might more likely get into the situation.

Traditionally the governing boards of the institutions of higher learning, up until recently, have been quite decidedly nonpartisan; even in the three elective boards up until not too many years ago, which are elected on a partisan basis. Once the people were elected they acted as if they were nonpartisan in fact.

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I might also say that one of the things that did not happen in the Constitution was the elimination of the elected governing board members of the three major institutions. Once again, this was because of tradition and history and a belief that the University of Michigan had become one of the great universities of the world under that system, Michigan State University had grown in its size and quality under that system, and Wayne State University--since it became a state institution in 1956--had grown both in size and quality as well, and that perhaps it was just as well not to tamper with that.

F--Although I do gather there was a strong disinclination to let the schools, the big three, grow bigger. I hear they wanted to limit their size to 40,000.

C--Well, there was a discussion about that, but there was also a feeling that it wasn't realistic to put numbers in the Constitution. A number of people who were delegates would have certainly agreed that that was a good idea.

F--Do you think that might have been for the same objection? Part of the focus of the Constitutional Convention was to take budget controls out of the Constitution and to end the designated fund concepts. Do you think that same attitude may have prevailed for the same reason--not to have put numbers in?

C--I believe so.

F--They didn't want to sort of etch it in concrete--a policy that might not last a hundred years.

C--I believe that to be true.

F--Do you think one of the key issues of this period was popularism in higher education versus elitism?

C--Yes, I would say so.

F--It seems to me that part of the focus where the University of Michigan was strongly on the defense and others were [espousing] a desire for alternative educational institutions rather than going the California way.

C--You understand that in California they had the same

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kind of problem. The University of California at Berkeley was charged with being an elitist institution during much of its recent history, the last several decades in particular.

The contrast between that institution and some of the regional colleges was designed to have access to higher education made available to those who just couldn't meet either the intellectual or the financial requirements of Berkeley.

F--I guess I'm after something more than this. It's my suspicion that the citizenry became concerned with the desire to graduate elites rather than to admit them, and that in this focus developed Michigan State, Wayne, the regional institutions, and yes, the growth of a complete community college system.

In 1958 the appropriations for community colleges was \$3 million. This year I suspect that it is some \$65 or \$70 million. That in a sense is a massive allocation of public resource. I wonder if that was....

C--Very much so. One of the unfortunate results of the John Dale Russell Report's failure to be widely read and used--I've forgotten the name of the representative<sup>4</sup> who was so active in that in the House, from upstate--was that the community college aspect of that didn't get used the way it might have.

In the report of the Romney Blue Ribbon Commission that chapter on the community colleges was probably the best single part of that report. I think that the growth of the community colleges that you have described has been one of the best things that could happen to the people in our state. That is because of the very reasons that you have identified: mainly that it has made education beyond high school available to more and more students.

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<sup>4</sup>Dr. Cushman soon recalled the name of Charles A. Boyer.



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F--I'm particularly stimulated by your remark about the difference between the John Dale Russell Report and the Blue Ribbon Report.

As an observer, rather than a student, it struck me that the Blue Ribbon Report somehow legitimized and enfranchised the community college and really gave it its tremendous impetus. In 1964 the appropriation to community colleges was only six million, so that in fact in that six-year period it had only doubled, whereas in the next six years it went from some six million to some 40 million.

So somehow I think that you are right about that 100 percent--that the Blue Ribbon Report some way gave a new sense of direction and purpose to it. It was very rapidly implemented without a great deal of hurrah and foolishness about sending it back to committee.

C--I think, at least I like to think, that what you say is true. I think one of the advantages is that the membership of that study commission was a fairly broad statewide membership. We had people who are not noted for their being unrealistic, like Carl Gerstacker, the Board Chairman of Dow Chemical. Nobody has ever accused Carl of being unrealistic.

You had people who are key people, scattered round this entire state, that took some leadership in this in their home communities as well.

F--I have the feeling that in some way the John Dale Russell Report didn't really touch the communities of this state.

C--I don't think that they even knew it existed, frankly. I like the use of your term when you say this report legitimized the movement. I think it did, at least I like to think it did, in terms of the quality of the report. But also I think that the quality of that commission had a great deal to do about it. I've forgotten who they all were now [although] I was involved somewhat in the selection.

F--It is a very interesting cosmopolitan group. I was curious as to who you regarded as the most influential

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people. Now it is true that everybody makes a contribution, but there must have been some with greater degree of energy that you regarded as really vital.

C--Well, let me put it this way. I'd say that the history of this is that Governor Romney talked to me about the need for such a group. We sat down and discussed it and I suggested--he may have suggested it but I think I did--the idea of a troika. I guess that wouldn't be a term...no, that's not a good term today...but the idea was to have somebody who appealed to the more conservative Republicans in the Legislature and in the state.

So he asked Dan Karn, who was then the retired President of Consumers Power in Jackson and who had been a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. He had been thinking about this and of course the Governor knew him well and that was one reason for his suggesting him.

And Irving Bluestone, who is International Vice-President of UAW and a man of great ability and deep concern about higher education. He took his Master's degree from the University of Berne, if I remember. That gave us a Republican and a Democrat.

Although I've been accused of many things, I've always considered myself a political independent. And furthermore, since I was with American Motors on my 12-year leave of absence from this University, I had the advantage of not being considered a professional administrator or college professor, but instead there was some feeling that perhaps I had some degree of practicality in looking at it.

As far as the others were concerned: Al Bentley, who later became a Regent at the University of Michigan, in part because of his work here, was the chairman of the Finance Committee. I might say that the selection of Alvin Bentley to this commission was a suggestion of my wife, who had gotten to know him in the Constitutional Convention, in particular, although we knew him casually before that. I had never been a great admirer of Mr. Bentley when he was a Congressman, but my wife said to me that as chairman of that Committee on Education he had demonstrated a deep

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concern and knowledge and a high degree of dedication to improving education.

I thought that as one of a rather large number of members of the commission, his acceptance as an out-state conservative Republican who didn't like to spend money would be very helpful. If in fact he was a believer in the expansion of higher education in the state--which took money--and if through the process of identification of the issues and problems and opportunities and needs, he could be persuaded (as I was with my prejudices a priori going into this) that there had to be a significant expansion in education and in its resources, this would be a great thing. So I added him in my suggestions to the Governor, who had gotten to know him as a man of integrity and dedication and as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention.

The opening day of the first meeting of this study commission I happened to walk down the corridor with Al Bentley. I said to him: "Al, I don't know how well you and I are going to get along in this commission. Compared to you, I'm a great spender. I am thoroughly and completely convinced that what we need in this state is a judicious, to be sure, but nonetheless massive infusion of resources to meet the needs of the people of this state." Whereupon Mr. Bentley said to me: "Well, I don't disagree with that, Ed. I'm certain that we need expansion for higher education and that it takes money."

Consequently when Mr. Karn and Mr. Bluestone and I sat down to pick the chairmen of the committees, I suggested that Al Bentley would make a great chairman of the finance committee. Mr. Bluestone said to me, "Are you kidding, Ed?" I said, "No, I'm quite serious about that." It didn't seem to him to be in the cards, but we looked over the membership and of course Dan Karn was all gung ho for him. And so we proceeded, and he made a tremendous contribution.

He also made a tremendous contribution in serving as the chairman of a subcommittee which led to a sharp increase in the state appropriation for that year.

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Governor Romney said to me that we ought to take on the chore of looking at what the appropriations for higher education ought to be. I said to him that I didn't think that was a function of this study commission, which had a two-year life of studying what we ought to be doing fundamentally about higher education in this state. But he was very insistent and so he sent a letter to the commission in which he asked us to take on this chore. Mr. Bentley [was] a logical person to chair that, and I served as the vice-chairman of that subcommittee.

We had a number of meetings in which the net result was a recommendation which jumped the appropriation appreciably. I've forgotten the figures now, but I do know that Governor Romney felt that we had sort of put him in a corner and the Legislature would never accept that sharp an increase, but that he was committed by us--we were his commission--to fight hard for it.

It was approved and adopted. In addition to Governor Romney, I would say that the most effective lobbyist for it was one Alvin M. Bentley because, if you will recall, Senator Gearlings of Holland.... Was that before your time?

F--It was before my time but I recollect legends of the man.

C--Well, he was not a spender and, as I indicated, Al Bentley was not a spender. In fact, I could give you chapter and verse about such things as paying for breakfast as he looked down and found 10¢ added improperly and had it corrected. He would not pay the 10¢--although I believe he could afford it reasonably well.

Senator Gearlings said to Al Bentley, "How can I argue against it when Al Bentley is for it?" I saw him about five minutes after that and he said, "I don't want to talk to you. Al Bentley has already talked to me and I'll just tell you I don't see any way of avoiding my being for this, but I think you fellows are all wrong."

Cushman

That kind of pressure from Bentley took some of the most conservative Republicans and put them on the right side of that appropriation. And strangely enough that was one of the reasons for his election.

This fellow I was trying to think of before on the earlier study, the Russell Report, was Charles A. Boyer of Manistee. Boyer had earlier been a member of the State Legislature and was on the committee that worked with Russell. Carl Gerstacker was another very able and aggressive member of the committee. I've forgotten frankly which [subcommittee] he chaired but he was very effective in dealing with it.

You look at the membership. As I look at it now I can see why it was a pretty good group. It was state-wide in character. Austin Saunders, head of General Telephone Company of Muskegon, is not only an important businessman but a very well-liked one, a very active one in the community. You can say the same thing about Mrs. John Parsons of Traverse City, who is very active in that community and was head of the Parent-Teachers Congress of the state, and that sort of thing. Mrs. Parker<sup>5</sup> of Grand Rapids was chairman of the...

F--And Heavenrich<sup>6</sup> from Saginaw.

C--We picked them from all over. We had the UAW, General Motors, Ford, and so forth.

Earl Wolfman was with the labor movement,<sup>7</sup> which was well represented. Bill Defoe of Bay City, and the city of Detroit was well represented.

F--Who were the people from the automotive industry?

C--Well, I was from American Motors. Tom Morrow of Chrysler Corporation, who--I don't know what his title is now--he was Group Vice-President at that point; Ted Yntema, who was Vice-President for Finance of the

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<sup>5</sup>Mrs. James C. Parker.

<sup>6</sup>Max P. Heavenrich, Saginaw merchant.

<sup>7</sup>William M. Defoe of Defoe Shipbuilding Company.

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Ford Motor Company at that time; and General Motors' George Jacoby, who was Director of Personnel Services for General Motors and among other things handled their relationships with higher education throughout the country. Bill Pine, who is a former university president--you may have met him--was with Ford Motor Company as Director of Scholarship Programs. All of the auto companies, in other words, were represented by senior people.

F--One of my conclusions that I'm working on is that because of the felicitous choice of people the Blue Ribbon Committee had great strength above and beyond the normal kind of study commission.

C--I'd like to emphasize that, because, as I say, one of the objectives from the beginning was--let's not have another Russell Report that just gathered dust. Therefore you had to have a group that really actively worked. And that group, incidentally, did actively work. Harold Smith can provide you with the details.

F--I think one of the interesting things is that the commission mechanism was a political mechanism of Williams' administration, when they didn't have strength in the Legislature, to go beyond that to the public.

Since the new Constitution, institutions have been more receptive to public opinion, the broad-ranging commission had disappeared as a phenomenon of the Michigan landscape. Really, since this commission, there truly has not ever again been one as wide-ranging or as influential. In my personal view, Governor Milliken's attempt to create school reform failed because he only went for five people rather than...

C--I agree with that. Governor Milliken called me and reached me over at the bar at the Park Shelton when he was appointing that committee. I gave him three comments in connection with it, one of which he followed.

One: He talked to me about the proposed membership and it did not include a woman. I suggested the then State President of the League of Women Voters [Ilene Tomber, 1971-73] be a member, which he accepted. That was the only one of the three.

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The second: I suggested that he get a chairman other than himself because the Governor ought to be in a position to stand away from it, and he doesn't have that much time. He gave a great deal of time to it, however, but at the same time...

F--He got mired up in it.

C--That's right.

And the third thing was that the commission, if it were dependent solely on the prestige of a Governor, couldn't succeed because what you're talking about is something so broad in its concerns that you needed a commission of roughly the size--40 to 60--of this [earlier] commission. Sure it had to have a steering committee and an executive committee, but it had to have the involvement of the people.

We had the chairmen of each of the subcommittees, and the three co-chairmen, as the executive and steering committee of this group. But at the same time there were quite frequent meetings of the total group which were amazingly well-attended when you realize that some of them had to come down from the Upper Peninsula to go to Lansing. Our meetings were essentially held in the Kellogg Center at Michigan State during that period, so it took quite a bit to get that group there.

However, Governor Milliken proceeded with his program and it did not succeed. It didn't even succeed in winning the help of a number of people, including myself, who were not in favor of some of the things that came up in the K-12 proposal.

F--How important were the vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education in this period, 1958 to 1970?

C--Only with respect, I believe, to the development of the community colleges but not with respect to the four-year institutions or the graduate institutions. Unless you want to call professional preparation part of it, but I don't interpret your question that way.

What it did do was to provide for the two-track system in the community colleges. Those programs

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which were vocational and technical and terminal.

F--Ok, but there was the direct point that state support for research, although badly attacked by the older members of the Legislature, still received support for really the first time. Is that part of this?

C--Yes, but in all too limited a fashion. Somehow or other we have never been able to make it clear that research is an investment in the future of the state that's so vital that it deserves more support than we have given it.

This is a state that is a well-diversified state in its economy, but not diversified enough. The automobile industry--as you know I still serve as a director of American Motors and am not apologizing for the industry--and its suppliers tend to dominate the state too much. The auto industry is bound to have, as a durable consumer-goods industry with its products deferrable in terms of purchase for many people, a degree of change that occurs with the business cycle that adversely affects the lives of many people when there is a downturn. To a much greater extent in places like Detroit, Flint, et cetera, than is wise and desirable.

F--So what you're saying is that it would have been a good public policy to have encouraged diversification of Michigan industry into less cyclical industries while still not turning our backs on the automotive.

C--That's right. Not only would it have been desirable, it is still desirable.

F--What about the growth of culture and the arts? Do you think that had any importance in the mind of the policy-makers as they looked at enhancing higher education?

The temptation, of course, is to say yes, but I don't have the feeling that it existed.

C--You described my delayed reaction very well. This state has many advantages culturally indeed. But the state is not one that has been as devoted to this as one might expect.



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When you look at Detroit with its resources, not only of the university, but with the Institute of Arts, and the Library, we have a number of these activities that are very actively pursued and attended.

But on the other hand, we have only one legitimate theater really operating in Detroit. You look around the state and if it weren't for the universities and those communities which are fortunate enough to have them, there is a real dearth of...

F--It's not easy to talk about this because of the civic do-goodism, but I'm from Massachusetts and legitimate theaters, operas, symphonies, art museums exist without the protection and sustenance of higher education institutions. Higher education institutions supplement them, they don't supply them.

And in this state, which is rich enough, it is the seventh richest in the Union, we have no opera, we have a precariously funded, marginal symphony orchestra, we have very little legitimate theater, we have few art museums, and we don't seem to have a tradition of public philanthropy for these things. It may well be that Michigan's people don't have that same devotion to the arts and culture that they do have to higher education and learning.

C--It appears that way.

F--It looks to me that the higher education institutions have had to support and succor a culture as part of the educational programs in order to find examples for it where it didn't exist in the outside society.

It's just astonishing to take a look at the role of the theater program of Wayne as part of a city of how many millions? Some two million here in Detroit? There are hardly any alternatives to Wayne's cultural program. That's not the case in New York, in Boston, or Philadelphia.

Would you concur with that kind of an attitude?

C--I regret to say so.

F--I have already alluded to "what were the positions of labor." Did you want to amplify what you thought the position of labor was?

Cushman

C--As I indicated, labor has traditionally favored higher education. On that Blue Ribbon Commission, as I mentioned, one of the co-chairmen was Irving Bluestone. There were several others, Alex Fuller, who was the President of the Wayne County AFL-CIO...

F--Were Scholle and Reuther putting the muscle in behind these men?

C--Yes, no question about that.

Ivan Brown from the Upper Peninsula UAW; Woody Ginsburg, who was the Research Director of the UAW in Detroit at the time; Earl Wolfman of the United Bakery and Confectionary Workers Union.

F--This is a difficult question I want to ask you now. What is the role of industry?

It's my experience that Michigan industry has very rarely deeply cared about higher education in terms of the institutions. Now, that's in contradiction to your remarks pointing out the automotive contracts for the attainment of additional skills.

C--Well, more than that. Let's take the University of Michigan, of which I am an alumnus and a member of its President's Club--which is a fund-raising organization.

The University of Michigan "margin of excellence" program has been one that is widely acclaimed and envied throughout the nation. The sesquicentennial drive netted something close to \$80 million, which was in excess of its objective at the time. A great deal of this money came from industry: the automobile companies and in other cases from the leaders of business and industry.

F--So you feel that there was a strong espousal from industry in very direct ways.

C--Yes, I think so. But I don't want to indicate to you my satisfaction with that. We are talking about a question of degree.

Cushman

I think that there is still some tendency on the part of corporation leadership throughout the state to feel that it is not a primary concern and that the amount of monies that can be provided is somewhat limited. We still have some, for example, that refuse to make contributions to public institutions, and do so essentially through back-door rather than overt and clear arrangements.

F--What about the role of commerce? I've had the feeling that one should separate them in their views. Do you feel a different attitude on the part of commerce?

I think I've specifically asked that because of the role of Seidman and the Kent Bank in Grand Rapids, and the number of commercial people that were on your commission. It was really instructive for me to see people like Heavenrich and the like. They weren't really a part of the industrial aristocracy but yet they seem to have come in and had a focus somewhat different.

C--I don't know that their focus was that different. These are men of education and concern who served representing commerce. I'd say that many of them have, as you look at the state, a local interest to a degree, the welfare of their community and of their businesses.

F--That harkens back to what we talked about earlier, about that strong sense of local pride. Maybe the commercial people had more of a local sense and the industrial people like Gerstacker more of a national...

C--Carl Gerstacker of Dow Chemical, that's an international company. The folks from the automobile companies, these are all international companies. The people from these retail establishments are peculiarly local in their focus, but we were fortunate in having people with broad experience and attainment.

F--So then, in a sense, a very useful way to regard it was that commerce was more locally oriented and the industry more nationally and internationally motivated.

Cushman

C--Yes, I would say so. Although I don't know that it made that much difference to this particular study.

F--What about the role of agriculture? Was that negative, positive, nonexistent?

C--It was relatively minor and I would consider that one of the deficiencies in the work of that commission. We had people from around the state who were in agricultural areas, but we didn't really have as an effective and concerned representative of agriculture as we should have had. That was partly my fault, as I worked with the Governor in the selection of the members of that committee.

F--Although it is worthwhile to observe that in the Legislature today, of 148 members, only one member lists his occupation as agricultural. Whereas, probably when you first became interested in state policies the number of agricultural members of the Legislature was significant.

C--Wasn't there one fellow there [in the Legislature] who is still active in the Farm Bureau?

F--Not now, that I know of.

What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, that you could observe from the federal government?

C--Are you talking about at the time of this commission or are you talking about at the present time?

F--I'm thinking about the whole period.

C--I'd say that throughout the period the role of the federal government was--until recently--an expanding one. One that influenced markedly the kind of programs and financing that existed. As you will recall, after Sputnik, you had the tremendous emphasis on science and technology, and you had the research grants particularly in areas such as...

F--And then there was the higher education facilities commission and the scholarship...

Cushman

C--...and the construction and scholarship aid, you see, and so forth...

F--But they really didn't ask you to model your programs, did they? They really left it in an entrepreneurial way, whereas the federal input into social services sets mandates of performance.

Were there mandates of performance that you felt or observed from the federal government for higher education?

C--Well, I would say that there was some with respect to certain student financial aid programs. But essentially I'd say that there was a very high degree of autonomy that institutions had under the federal grants, not that they weren't audited and all the rest of it. Certainly this was true in sharp contrast with the tendencies on the part of the State of Michigan--ever since you got involved with it and since--of much more detailed evaluation and control.

F--You're not going to get a response from me out of that because it's gone a lot further than I'm comfortable with.

What about the pressures and influences in determination of public policy, if any, from the private sector?

All through this period we had the gradual decay of the religious schools. I wondered if there were defensive mechanisms or pressures from the private sector of higher education in this period that you observed.

C--Not really.

Let me say that I served for many years on the Board of Trustees of Kalamazoo College, which is a small 1100 some-odd students, liberal arts college of some quality and some demonstrated ability to experiment with various approaches to higher education--one of the oldest colleges in this state started by the Baptists. There still is a small contingent, I've forgotten how many, two or three or whatever it is, that serve on the Board of that institution, but it's predominantly nondenominational. There is no

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particular relationship other than that token representation on the Board.

Now the feeling I have is that private higher education has been caught in a very real squeeze financially; which is extremely unfortunate because colleges like Kalamazoo can experiment, innovate, try a lot of things when there is money because of their size and their limited objectives.

F--You didn't feel pressure, for instance, from University of Detroit over the growth of Wayne at the time of the Blue Ribbon Report?

C--No, not at all. But you see that was a period, don't forget, of great expansion for private and public institutions. The drop-off in student population in higher education is of fairly recent origin.

F--Well, maybe the effects of it, but they've been declining about one percent a year during the period of this study.

What in your opinion were the regional pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another?

Obviously you had the Saginaw issue, and the Grand Valley issue. Some speak of a Traverse City initiative; which I haven't been able to ascertain yet, but it has been mentioned.

C--Well, I think you have identified them pretty well.

There's also the question of these branch campuses. As you know, we took the position in that report that branch campuses were a desirable way of initiating new institutions, but that it should be done with the idea that the umbilical cord ought to be cut at some appropriate date; and that there ought to be a separate board and separate budget, until the institution was separated from its parent. Obviously, that board should be subservient to the governing board of the total institution and its administration.

Cushman

I don't know that this is very well received even today. I know the Chancellor of the Dearborn campus does not agree with it.

F--I don't believe that is true. As a matter of fact, the next question is: What in your opinion were the reasons for the failure of the branch campus system?

If you take a look at Wisconsin the major university spawned a set of subsidiary enterprises. In Michigan that attempt died. The attempt, for instance, of Saginaw Valley to affiliate with Michigan or Michigan State did not come to pass. Oakland was constructed to become autonomous from virtually its first days; Dearborn, which has existed in some great degree of potential rather than actuality, is beginning to grow. Except for the strong political nature of the Flint espousal I doubt that ten years from now we will see any branch campuses existing.

Why do you think that they failed?

C--Well, I think it was for a variety of reasons, but I'll start out with some of them.

University of Michigan did not itself desire to have its Dearborn campus. When the Fords wanted to see something created there I think that the fact that John Hannah at Michigan State would have grabbed it if Michigan didn't is what led Michigan to accept it.

Mr. Hannah then promptly created Oakland branch at Oakland. That was because he didn't want to be upstaged, essentially. I don't happen to agree with your comment that at that time he intended to see it spun off because my discussions with him did not indicate that. He didn't know what ought to be done with it. You may have talked to John Hannah, or you will, but my impression is, and it may be inaccurate, that the primary motivating influence was the competition with Michigan and the Dearborn campus.

Now Michigan never gave the Dearborn campus anything other than its name, really. In fact, if you talk to Bill Stirton, the first director of that campus, he will tell you that he was under instructions to have no publicity for his commencements when they occurred. He felt banished from Ann Arbor to Dearborn, in effect.

Cushman

The Flint thing was entirely, shall we say, influenced by some peculiar political relationships.

F--Whatever Mr. Mott wants...

C--Whatever Mr. Mott wanted he got; got from either Michigan or, if I may say so, from the Legislature.

Well, in any event, since it didn't have a plan, since there wasn't a commitment really to it, the Dearborn campus didn't amount to anything. Now that the decision had been made that it will be a four-year college, that it will be spun off at some later date, and that there is real support to the new Chancellor in that connection, it's moving apace. There are other factors too.

F--Two additional questions. I know you are pressed for time.

Why in your opinion did an institutional system for the coordination of higher education not come about after 1964?

C--I would say because nobody really wanted it. The institutions didn't want a strong central mechanism and the arrangements that existed had led to a rather good result.

F--As I said earlier using the term subtle, the institutions really are accountable in very many ways to the public sector. Don't you feel that way?

C--I do. As I say, that's what I got out of the two years of study that I had in that commission.

I started out, as I indicated, with the idea of a strong central group. I ended up with a realization--I like your word subtle because I think it does describe it-- [that] there are so many checks and balances and forms of accountability that exist both within the institution itself and in terms of its relationships to the various branches of state government--executive branch in its various forms, and the Legislature which has been increasingly interested and concerned and involved, the general increased interest in the part of the public and their involvement in these institutions--



Cushman

all of these have led to, I think, some real feeling that the institutions are quite accountable.

A second factor has been the financial crunch--Earl Cheit<sup>8</sup> called it the depression in higher education--which has forced faculty, administration, governing boards, as well as the executive and legislative branches of state government, to give more and more attention of a detailed character to the programs and the effectiveness with which they are carried out.

F--I have the sense, Ed, that in other states the reason these coordinating boards came was they had the belief in the public sector that the institutions were not accountable. In Michigan I do not have the belief that public officials and opinion makers believe that that is the case.

C--Let me put it this way. The period of the sixties was a period of great disillusionment, concern, and worry about all of the institutions of our society, including higher education. But I think it is significant, and I don't think it is very well recognized, that the recent attitude surveys of the past year have indicated that second only to medicine and its mystique is the confidence of the American people in higher education and its leadership.

F--And I think particularly so, Michigan citizens.

C--That's correct. Once again, this stems from the long tradition that we talked about earlier of this state.

F--Do you have any people that you would like to add to the ones you have mentioned who in your opinion were the significant opinion leaders in higher education? Obviously, Dr. Hannah had to be one of the people.

C--Oh yes, John Hannah certainly. I would think that the recently retired President of Western Michigan, Jim Miller, has been a key figure. Ed Harden can give you

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<sup>8</sup> Earl F. Cheit, The New Depression in Higher Education: A Study of Financial Conditions at 41 Colleges and Universities, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971).

Cushman

some insights from his experiences at Northern when he was there. He would be easily available to you. All of those people come from the Hannah group.

Obviously Bob Fleming could give you some insights. And Allen Smith, who, as you know, is now retiring as the Academic Vice-President at Michigan. Bill Pierpont<sup>9</sup> can give you some insights from that point of view.

I don't know who is involved in the Michigan private colleges but you really ought to pick up your thought about the private institutions and talk to somebody there.

F--Father Steiner, you think?

C--He has gone on to life eternal. If you can reach him you are pretty good. Father Carron, who has taken over, would be a pretty good person to talk to for that point of view.

F--Anybody at Wayne you think in this period?

C--Well, most of the people... Clarence Hilberry was President and Keast<sup>10</sup> was here for part of that period.

F--Henry made his reputation outside the state really, did he not?

C--Well, he got a reputation at the beginning here and then he was with NYU, but he really made his reputation at Illinois. Ruthven<sup>11</sup> is gone. How about Harlan Hatcher? You ought to talk to Hatcher.

F--Thank you, Ed.

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<sup>9</sup>Wilber Kent Pierpont; Vice-President, University of Michigan.

<sup>10</sup>William Rea Keast; President, Wayne State University.

<sup>11</sup>Alexander G. Ruthven; President, University of Michigan.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
IRA POLLEY<sup>1</sup>

F--Dr. Polley, what in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

P--Jerry, first of all the youngsters were here. We had had a substantial increase in the birth rate with the return of the GI's. That sizeable increase in the birth rate continued on into the fifties. If I remember correctly--I do this from memory--the high-water mark was 1957. So point number one, there were youngsters here to be educated; point number two, there was not the existing capacity in 1958 to accommodate these youngsters.

Thirdly, there has been some competition between and among the principal institutions in the State of Michigan, notably MSU and the University of Michigan. I think this was an added factor. Some people deplore competition; in this case I think it probably served a larger public interest.

But there were many other considerations. I recall the Kalamazoo Decision was rendered in the case of Michigan, standing for the proposition that local districts can spend public funds to establish and operate high schools. I cite this only for this reason: I think that this state for a long period of time has had a pretty sizeable interest in, understanding of, and commitment to, education.

I don't think one wants to minimize this. This state had one of the very first universities: the University

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<sup>1</sup>Ira Polley; State Controller, 1960-62; Executive Director, Michigan Council of State College Presidents, 1962-1966; Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1966-1969; now Assistant Provost, Michigan State University. Interview conducted April 10 and 15, 1974.

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of Michigan. It had the first teacher normal school, or teacher-training school west of the Alleghenies in Eastern Michigan University. We had the first land grant institution. Really this institution [Michigan State University] was established, legislatively speaking, in 1855--if my memory is right--some years before the Morrill Act.

You could say, "Well, why did the people of this state have this commitment?" Well, many of the people who came into this state had come from New England originally. They came into this state from New England and New York. In those states there was developed facilities for higher education, to be sure. In those states, mostly private. In this state there were not these private institutions and for many reasons they never got the toehold.

These are the kinds of considerations...

F--This is a bit of a diversion, but I'm struck by your remarks because Governor Williams--whom I have a great deal of respect for--talked less about organizational structure and more about Michigan's tradition, much the way you have...

P--We haven't rehearsed it...

F--No. I've been trying to aim at why Michigan is different from Ohio, Illinois, Indiana.

I'm struck by the fact that the wealth of both states--Michigan and Ohio--is similar. Michigan's rank in higher education, up until the fifties, was first, I think. In the elementary and secondary it has been in the leadership position of first or second right to the present, in terms of dollars spent and the like. And I said, "Why did it occur?"

I was struck by your remarks about why it came. I wondered if, because of the trails of migration through the Erie Canal from New York and New England--the host of towns in this state named Boston and the like--whereas Ohio's immigration came from Virginia.

P--I think there is something different about these states. I think there really is.

F--I don't know what it is, and I don't know if I'll be able to get a handle on it. But certainly even the

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fact that we have had an honest public service--which has not been a midwestern tradition except for Wisconsin--is hard to fathom.

P--I would add Wisconsin and Minnesota are in the Midwest, too, but Wisconsin being the pioneer in this. I would say one other factor here--but I think those are the principal ones--I don't discount the role of the dynamic, the strong leaders in this. Let me mention a few of them--there are both Democrats and Republicans.

In terms of academic leadership there was John Hannah at this university. I think unquestionably one of the most able university presidents that this nation has ever had, at least in a large university president. He was here and he had visions; he believed in moving forward rather rapidly.

At the same time in this state, or in most of this state, there were some other really giants. There was Ed Harden at Northern Michigan University, there was Victor Spathelf at Ferris State Institution, there was Paul Sangren--a delightful man--and his successor at Western Michigan University.

All these people. But I'd want to add there was also G. Mennen Williams, who had education with a high priority in his scheme of values. And then the whole budget-making process. Education and mental health were always sensitive and delicate areas that he favored.

I would say, too, that the Porters and the Beadles, who served on the Senate Appropriations Committee, and Arnell Engstrom<sup>2</sup>, reflecting values of Michigan, had a sympathy and a real understanding for education. Maybe this is too many words but this gives you...

F--I know that, and I too share your attitude, but it always was a puzzle to me--and I don't know that we'll ever come to this as a conclusion--how some of these men could go so far beyond their origins and beyond the parochialisms of the regions that they represented to have a broader state view. Certainly the Thumb, suburban Traverse City--Porter came from Adrian and Lenawee, that area. These have not been necessarily

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<sup>2</sup>Arnell Engstrom; Republican Representative from Traverse City.

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areas that had a strong public position in favor of education since or before.

P--I'm not sure either. Of all those people, though, somebody like a Beadle is a giant among state legislators I think at any time in history. I just added the name, too, in more recent years, of Garland Lane, who also, you know, has education as a high priority. And I think it is also with Charles Zollar.

I'd say one other thing about the appropriation process in this state: The people in the 17 years I've been in this state who served on the Appropriations Committee are people who have a take-charge attitude. They are informed, they are hard-working, and they gather all the facts and they try to make judgments about those facts, and they know what they are doing.

The Legislature is not in a state of drift insofar as appropriations process is concerned. This has been true and this is true of the top Democrats and the top Republicans on those committees.

F--I don't want to drift away from the point, but you are by training and experience and career a political scientist.

P--Yes, indeed.

F--Isn't it really something to observe in this time that in Michigan we've really had, not a preponderance of power, but a sharing of power. The executive prerogatives were never as finely strung as they were in Washington. The committees really had a responsible way to go and acted that way. We haven't seen the drift to the bureaucratic or the executive as we have in the other states.

P--I think this is an extremely important point that you have made, Jerry, and is frequently overlooked. In this state--although we have had powerful governors going back to, say, the Groesbecks, the Williams, and Romney, and there are others too--to the best of my knowledge and belief, we have never made a mistake that's been made I think frequently in terms of the national scene: We have never deified the governor, or the office of the governor.

We have respected the office, we have looked to the office for leadership, but as you have said, Jerry, there has been a recognition that if government will

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work at the state level in this state, it will work only when the governor and when the key leaders in the Legislature work together. God knows this is true.

F--What were the social and economic factors, besides the facts that you have just observed, that the children were there, that led to the significant growth of higher education? You commented about leadership also.

P--As you suggested, my earlier remarks intruded on this area, but I think there are a couple of other things that one might mention.

I don't have the data at hand, but I have a hunch on this [and] I think my hunch would be borne out with data. I think the educational level in a state like Michigan has been higher than in many other parts of the country, particularly in the Middle West, and the mountain states and the South. I have a notion that people who have education aspire to have those educational opportunities for their sons and their daughters. I think that is one factor.

Secondly: the income levels in the state. The family income or the income per individual in the state is higher than in any other state in the Midwest and in the South. It seems to me that wise and informed people, when they have resources, spend some of those resources, invest some of those resources, if you like, in education.

I think also the fact that this state developed the automobile and has important companies in the chemical and pharmaceutical industry led many people in the state to realize that a modern commerce, modern industry, modern government can be operated effectively only with informed citizens, only with well-educated people.

So it seems to me that all of these factors contribute to the social and economic environment. There may be others, I'm sure there are, that I've not mentioned.

I would guess probably there's another one. I've spoken of the educational levels and I think that's true and that was a plus. There is another group of people in this state that did not have these above-average educational levels: the immigrants in this state. But I think that the immigrants, and those I've known that have come from various parts of Europe in particular, have recognized sometimes more quickly than some of

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the native Americans that education is a way toward social and economic mobility.

In most cases the immigrant parents I've known have urged their sons and their daughters to go on to education. That's true in the case of my mother who had only a third-grade education; she hammered at her two sons all the time to go off and get a college education.

F--Just as an aside, many people take a look at the scene of our state and our nation and bemoan its precarious situation. I myself have always been struck--as a historian coming from immigrant background myself, Russian immigrant--how really strong that society is. I'm curious what you think about this. Our major minorities in this state are ethnic--Slavic groups and Blacks--and both share what I call the Horatio Alger dream: that education will get you ahead. I think much of my Boston, Massachusetts origins, where the Irish did not have that aspiration. I think our state is quite fortunate with the social engine that exists in it for improvement.

P--I think you are absolutely right. I think the Polish citizens, for example, and the Blacks that you mentioned, and the other people from Central Europe, I think they recognized all too clearly that they were not likely to acquire a large estate to leave to their youngsters. But if they can encourage their youngsters to finish the elementary schools and to complete high schools with respectable grades and move on into colleges, they knew that then their sons and daughters could move up into positions of responsibility in industry and commerce and in government.

F--And that's where I guess I'm trying to come. I have the sense that there are those political issues that divide men, and that here education was not an issue that polarized our society, but rather brought it together.

P--I think you are absolutely right. I think it has been a very unifying effect. Unquestionably so.

F--I wanted to come back and test your observation about another thing, a little bit of a digression again, but as you talk to people you enrich your sense of understanding.



Polley

You talked about Michigan's dedication to education. I'm struck that when we have gone through several of the major reforms (I think particularly about 1962 with Con-Con) there is a strong dedication in our society, and I'm not talking necessarily about leaders, but citizenry, not to allow the spoils system to come, which was much the part of the landscape of political America in the Midwest and in the East. It strikes me, the fact that we didn't want a spoils system and went out of our way, is the other side of the coin of good education for government.

P--I think, again, Jerry, you are right. I don't always find myself so comfortable agreeing with somebody, but I think that you are right.

I think really, looking backwards, that the experience citizens of this state had with civil service reform in 1937, '38 and '39, really was a plus. That experience led to establishing in the Constitution one of the most secure merit systems anywhere in the country.

I often have addressed myself to this comment. I had some people from Indiana visit with me a year or two ago and were asking lots of questions about the Department of Education and its role before Con-Con and after Con-Con. One of the themes that I had to develop for them--and it was easy for me to do it because I know the Indiana scene until recently. I'm not sure it has changed, it has been a spoils state just like Massachusetts has, just like Pennsylvania has. Indeed if I were to name four of the principal spoils states in the country they would be those three, I guess, plus Illinois.

F--I was just going to say something to you. Just to refresh your mind, the first man who ever gave me a job in the public service was you. You gave me the job of relating with the other 17 midwestern states...

P--Right, you saw these states.

F--And I couldn't get over...

P--Dick Wells.

F--Wells was the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Indiana, and Page was in Illinois... How every decision was virtually political and almost none of your decisions were political, in the spoils-system sense, was astonishing to me, and instructive.

Polley

P--Well, I pointed out to these people that visited me from Indiana that one of the best things that the Department of Education had going had nothing really to do with Con-Con as such, but was the fact that before, when we had the elective superintendent, you had a very strong civil service merit system. You continued to have the very strong civil service system with the board replacing the elective superintendent. And this is true in so many other areas.

Let me say, sitting here visiting with you, I remember other people who pointed this out. Some of Williams' speeches in the late fifties on state government paid his respects to this matter of a merit system.

You can't operate a real modern government with, what, 40,000 employees or whatever the figure is--55,000--on the spoils system and do it intelligently and economically and effectively. The only losers of the spoils system are the poor citizens, really.

F--I'm trying to get at what were the policy objectives that underlaid this expansion.

P--Well, when you say policy objectives, in my mind you raise a question of who had them and there is implied the notion that there is some premeditation in here. And I'm skeptical about the premeditation...

F--So might I be, but go ahead.

P--But let me look at these questions from the point of view of policy objectives.

Let's look at--as Aristotle would say--let's look at the small part of this. Let's look at the trees rather than the forest and maybe we could make some sense out of the larger picture. It is pretty difficult to jump at the larger picture and fully understand it.

But let's stop, stand back and look at two people. I just think of these two, and maybe we'll look at some others.

John Hannah, for example, what were his policy objectives? His policy objectives were to make Michigan State University one of the largest, one of the best, one of the most highly diversified institutions in the country. He built I think the largest dormitory establishment anywhere, not only in the United States, but in the

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world. And he built it properly with people like Emery Foster<sup>3</sup> and others. Had he not done this we would not be able to accommodate the enrollment growth that took place here.

You can say the same thing about many of these other people I mentioned earlier: the Millers, the Sangrens, the Spathelfs, the Hardens, people like that. You can look at the point of view of policy objectives from Williams, who was Governor, and later Swainson, and Romney, and Milliken. Despite the political differences, in terms of Republican or Democratic philosophy, I don't think there's really great differences here, on this issue, among these people.

I think their objectives were really to be, if you like, the guardian of, the executor, of the kind of basic ideas that I tried to identify in my response to the first question. Here is a state that is going to be a state that meets the needs of its citizens, that's going to be a state that has a proud history. It's citizens are going to be able to achieve as much appropriate education as possible. You have these governors, and all of them, I think, were strong governors, subscribing to the view that education must have a very high priority in the scheme of things.

F--These questions aren't necessarily as precise as one would like because you talk with the diversity of people.

P--Right.

F--Let me push you a little bit further here, Ira. I suspect that your observations about premeditation and a clear-cut policy in the planner's sense of the word never occurs virtually anyplace. I have not discerned as yet in my investigation that such was the case.

But I do have the feeling, and it doesn't come out well with the people I talk to, that the conflict between Michigan and Michigan State, which I believe was quite sharp...

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<sup>3</sup>Emery G. Foster; Manager, Michigan State University Dormitories and Food Services.

Polley

P--Yes, no question.

F--I know most people won't speak to it much. Dr. Hannah viewed an arriving kind of market and took an offensive strategy and mobilized the forces of society to win that support. Michigan took a much more defensive strategy to enhance what it had, to preserve what it had, rather than to gain.

P--Yes, let me put it this way. I agree with you, in a sense, if I can use some words rather with considerable inexactitudes just to convey an impression of flavor.

In a sense Hannah was populist, in a sense the people at Michigan were elitist. I don't want to overstress this. This just conveys the flavor and restates in somewhat different words, I think, what you were saying.

Hannah wanted to make Michigan State University, if you like, the people's university. Again the people at the University of Michigan knew that they had unquestionably a very great institution and, as some of its critics have said, they wanted to prove again that it was the Harvard of the Midwest. There is nothing wrong about being the Harvard of the Midwest.

F--You noticed that my question number 6 asks if you regard this as a key issue of this period--popularism.

P--Yes, ok, I see. It's very interesting, yes.

F--I guess I put it another way, because I gather that a part of your hesitancy when you convey the flavor is the question of quality. I have frequently put it this way. I had the feeling that this institution wanted to graduate elites rather than to admit them. By that I mean to convey we would take those less able and actually enhance them and they would come out to be a new elite. Whereas Michigan at that time... I think it's changed, because of the competitive nature of the marketplace and with Dr. Hatcher's departure.

P--Yes. There is a lot of difference too. You see, if you look at these enrollment figures in several of the years in the late fifties and early sixties. Michigan State might be growing, oh, this would not be uncommon growth at all, 1500-2500 some of these years. Michigan in some years was almost static in growth or it was growing very, very slowly.

Polley

I had the notion, but I have no proof of this, that the people at Ann Arbor were not greatly concerned about this disparity in growth because one [should] look at this from the simplistic budget formula at that time.

The people in Ann Arbor might say, ok, we have enough strength in the Legislature, there is enough general recognition in the Legislature that we're a great institution and we have to be appropriated for properly and if we hold enrollment rather steady, there will be a per capita--that phrase was frequently used in the...

F--Let me interrupt because I had that same sense and as I listen to you, you help crystalize my own thoughts. It strikes me that we at Michigan State were playing the aggregate total dollars game, and they were playing the net state appropriation game.

P--Both could be winners depending on what your premise is.

F--And their premise was they wanted to enrich the dollars of support per pupil. And we, every time we took more than the appropriation it attenuated the dollar of support so the gap became quite large in one sense of the budget year's gain.

P--But, I would argue, at least for a moment, that in one sense although they were acting from different premises and receiving somewhat different treatments, they were both gainers. How so?

Michigan State wanted to grow. Michigan State had a less demanding set of admissions criteria, but as you said, Michigan State was turning out a very good product. This enabled Michigan State to grow. Hannah knew, and that's another point here, Hannah knew that if he took 2500 kids, say, and he had led the people in the governor's office and the Legislature to think that maybe he would only take 1500, he knew that he might be the loser for one year but when he came back the next year he would say, "Well, we have now 27,800 kids." or whatever the figure might be. If he had not taken the extra thousand he would only be able to say "26,800." Let me say that these figures I have are purely hypothetical to illustrate.

On the other hand, I think Michigan in a sense was the winner because Michigan was concentrating on the

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professions: medicine, law, social work, natural resources, public health, and the graduate program. You need more money for that kind of a student mix.

I'd also point out that another reason why there is not this rapid growth in the future for the large institutions. I think the key legislators have said to about four of the largest universities, "You are large enough, thank you," and, "We want to increase the enrollment of institutions like Saginaw Valley and Grand Valley, Oakland and Central, et cetera."

F--And hence, therefore, the qualitative game is the only game to be played now.

What were the key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflict in the attempts to attain the above policy objectives?

P--I don't know, Jerry, really how to deal with that kind of a question in terms of how I've approached particularly [question] number 3. Give me a try at this in terms of something more specific and let me see.

F--During this period we had the Flint issue, we had the branch campuses, we had the Grand Valley and Saginaw Valley attempts for regional pressures for autonomous institutions. We had some degree of difficulties with community colleges of freestanding versus K-12 control. We had the pressures by legislators to take strong attitudes about the enhancement of the vocational program because of the concern about technology and Sputnik.

I guess what I'm trying to see is where were the areas where there were solid areas of disagreement. I personally feel, for instance, one of the areas that I had a sense was the attitude of elitist versus populist as an area of conflict was Dearborn, where in fact frankly Dearborn didn't flourish, but was a defensive strategy.

P--So was Flint...

F--So was Flint, in a way, to operate its mechanisms to prevent Michigan State's sort of imperial drive and blunt it.

P--You see, after, I guess the year was 1956, in one very short period of time the two giants--I refer to the U of M and Michigan State--announced gifts and grants.

Polley

In the case of Michigan from the Ford estate and in the case of State from the Wilson estate out of General Motors money.

F--No, she was a Dodge...

P--Was she Dodge?

F--Yes, she was married to John Dodge.

P-- Ok, Dodge money. You have several hundred acres of prime land being given to Michigan State at Oakland near Rochester, and some buildings and some very expensive real estate in the city of Dearborn being given to the University of Michigan.

F--I guess I'm after one other thing. At Con-Con, Ira, there was a very strong attitude inside the educational committee with George Romney to come up with a California-kind of plan. And John Hannah won on the floor for a more autonomous system. Obviously there were focuses and strains there between people who were trying to order the public policy.

P--Well, let me just say one thing. Before we come to Con-Con, let me say that in 1956 after these announcements of gifts and grants from Mrs. Wilson and the Ford family to the universities, the Legislature became concerned about branch campuses and about the resolution-- and I think you know about this--saying that in essence, before any more grants and gifts are accepted, this has to receive legislative approval. The Legislature knew full well that if the two largest universities were permitted to go their own independent way that complete policy-making could, for higher education, be made by the two largest universities without any really gubernatorial involvement, without any appropriations involvement.

So it seems to me this had a salutary effect and this was carried over by some awfully vigorous debates-- never really publicized--in the Michigan Council of College Presidents. You know much of this story. Then the Michigan Council of Presidents, together with the Michigan Public Coordinating Committee for Higher Education, which is an instrument consisting largely of board members, appointed the so-called Davis Committee who made a study of the branch campuses and this dissolved that issue.

Polley

F--I was thinking about the Davis Committee, but one of the things I was particularly impressed with, and I want to remark about, is that boiler-plate language that you talked about in '58 is still in the act, continued year after year.

P--That is right, and has been year after year, to become, as you say, quite broadly so, boiler-plate.

F--Dr. Polley, you said you wanted to make one additional remark about question number 1, about the nature of the controller since Governor Sigler.

P--Yes, I think, Jerry, that it is significant that beginning with Governor Sigler in 1948 the governors appointed as their state controllers people who had considerable interest and experience in higher education.

For example, in 1948 Governor Sigler named John Perkins, who at that time was Director of the Institute of Public Administration at the University of Michigan and was a Professor of Political Science.

A year later the new governor, this time a Democrat, Mennen Williams, named Robert F. Steadman, who was serving at the time of his appointment as a Professor of Political Science and Public Administration at Wayne State University.

Mr. Steadman remained in that position I think until 1954, or maybe it was 1953, at which time Governor Williams named John O. Lederle, again of the University of Michigan, as Mr. Steadman's successor. Lederle, like Perkins, had been Director of the Institute of Public Administration and a Professor of Political Science.

Then in 1954 or 1955 Governor Williams appointed James W. Miller of Michigan State University to the position after Mr. Lederle had served for 14 months and decided to return to the University of Michigan.

Jim Miller, like Steadman, had a very long tenure, serving until May or June of 1960, at which time I was appointed by Governor Williams and reappointed by John Swainson.

When Governor Romney came into office in 1963, he, to be sure, did not name an academician, but he named Glenn Allen who had his baccalaureate degree from



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Amherst College and his law degree from Columbia University, and whose temperament and training and attitude was really not dissimilar from his predecessors in that position.

I mention this because I think all of these people had some substantial understanding of higher education, knew something of its potential, something of its promises, and were sympathetic about the area and who believed it should receive support. I think that had the controllers, for example, been people who were political hacks or even not hacks but seasoned politicians, their interests might have been considerably different from this long stream of controllers that I've mentioned.

F--Adding emphasis to your remarks is that Governor Milliken has appointed Dr. John T. Dempsey, who was a political scientist from the University of Michigan at Dearborn, as budget director.

P--Yes, I think that's a good point. We're talking about, how many years of history, 26 years of history? I doubt there are many states that can duplicate this. From time to time Pennsylvania state government has called upon people from one of the universities, and a few others have, but very typically this key position of the principal budget officer has gone to a political ally of the incumbent governor.

F--Did any of the policy goals for the enhancement of higher education have as their objectives the destruction of class and culture barriers?

P--Well, I think the support that has been given to higher education by state government, in particular in the last 20 years, say, assumed that the more education that was available to the greatest number of people that we would increase social mobility; that people who were essentially poor, uncultured, if you like, could move from the poor man's status up into the professions and into government; and as they were moving up could trade their poverty for some measure of affluence.

I often think of Lyndon Johnson's comment about his own education. He said that his higher education was his passport from poverty. I can only remark, rather wryly, it was a very effective passport. It seems to me he left about \$15 million at the time of his death. That's a little better passport than many of us have had.

Polley

F--We have already talked about your attitudes and viewpoints about popularism in education versus elitism in higher education in the context of the first question. Do you want to add anything to that, Ira?

P--Let me say that I think that the fact that this state invested heavily in the community college movement, particularly in the last ten or fifteen years, shows that this state is interested not only in maintaining a great university like the University of Michigan and a great institution like Michigan State, but that this state has the resources and the interest in providing educational opportunities for people in the community colleges.

I think that people generally who have been in the governor's office and in the budget's office, and the appropriating committees, I think they would say, you know, really, this is not an either/or matter. We want to have the very best graduate and professional education in our largest institutions, but we also want to provide a good education for the man in the street, if I may use that phrase.

F--Rather than seeing it as a contradiction or a conflict, between one and the other, it might be more fruitful to regard it as attempting to broaden the entire base.

P--Precisely, precisely. I think that's been the whole history of higher education in the United States and the classic example of this history is in the State of Michigan. We commented upon this.

Deep into the nineteenth century higher education was for the rich and well-born. With the establishment of Michigan State University in 1855 there was a recognition there are other classes in society: the agricultural class and the mechanics as they were called then.

More recently, especially in the fifties and sixties [with] the burgeoning community colleges, the state again said we are going to widen the access to higher education so that everyone who has an interest will find some opportunity for post-secondary education.

F--One other thing that I'm attempting to get a feel for. In some of the states the role of the rich is very powerful. I think about Illinois, I think about Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. I have the sense here that in Michigan the power of the arising class was a

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good deal more significant than it was in some of the other states.

I don't know why, or if that's even a fair observation, but I think of the role of the rich institutions of society and the like. We don't seem to feel their political power in spite of the fact that the Secretary of Defense Wilson said in Eisenhower's administration that GM was right for the country, or some such phrase. We don't seem to have had that attitude here.

P--I think you are right.

I really think that perhaps more of the people in state government, whether they be in the executive branch or in the legislative branch, would probably change that phrase of Mr. Wilson's around and say what's right for the greatest number of people is right for Michigan.

I think that the great diversity of institutions we have--Ferris Institute, or now as it is called Ferris State College, for example--is an excellent example of this. This institution grew from, what--just a few hundred in the early fifties--to a number, I suppose, approximately 8,000 by now. This institution has been supported quite sympathetically by all members of the Legislature, Democrats or Republicans. People who in themselves had college degrees and people who didn't have college degrees. I think this illustrates the point that you've made, Jerry.

F--How important were vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education?  
Ferris certainly was a prime example of one of those.

P--I think Ferris was an example. You can cite many other examples. It depends on how one wants to define the words vocational and occupational.

To the extent that some people say that medicine and the law and engineering, for example, are vocational pursuits, we've had vocational training in the state for a long, long period of time.

However, a number of other people say that the word vocational and the term occupational really are limited to the more modern semiprofessional pursuits such as cosmetology or electronics, or TV repair, or car repair. I think there has been a commitment in this area.

Polley

I think that frankly maybe there should have been a more emphatic commitment but there has been a commitment and it's been illustrated in several ways. I'm now speaking in terms of the more modern semiprofessional pursuits. The fact that we have had establishment of the community colleges is one piece of evidence.

Not just merely the establishment of the community colleges, but in the course of their establishment the people who supported the establishment of the community colleges emphasized in each case that, broadly speaking, these new institutions should provide not only college parallel programs but should provide terminal programs in various occupational undertakings, various vocational undertakings.

Still more recently the Department of Education and some other forces in the late 1960's urged that the funding of the community college programs in the occupational areas recognize that this is frequently, not always, but frequently, a higher cost area of instruction. The point was that there should be a differential paid. You'll recall that the Legislature finally adopted this proposal.

F--And they were willing to do it, too.

What about the position towards the growth of culture and the arts? Was there some concern about that?

P--Well, I think the fact that there has been some democratization of culture and the arts in Michigan and other states perhaps has led most reflective people in strategic positions in Michigan government and education to believe that education in itself is desirable, even though there may not be the kind of education that prepares one for a precise job.

This argument continues and there are some extreme positions. There is, for example, the view in some circles that all training should be precisely tailored to provide the given student, be he, the student, a boy or a girl, a job.

There is another view that higher education can train the mind and develop some verbal skills that will equip many people for jobs, but that the immediate employer will need to provide on-the-job training in the beginning period of the employment.

Polley

But I think that further than this the fact that we have had this very widespread use of the colleges and universities not only by traditional students, the 18-24-year olds, but by older citizens, has done a lot to increase the public understanding of things of a cultural nature and created an interest in the arts that you would not have had without this democratization of education.

F--What about the position of labor?

P--Well, I think that in labor you go back, what, 130-140 years. Labor was, to be sure, much, much less influential then. But if I remember some of the early textbooks on labor history, labor was very influential in the Jackson period and at that time increasing the opportunities for elementary and secondary education. I think labor has pretty much continued this philosophy and by-and-large I guess labor unions have been optimistic about what can be achieved in higher education.

I remember sitting over in the legislative chambers one time when Governor Williams had convened a group of people to talk about the future of higher education appropriations. There was Gus Scholle, whom at that time I did not know, but who I heard say that higher education should be available to everyone.

I think that if one were to press Mr. Scholle a little bit he would have responded, but he was talking about all kinds of post-secondary education and not just, say, a liberal arts education. I think this point illustrates basically the attitude of labor and labor has been sympathetic to the institutions as they have sought appropriations.

F--It has struck me that the major social institutions in Michigan--labor, industry, commerce and agriculture--have not, in fact, been opposed to higher education.

P--No. As a matter of fact as some critics who have, and I think misread some of the data, sometimes concluded that really, education, higher education, is still not as available to the poorer classes as it might be. I wondered from time to time, have been amazed from time to time, at the fact that the labor unions, the United Automobile Workers, the AFL-CIO, have supported the quest of the university administrations for adequate appropriations with which to run the institutions. I

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think that the labor spokesmen have not been misled. I think they recognized that in our kind of a society education is perhaps the single most important factor in democratizing equality of opportunity.

F--I haven't been able to come across strong attitudes for education from industry. Generally, Michigan industry has, over the period of this study, positioned itself frequently against things, such as the taxation policies which were quite bitterly fought. Yet at the same time that they really haven't been in a strong way pro higher education, I haven't come across them being negative. I think it is sort of a benign neutrality.

P--Well, I think that your summary is correct, Jerry. I don't think that industry can be put in the same category as labor, and perhaps for a very good reason. But clearly big industry in this state could have played a decisive and perhaps a disastrous role in curbing the growth of higher education in the fifties and sixties, and they did not.

As a matter of fact, if one talks with individual members you find that there was a good deal of support. For example, some years ago--I think this must have been in the early sixties--John Hannah, who was then President of Michigan State University, organized a meeting with some people like Walter Patenge<sup>4</sup> and some others from this area to exchange views. In those sessions these industry and commerce spokesmen seemed to me to have a generally positive attitude.

To be sure, they would ask some good questions. But these questions should always be asked. This kind of question: Is the dollar being spent as effectively as it might be? Those questions were asked and they should have been asked. But I think that industry and commerce have been generally sympathetic. As a matter of fact, I think industry and commerce are perfectly well aware that in one sense they are the big consumers of education.

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<sup>4</sup>Walter F. Patenge; President, Wohler Corporation, Lansing, Michigan; served as member of Michigan Higher Education Assistance Authority.

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Some years ago, I've forgotten quite the reason, but I was asked to testify in a Federal Court case down in Detroit before Judge [Fred W.] Kaess on this matter. One of the points I tried to make was, just try to imagine a society that does not have the benefits of higher education. How could big industry operate, how could big commerce operate, how could big government operate? If you could establish a model that we would have a moratorium, for example, on all of higher education for ten years, who would be victimized? All of the youngsters who didn't get education would be victimized; but my point is that industry, commerce, big government, any large organization would be victimized and it would be plain and it would be painful.

It seems to me that industry and commerce recognize this very, very plainly. General Motors, Ford, Dow, UpJohn, they use university graduates--accountants, chemists, scientists, public administration, business administration--they are the great consumers of higher education.

F--Well, I guess I've been led to believe by these interviews and research that there is a peculiar difference. The labor espousals seem to have been statewide in terms of public policy and very strong in advocating ways. Certainly Gus Scholle and Walter Reuther seem to have been able to take the high ground.

Industry seems to have been more related in regional ways. I think about the support that Michigan Tech received from the natural resource industry; the support that big industry gave in local terms for Oakland, Saginaw Valley, University of Michigan at Flint, and at Dearborn. Again, not much in terms of a state policy, but very definitely related to their peculiar interests as they related to communities where they were housed. If that's the case, that's a very strong position for the support that industry gave in a way that wasn't as easy to see or feel.

You were a close observer of many of these things, did you feel a support from industry for these institutions?

Polley

P--Well it is very clear from what you said that these regional institutions, if you want to call them that, and I suppose the outstanding examples that you mentioned, all have support from the business and commercial interests in that area, but I think that Saginaw Valley has intense support. But it's also true of Grand Valley; it's true of Michigan Tech in a kind of different way; and you suggested it is also true of Oakland and clearly is true of Flint.

But your point of industry is an interesting view in that industry didn't seem to take a global or statewide view on higher education--it seemed to support individual institutions but not necessarily the cause of higher education, like labor [did]. This is a very interesting observation and I hadn't thought of it in this way.

I would guess that some of our industry and friends in commerce might say something like this: "We recognize that higher education had its own spokesmen in terms of the university presidents, in terms of the boards of trustees, in many cases in terms of the alumni, in terms, as you have said, of labor, and in terms of some political interests." In some sense the argument might be, "Excuse us, why should we be carrying coals to Newcastle? We recognize that the institutions were going to grow, that all these other forces were going to make them grow, and we really didn't think it was necessary for us to adopt any statewide stance on this."

Now somebody might say, "Polley, what are you doing here developing an apologia for business and industry?" I really don't think so. I really don't think so.

F--No, because there is another statement to add to this observation: When industry wanted to fight something, they sure knew how to do that.

P--Yes they did, and they did not really interpose at any point and really engage in anything like warfare on higher education. As I said, it would have been a very painful development had they done so.

F--Governor Williams observed the world of John Laughton of the Michigan Manufacturers Association. He said that this man was in truth really a political boss of the old style. He was quite taken with the power of



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interests to make his role difficult. Hence one of the strategies of the Williams administration was to go for the citizens commission, to reach beyond the Legislature to build public support. So it strikes me that industry and commerce had the power before 1964 to have prevented those appropriations and to cut away the need for increased taxation.

What about the role of agriculture?

P--I think that agriculture has been especially sympathetic to some of the smaller institutions, and to Michigan State University. I don't think that it has been unsympathetic to, say, the University of Michigan.

Again, though, I don't believe that agriculture has taken generally a statewide position, at least in the last 20 years, on broad issues. Individual spokesmen perhaps have, but to the best of my knowledge and belief I don't think that agriculture has had the advancement of higher education as one of its top two or three causes. But again, I'd want to emphasize pretty forcefully that neither has agriculture decided that it would seek to arrest the development of higher education.

And, of course, I want to say that agriculture has been very solicitous about the future of Michigan State University, and particularly the Experiment Station and the Cooperative Extension Service.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government?

P--In most of this period I think the federal government did not play the role that one might have expected that it would have.

Sure, the situation is different, but you compare the role of the central government in England with the role of our federal government in this period; I think it is fair to say that Whitehall played a lot bigger role than the federal government. Of course, part of this, in all honesty, is traceable to the different political and governmental structure, but the federal

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government, at least in this early period, really wasn't playing very much of a role at all.

Sure there was the GI Bill of Rights, which perhaps really had more significance than the mere providing of educational opportunities in the years 1945-1949. I suspect that the idea caught the imagination of many people--and it still does. The GI system is still cited for this or that particular scheme of some people...

F--I put this question in a more hesitant way than I did some of the others. When I observed in Michigan the effects of federal social policy on the health and welfare system...

P--No comparison.

F--They were directed, in spite of the fact that the federal money may have been only fifty percent, or less in some of them. In higher education Governor Williams, yourself, and others have pointed out the real key social effects of the GI Bill. Governor Williams talked about the role of federal research, and others have talked about the role of HEFA, Higher Education Facilities Act, which really came to be institutionalized in your superintendency. But at the same time one has the feeling that it was supportive rather than directive.

P--Unquestionably so, and really not nearly as supportive as it might have been. You noted the Higher Education Facilities Act, this didn't get passed until 1963, if my memory is correct, and this is rather deep into your area here.

You note that Governor Williams mentioned some research activities. This is true, some fact-gathering, but I still think it is rather surprising that the federal government has not moved in this area, even now in 1974, as much as a lot of people would like it to. The whole area of financial aids is the more dramatic example of recent activity on the part of the federal government. The loan program, the work study program, and the opportunity grants, but...

Polley

F--That's the key to the point I'm trying to make. In social policy participation the federal government in return for participation mandated the quality of the eligibility, whereas in return for federal aid for scholarships they didn't mandate, in many cases, the eligibility of the quality of the enrollment mix, which I imagine they could have done if they had put their minds to it.

P--You are quite right. The direction was minimal, if at all. In some cases you didn't find it at all and I suppose there are lots of reasons. Maybe one is that in America the notion that--stated most simply and most simplistically--that education and politics do not mix.

You recall that in the last 20-30 years from time to time one of the classic topics of high school debates has been, "What should be the role of the federal government in education (or in higher education if you like)?" Part of the argument of the people, at least on one side has been, "Well, we don't want the federal government moving in the area of education or higher education because the whole history of government is that when it moves into an area it brings with it controls and education is a kind of activity that shouldn't be subject to controls, political controls especially, and particularly controls from a far-off government down in Washington."

F--Let me get to a subtle point. I'm not sure it is a valid one, but I want to explore it with you. There has been a strong conflict over the coordination role in higher education in Michigan, between the institutions, and between some governmental theorists about the coordinating role.

I'm struck by the fact that in the Johnson administration the policy of block grants--and in the Kennedy administration partially--attempted to encourage coordinating agencies to distribute block grants in many areas of social and public policy.

I'm struck by the recollection that there was some attempt to force the designation of a coordinating agency for higher education funds. In spite of that bureaucratic espousal it still never came to the point where the conditions of receiving federal funds forced this state to resolve that issue as a requirement.

Polley

Was the federal pressure there? I have the feeling that the pressure was there, but not in any deep and pervasive way, the way Wilbur Cohen's Department of Health, Education and Welfare brought it in social policy.

P--I think there is a great deal of ambivalence in this area: ambivalence in Washington among politicians, among the bureaucrats, and in the state.

Let me see if I can put it this way. I heard of all of this argument when I was in the position of Superintendent. A number of people, looking at the issue in the abstract, support block grants. They say--particularly the state people--to national government, to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to the United States Office of Education, "You should give money to the states and let the states distribute these funds because we in the states know what the highest priorities are, we know what the unmet needs are that are the most pressing."

That argument is very frequently made, but even among people in the states there has been consistently a pretty sharp difference of opinion on this. Let me illustrate: The Council of State Chief School Officers is an organization that has been in existence for 30 or 40 years now, and most of the people in that organization are people who have come out openly for the block grants and they say that this means less federal controls.

There has been a very vocal group in the Council of State Chief School Officers who are skeptical of this. Why are they skeptical? They are afraid that the political arrangements in their own state are such that the needs that are the most urgent would not really be met with block grants. The money would come into the state capitols but the funds really wouldn't be as wisely spent.

So I guess I am saying there is a good deal of ambivalence. By the way, I understand there is still, right now in the month of April, 1974, some activity in this area, and some efforts in some particular areas to develop the block grant. Revenue sharing, I think, is the more modern term.

Polley

F--I'm also struck by what you say about the strong continued political clientele for the categorical grant in the school aid bill.

P--You put your finger on it.

F--In spite of many of the technocrats who work for the Department, who talk about the basic grant for school aid, there was always a political public for the categorical rather than the foundation grant.

P--The categorical grant system itself builds up some vested interests right away. It builds up the interest in terms of the immediate recipients of the funds, but more than this it builds up a very articulate group of bureaucrats. These people are very well informed, usually, at least about their own problems. They can make very, very convincing cases to the state legislator. They can also go out and talk to their Congressmen about this very, very convincingly.

F--It comes down, again, to the fact--as with the whole area that we are talking about--that frequently the sum of the parts have more power and influence than the totality itself.

P--Yes, indeed, in this case.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the private sector of higher education?

P--I think that the private sector has played some very key roles in this area. Let me cite one that may be overlooked. I think I'm correct in saying that the state scholarship program probably would not have been adopted in 1964 without the very vocal, very hard-working support of the private colleges and universities.

Keep in mind when I came into this state in 1956, Governor Williams had urged a state scholarship program, year after year. Governor Swainson, his successor, advocated the same public policy, a state scholarship program. Sometimes one of these governors recommended a very sizeable amount, on another occasion it was a more limited amount, and good faith efforts had been made to get this point established [but] it didn't

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get established. It didn't get established until 1964.

It got established then, if I'm correctly informed, because private colleges saw that their students could win state scholarships and come and use those state scholarships in the private institutions. As you say, their survival, they thought, depended on this. I think there you have a very constructive effort on the part of the private sector that's really helped, not only the private sector, but the public sector.

F--That's a positive approach. I wonder if there aren't any negative approaches? It strikes me that every time one made a move to enhance the public sector, the private sector, which had been strong, would have to decline some.

P--Well, I don't know about the negative but there was a good deal of controversy about the tuition grant program which was established in 1966.

It, of course, was fully distinguishable from the state scholarship program. In the case of the state scholarship program the student who wins the state scholarship can use this at the institution of his own choice, if you want to put it this simply. In the case of the tuition grant program, the program was limited to students who select a private institution.

The private sector has also been aided, and immensely so, by the Higher Education Facilities Act. As you know, that has been litigated and found constitutional as recently as what, a couple of years ago?

F--There are no state funds in that.

P--There were no state funds in that, but there were federal funds in this. Without these grants from the Higher Education Facilities Program it is [not] difficult to imagine that Alma College would not have expanded the way it has. Just one example.

F--And many more can be made.

What was the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another?

Polley

P--Well, we've touched upon the branch college controversy. I don't want to get in that again, but just let me say that--and you know this very, very well--each one of the institutions, Northern Michigan University, Michigan Tech, Ferris, Grand Valley, has its supporters. As we said earlier the people in the western part of the state secured the establishment of Grand Valley College to meet an unmet need there. You know the history of the Jamrich study of that area, you had a similar study of the Saginaw Valley area in the establishment of Saginaw Valley College.<sup>5</sup> You've had intense, as your earlier remarks have indicated, support from industry, from labor, in the Flint area for the continuation of the Flint branch as a part of the University of Michigan. These are some of the comments that come to mind.

F--So therefore, somehow, we've moved toward a sort of double strategy, so to speak. A strategy where we had statewide institutions that were super-regional like Michigan, Michigan State, Wayne. Western, I would suppose, has come through that process. And then very definitely also the very strong desire to have local institutions, and to have the idea that no geographic area could do without.

P--To take a more recent example of this. The State Board of Education appointed a very prestigious group to study the future of the branch that Michigan Tech University has at Sault Ste. Marie.<sup>6</sup> This study committee had

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<sup>5</sup>John X. Jamrich. A new college; a report to the Legislative and Citizens Committees on the eight-county study of higher education needs in Allegan, Barry, Ionia, Kent, Montcalm, Muskegon, Newaygo, and Ottawa counties. (East Lansing: Center for the Study of Higher Education, Michigan State University, 1959). Higher Education in the Saginaw Valley; a report to the Legislative Committees on Higher Education Needs of Arenac, Bay, Huron, Iosco, Midland, Saginaw, Sanilac, and Tuscola counties. [Lansing?] 1962.

<sup>6</sup>The Future of the Sault Branch of the Michigan Technological University; a report to the State Board of Education by the Advisory Committee on the Status of the Sault Ste. Marie Branch of Michigan Technological University (Lansing, Michigan: The State Board of Education, Department of Education, 1966).

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really very able people. You just check it: Francis Kornegay<sup>7</sup>, Mildred Jeffrey<sup>8</sup>, Alvin Bentley, I think. Some other people very, very well known, very honorable people, very able people. They came up with the conclusion that the branch should become a freestanding institution.

I want to say one other thing about these local pressures. I think that we all need to recognize that no community college was ever established without having a local referendum, if you like, and I think this...

F--...and a commitment to support it.

P--...and a commitment to support it. Of course you had many cases where that commitment had been demonstrated and that interest had been revealed and you had this rapid expansion of community colleges. Frankly, probably a few were established that shouldn't have been established, really.

F--It wouldn't surprise me, thinking about the past 20 years, perhaps in the next decade, to see another institution of higher education come, based on the kind of political and social model, in the Traverse City area and the Macomb area. Those are frankly the last areas which are sort of locally unrepresented.

P--Yes. I think that this may be. I used to kid Arnell Engstrom when he was alive about a four-year institution in Traverse City. I really felt that perhaps Arnell would want to push for a four-year school. I don't think he really did, but I think this is a viable area.

Let me say, in expressing my own views, that it may be that the state would be well served with some Ferris

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<sup>7</sup>Francis A. Kornegay; Executive Director, Detroit Urban League; Member, Boards of Trustees, Virginia Union University and Florida Memorial College.

<sup>8</sup>Mildred Jeffrey; National Committeewoman, Democratic State Central Committee; Chairman, Michigan Advisory Committee on the Status of the Sault Ste. Marie Branch of Michigan Technological University; Member, Citizens Committee on Higher Education.



Polley

State-type institutions in the greater Detroit area. Macomb might be one of these locations, but there are others. Keep in mind that Detroit has, what (?) 1.6 million population(?), something like that. I can't believe that the educational needs of Wayne County are really being met as fully as...

F--That's a very perceptive point that you're making.

P--...they might be by the Wayne County Community College.

F--I sort of suspect that if one is going to finally sort of, as I put it, "complete the circle," one would have to create a Ferris Institute model in the urban area to reach for the nonacademic part of the curriculum in that area.

P--Yes, and I think that Ferris deserves much praise for the successful way that it has melded together the occupational, vocational, and the academic area.

F--Ferris has proved that this type of institution can succeed.

P--Can do it, and Ferris has an excellent pharmacy school; it has a good business school. I think much can be learned from the success that Ferris experienced under Victor Spathelf in particular.

F--What in your opinion were the reasons for the failure of the branch campus system that had begun to be developed in Michigan with Oakland, Flint, and Dearborn? You have already alluded to some of that in another context.

P--Well, I think that branch campuses start with a very serious liability and one could indicate several specifics, but let me indicate perhaps only two.

First of all, at least in the case of the Dearborn and the Flint Branch, the decision-making took place at Ann Arbor, not at Flint and not at Dearborn. I think this was a fair statement. It seems to me that a healthy organization cannot develop if decision-making is taking place at a scene other than the location of where the principal action should be.

Polley

The other specific I'd like to mention is that since decision-making proceeds this way, you do not develop a really local constituency. What commitment need the people of Dearborn or Flint have to an institution if the principal decision are going to be made at another location? If the purpose of the University of Michigan were to have viable institutions at Flint and at Dearborn, it made a great mistake in the manner in which it handled the delegation of authority.

Now, Michigan State didn't make quite the same mistake in its relationships with Oakland, and Oakland fared better, if fairsing better can be measured. Enrollment growth is certainly one factor, one fair measurement. But even there it seems to me that once Oakland became a freestanding institution, it developed some optimism, some exhilaration, a future of its own. I just think the problem of delegation and the failure to develop enthusiastic homegrown supporters are the two most serious drawbacks of the branch campus idea.

Let me say one other thing, and I think I'm right about this. In the case of both the Flint branch and the Dearborn branch, these were upper-division branches. That is to say, there was no freshman, sophomore...

F--That's true about Dearborn. I can't recollect about Flint, but that may be true there too.

P--I think that was true about Flint because you had the Flint Community College there. I'm 100 percent sure in the case of Dearborn that it was limited to juniors, seniors, and graduate students.

F--I don't think it was abandoned until 1968.

P--Very recently.

F--But the proof of the point is that in terms of enrollment, mix of degree offering, physical plant, the Oakland campus is far superior to Dearborn and Flint still to this day.

P--Right. Let me say another word about the branch college controversy which may put this in perspective.

I'm now talking about the years '63 and '64 in particular. I think that almost all the presidents who were members of the Michigan Council of College Presidents, with the exception of Dr. Harlan Hatcher, had the view, rightly or wrongly, that the University of Michigan was not

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interested really in developing viable institutions on these several branch campuses, but was interested--in the phrase that was used--in political overkill.

These colleagues of Dr. Hatcher concluded, again rightly or wrongly, that the University of Michigan was interested in developing political support from the local senators and local representatives in the areas in which these branch campuses were located. I remember once [hearing the argument] that if the University of Michigan has a branch campus at Flint, and at Traverse City, and at St. Joseph, and at Port Huron--and many of these locations were mentioned--in a sense it would have, if this were successful, all kind of political support from these areas.

F--In 1964 the new State Board was elected, the first one. Due to political accidents, I suppose, they elected eight Democratic members. I don't think it had been anybody's expectation that they would have a 100 percent monopoly of the members. There was quite a good deal of courage, I would call it courageous but perhaps not political sagacity. They took on the Flint issue right straight on.

Do you think that that decision and the antipathy it resulted in with the Legislature prevented the Department of Education from being able to be successful in the coordination of higher education? Because, so to speak, it came out of the box, took its first fight, and got licked.

P--No, I think that's a pat theory but I would not subscribe to that for many considerations. Let me elaborate.

First of all, as you say, no one would normally have expected that the new Board in its first term would turn up eight members of one party or eight members of another party. Let me say that shouldn't have been really as surprising as it may seem. I think people were sort of shocked by it.

For example, the Republicans had some very respectable candidates running that year. If I remember right Bob Briggs (who in more recent years has been the Banking Commissioner) and Alvin Bentley were candidates on the Republican ticket as well as...who is the president of Washtenaw County Community College?

F--Ponitz.

Polley

P--His father Henry Ponitz was also a candidate. But perhaps the two best known ones, if my memory is correct, were Alvin Bentley and...

It's too bad, Jerry, you cannot interview Alvin Bentley who passed on tragically several years ago and who, as I said, was a candidate for the State Board in 1964. I just want to say this one parenthetical thing, and then I'll come back to this simple question of the State Board and the Flint branch controversy.

Mr. Bentley, as you know, headed a subcommittee of Governor Romney's Citizens Committee on Higher Education. The Bentley subcommittee produced a report which the Michigan Council of College Presidents reproduced to the tune of a couple hundred thousand copies, I guess, and sent statewide.

Let me say that Mr. Bentley later became a hard-working, courageous member of the Board of Regents at the University of Michigan. He and Otis Smith<sup>9</sup>, I think it was Otis Smith, played a very key role in selecting the very able Robben Fleming.

Well, coming back to the question, did the State Board walk into a trap in 1965 and really impair its usefulness in serving as a coordinating instrument for higher education by, you might say, the premature fight on the controversy on the Flint campus? I think that sounds nice, but I don't think that's a very realistic assessment of the situation. Let me explain.

First of all, let's look at 1964. The fact you had eight Democrats was a function of the Goldwater debacle and the high tide of Lyndon Johnson's victory. This has been the history when the one party is winning statewide offices they win everything. If you want to use a term from bowling, all the pins fall. They all fell this time into the Democratic lot.

The Board had some very, very difficult periods because the Board members, with the exception of a couple of

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<sup>9</sup>Otis M. Smith; Regent, University of Michigan.

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members, were not really seasoned in the area of higher education. Don Thurber had served as a member of the Board of Regents at the University of Michigan. No other member of the Board elected in 1964 had really had any substantial degree of experience in any administrative or governing capacity in higher education. [Carmen] DelliQuadri, to be sure, had taught at Michigan Tech, he taught at the University of Detroit before that. [Marilyn Jean] Kelly had taught at Eastern Michigan University and at one other institution. Charles Morton had taught. But, by and large, that's about the extent of the experience in this area. I guess I'm saying experience as a teacher, I'm not sure is comparable to experience as an administrator or a governing member.

The other thing is the Board took office in January but the incumbent superintendent held his office until July 1. I don't know how widely known it is, but the fact remains that the relationship between the new Board, all of them were Democratic, and the incumbent superintendent, who also was Democratic, was very uneasy. I don't know how well you know this, but it was a very uneasy one. That's stating it very gently, as a matter of fact. One very important ingredient for successful living together is mutual respect and I guess there was not really mutual respect, speaking very candidly here. I don't profess to explain or try to analyze why this was true.

F--But I think it's forgiven so...

P--But it was a fact.

There were people who were counseling the State Board of Education that it should really duck the Flint College controversy, that really about as much that could be said about this was said by the Davis report. The argument went further; that whatever decisions would be made in this area, they would be made by the Legislature.

Now, this will get us pretty close to the truth. The reason I don't think the State Board struck out, so to speak, on the Flint College controversy was it didn't have anything really from which to strike out.

Polley

Despite the opinion that Mr. [Eugene] Krasicky<sup>10</sup> wrote for Mr. Robinson<sup>11</sup> very early in the career of the Board. This opinion needs to be read very, very carefully.

You can read the opinion two different ways. Some people, as some members of the Board, read it to mean that the Board had an unquestioned superintending/planning/coordinating role. One can read it that the opinion merely said that the Board has an advisory role. Most of the Board members read it to mean that they had a very decisive role as a planning instrument power.

In some private conversations with a couple of the Board members one time, I said I really didn't read the Krasicky opinion in this way. One of the members, disappointed in my remarks, turned to me and said, "Ira, if that is true, then it would be my impression to resign from the Board." This actually happened. He was so disappointed at what I had to say. He also thought maybe I wasn't kidding when I made this observation to him.

I guess, Jerry, what I'm saying is the fate of the Board of Education as a planning instrumentality of some consequence was sealed long before the Flint College controversy. I always felt it was sealed in at least two ways. It was sealed first of all by the fact that they were given a very ambiguous grant of authority in a sense subtracted by another section saying that really the governing authority resides with the local institutions.

And secondly, I think that it was in a very precarious position because the Board was an elective board and I have given a lot of thought in this matter. It was a mistake to have an elective board. I thought so at the time. I think so now. If you are going to have one, you should not have one where people are nominated in conventions and run statewide.

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<sup>10</sup>Eugene Krasicky; Assistant in charge Education and Retirement Division, Department of Attorney General.

<sup>11</sup>Edward Robinson; Democratic Senator from Dearborn.

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If you looked at the state boards of higher education, none of them, or few of them, combined all the elements that this Board did. It was elective, they were nominated in statewide conventions, and they ran on a statewide ticket on a partisan ticket. So I'm saying a lack of power, the nature of how they were selected and how they ran, together with the fact that you had some very well-established institutions.

Winston Churchill said that he did not become the King's Prime Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. I would guess the people at Ann Arbor and East Lansing and other institutions were saying that they did not witness the election of a State Board of Education and the establishment of a new Constitution to sit with folded arms and see a political apparatus in the capital city direct university institutional affairs.

F--I have some observations about what you say. I did not approach these questions in the way you have stated them. I had thought one could draw a more causal relationship.

I am struck by one observation that you make. In Massachusetts, where I'm from, running statewide, even for positions without much power but much visibility, led to other higher offices. I think the real political test of the strength of the State Board is that no member of the State Board, in all of the eight years it has existed, has ever gone on to greater political office from that statewide base.

P--Well, let me say yes to that. But let me say that had Leroy Augenstein<sup>12</sup> lived, I think there is a very good chance that he would have been a Republican nominee. I counseled with Augenstein, for whom I had a lot of respect and a lot of affection. But I really thought that he shouldn't have started this.

I remember sitting over in the Kellogg Center one day and saying, "You know, Roy, this guy Hart is going to be awfully tough for anybody to beat." This was a full year ahead of the election of '68 and Roy smiled and said, "Ira, I worry about one party at a time," meaning

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<sup>12</sup>Leroy G. Augenstein; Member, State Board of Education.

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that I'm not going to worry about Hart, I've got my problems getting the nomination. Of course, you know that Miss Kelly thought of running at one time for the Senate, and of course Mr. Brennan<sup>13</sup> at one time aspired...

F--He ran for judge.

P--I don't know whether you know this story, [but] he also aspired for the post of State Supreme Court Justice. Some powerful people put some cold water on that and he was not able to develop any support for a campaign for a Supreme Court position.

There is one other point I wanted to make about the Board that I think ill-favored it in one way. The Board was given too much to do--despite the tidiness that is suggested by a single board with responsibilities for elementary education, secondary education, vocational education, higher education, the whole bit. It looks very tidy to some political scientists and to some people who like tidiness. They say this permits good articulation between the elementary, the secondary education and higher education (whatever the hell the word articulation means). These theorists say that this is a good system.

I think you need a specialized board for a specialized function. I know the spokesman for elementary and secondary education agonized when the Board spent a lot of time in higher education. I know some of them were concerned about my appointment. They felt, mistakenly so, that I would be an errand boy for higher education.

I remember Helen Fields of the Association of State Local Boards, coming to me and saying, "Well, I'm just delighted that you haven't moved this way," and then adding, "but your Board is sure fascinated by higher education." And conversely, I'm sure that people on the college campuses were saying that the Board is spending all of its time on elementary and secondary education.

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<sup>13</sup>Thomas J. Brennan; Member, State Board of Education.



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F--There was a certain class of opinion that said that they needed someone to reflect the interests of elementary and secondary education. And there is still, I suppose, that opinion. To this day, from 1964 to the present, there hasn't been a superintendent that was of the flesh and blood of the elementary and secondary area.

Coming back to what I was saying, I have believed there could be a more casual approach, but when you read the text you'll find that Governor Williams and Governor Swainson both leaned very much, I think, to your view that it was not possible to "put the cork in the bottle."

P--Ok, that's a good way of saying it.

I would say one other thing. Several of these board members I'm speaking of, for example, a man like Leon Fill<sup>14</sup>, I liked a good deal. Some that I had differences of opinion with I liked, but I really agonized sometimes picking up the paper--this was before I was appointed--and one of the board members was quoted as saying: "We will bring the University of Michigan to its knees." This presumably was a direct quote.

This was said, I'm sure, in the heat of some argument. Comments like that proved very, very unhelpful. This sent shivers through campuses, you know. When I'm talking about through campuses, I'm talking about universities, presidents, vice-presidents, their boards and so on and so forth.

F--And I think that's what Governor Williams meant when he referred to the fact that Michigan had a long tradition that appreciated the independence...

P--That's true, he's absolutely right, he knows. Let me tell you a story you may not know. At one time when Miller was controller he asked for the internal budgets of the University of Michigan. The order came back

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<sup>14</sup>Leon Fill, M.D.; Democrat from Huntington Woods; Member, State Board of Education, 1965-67.

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over the signature of Harlan Hatcher demurred, and said that the University of Michigan had the constitutional status.

Miller, a political scientist, thought about this for a moment and he thought, "That's interesting, I know that's true, but Governor Williams also has constitutional status and Governor Williams sees that the laws are faithfully executed and prepares the budget and so forth." So he sent another letter off to the University of Michigan pointing out that Governor Williams has constitutional status.

He never did get the budgets. You know who got the budgets, the Beadle, Zollar, Lane group finally got the budgets, the internal budgets, from both the institutions. Michigan State gave theirs much more readily.

F--Well, I suppose the last question, why in your opinion did an institutional system for the coordination of higher education not come about? We have discussed this. I suppose the history, the long traditions of independence, the fear of big government, these are some of the themes.

P--Could I add another one? You know I've been on probably as many sides of this kind of an issue as anybody; as a budget examiner for higher education, as a controller, as an executive director of the Michigan Council of College Presidents, as a State Superintendent of Higher Education, and here at Michigan State. If loyalties were the simple measurement, then I suppose I wouldn't be able to give any answer at all.

But there is another factor here that needs to be stressed, and I suppose it does reflect somewhat my present location, the fact that I am in the academic world. I've given a lot of thought about this, but candidly, the case for, say, an Illinois-type board of higher education has not been made unmistakably by anybody that I know of. Let me state it a little differently. I think most people would [submit], say a man like Paul Dressel<sup>15</sup>, for example, that there is

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<sup>15</sup>Paul L. Dressel; Assistant Provost, Michigan State University.

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a case for coordination. There needs to be some coordination. But people like Dressel, and others I would hope, would identify very clearly that in various ways a very substantial measure of coordination is achieved without an Illinois-type board of higher education.

F--Dr. Cantlon<sup>16</sup> calls it a subtle system for the competition for resource that creates the coordination by the legislative process.

P--This is right. I don't know what his current views are in this area, but Miller has long ago subscribed to the view that the coordination, if there is going to be any, is going to be achieved by the Legislature through the appropriating process.

F--Coordination is a dangerous and unsettled word because frequently the advocates of it really meant control rather than coordination.

P--Yes, yes. One other thing the purest people I don't think have really recognized, Jerry, is that once you have established something like the Illinois board-- I'm not saying this with any tone of derision--it also immediately establishes a goal for itself. The goal of that agency is to survive, and one way that bureaucratic agencies survive is to get into more areas of action and engage in growth.

I think that the people who willy-nilly say that we need something like the Illinois Board of Higher Education need to rethink the situation. Maybe Illinois needs it, I don't know. I don't think Michigan needs it, and I'm not fully satisfied with what we presently have.

F--Did you want to make any observations who in your opinion were the significant opinion leaders in higher education in Michigan in this period?

P--Let me mention a few. We're talking from 1958 to 1970. Well, I think that you would mention your governors in

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<sup>16</sup>John E. Cantlon; Provost, Michigan State University.

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this period, all of them, and for different reasons. I'm talking about Williams, Swainson, Romney, Milliken, all of them.

I think you would mention several of the college presidents. I would mention Hannah, I'd mention Spathelf, I'd mention James Miller, but I would also mention people like Ed Harden. Somebody might say, "Ed Harden? Well, why?" Well, the answer is very, very simple. He did at Northern pretty much what Spathelf did at Ferris. He took an institution that had less than a thousand and by the time he retired it had something around seven to eight thousand students. Harden, I think, espoused very vigorously the right to try, you know. He, in this period when many institutions were moving more and more toward selective admissions, was taking the view that youngsters who graduate from high school, maybe with indifferent records, should at least have an opportunity to enter a four-year college and try out.

I would mention Alvin Bentley, especially for his role in the Constitution, but especially for his role in the Blue Ribbon Committee. I guess I've mentioned somebody like Miller who served not only as a president, as I said, but as a controller, and in other advisory capacities.

Let me mention the name of William Schunck<sup>17</sup> in connection only with the establishment of the Wayne County Community College. I think he played a decisive role on this. Check Harry Salsinger<sup>18</sup> of the Detroit News, he played a very decisive role.

F--I guess that surprises me because I don't remember Schunck around at all...

P--Let me say in one sense the notion of establishing a school and forgetting about the taxes, established by the Legislature, is essentially Schunck's idea. Schunck had had a person on the Committee of 100, I think. You know, this very prestigious group. I think that somebody from the United Automobile Workers,

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<sup>17</sup>William A. Schunck; Superintendent of Schools, Wayne County.

<sup>18</sup>Harry G. Salsinger; Education Writer, Detroit News, 1961- .

Polley

maybe Leonard himself, was the chairman or co-chairman. Schunck was involved in this but let me come right back to this business. In terms of the actual lobbying on this, Dan Manthe, Schunck's Lansing man, played a hell of a key role in lobbying for the establishment of this.

I'm sure there were others and I don't mean to slight them, but I think I've mentioned the key ones.

F--Were there any people that were influential on you that you would care to cite in your public role?

P--Well, you know I think everybody that you have some contact with has some influence. I would mention Miller who was Controller when I came into the Department of Education. I'd mention Williams and Swainson, and I would mention Bentley. I'd mention Schunck. Schunck and I had many conversations about Wayne County Community College. Spathelf, Harden. I guess, really, all of my bosses in the period when I was with the Michigan Council of College Presidents, each bringing different views on it, on particular issues.

F--Thank you very much. It has been a great pleasure to talk with you.

P--Well, I've enjoyed this, Jerry. I'd be interested in seeing what you come forth with.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
JAMES FARNSWORTH<sup>1</sup>

F--Jim, what in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of Michigan higher education from 1958 on?

Fa-Number one, Jerry, I would have to say that the tremendous surge in the population, particularly the young people that were being born, certainly influenced that. Without a doubt there were just more bodies there and more pressures for higher education.

And then I noticed, if I could jump ahead to [question] number two: "What were the social and economic factors that led to this significant growth?" I don't think there is any question at all but what the people simply had higher expectations for their children from that period on than perhaps they [previously] did. Particularly you mentioned social factors. I don't think there is any question at all but what a larger group of our population had higher expectations for their children.

I just have to go back to my own youth to sort of emphasize what I mean. When I got through the eighth grade my parents were through educating me, because they had done more for me than what had been done for them.

F--And when you graduated probably you were the person in your family who had gone to school the most.

Fa-I had gone to school at least three or four years longer than my parents had. I think that's been the pattern. Obviously, as more and more people graduated from high school...they more and more then wanted their children to have a little better preparation than they had--more education. And so the pressure was there to send them on to a higher education institution.

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<sup>1</sup>James S. Farnsworth; Republican from Plainwell; State Representative, 1962- ; Delegate to Constitutional Convention, 1961-62; Vice-Chairman, House Appropriations Committee. Interview conducted April 16, 1974.

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F--These were the children of the GI Bill parents.

Fa-Yes. This whole thing that parents are continually wanting to do more for their kids than what was done for them. I think that process will continue.

F--My discussions with many people lead to the indications that you point to: the aspirations of our citizenry for more education--the generation that came back from the war and the first generation of many who went to college through the GI Bill--they wanted more for their children.

There are two other things that I want to get to here. One is, in other states--Ohio, Illinois, New York, New Jersey--they had the same kind of upward aspirations and their states did not make the investment in higher education the way we did.

Fa-Well, that's true. The states vary, but some of those states you mentioned have some very adequate private institutions that Michigan did not have. I don't believe that you can make that comparison, at least too much.

Certainly another factor that entered into it is just the fact that, really from World War II on, more people could afford to go on, they were more affluent, the resources were there.

F--Do you think it was a deliberate public policy in this state to lower the cost of higher education?

Fa-No, as a matter of fact it has not been lowered. As a matter of fact it has increased. I believe it was a deliberate public policy to slow down the rate of increase. In other words to hold tuitions to a very low level in order that everybody, or nearly everybody, that wanted could afford to go to college.

F--I recognize, Jim, that tuitions have gone up in dollar amounts, but in real terms they haven't.

Fa-In real terms they haven't. In real terms they are lower than they were before.

F--That's what I mean.

Fa-I think that has been a deliberate public policy.

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F--Tuition at Michigan State is \$600.

Fa-Right.

F--When I went to college the tuition in a private school in the East was \$800. I was hard-pressed to make \$800 in the summer because the minimum wage was 75¢. Six hundred dollars appears to me to be easily obtainable by student work in the leisure period.

Fa-No question about it. It hasn't been uncommon at all, particularly for the boys who wanted to go to college, as far back as '58 and [the] early sixties, to save \$1,000 from the summer's work. You could go out now and save \$2,000 from the summer's work. A little different for the girls, perhaps.

F--But that's an important point, isn't it?

Fa-Yes, I think it is.

F--The number of girls in this state going to school has increased significantly every year over the previous year.

Fa-Yes. Certainly it was a matter of public policy that we expanded the student aid as we have, and supported them with tax money in Michigan. That was just to make it possible for even the low-income family kid to get a higher education.

F--From your vantage point as Vice-Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, you know that every dollar has a suitor for it. Yet, in this period--from 1958 to 1970--higher education appropriations increased from \$80 million to \$240 million. It doesn't seem to have been difficult to allocate that money. I'm kind of curious why the other vested interests who use tax money didn't fight it.

Fa-As a matter of fact, my belief is that this old family objective of giving their kids more than they had has just been there, and nobody in the Legislature is going to vote against that sort of thing.

In other words, if you are representing your constituents, your constituents are simply saying that "higher education is one thing that we want for our kids so you have to support it."



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F--So what you are saying is that it was broad-based public support across all kinds of member districts.

Fa-Across all kinds of member districts, whether it was a poor district of low economic groups, or whether it was the more affluent groups such as East Grand Rapids. They simply wanted a place for "My son or daughter" to be in a higher education setting.

For many years we went along and each year funded anywhere from 15 to 20 thousand additional students over the prior year. I've often tried to put that in perspective by simply saying to people: "Now look, every year we have funded higher education to an extent that we expanded it the equivalent of the entire student body of Western Michigan University, for instance." Each year we were doing that over and above what we were doing the year before.

F--I'm glad you said that because that's a point that slipped away from me. In every other budget category of government, if you spend over the budget estimate, you don't get additional money. But yet, in higher education, every year when they overexceeded their enrollments the next year they were compensated.

Fa-They were not only compensated for it, but remember we had to build the buildings to house the kids. It has been a tremendous effort, there is no question about it.

Now, I want to go just a little further; that thing went on through the sixties to be sure, but if you will look as we started into the seventies--and you spoke of other pressures--I believe you will find the legislative support of welfare programs was creeping up a bit at the expense of some of the programs such as higher education.

I think if you want to look at that you will find that while we've continued to finance higher education in ever increasing amounts, the percentages dropped a little of the total, whereas welfare has increased as a percentage of the total. So there is some general competition there.

Along with that, of course, the number of students in the last couple of years has dropped off, so the demand is not there for the buildings that was there before.

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F--What were the policy objectives, Jim, that underlaid this expansion? What were the state policy-makers trying to accomplish? You mentioned the tuition and you mentioned also the scholarship aid. Those had direct intentions. Can you think of some others?

Fa--There were other influences, obviously.

Industry of course had an ever-increasing demand for people with higher skills as we got into more complex manufacturing processes. To mention just one: the computerization of industry. For instance, where they computerize an entire assembly line. Obviously that took a different type of training than the old assembly line did. Any factory you want to go into you see that thing working. So there was a demand there.

Certainly the space program. Sputnik way back in [1957] certainly had an influence, particularly in the field of science. We saw that spill over into federal aid not only for public colleges, particularly in science, but we saw it spill over into federal aid for private colleges and universities.

Those influences I can think of quickly.

F--What were the key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflict in the attempt to attain the above policy objectives?

Fa--I touched on this a little bit before, but certainly the great mass of laboring people became more affluent. I don't know as you could say this is partisan in the sense of party partisanship, but certainly between the former poor and the rich that might have been a partisan thing.

I just don't know what you are driving at.

F--Let me tell you what I'm thinking about. It has struck me that in many other states education has been the source of legislative conflict between parties. In this state it does not appear to have been.

Fa--I believe there is a reason for that. I believe that the Democratic Party in Michigan has been virtually the same as the labor organizations--they are pretty much one and the same--[and] the Republican Party has been traditionally representative of the middle class, upper-middle class, and the very affluent. Both of

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them had a reason for wanting to support higher education, particularly the growth of it, because they all wanted a place for their son or daughter to be in that kind of a setting.

F--Beside the fact that the parties didn't fight about this--and from 1958 to 1970 we've had two Democratic governors and two Republican governors--and education was non-partisan, we also have the fact that, in my opinion, Michigan labor, Michigan industry, Michigan agriculture, and Michigan commerce didn't fight about the questions of education. In Illinois and others that came...

Fa-Michigan, being an industrial state, industry didn't fight it. Obviously not, they needed the product.

F--So I guess when I'm talking about parochial conflicts in other states, I think they fought about whether they should allocate the money. In this state we seem to have fought about who should deliver the service, rather than whether we should have the service.

Fa-Well, I believe that's true. And then we fought also about who was going to pay the money in the way of taxes, and we had some pretty good partisan battles over that.

F--We had questions about the taxes, whether we should tax, we had bitter conflict.

Fa-But when it got to allocating it, as to whether we allocate it to higher education or something else, there never was any partisan conflict as far as I know.

F--No, whereas in welfare one could always make a very good political stand against that.

Fa-Always, always. Then you had the affluent pitted against the poor, but not so in higher education because they all had a stake. The poor wanted to better their lot, for their children; the rich needed to maintain their manufacturing plants, and so forth, and to have a place for their...

F--But the rich, Jim, could have afforded alternatives like private sector schools, and the poor benefitted the most, and yet neither side fought about it.

Fa-Well, we didn't leave the private sector out entirely on making it possible for the poor to get in. We had tuition grant programs and all that and we spent

a considerable amount of taxpayers' money. And, again, it was non-partisan.

F--Certainly one of the objects of the tuition grant program was to continue to make the private schools viable. Do you think another object was to change the mix of their student bodies so that the poor could go to these private schools?

Fa-I think both of those objectives were there and particularly to give the young person a wider choice of where he went.

F--So that he could pick from fifty institutions instead of just fourteen.

Fa-Well, that's right. For instance, there's a wide range of people that have some pretty serious, deep-seated religious convictions of where they would like to have their kids go. I'll just mention particularly Christian Reform with their Calvin College, and the Reform Church with Hope College. These parents are really pretty intent on having their kids go to that kind of setting.

And still, without tuition grants or something, many of them were being sort of priced out of the market. You could say the same thing for the Catholic schools with their University of Detroit, and Aquinas at Grand Rapids, and so forth.

F--Did any of the policy goals for the enhancement of higher education have as their objective the destruction of class and culture barriers?

I think particularly what occurred in this very room in 1970--the appeal for the community for the creation of Wayne County Community College--had very definitely, I think, that agenda.

Fa-Well, I don't believe there is any doubt but what labor, for instance, particularly the UAW, has had [that] as an objective. They, of course, have supported higher education and I don't think there is any question but what one of their objectives was to break down cultural barriers. That's only one of their objectives, but probably an important one.

I don't think when you say destruction of class...I wouldn't want to speculate that they were intent on

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the destruction of any particular class, they are more intent on moving their people up to a little better class.

F--That's a better way to put it.

Fa-But at the same time breaking down cultural barriers in order to do it.

F--I don't think I meant by the question, Jim, to imply that they wanted to destroy the upper or middle classes, they just wanted to create entrance.

Fa-They simply wanted to get aboard.

F--Right, and that's a very healthy attitude, in my opinion.

Did you regard as one of the key issues in this period popularism in higher education versus elitism?

Fa-Oh, very definitely. I've seen a little conflict there, but not much.

We saw it at the University of Michigan, for instance, particularly from the University of Michigan alumni, when the University had some trouble with their black students, and pressure was brought on them to increase their percentage of disadvantaged students. We saw a reaction from the so-called elitist groups who were saying: "Look, you're lowering your standards. A degree from the University of Michigan is never going to mean the same hereafter in this process." And, on the other side, we were seeing the disadvantaged people and their proponents saying: "We've got to break this thing down, this is not just for the elite, this is for all of us."

F--Ok, that's a good point there because that occurred at that time when, as I recollect, the Senate was Republican and the House was narrowly Republican. I believe Mr. Waldron was the Speaker. And yet there wasn't any significant preponderance of legislative support to

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turn their back on broadening the base of Michigan, as I recollect.

Fa-On the contrary, there was a great deal of sentiment in both the House and Senate against the University of Michigan yielding to those demands.

Now in the final analysis it did not reflect in reduced, or even holding down, appropriations. But the feeling was there, and the threat was there all the time. There was a lot of discussion regarding whether the University of Michigan in fact should be forced to take, say, seven percent, or ten percent, or whether they should just take those that could afford to come.

F--So you're saying that if the University of Michigan had succumbed to alumni pressure they would have had a much rockier road with the Legislature.

Fa-That's exactly what I'm saying. I'm sure the Legislature reflected the alumni, but they just didn't carry it to the point where they were vindictive about it in dollars.

F--How important were vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education?

Fa-Well, I would think that the record of Michigan in vocational and occupational training sort of speaks for itself.

I believe that when I was in the Constitutional Convention we had some fifteen community colleges as against twenty-nine that we have now. They just didn't come out of a vacuum, they came as a result of a demand from almost every area of the state where people wanted an opportunity for their youngster to acquire something beyond high school and perhaps something short of a four-year, higher-cost institution. They wanted to commute, for instance.

F--The decision to build Ferris came from that same kind of attitude, didn't it?

Fa-Originally it did, yes--or the decision for the state to take it over and expand it. There has been a tremendous demand for that type of thing. And [it has] had excellent support from the Legislature, which is simply reflecting what the people themselves were willing to support.

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F--Dr. Polley offered proof in a recent interview. He said that the fact that the Legislature was willing to pay for vocational-technical differential in the state subsidy was proof of their recognition of this.

Fa--Another example, yes. We pay more for credit hours in that field than we do others.

F--And that was a legislative mandate, rather than an executive or bureaucratic one.

Fa--And while we're discussing only higher education, I would have to point out that through our kindergarten through twelfth grade program we have, we and the local taxpayers, have supported this type of training right down in the grades, to the point where I believe we have now some 16 so-called area vocational training centers.

F--And the categorical aid for vocational education for K-12 has increased too as part of that same...

Fa--I think it is reflecting the attitude of the people. It is the only reason I mentioned it, as it is not higher education.

F--What about the growth of culture and the arts? Did they have importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

Fa--Not that I detected. Certainly the growth in knowledge did, but when you say just the growth...

F--No, I want to make that distinction between knowledge and culture.

Fa--No, I did not detect the growth of culture and arts as having any, or at least having any real consideration, in the growth of higher education.

F--I'm not discomforted by that.

Fa--If it did have, I didn't detect it.

F--What was the position--you've already talked, Jim, about the position of labor--with regard to higher education?

I've often thought that Reuther and the UAW broadened

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the base, I'm not sure that labor is the right term to use for the reason that in most states, except I think about Minnesota, labor was an interest group. Here in Michigan, as in Minnesota, labor wanted to rule and they were really a political rather than an interest group.

Fa-I never thought that labor wanted to rule higher education. Labor certainly fought and won an important place in government. And they certainly won a place in higher education as a result of collective bargaining, which made it almost necessary that they train young people into that art and in [the] industrial relations field and that sort of thing.

F--I'm not trying to suggest, I hope I'm not trying to suggest, that they were attempting to rule, but it happens that in many states labor was very bread-and-butter oriented. Here they had interest in the social welfare system, in pensions, and education.

Fa-I think that they just simply set their sights a little higher. Particularly in the UAW. I think they set their sights higher, addressed themselves more to broad social considerations, and this was only a part of it.

F--What about the role of industry? I can't recollect that I ever saw real political pressure from industry to create educational opportunity, but at the same time, I never saw a negative attitude, the way they felt about taxes.

Fa-Well, it's true you didn't find industry in the Legislature promoting higher allocations to higher education. But you did see many, many instances where industry did a great deal in their own way and with specific institutions to promote higher education.

Let's just cite one that is going on right at the moment, here in the year 1974. The University of Michigan is wanting to expand their Engineering School and came to the Legislature and said: "We believe if you will build us a new facility that will cost maybe 35 or 40 millions of dollars that we can go to industry and perhaps promote as much as 20 million dollars of that." They came back and reported to us that industry had organized, that Ed Cole was heading up that committee and that they



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have already raised somewhere between 4 and 5 million dollars and they are well on their way to raising that money. So industry has made a contribution, although they didn't put pressure on the Legislature.

F--Now I guess I want to come back to a thing we kind of sidled by. In labor I had the feeling that they pushed for statewide objectives, whereas in industry one felt the pressure from industry very much in local terms.

I think of Saginaw Valley, I think of the University of Michigan at Dearborn, I think about Oakland reflecting automotive interest and large industry. I think about Grand Valley having all the support from the business community, Old Kent Bank and the support of Seidman, the CPA.

Fa--Well, let's take them one at a time. Let's take Oakland. As you well know, that got started by a gift from a very wealthy family, and Michigan State of course took advantage of the gift. I often wonder whether that was local pressure from that area that started that, or whether the gift really triggered it off and then the local people took hold of it and promoted it.

F--I think it was probably that way, but still, they did come by after. Woody Varner was skilled in building that.

Fa--Particularly the Grand Rapids area felt for a long time [that] they didn't get their proper share of higher education support. That became a very hot political issue as to whether they got a college over there or not, and they finally did get it.

F--Do you want to add anything, Jim, to the position of commerce in regard to higher education?

Fa--Well, of course, I put commerce right in with industry, they are part of it. I think their attitude was much the same as industry, that "We need these trained people and we are simply willing to pay our share of the taxes to have them."

F--What about agriculture? It's somehow hard, you know, people talk about agriculture and say Michigan State. Of course, Michigan State had received the State support for the agricultural experiment and co-op

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extension services throughout the state, [but] were there other interests that agriculture had for education that you could identify?

Fa-Oh, very definitely, in particular in the last few years. As you said, they have always been interested in the research that goes on, in the Cooperative Extension Service which communicates that information out to the agricultural community. But more recently, as agriculture has sort of evolved into what they call agribusiness, I'm certain that more and more they look to the University to train people, not in the techniques or producing--they still want that, they want to increase yields and all that--but more importantly they want to train them to operate a big business, the agribusiness, a business that takes a tremendous investment so that you have to know something about marketing, you have to know something about finance, you have to know a great deal about budgeting, for instance, planning.

F--Is that one of the reasons, for instance, for the really widespread off-campus business curriculums that exist in places like Troy [and] Benton Harbor? Western Michigan has a program, I don't recollect where, but they have one.

Fa-I don't believe that agribusiness, agriculture itself, has contributed much to the demand for so-called off-campus studies. I'm inclined to believe that that pressure comes more from the liberal arts.

F--Pressure comes off the campus from liberal arts?

Fa-That's my opinion, yes.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, and notice I say if any, from the federal government?

Fa-Well, let's go back to Sputnik again. I think there was a pressure and an influence there that put, or at least hurried up, the process of the federal government needing higher education. There was a tremendous demand, almost hysteria, for a while as to whether we were behind the Russians sciencewise, spacewise.

F--Governor Williams spoke of that too. But I've been

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coming at this a little bit differently now. You are quite an expert, because of your legislative assignments, on the social welfare system.

Fa-I'm only an expert when I'm away from home, and I'm home now.

F--And I think the federal contribution in social welfare and social services has mandated many state policies as the basis of participation. Now federal support for education seems not to have come with the same degree of mandates for the delivery. It didn't seem to mandate the admissions, or the size of institutions, or their expenditure ranges.

Fa-I believe there is a reason for that, as against the comparison with social services, for instance. Institutions, as you well know, of higher education are extremely sensitive about their own autonomy. I suspect that when Congress got into the business of aiding higher education they were very much aware of that, and would be most reluctant to infringe on an institution of higher education to the extent of trying to dictate any kind of policy.

F--Much has been made by the people I've talked with about that--not only from Michigan but also from the national scene--of the sense of tradition of history, of some basic fabric of the Republican idea.

Fa-I think more basic than that perhaps. You have to remember that Congress is made up of people that were formerly in state and local government so they were well aware when they went there of this sensitivity. But it seems to me, beyond that, that even politicians occasionally will be statesmen long enough to be most reluctant to have legislative bodies get into any kind of position where they can from time to time influence what happens on a campus of higher education.

I think back to the McCarthy period when there was a tremendous urge for legislative bodies to rule out the possibility of any person with communistic leanings from teaching, for instance, at the university, or speaking on a campus. That hysteria was carried so far that there was a proposal put through the Michigan Legislature putting on the ballot the proposal relative

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to Communism and actually put this proposal to the people and the people voted it into the Michigan Constitution--the old Constitution, the pre-1963 Constitution.

But some way higher education resisted that, and successfully. That taught me one thing: that I'd better be very, very careful in legislating that I don't break down this autonomy that universities have. This freedom to teach what they want and to try to teach all the truth.

I just think that in their saner moments in Congress they felt much the same.

F--We have talked in another context, besides the interview, about the hysteria of McCarthyism, and its effects on Michigan and your concerns about it. And, as you were talking, I was recollecting in my mind that we even had some statute on the books--that I think is still on the books--that says a faculty member must take a loyalty oath.

Fa-Yes.

F--And send the loyalty oath to the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Fa-Yes.

F--I think that the fact that that law hasn't been enforced, has been ignored, is probably proof of your point.

Fa-I believe it is. If there is any segment of our society where they have to resist these temporary periods of, for lack of a better word, hysteria, obviously it is our institutions of higher education.

F--So you detect, Jim, that there is a willingness on the part of legislators, legislatures, to protect that special responsibility to truth.

Fa-Yes, I do. Yes, I do. Even the politician who will use those things back in his district to say, "Well, I introduced a resolution," or, "I'm going to cut that budget because they did this, or they did that." When

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the chips are down I just don't believe he quite believes that way.

F--So, therefore, we might say that on the floor of the House, the failure of individual members to add these political and emotional amendments to the bills failed because of that basic sense.

Fa--That's my opinion.

F--Even though frequently they had the votes in many other cases when those same conditions came about.

Fa--Yes.

F--I sort of concur too, but I think that faculty members and educators don't have that same sense because they look at the rhetoric and don't see how the votes come out.

Fa--Well, I can understand how faculty members would get concerned when they see the rhetoric and the press releases, and particularly if they see a legislative body in action in one of those periods. But I think their fears are unfounded.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the private sector?

I've been trying to ascertain if the private sector attempted to prevent the growth of the public role because of their fear of competition. I haven't been able to find that at all, I found rather that they seem to have shared a common view about expanding the total base.

Fa--Well, in the past 13 years that I've been exposed to it I have not once seen anywhere where the private sector in higher education has brought any pressure at all to retard the expansion of public-supported higher education.

Now, I have seen, and been a party to, very recently, some... I wouldn't say pressures... I'd say desires, on the part of the private sector to participate more fully in state support. Very recently, for instance,

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we passed a measure to give all approved private institutions compensation for degrees that they produce.

F--This is the old McGeorge Bundy-Hannah plan from New York, but I think the explanation that I saw that might be valid for that was--harkening back to your earlier remarks in this conversation where you talked about the desire to continue choice--to continue the alternative.

Fa-That is one of the objectives. That was one of my objectives. In fact I introduced the Bill.

But another one of my objectives was to be as sure as I could that they were going to continue in business as viable institutions so that we do have a mix, and we do have a choice.

And third, I just thought it was good business if you could buy a degree for \$100 a year rather than \$900 a year minimum at a public institution.

F--I was educated myself in a private school and I think I've made a contribution myself to the public good, even though I was educated in a private school. So I think we must look at where our citizens are prepared in the end.

Fa-What you're saying is that it does serve a public purpose.

F--And they have always been subsidized from the beginning by the public by the fact that they didn't have to pay taxes.

Fa-Right.

F--We've already talked a little bit about some of these regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another. I think particularly about Flint, I think about Dearborn, I think about Grand Rapids, Saginaw, Sault Ste. Marie...

Fa-Well, let's take Saginaw, for instance. Now, how was Saginaw born? You had Delta College over there, and Delta College was a community college, and they wanted to become a four-year institution. The Legislature

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said, "No, we're not going to promote 29 community colleges into four-year institutions, we're simply not going to do it." But still the people over there were saying, "Well, we want a four-year institution."

I can only tell you what my thinking was at the time-- and I'm sure several others of my colleagues: "We've got a choice, we are either going to have to yield to that pressure and make Delta a four-year institution, and if we do then we set the pattern and we'll have to fight this all the way down through 29 other community colleges, or, we go out here and set up a four-year institution for them." And we took the latter course.

F--Ok, that's an interesting point, because I was an observer. I taught at Delta in 1964, when this happened, and I detected then and now the desire not to have the community colleges become carbon copies of four-year institutions, because legislators and public policy officials had the belief that they had an additional role.

Fa--That's right. Now, whether our belief is valid or not, that belief did exist and still does.

F--Well, the question that I don't know, and hopefully will have to ascertain, is what have been the effects of the two-year degree programs in the industrial and technological and terminal training in this contribution to society, or in fact do all these people just go on to earn degrees?

Fa--All I'm certain of is that we had a fear that if we turned Delta into a four-year institution that in some period of time then we would not have the vocational and technical opportunities...

F--That adds some insight back to an earlier question: "What were some of the public policy concerns?" Certainly, therefore, there was the desire to have a multiplicity of opportunities.

Fa--That's right, that's right.

F--Jim, what were the reasons, in your opinion, for the failure of the branch campus system that had begun to be developed in Michigan with Oakland, Flint, and Dearborn?

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That was certainly brought to a halt by legislative activity.

Fa-No doubt about it.

It is my belief that the Legislature--and again reflecting public opinion, because I believe that legislatures do reflect public opinion--[responded to] the fear of concentration of control over molding minds. There is a fear that if you have one institution, for instance, and only one, that sometime in time that institution can influence many, many minds to their own philosophy. The belief is, and whether it is valid or not, that if you have many institutions the likelihood of that sort of thing happening is minimized.

I suspect that the experience in Germany with Nazism probably was very much on people's minds and I suspect the Russian experience is very much on people's minds. They fear having, whether it's government or a university or what, that kind of control in the development of people's minds.

F--You and I had talked earlier, when we were going through some introductory preparations for this conversation, about some of your Con-Con experiences. I had addressed the question to you about what were the policy objectives that underlay this expansion. As you recollect, Jim, you responded to me that certainly in your opinion one of the strong bases was the keeping of the major big three to a certain kind of definable size. You talked about 40,000.

Fa-Yes, again we are talking about that same issue of bigness. For instance, if you could have three institutions with 20,000 students, it would be three times as difficult to get control of those young people's minds as it is in one institution with 60,000 students. That's the theory.

F--And I guess I want to put this on the record, because it strikes me that the California system, where they had 110,000-150,000 people in one campus system, was very definitely not an objective of Michigan, and the contrary was true.



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Fa-That's right.

F--They wanted to create a large number of small institutions. Michigan citizens, as you observed from your constituency--coming from the conservative Christian Reform Dutch country--were afraid of big government.

Fa-They definitely are.

F--And still are to this day.

Fa-They definitely are.

F--And they are afraid of all kinds of major large institutions. For instance, we talked in this context about your experiences and observations about the human services agency. Some of those reservations have come to the fore about the fear of...

Fa-Definitely so, my local board of commissioners, for instance, passed a resolution against the consolidation of human services. I asked them why and they said it's just too big.

F--And so therefore, the attempt to have two state universities with 12 or 15 branch campuses was very definitely against the spirit of, from your observation, Michigan's intentions.

Fa-Yes. Again I would say that the Legislature, in my opinion, simply reflects public attitudes.

F--Do you think that was a solid theme in the Constitutional Convention too? You felt that there when you were a member?

Fa-Yes, very definitely.

F--And that's why, you suspect, the determination for the State Board's power to direct and coordinate was so muted by the education committee's revisions so that the institutions also were given autonomy in another section, Section 8.

Fa-No. I don't think that the fear of bigness had much to do with that. I believe the fear on the part of the big three universities themselves losing some part of their autonomy had more to do with that.

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I believe John Hannah, for instance, and Harlan Hatcher, and President Hilberry at Wayne State wanted to be doubly sure that no coordinating board or any board of any kind, or the Legislature, or anybody else was going to infringe on their autonomy. As a matter of fact, it was Delegate Hannah that introduced the proposals that you speak of on the floor and eventually had them adopted.

F--...and he couldn't win those inside the education committee either.

Fa-That's right, he couldn't get them in the committee, but he could get them on the floor. He was a persuasive personality.

F--The next question, Jim, is what, in your opinion, were the reasons an institutional system for the coordination of higher education did not come about? We've obviously talked about some of these matters.

Fa-I think in answering the last question that we answered question number 17. I think the answer is exactly the same. The power of the big three, with their alumni organizations, plus this thing that we talked about of politicians occasionally wanting to be responsible and not wanting to really destroy autonomy for fear of some time destroying a university itself, simply ruled out getting any system of coordination. As a matter of fact, there is a commission working on that thing now and they are going to make a proposal.

F--And I personally don't believe that that proposal will succeed either.

Fa-It probably will not, for the same reasons that others have failed.

F--And that's one of the bases for the study. I thought I could identify the real issues and get through to them. Let me speak to you a little bit about organizational theory, Jim. There somehow seems to be the attitude that executive government is somehow cleaner, purer, more acceptable than legislative. For some reason, and I don't know why, ...

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Fa-It's an attitude with the idealists. That attitude is not prevalent amongst all the people.

F--Ok, I think that is an important point.

Further, you get what I call the technocrats. They like everything tidy. They like to draw boxes, and charts, and draw these very neat packages for attempting to deal with what they call the control and distribution of power. It strikes me as I look at these charts and their constant pushes for them [that] the latest Governor's reform commission is going to come up with another set of boxes.

What we are dealing with is the fact that the bureaucrats in other states' legislatures do not want to deal with this conflict. And therefore coordinating boards are brought to tidy it up and to order it. I don't have the sense that Michigan's legislatures--and every legislature exists for two years--have had that desire to tidy up, and in fact, as Dr. Cantlon--who is the Provost of Michigan State--said, "We really do have a coordinating system in Michigan. It's the subtle competition for resource that brings everybody in the end to be accountable in a very real sense."

Fa-Well, I couldn't agree with that statement of his, because the fact is we have a considerable amount of what I consider unnecessary duplication in our institutions of higher education. I would agree that competition brings some of it about because one institution doesn't want to lose students that they get aid on to other institutions simply because they can't offer that particular course.

I am amazed at the amount of waste that the American public are willing to pay for in order to protect some things that they hold very, very dear. Let's take education, for instance. They so value the right to determine where their kids are going to go to school, whether they are going to go into the trade school or whether they are going to go into some other higher education setting, that they are willing to put the kids in on the front end even though somebody could judge right then that they are going to fail, and put them through that process and pay for it to protect that kind of choice.

Farnsworth

That kind of choice doesn't exist in Russia. That kind of choice doesn't exist in England.

F--I find what you are saying a little hard to accept, based on all of your public postures over a long time. I'll say it very directly. You've always stood for the right and spoken very strongly about the values of independence versus efficiency. And yet, and you've talked about that strong sense of independence in our people, are you telling me that you think that we're beginning to have an intolerable amount of competition?

Fa-No, No, I'm not saying that at all.

Let's get back into just general government now, and whether you are going to have appointed, well-trained people, or whether you are going to elect every city clerk, every city treasurer, every city manager, etc. People feel so strongly about their right to vote and determine whether that person is going to be there or whether he isn't, that they are willing to put up with incompetence in many, many cases rather than trained specialists, in order to protect that right. And that carries right on through to the educational process. We seem to abhor waste in our rhetoric, but we simply tolerate a lot of it in order to protect that sort of precious right to vote somebody out of office. We don't do it very often, but we want to always have it there.

I'm not speaking for myself now, I'm telling you what I've observed.

F--I guess maybe I've fashioned this question badly with you, Jim, but I had sensed all along the strong desire on the part of Michigan citizenry to be able to deal with institutions through the legislative process, rather than turning that right over to a bureaucratic agency. And, I do not personally observe, over studying the history of the period from 1958 to 1974, any real willingness still to this day to create an intervening agency which will regulate higher education.

Fa-I guess what you are saying is why does that great desire to retain their power of the vote stop just short of the university. But it doesn't entirely stop. Now watch this next proposal that the Governor's

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commission is going to make when it goes on the ballot-- when they are going to advocate that the governor appoint the members of the governing boards of the big three rather than elect them. I believe you will see a reaction there and the people may very well vote to continue to vote those people to office even though they don't know who they are or a thing.

Now, let's go back to the Constitutional Convention on this very issue, not of higher education, but people wanting to retain that power. I think almost any student of government would agree that we don't need a state police force and a sheriff, but you ought to read the debates that Hale Brake<sup>2</sup> made on protecting county officers, and particularly the sheriff. They had him way back when, to fourteenth century England, he's the only thing standing between us and liberty.

F--Ok, now you've raised some good points.

For the reason that American people seem to have always built, and been willing, rather than the French and the Russians, to stand a certain amount of governmental inefficiency which we have hallowed by the name of balance of powers. The local sheriff is a balance against the state power.

And isn't it really the desire of competitive institutions to prevent the Legislature, or in fact a state board for coordinating, to amass preponderance of power?

Fa-Yes, yes. Same thing.

F--Do you think the Legislature is in fact in a position, and of a mind, to create coordinating authority outside of the current structures?

Fa-Yes, I think the Legislature would go through the motions of creating a coordinating body for higher education, but in the process I would suspect that it would have very, very weak powers. The word coordination wouldn't mean much when they got through with it.

F--So there is a difference, you see. I talked to Ira Polley about this just the other day, about the difference between coordination and control.

Fa-Right.

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<sup>2</sup>D. Hale Brake; Republican; President Pro Tem, State Senate, 1941-43; State Treasurer, 1943-54.

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F--And many of the people who used the word coordination really didn't mean that, they meant control. And in Illinois and California the coordinating bodies were controlling bodies.

Fa-Right.

F--And I do not detect in the peculiar political and social geography of Michigan...

Fa-If you are going to coordinate, you have to have somebody that is willing to be coordinated. And the institutions in Michigan are not willing to be coordinated.

F--Why should they?

Fa-Because they have to be competitive. If they are going to keep their student bodies up, they must be competitive.

F--You do penalize them when they fail.

Fa-Right.

F--Who in your opinion were the significant opinion leaders in higher education in Michigan in this period?

Fa-Well, no question but what the big three people were. I particularly say John Hannah, I put him at the top of the list. And I'd have to mention Harlan Hatcher, of course, of the University of Michigan. Al Bentley, no question but what Al Bentley was a leader. Roscoe Bonisteel down at Ann Arbor. Nobody had thought of him in a long time but he was a Regent down there and certainly very protective of this autonomy thing.

Paul Goebel<sup>3</sup> from Grand Rapids, Steve Nisbet from Fremont, to name a few. I would even put George Romney in there as a leader, although he was more visible I guess in the K-12 thing. But he was a leader in getting support for higher education, there's no question about that. Those are the people, there probably were many others, Charlie Anspach perhaps, but to a lesser degree.

F--Any other institutional leaders that you can think of?

Fa-Well, Leonard Woodcock certainly from UAW. He was on the Board at Wayne and a very valued member there.

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<sup>3</sup>Paul G. Goebel; Republican; Regent of the University of Michigan, 1962-71.

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F--What about any legislators that you think of that were deeply influential?

Fa-In higher education, no, not really. I would say that there certainly are several of them that made a contribution. Certainly in the past few years Senator Zollar<sup>4</sup>, in my opinion, has made a contribution to supporting higher education, I don't think there is any question about that. But when the chips were down he has always supported them.

F--Who were the influential individuals whose insights were of the greatest significance to you?

Fa-Well, of course, I still have to go right back to John Hannah as far as real insight was concerned. I always had a feeling that John Hannah was thinking about all the youngsters out there and not just a few of them. I didn't always feel that comfortable with Hatcher. Maybe that was because of the two institutions they represent. I had a feeling that George Romney had a feel for all the people rather than just the elite.

F--You know people regard George, because he came out of the automobile industry and was a self-made man, although people don't see it that way, as a member of the elite.

Fa-No, not at all. But George, if you look into the way he acted and lived, was a man that was very much an upward mobile man and came from poor origins.

He very definitely had an empathy for disadvantaged people and I'm not thinking just about Blacks. No question about it. Steve Nisbet I would put in the same class. I think that thing is reflected--the Hannah influence, the Nisbet influence--is reflected right out here at MSU. I think it is the kind of institution it is as a result of people like that.

F--One of the things I'm trying to get at, and I'm hoping to be able to explicate--I don't know if I have enough ability to do it--is this sort of widespread sense of community that has existed in this state where divergent interests, Blacks, Poles, rural, suburban, agricultural people have all kind of pulled together to try to create a condition of life in this state that in my personal opinion is outstanding.

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<sup>4</sup>Charles O. Zollar; Republican; State Senator from Benton Harbor; Head, Senate Appropriations Committee.

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I'm dealing, Jim, with higher education, but I'm from Massachusetts and the conditions of comparisons: not a mile of toll road in this state; fantastic numbers of parks; a good educational system K through 12; community college; the dedication of significant amount of monies being put into recreation and the DNR [Development of Natural Resources] program...

Fa-Doubling our capacity to train physicians in ten years' time.

F--I think that is all part of the ambience of this state that makes it different from its neighbor states, and that is something I'm going to try to explain.

Fa-There is one thing I can't understand and have never been able to understand about higher education institutions. Notwithstanding this tremendous support we've given to them, tremendous support, there is an annual affair that never misses. Every time the governor's proposed budget is announced recommending always higher appropriations than they had the year before, a press release always comes out that the governor cut our budget.

F--You know, I think that is part of the charade. I don't honestly believe anybody believes that, do you?

Fa-Yes, many people do. Many students believe it. Oh, thousands of students believe it, thousands of proponents of higher education in Michigan believe it. Well, after all, they saw it in the papers and they saw it on TV.

F--It may be that I'm too close to what the real expectation is to understand the effect of the rhetoric.

Fa-I'll show you the next round of letters, if I'm here another year, and show you that they believe it.

F--Thank you very much.



TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
ROBERT CAHOW<sup>1</sup>

F--What in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

C--Well, I think, Jerry, that you've got to recognize that one of the most significant factors came on the scene prior to '58 but it still had an impact. That was Sputnik. That shook up a lot of people.

We were also still coping with the problems of large enrollments as a result of the GI Bill of Rights after World War II.

Thirdly, we had a very positive attitude toward the value of higher education, the value of an education beyond the traditional K-12, the value of an education in the liberal arts as well as an education that prepared you for the world of work.

F--Bob, are you suggesting that the citizenry had a different kind of view of higher education than K-12, and that it might be a reason for some of the strong urges in Michigan's community colleges to disassociate from the K-14 school district and create autonomous community colleges?

C--On that point, Jerry, in terms of the role of the community college as we know it today, the junior college truly was and should be recognized as a junior college, beginning with Grand Rapids in 1914.

The movement at that time by community leaders, the far-seeing educators--I'm talking about the Bill Atkinsons at Jackson, the Fred Eshlemans at Henry Ford, Ben Buikema at

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<sup>1</sup>Robert D. Cahow; Executive Secretary, Michigan Council of Community College Administrators, 1965- ; Staff Director, Higher Education Facilities Commission, 1964-65; Finance Supervisor, Michigan State Board of Education, 1955-64. Interview conducted April 18, 1974.

Cahow

Grand Rapids, and Loomis at Traverse City--those individuals in a leadership role in education, all of them being K-12 superintendents, combined the interests and the efforts of community leaders to make it possible for a young man and a young woman to attain a higher education.

At that time they were concerned with the 17-18-year-old high school graduate. There was some concern, as I recall it, about the student who maybe finished high school, who went to work for a year or two, but was still a young person. I'm trying to establish the contrast between a typical student at that period and what we see in the community colleges today. A typical student today is 26-27 years of age, married, has a family, working full-time, and is coming back for an education.

In the early fifties we were still, I think, concerned with making it possible for an individual to complete the first two years of a baccalaureate-degree-level program and then transferring to a four-year institution, public or private, to complete his education.

F--Then in regard to the second question, "What were the social and economic factors that led to the significant growth?", you've identified the GI Bill, you've talked some about Sputnik, the desire for Michigan citizenry to have a higher education, and you've just now identified your thoughts about the desire to create higher education for people who couldn't afford it by having the local schools educate...

C--There was great concern at that time, Jerry, about access to four-year institutions. I well recall the pressures that were brought to bear on the State Board of Education when it was the governing body of the four regional universities as we know them today, the pressures to do more in the way of assisting students with housing, resulting in dormitories and married student apartments.

F--As a matter of fact, from '58 to the present we probably doubled the number of higher educational institutions. We've got some 44 now and in '58 we probably had 15?

C--I've got to go back. When did we create Saginaw and Grand Valley?

F--They were created in the sixties.

Cahow

C--In the sixties. During the fifties the state assumed the responsibility for Wayne State and Ferris.

F--Dearborn and Flint were created in the early sixties. I was wondering how many new community colleges came after '58.

C--Well, I'd have to go back and look at the record. But there were a number of them that came into existence in the late fifties and the early sixties.

F--Which addresses the question you were talking about of access.

C--Right. There was great concern on the part of parents and community leaders in terms of accessibility. All of the existing four-year institutions had more students than they could adequately handle with the facilities that were available to them. During that period of time we went into the very extensive building program.

F--There also seems to have been a sense, say at Con-Con, that Michigan citizens didn't want to have the institutions grow to these megalithic sizes like California, where one system had 165,000 students. They didn't want Michigan or State to go above 40,000.

C--I don't recall that being stated as such in the discussion or debate at Con-Con.

I recall sitting in on committee sessions and the question was at what point do they become difficult to manage and operate because of size alone. They seemed to think about somewhere in the 30,000 range was the magic number, but nobody really knew. It was the Legislature that came forward with this 40,000 concept.

I remember talking with John Hannah about it one afternoon. We used to ride back and forth to Washington quite frequently when he was on the Civil Rights Commission and I would be going down there on HEFA business. As we rode down, we got talking about the enrollment growth at Michigan State and I recall asking him what the optimum size was. He was very pensive and finally said, "Bob, I really don't know where that point is at which I feel that I've lost control and contact as the chief executive officer."

Cahow

Now, it was an honest answer. There was a man who had tremendous capacity. He amazed me constantly by his knowledge of the operation at Michigan State, even though he was gone three to four days a week. The administrators that I was working with at State told of many instances where there would be a traditional breakfast meeting on Monday morning and he would depart for Washington, come back on Friday, and pick up the conversation where it was left the previous Monday.

F--Yes, that was quite a fantastic style.

C--Let me comment on that point. In Michigan I think that we're extremely fortunate in that we had in our four-year institutions, as well as in our community colleges, some outstanding leaders.

F--Who were they?

C--There's Hannah and Ruthven followed by Hatcher at Michigan. Hatcher was quite different in his style and method of operation, the way in which he related to others, but again his influence on higher education in Michigan, I think, has been very significant.

You had Hilberry at Wayne who was a very quiet individual, a gentleman in every sense of the word, who contributed a great deal, especially in southeastern Michigan.

You had Elliott at Eastern, who had many years of experience here in Lansing as Superintendent of Public Instruction, following Munson as president.

You had Paul Sangren at Western who was one of the great men. The vision that that man had!

And you had a number of young men that were coming up. You had Niehuss, Pierpont and Alan Smith at Michigan. Out at Michigan State you had Cliff Hardin and Ed Harden. A number of men that were there with Hannah had moved on to other presidencies. This is also true of the men who were at Michigan. Lederle, for example, from Michigan went on to Massachusetts.

F--Charles Odegaard went to Washington.

C--Right. There was Spathelf who charted a whole new course in delivery method in Michigan at Ferris. And, of course,

Cahow

Anspach, Foust, and Woody Smith at Central. As you look at that period of time, these were the individuals who were involved.

F--Could you name some community college executives that you were in connection with?

C--Yes, of course. Atkinson at Jackson whom I've already mentioned. Buikema at Grand Rapids, who was superintendent of the entire system but who had a keen interest in the junior college concept. He saw what was coming in the community college as we know it today. Dwight Rich here at Lansing.

There was Max Thompson over at Macomb; he's gone now. He sat on the Macomb board, served as chairman of the board for a period of time.

You had up in the north country the real pioneers, men like Stan VanLare at Alpena and Bubaker who was superintendent at that time. Of course, at Port Huron you had a man by the name of Jim Browning who is now deceased. In the Detroit area, Fred Eshleman, of course, at Henry Ford, being the first in that group in southeastern Michigan.

At Flint there were a number of individuals. They had quite a turnover in superintendents there as well as deans of the college. I would say the individual who perhaps contributed the most, first as a faculty member, then athletic coach, and then chief administrator, was Donnelly who is now head of the system in Arizona.

F--I think about Max Smith at Michigan State, Max Raines, and...

C--Now there's a group that I haven't even mentioned, and I should have.

F--I was thinking also about Ferris Crawford in the Department of Education. Some of these people who weren't at institutions were also important, were they not?

C--Very much so, Jerry. I did not mention them because I was concentrating so hard on college presidents. We cannot overlook faculty members of major universities, the graduate universities specializing in education, the Max Smiths, the Raymond Youngs, the Norm Harrises at Michigan.

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Ferris Crawford of the Michigan Department of Education, who in that period of time contributed so much, was very deeply involved in creating the first community college as we know it today in Michigan--Northwestern. Ferris did the staff work for what started out as a five-county feasibility study for a college in that area. It finally ended up, and there were reasons for it, that only one of the five counties went ahead with it: Grand Traverse established Northwestern Michigan College.

Loomis was superintendent, but the names of the board have gotten away from me. In the community the only name I've retained is Biederman. Les Biederman for years has been very active in Traverse City affairs. Then men like Max Smith, who came out of K-12, a very successful superintendent at North Muskegon, Niles, Highland Park, and then was brought to State by Hannah in a special-role assignment in community college growth and development; again Hannah had the foresight. And at Michigan, Ray Young and Norm Harris.

F--And the men at Wayne, I can't...

C--Rizloff, and there was another one at Michigan by the name of George Hall.

F--What were the policy objectives that underlay this expansion besides the ones we've identified? You've talked about the desire for access and the desire to respond to Sputnik. Are there others you'd like to add to the ones you've already spoken to?

C--At what level? Let's try to address it at the terms of the state level. The decision was made in the late forties and the early fifties--while I was still with the budget office--that the state was going to recognize as part of the higher education operation of the state what were then known as the junior colleges. It started by permitting the inclusion of that enrollment for the first time in the state-aid formula. Prior to that they had been excluded.

F--What, Bob, were the key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflicts in the attempt to attain the above objectives?

I think of, for instance, the clear-cut state decision--after a long fight at Saginaw--not to permit community colleges to be enveloped and become all four-year institutions. I regard that as a clear-cut statement that the

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state wanted community colleges to have a distinct function and not evolve to four-year institutions.

C--Well, that is correct, Jerry. There is much misunderstanding regarding the intent of individuals connected with the community colleges on this four-year college issue.

You had two four-year colleges established by the Legislature at the urging of local interest groups. The State of Michigan has always gone the referendum route as far as community colleges are concerned. One exception has been Wayne, and really that was in part referendum. We went statutory because we couldn't referendum the tax matter.

F--After getting beat three times.

C--Yes. But you know as well as I that when Delta College was first being established, it was the thinking of the individuals involved that ideally it should become a four-year institution. They sought out an administrator who was committed to that concept. And, it was my understanding that he came to the state with the understanding that that was to be his assignment, his role.

F--I can add testimony to that. You may not remember that I worked at Delta. When Dr. Marble recruited me they told me they were going to become part of Michigan State.

C--I never heard that. I always understood it was to be a separate four-year entity.

F--Well, then they went out the next year and created the private school.

C--Now at Northwestern at the outset a four-year institution was not in the picture, as I understand it, but individuals within the community began to argue that this is the direction that they should go. I've said for a number of years that within my lifetime I will probably see a four-year institution in that section of the state and it could very well be at Traverse City.

F--That's interesting. I've always expected state baccalaureate-degree institutions at Traverse City and the Macomb area as logical fulfillments of the access and regional thing.

C--I must say this regarding Northwestern. The leaders of that community, and I'm including all sectors of the society, have wisely kept the college on the community college level.

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They have not promoted extending it to the baccalaureate level. I don't believe there's any undercurrent today to do it. I think they recognize the fact that it eventually may come to be because of population growth.

F--That doesn't preclude the fact that there could be two institutions.

C--There could be two of them. And I would agree with you, we will probably see another one in the northeastern Wayne-Macomb area.

F--Well, what are some of the other issues?

I regarded that key issue--which was with some degree of heat--as not a negative opinion to prevent the community colleges from fulfilling the status model, but really an affirmation of their value to society and a desire that they continue to be such.

C--There's another area, Jerry, and I'm not sure just how to describe it or comment on it, but it's the relationship between the public two-year institutions and the private two- and four-year, nonprofit, nonproprietary institutions. I'm not concerned about the proprietary.

F--Let's talk about that very quickly for a moment. I'll talk a little later about what were some of the stresses and strains.

Weren't the Walsh business university groups--not the private colleges, but the business schools--quite frightened about community colleges as an attempt to impede their growth because of their fear of the direct competition?

C--I'm not aware of any definite action on their part, Jerry. I'm aware of their concerns. Again, my work with Budget and the State Board brought me into contact with those people. I can recall discussions with Weimar Hicks of Kalamazoo College.

F--And Hicks was a very important man in this state.

C--Right. A very able person and an excellent educator as evidenced by the program at Kalamazoo College. No question but what it...

F--I guess I was thinking about Davenport...



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C--We didn't have many contacts with the business colleges like Davenport, Cleary, and Walsh. Walsh was an unknown as I recall it. Davenport and Cleary, yes. There were very few contacts with them.

The contacts were with Hicks at Kalamazoo, Albion, John Dawson at Adrian, Gorton Riethmiller at Olivet, John Kimball and the Sister at Marygrove. At Nazareth Sister Mary Bader has just announced her retirement--and just an outstanding person--Sister Danatha at Madonna, Mercy, Siena Heights, and Calvin. Those individuals sensed a change coming in higher education.

On the one hand, they were expected to continue with the traditional liberal arts program that had been developed in those colleges but they were doing very little in the way of technical education. A couple of them had nursing programs, and a couple of them were offering work in the business areas so a student could gain some knowledge in the use of office equipment and so forth, but as I recall, they had nothing in the way of one- or two-year programs.

But the handwriting was on the wall in terms of private colleges having to compete with public institutions in a time of rising costs. They sensed at that time that the interest on the part of--what do I want to call them, members of the faith?--young men and women to come into the order and make it their life was declining. We began to see more and more recruitment of lay people as members of the faculty.

F--But this comes to a point that you have just briefly hinted at. The institutions, I think, saw that they were not competing with the public sector in the traditional ways in the liberal arts but had to compete for a new constituency: a more vocational, more trade-oriented group of people who had never had any aspirations for college.

A place like Albion certainly had no concerns about its excellence in liberal arts, but business machines, business programs, and applied engineering were new constituencies for the small liberal arts schools. The same kind of disabilities were faced by Michigan and it occurred just as the community colleges discovered them also. So it was public versus private; it was really a change in the market for curriculums.

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C--Yes, you're right. Let me go back again in terms of considerations by community colleges and their relationships with the public colleges.

I can recall many, many discussions on the maintenance of standards and quality of baccalaureate-level programs so that if the student, for reasons of his own--they could be financial, they could be personal--chose to start his collegiate-level work at a community college and wanted to transfer to Albion, he could.

If we were doing the job well, we knew--the ones responsible for the program, the faculty, the counselors, and the administrators who had enough information about Albion's program and what was expected of a student at the third-year level--he would have acquired a level of proficiency and training the first two years at a community college that would permit him to transfer and be as well-prepared as a student who started at Albion.

F--You raised a question with me that nobody has brought up in conversation that I think is important. I come from the East and the power of the accrediting agencies and their methods of controlling access were quite significant.

In Michigan did we not pass an act that said that any graduate of a state-subsidized institution, community college or four-year, could transfer to any other state institution and that virtually by the fact of being a state institution your credits were acceptable at another?

This unusual act really gave the opportunity for students to migrate. It was that migration and the capacity to transfer which built that sort of linear system.

C--Jerry, I don't recall that piece of legislation. I can recall many discussions on the desirability of legislating that opportunity, but I don't recall that it was ever done.

F--I'll have to check. I recollect when I was with the State Department that there was a statute that said something of that nature. Ed Pfau<sup>2</sup> would be the man to talk to, I think.

C--Right. I don't recall it, Jerry.

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<sup>2</sup>Ed Pfau; Project Coordinator, Northern Michigan College, Marquette; Bureau of Higher Education, 1966.

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F--Are there any other issues that you wanted to raise about parochial and partisan conflicts in the attempt to attain the public policy objectives?

C--Well, let me take it in terms of partisan or political, Republican versus Democrat.

Throughout this period of time, in my opinion, there were no differences of opinion between Republicans and Democrats about the goal. This is one matter in which they were united. I'm referring now to the front office as well as the Legislature.

F--This is a very interesting point. I talked to Jim Farnsworth about that. I have not been able to detect that higher education was at all captive to party interest. It seems to have been deliberately removed from that focus, as has not been the case in states like Illinois.

C--Right. Under the Williams administration, community colleges had all of the support and encouragement that you could possibly ask for. It was there in the Romney administration and on both sides of the aisle in both Houses throughout the fifties and sixties.

F--You had major figures like Arnell Engstrom, Gar Lane,...

C--You had individuals with this intangible quality of outstanding leadership, Jerry. The Beadles, the Engstroms-- I'm confining it now to those who are no longer here. A man that had a great influence and was not well known was Bill Conlin when he was a member of the House Ways and Means Committee and responsible for education; a man by the name of Richard Thompson who was out of Highland Park and sat on that committee; and there was an individual from the Upper Peninsula by the name of Einar Erlandsen, a diamond-in-the-rough, if you like.

F--I think we'll call him a colorful personality.

C--All right. On the Senate side you had the senior Milliken and Frank Beadle.

F--So, in fact, we really did have a fortunate situation.

What about inter-institutional conflicts, like between community colleges and four-year institutions, the private sector? That's what I'm trying to get at.

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C--Well, Jerry, it's been my observation that the differences have been very minor at the board and chief-executive-officer level. The problem areas have been within, primarily, faculty ranks.

It's that old hack; you and I can both be teaching Political Science 100, but I'm personally convinced that my students are better prepared than your students are because I'm doing a better job than you are. You and I disagree philosophically on some matters and this colors my thinking. Here's a student that wants to transfer from the institution where you are employed and I say, "Well, wait a minute, he's not as well prepared as my students are."

F--But you do raise a problem which I think is a valid one. It's a problem not of the institutions or the constituencies, but of faculty and the very frank role of status.

C--Right, and we still haven't done a good job, Jerry, of developing an interrelationship and understanding among faculties. We lost a great deal when the Michigan Academy of Arts and Sciences and Letters went belly-up. It provided a forum. What we knew as the Michigan Education Association, before the advent of collective bargaining, provided another forum.

F--There aren't really any anymore, are there?

C--No. We tried to do it with the MACU, the umbrella group, Michigan Association of Colleges and Universities which joined together public and private [sectors] out of necessity--because of the problems of the sixties--the revolting sixties as I'm beginning to call them now, the seventies will be known as the litigating seventies.

F--That could be.

C--The presidents and boards found themselves spending most of their time on administrating matters. Not much time was spent at those meetings on academic issues.

F--And that's probably where the issues were the least successful.

C--Right. Now, it's coming, Jerry, slowly. We know, and you're aware, of efforts on the part of the individual faculties of the colleges and the four-year institutions

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to get together professionally. You were involved at the community college level in the instructional deans Project Focus. There are certain disciplines--the biologists have got a very active group going. The geography boys had one, but I don't know whether there are enough left now to even have a meeting.

But that has been the most difficult problem to resolve in terms of difficulty between institutions, and it applies to the public as well as the private. We've talked many times about setting up a system whereby we could exchange faculty for a period of time, shift them from private to public and public to private.

F--Although we've talked about it for a long time, that didn't come about, did it?

Let me move right along because when you talk about these things, so many things come up that it's hard to cover all the points.

Did we have as one of the objectives in higher education the destruction of class and cultural barriers?

C--I think we've always had that within our goal of higher education: the belief that by this means we could do a more effective job of removing the barriers that still existed between classes and cultures.

F--I guess I've used the wrong word here--the destruction. I have come to prefer to say we wanted to expand the opportunity for access to the middle class. We wanted to broaden entry, we didn't want to destroy class. We wanted to give other people the opportunity to share.

C--Well, if I understand what you propose now, the answer is yes. This was one of our objectives in both public and private higher education, moreso in public than private, I think.

F--What about popularism versus elitism in higher education? There's certainly some conflict between the Michigan stance about quality and, say, the alternative at Michigan State of offering opportunity to the broadest number.

C--Well, we tried to do two things. I want to use elitism in its best sense, meaning outstanding performance. We

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are elite in that sense. Certainly our major universities are; Michigan, Michigan State, Wayne, and I would even include the regional universities. Michigan Tech, for example, was elite for years in its area of specialization--engineering, mining. So were our private colleges, I think, going back to the Albions and the Hillsdales and so forth.

Well, how do you broaden that? How do you make it possible for more individuals to avail themselves of the opportunity to study under those circumstances?

You've got to do two things. One, you've got to make it possible for them in terms of financial assistance. There are some that just cannot afford it. But I think more important, Jerry, you've got to convince them that they can do it.

F--So you raise the question, therefore, if one of the public policy tools was the tuition and scholarship programs.

C--Yes. Tuition and scholarships and, I would say, the very generous support on the part of the state.

F--And certainly the construction policies, too.

C--I would include the construction of the physical facilities, equipping of the physical facilities, and providing resources to recruit the necessary staff, both faculty and support people, to do the job.

We could have gone in the other direction, Jerry. We could have worked under a policy of very tight, closed-door operations and by some means decided, out of the thousands of applicants, who among the three hundred were going to be admitted.

F--That's the way medical schools function today.

C--Well, you've got certain schools where the pressures and the interests are so great. I think this is one of the difficult problems facing us today, Jerry. What do we want our educational system to do? Do we want it to meet only the manpower needs of society as best we can determine them? Or do we want it to provide solely the educational opportunity for the individual and let him do with his education whatever he chooses?

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F--Did the growth of culture and the arts have importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

C--That one's difficult to answer, Jerry. I think it was taken for granted. I think technical education, as we understand it today, had more of an influence.

Many people have difficulty, even today, looking at a baccalaureate degree in a general field, with maybe a major in the social sciences, as preparing a person for a job.

There have been literally thousands of individuals prepared in that fashion who have found their place in society. They have, in that process of four years, learned the existence of many different tools. They've learned how to use them, whether they be statistics, a knowledge of languages, or of the various scientific areas.

F--So what you're saying is that they sort of implicitly expected institutions, by the very nature of the higher education process, to encourage that, but it wasn't a clear-cut objective.

C--No. It was to maintain it. I think we already had it.

F--But on the other hand, because of what you have mentioned about Sputnik, in the vocational and occupational area it was very definitely to increase it, to broaden it.

Dr. Polley talked the other day about the clear-cut decision by policy makers to create a differential for vocational/technical education as proof of the recognition of its value and desire to encourage its growth.

C--Well, I recall that one very well, Jerry. As community colleges were explaining their programs to both the executive office and the Legislature in justification of their request for financial assistance, one of the things that was quickly pointed out was that in the technical areas, for the most part, there were increased costs.

We could draw the same comparison in the scientific fields in terms of the cost of establishing a chemistry, biology, or physics laboratory in contrast to a room in which to lecture to 300-400 students in Western Civilization, for example.

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So, repeatedly during the fifties, although I was with the State Board and not directly involved with the colleges, I was aware of the justifications being submitted in support of their budgets.

That was recognized, finally, by the Appropriations Committee. And the man that recognized it was Lane.

F--I was involved in some of that, as you recollect. But, certainly, Bob, the decision to encourage vocational and technical programs was very definitely, from my vantage point, made because they saw that the community colleges would do that job. Four-year schools were not doing that, perhaps because of the makeup of their curriculum, they weren't having as many application-oriented curricula. They looked for the community college to do that as a separate and unique task.

C--That is right.

F--What about the position of labor in higher education? I'm trying to see if some of the societal forces, like labor, industry, commerce, and agriculture, had strong positions for higher education.

C--I would say so. The organized labor groups, I think, had a very strong voice in the development, especially of community colleges. They were very supportive in their own communities.

F--I think about Stan Arnold<sup>3</sup> of the AFL-CIO and their desire for itinerant programs to train plumbers, carpenters, and electricians. I think about industry with GM giving Delta, for instance, just a ton of equipment.

C--Both organized labor and management have been interested, extremely helpful, and generous in their support in terms of willingness to serve on advisory committees, Jerry. You look back in the records. I don't recall a single study committee that did not include representation from both sectors.

F--What about commerce?

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<sup>3</sup>Stanford Arnold; Member, State Construction Safety Commission, 1965- ; Member, Residential Builders and Maintenance and Alteration Contractors Board, 1967- .



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C--Let me go back just a minute. I remember a man by the name of Clinton Fair<sup>4</sup> who was with Williams in the executive office. Clint was one of the forerunners in support of the idea that local two-year educational institutions had greater responsibility for one- and two-year technical programs, contrasted with those of baccalaureate-degree level.

F--What about agriculture? You know, when people talk about agriculture they think about Michigan State, but I've been trying to deduce if the agricultural people, concerned about the outward migration of their children, were strong to create local institutions as a way of keeping children at home.

C--Those connected with the Farm Bureau, 4-H, and ag extension at Michigan State University have played a very key role in the formation of the outstate community colleges, Jerry.

F--It is harder to ascertain their support for regional baccalaureate institutions. I've had the sense, and want to talk to you about it, that agriculture was particularly concerned about the development of two-year, outstate institutions.

C--Right now, among the trustees of the 29 community colleges, I think there are eight who by profession are agricultural extension people.

F--There are eight members on the boards?

C--There are eight trustees among the 200-and-some-odd community college trustees that are agricultural agents in their respective counties.

F--Oh, I see what you're saying. That's interesting.

Do you have any idea how many of the some-200 are farmers or make their lifework from agriculture?

C--No, I don't, Jerry.

F--But it would certainly be many more than eight. That's interesting. These are, therefore, employees of Michigan State's ag extension and co-op extension.

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<sup>4</sup>Clinton Fair; Executive Assistant to Governor Williams, 1949.

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C--There are two of them on the board at West Shore--two different counties represented.

F--Bob, what were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government? You'd have a sensitivity to that.

C--Well, there are really three different areas. One came out of Sputnik with the federal government making funds available for categorical assistance, especially in the scientific fields and in health, medicine, and nursing. The federal government has encouraged community colleges to go much farther into technical education through the Vocational Education Act and its amendment.

F--What about HEFA?

C--The first time federal funds were made available for the construction of facilities was in 1963.

F--That's no longer available, is it?

C--No. No money is currently being appropriated. What is available is a carryover from prior-year appropriations and in one or maybe two more years it will be depleted.

F--But the program really ran from, what, about 1963 to '68?

C--It was enacted in '63. It is still on the books but its major period of activity was from '63 to '68.

F--What would you estimate was the dollars they put into the State of Michigan? Do you have some kind of ballpark hunch?

C--Jerry, though I ran the program for two years, it's gotten away from me. The funds were pro-rated to the states on a per capita formula. If I remember correctly, in '63 or '64 we were able to pick up additional funds. At that time the federal law provided that if there were any funds not used within the original allocation to the state, they were available for redistribution.

F--How did you pass out the money? Were there some policy imperatives to create schools to enhance certain areas or did you try to pass it out to everybody so that all got a dip of the soup?

C--It's surprising how much the details get away from you in ten years. There were certain minimum requirements in

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the federal act that had to be met and, as I recall, the initial plan did nothing more than meet those requirements.

There was no clean-cut decision, Jerry, that we would put the money into outstate community colleges or outstate four-year institutions.

F--Then it probably got passed out in a sort of flat way.

C--No, because the federal requirements directed that it go to those institutions that were experiencing a very rapid enrollment growth, and to those institutions that did not have adequate facilities measured in terms of usable instructional space, age and condition of the buildings. All very reasonable requirements.

F--The HEFA policy, because of the enrollment and adequate plant criteria, created the opportunity to enhance places that were located where the need was great.

C--Right.

F--What was the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another?

C--Well, three come to mind immediately: Big Rapids, Ferris State College; Grand Rapids, Grand Valley State College; Saginaw, Saginaw Valley College.

I was very involved when the state assumed the responsibility for Ferris. In fact, my name is on the transfer documents. My biggest disappointment is that we were not successful in seeing that the same concept resulted in an educational institution somewhere in southeastern Michigan.

As for Grand Valley and Saginaw Valley, it was interesting to watch a group of local people work to bring that about.

F--There's an interesting point that you talked about earlier and I want to come back to it for a minute. In many states the government bodies and the bureaucrats create a plan and sort of overlay it on the state.

In Michigan we haven't had that sort of thing. We've had local initiatives, referendums and, as you've talked about, the entrepreneurial energy of Michigan citizens creating dowrys for Oakland, Dearborn, Flint, Saginaw Valley, and for Grand Valley.

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I talked to Governor Williams about that and he thought the Legislature, in order to solve the problem of locating it there rather than here, encouraged the financial referendum and the public voting referendum. I had the sense he meant also to test the local desire. If they didn't want it, they wouldn't support it.

C--Well, that would apply to community colleges, Jerry. I question that it applies to the four-year operations at Flint and Dearborn. There's no way that the local community could support those operations.

F--No, but they did have to come up with money at Grand Valley and at Saginaw Valley. The sum they put together was \$2 million, I believe.

C--I think the Governor's analysis about that is correct. It did not force the Legislature into making the decision. If there was the interest, including willingness to provide, initially, financial resources, it let them go ahead. But there was no referendum, as such, on it, as you have in a community college.

F--No, but when I was thinking about referendum I was thinking about community college. I think about how Seidman and those fellows in Grand Rapids worked immensely hard to create that institution. And I think that that's an important element that my study has to get to, to talk about--the local pride.

I asked the second question: What were the social and economic factors? I think it's important to strike at the point that you're making about referendums by citizens for local community colleges, and also to talk about that civic do-goodism that saw the value of school--which didn't occur in other states--where they would go and raise money.

Yesterday Jim Farnsworth talked about the fact that Robben Fleming was going to create an industrial program and Ed Cole, the president of GM, had already raised some \$4 million. Jim pointed out that that was a sign of the real commitment of Michigan industry. I think that people vote with the ballot but also with their pocketbook.

C--Well, my recollection at Saginaw is that the major contributor was Wickes.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Harvey Randall Wickes; President, Wickes Corporation; Founder, Wickes Foundation for Higher Education.

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F--Dow and Wickes.

C--Dow and Wickes. I'm in doubt as to how much came from the community as such.

F--Well, certainly \$25 of my money.

C--And I don't know how much came from the community at Grand Rapids and how much came from individuals.

F--Dr. Marble<sup>6</sup> hired a fund-raising organization in 1964 and I never could quite get over the name of the group. They were called Ketchum<sup>7</sup>. That always just tickled my sense of humor--Ketchum. What better name is there for a fund-raising group?

Do you have some observations, Bob, having worked in the budget office, having worked on the State Board, and having worked for so many years with the attempts to create community colleges, why the failure of the branch-campus system happened in Michigan? In Wisconsin it became the style and model.

C--Jerry, I think it's due to the realization that it becomes too great a demand on the time of one governing board. I saw this very vividly under the old State Board of Education when it was the governing body of four universities. They were initially normal schools, then teacher colleges, then state colleges, and then universities.

F--They were the governing board for Eastern, Western, Central, and Northernsn. You had a four-man board.

C--Under the old State Board of Education you had a four-man board made up of three elected statewide, plus the superintendent of public instruction. During the period of time that I was with that Board in a financial capacity, from 1955 until 1963, my office was adjacent to the office of the superintendent, who had the largest office that was used by the Board for its board meetings.

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<sup>6</sup>Samuel Marble; President, Saginaw Valley College.

<sup>7</sup>Ketchum, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; professional fund-raisers for two fund drives of 1964-65 and 1970-71.

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I can recall many times when I would have three presidents in my office cooling their heels, waiting while the Board worked with the fourth president. The Board made an effort to meet with them as a group, but there were few problems in common that they could discuss as a group of four with the Board. They had individual problems that had to be discussed.

I can recall the frustration of the Board with the amount of time required, and the frustration of the presidents sitting and waiting. I think the same thing applied to the development of the branch concept. For all intents and purposes, as I understand it, Flint is operating very independently of Ann Arbor. I'm sure they had the same frustrations waiting their turn to meet with the Regents on problems that are unique to Flint and Dearborn.

F--But I think State, early in the game, tried to make the breakaway for Oakland. Probably if you take a look at these branch campuses at Oakland, Dearborn, and Flint, you have to find some reason why Oakland did better and grew quicker. Of all of these spin-offs that happened in the fifties, Oakland has done the best, hasn't it?

C--I think they have, Jerry.

F--I think it's probably because they rapidly had that sense of autonomy and of their own responsibility.

C--Oakland is so different. They're working with a different clientele. We may see at Dearborn and at Flint one of the same things that happened at Oakland--moving to the lower division as well as the upper division. In my own mind I have reservations about that move.

F--I'm glad you suggested that. Let me ask you a question about that, because few of the other people that I've spoken to have addressed it. There had to be some kind of hope, certainly at Dearborn, that a junior-senior year and a freshman-sophomore year could coexist. At Henry Ford Community College and at Dearborn they tried that. Do you have some observations about why that didn't work? It seems a logical, managerial-kind of solution. It didn't work at Flint in a sense either, did it?

C--I think maybe one of the reasons is maintenance of enrollment. I don't know the extent of it. Is it a problem? How much of a problem has it been?

Cahow

F--Oh, I think so.

C--There's something that's taken place in higher education that none of us foresaw accurately. In all of the feasibility studies, long-range planning and so forth, that I was involved with in the fifties and sixties, at no time did we give any thought or spend any time on how we would handle and cope with what I'm going to call disenchantment with higher education--the public outcry and criticism that individuals are coming out of our colleges trained to do nothing.

I never thought I would see in our major universities student interest in the arts decrease to the point where there's hardly a day goes by but what you pick up the paper and read that this university or that university had to release faculty that have been there for years and had established themselves as very able. But they are specialists in their field, foreign languages, for example. Where a college of liberal arts and sciences might have had a foreign language department of ten, they're down to one. And philosophy, geography, many of the social sciences, and history are the same. I just never thought it would come about. We were never concerned about it.

F--It may be that the decision for the free elective system may have undercut the concept of the basic-foundation kind of program and severely impeded the opportunity to give people a broad-based education.

C--But I think those two, the enrollment problem and the change in educational objectives and attitudes, have forced those institutions that started out as upper-division operations to try to be more relevant. In all our long-range studies of cost we also said collective bargaining would never come to the public sector.

F--And it has and it has changed the relationship.

C--It's changed it drastically.

F--That's more so in community colleges, isn't it?

C--Yes, because we're in the forefront. We had a different clientele in the faculty ranks. It will just be a matter of time now before we will see unionization to a far greater degree in our four-year institutions, Jerry. I'm convinced of it. You now have Central, Ferris, Wayne, Eastern, and...

Cahow

F--And Oakland for all practical purposes.

C--All practical purposes.

We missed completely, not only educational attitudes and objectives, but also social attitudes. Jerry, I can remember when we caught holy hell for opening up a dining room in a residence hall for co-ed dining.

F--Really?

C--This just wasn't done. The girls had one dining room, the men had the other dining room. We opened it up so it was possible for them to have breakfast, lunch and supper together. We thought it was a step in the right direction to solve some of our social and cultural problems.

F--We've come a long way in a short time, haven't we?

C--We have, to where we are now operating some residence halls with no regard to mixing of the sexes. We just assign them as they come. In a dormitory you may draw a male neighbor, or you may have a female neighbor.

It's changed drastically, and this in turn is a result of changes in our educational objectives and attitudes. I'm very fearful that in our educational objectives we have lowered our standards of what we expect of the student. I'm concerned that we have made it too easy.

F--Well, it may be, you know, that as you move along in this democratization and popularization and bring the benefits of higher education to lower levels of aspiration that the nature of the schools change. We certainly have many, many more people in higher education. I recognize what you said earlier about the difference in the age breaks that we never dreamed of in the fifties when we planned much of the modern Michigan higher education system.

C--In the community colleges we were thinking in terms of the traditional college-age students of 17 to 21.

F--It's not that way anymore, is it? You know, it's hard to believe with the population of some nine million people that we have some two million in K-12, some 350,000 in four-year, some 160,000, if you skip the FTE, at community colleges.



Cahow

C--We've got 150,000 to 160,000 on a head-count basis.

F--You probably have another 40,000 in private colleges. Then, if you take the people who are 0 to 5, and you take those people retired, 65 to 100 or whatever age they are, you've got just the most phenomenal segment of the population outside the work force.

A third of our people, virtually, are in school. Now, you'd never dream that that would be the case. And I suppose that's probably one of the answers to the question about popularization. The answer probably, you know, is yes and we've succeeded beyond our wildest dreams. American people are funny. After they attain a goal, they're not happy with that, they then begin to aspire to something else.

C--It's going to be interesting to see what transpires in the balance of this decade and in the eighties in terms of the senior citizen and what he is going to ask of our educational system.

F--Have you been to Kentucky and seen their program where they pay tuition for every retired citizen?

C--I haven't seen it, but I know of it.

F--It's pretty impressive. I heard of a lady, 85, graduating. That's certainly not the enhancement of manpower, but I think there's a value to that and that may again broaden the market.

I, myself, don't believe that the enrollments are doomed to go down. I think they're going to broaden but the programs again have to broaden.

Jim Holden, chairman of the coordinating board for higher education, said in a Nielsen survey in Illinois that something like some 650,000 people wanted to have additional higher education, and some small percentage would pay for it no matter what the cost.

Those are the people who aren't currently being reached, and the senior citizens that you identified are certainly a huge market. It may be that it may be located in community and regional institutions.

C--I think they will be, Jerry. If this trend continues whereby we can make it possible for an individual to

Cahow

spend 30 years and at an average age of 55--30 and out. It's really frightening to think that if they go into the work force at age 20 that they're out at 50.

F--Then we're talking about second-career work.

C--We're talking about second careers. I'm amazed at the number of individuals I have been coming in contact with now who have taken early retirement at, say, 62 or 60, and are in another career.

I don't think societally that that's bad at all. It's interesting. How did they get there? They enrolled in a college and they took some specialized work.

F--Let me ask the last question. What in your opinion were the reasons that an institutional system for coordination of higher education did not come about in Michigan? The rhetoric was certainly there in the Con-Con, although certainly more so in the Education Committee than on the floor.

C--Jerry, I think there are a couple of major reasons for it.

The first one is due to the fact that we resorted to the political process for selecting a State Board. We went for elected rather than appointed boards. I felt for a long time that election was the best, even though in either situation there will be periods when for one reason or another you do not have a group of individuals that can effectively work together and accomplish.

F--Then you're saying some of the weaknesses were in the State Board itself.

C--Weaknesses in the State Board as a result of the process by which those individuals were given the assignment.

F--Certainly. For instance, in 1964 the fact that not one Republican got elected was probably a major disability, wasn't it?

C--The State Board of Education has been given a very minor position by both parties at state conventions in terms of nominations. The emphasis has been placed upon the Regents at the University of Michigan, the Trustees at Michigan State, and the Governors at Wayne.

Cahow

Now whether or not it would work if we had a system of selecting from a panel of recommended individuals for the convention to draw upon, I don't know.

I've come round to the point of believing that the appointment process is preferable, since I'm convinced that you would be more certain of a reasonable, realistic balance politically. I think even more important is that by the appointment process we would have a better opportunity of inducing individuals to serve who had backgrounds and experience to draw upon.

F--Any other observations you'd like to make, Bob?

C--In terms of coordination, the other thing that's got to be done we've not done in Michigan. I recall conversations with Lynn Bartlett in his office when Con-Con was put to bed to the effect that if we're going to make this work, the one essential ingredient is a very able, qualified staff.

Where are you going to find those people in terms of education? Ideally, the majority of them will come out of education. They will have had the background, the experience, the practical knowledge. Now to get those people, Jerry, you've got to be able to compensate them. You can't do it under a civil service system and compete in the market.

F--I appreciate what you're saying.

Thank you for sharing your insights.

TRANSCRIPT - INTERVIEW WITH  
JAMES MILLER<sup>1</sup>

F--What in your opinion, Jim, were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

M--Well, there is the obvious--the population explosion. The productivity of World War II veterans was just tremendous and with all that growth you had to have places for young people to go to college. Michigan didn't begin to have the private educational resources, for example, that Ohio had and has, [or] Indiana. We're more like Minnesota and Wisconsin in the sense that the magnitude of the growth was such that only the public sector could take it in any appreciable way.

Michigan's total history has been one of a deep and abiding commitment to the societal as well as individual benefits to be derived from education. The thing that always impressed me was that when I was looking at budget figures on higher education--and this would be for the last 35 or 40 years that I examined rather closely--it was Illinois, California and Michigan: These were the states that were doing well, year in and year out, for higher education.

The John Dale Russell study came at a fortuitous time for higher education in general and for the community college concept in particular.

F--Before we get to some of that, Jim, as a historian by training I've been fascinated by this long historical tradition which many have talked about in Michigan. It has encouraged the peculiar rights of the institutions and strongly supported this growth. Yet other

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<sup>1</sup>James W. Miller; President, Western Michigan University, 1961-1974. Previously served as State Controller and in various other state administrative positions. Interview conducted April 18, 1974.

Miller

states--I think about Indiana, Ohio, Illinois--which were much like us economically, didn't have that.

I wondered if you had some thoughts about why this state may have had that long tradition. And I go right back to the earliest days, because if you look at the history of higher education, this is the first state in the Union to create the agricultural and mechanical school.

M--I suppose one would go into the sociological ramifications of that, I mean, the background of the people who emigrated to this state. Apparently [they] had this commitment. You find it, for example, in reading Willis Dunbar's book on the history of higher education in the State of Michigan.<sup>2</sup>

It's rather remarkable the interest in the University of Michigan in its founding period. This interest was very real. I just don't know [about] Indiana.

F--What were some of the social and economic factors that led to the expansion of education in Michigan, Jim?

M--Well, here again I'm looking at it more recently, but certainly the development of the labor movement in the State of Michigan, and possibly even Henry Ford and the development of the motor industry and the better pay, began economically to bring higher education as an opportunity for working men's sons and daughters. It made it more of a reality and it seems to me that has steadily grown and developed.

And then of course the whole development of Michigan State University as essentially a school of opportunity. But you know there's more to it than that. You take Ferris, for example. Ferris was very definitely set up as a special school of opportunity. You know from your experience in the Legislature there is still the strong feel to keep the Ferris tuition low, to keep with the tradition of making higher education available--and as a catalyst really--

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<sup>2</sup>Willis F. Dunbar, The Michigan Record in Higher Education (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1963).

Miller

for allowing people to move from the working class [previously] limited to high school [but] now expanded to college and graduate school.

But the early establishment of a university, or college, in which the agricultural people of the state could take pride and the increased mechanization of the farm were important factors focusing greater public interest in higher education.

F--Ok, so you have the extraordinary large pay that the automotive industry had compared to other...

M--Well, relatively.

F--Well, it certainly did compared to other nonskilled or low-skilled industries in America. Coal mining, for instance, has sort of kept people without the opportunity for upward aspiration. And you're also suggesting that the economic changes that made the 40-acre homestead unable to support more than one child on the family plot, was a factor in the look for additional ways to broaden the base.

M--Yes, and of course 40 acres is nothing now. I mean, you couldn't do anything with it if you were seriously going to engage in farming.

F--There was that, and others have suggested the GI Bill and the large number of people who wanted to come. You suggested also the lack of private educational opportunity for the growth of the public sector.

M--You had a number of factors throughout the country. You can't escape the total American commitment for years to "my child's future" is tied socially and economically with college education. I mean, that's been very real. I'm concentrating on Michigan, and sure, the government has in a variety of ways encouraged it.

We've mentioned some of them here in Michigan in the sense that the takeover of Ferris by the public sector occurred, oh gosh, that was...

F--1948, I believe.

M--I was going to say by the fifties they were into it because they had had that disastrous fire up there.

Miller

But here again it was a governor--Ferris<sup>3</sup>--who was tremendously committed to higher education. In fact, I think Michigan has been blessed with governors who have shown a real interest in higher education. You can go back to Ferris, and possibly even before that.

The tremendous presidents that emerged at the University of Michigan. There have been some strong presidents in this state, particularly at Michigan (with a longer history). But you find them emerging in places such as the University of Detroit.

F--You were on the governor's elementary and secondary reform commission. I was much surprised to find out that Governor Milliken's grandfather on his mother's side had been president at Central--Grawn, the middle name of the Governor, William Grawn--and I think that's a demonstration of the kind of interweaving that's occurred.

What about the policy objectives that underlaid this expansion? Certainly the aspirational aspect...

M--Well, the concept that every child capable of and with an interest in higher education should have an opportunity for higher education. That's been very, very real, very pronounced in Michigan's history.

The latest, most articulate spokesman on that subject, from my standpoint, was John Hannah. John Hannah, for what, 20 to 27 years, constantly drove that home: the societal as well as individual advantages that accrue from having higher education open to any and every child capable of and with an interest in higher education.

F--I just wonder if, earlier in the nineteenth century, the Kalamazoo Case--when we were the first state in the Union to create the free public high school--wasn't part of the same sociological theme.

M--The sociological aspects of this would be fascinating to go into in considerable depth, probably more depth than you'll be able to go into in this dissertation.

Kalamazoo was a combination of Dutch--fairly interesting group--Scottish, English, and German people.

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<sup>3</sup>Woodbridge N. Ferris; Governor of Michigan, 1913-16; Founder of Ferris Institute, 1884.

Miller

These were people who had already demonstrated a desire to improve themselves. Improve themselves, not simply materially, but improve themselves as educated, cultural human beings. I think it's very real. You can say, well, you had large groups of people from these and other stocks in other states. That's true, but they apparently formed a very effective coalition of interests here in this state.

F--I've observed that in other states education could be partisan: There could be differences of view between one party and another; the things that separate the various population groups would in fact cause stress over education. But it hasn't happened here. It seems that education has been an influence that's caused our people to cooperate.

M--That may simply have been the acumen of political leaders that this was an issue that cut across party lines, cut across religious lines, and was a common thread of interest. Really, from a political standpoint, there was no point to trying to produce a division where there was a community of support.

F--In this question, "What were the key issues that resulted in partisanship and parochial conflict in the attempts to obtain the above policy objectives?", I guess I did not mean to suggest Democratic versus Republican because I don't have the sense that that existed.

M--I don't have that feeling.

F--But I'm curious about what were some of the issues. One could feel the strain between Michigan and Michigan State. I wonder if the private versus the public sector was an important strain, the two-year versus the four-year, the regional interests versus large schools, the branch campuses? I'm wondering what were the conflicts?

M--I don't think the conflicts between the private and public sectors were very severe in Michigan. In Indiana, frankly, the presidents of the private and public institutions pretty effectively killed off a community college thrust.

There was an effort at accommodation in Michigan. With only a few exceptions I've never noted any strong



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antipathy between the private and public. Weimar Hicks at Kalamazoo College would extoll the values of private over and against public education, but I always wondered about his thrust in this direction. It seemed to me that it was more an attempt to appeal to prospective givers to his institution. I really can't say that I ever detected any strong antipathy. We used to meet with them regularly and we got along famously as a group, I thought.

F--I have the feeling--based on a lot of discussions, reading, and study--that in Michigan the conflicts were over process rather than over the entire commitment to the effort, whereas in other states they fought about the effort itself. There could be differences of agreement, differences of opinion, but that didn't seem to separate people from cooperating towards common objectives.

M--I don't think, Jerry, that we were ever regarded in the public sector as a real serious threat to the private. There was a commitment on both sides that the dual system of higher education was a viable and desirable system. There was a period when there was considerable consultation vis-a-vis the private and the public.

F--I suppose the fact that they cooperated together to create the scholarship grant programs, the tuition program. The public schools did not fight the recent act that was just promulgated--of institutional support per degree earned in the private sector. That it wasn't fought by the public schools is, I think, proof of the kind of a goodwill that's gone on.

M--Yes. I think that if you take a look at the presidents of the institutions in the public sector, you'll find that many of them were educated in private, liberal arts-type institutions. Probably equally importantly, their boards of trustees came from private as well as public institutions.

I feel there was a genuine commitment that higher education is in and of itself important in terms of society's needs, in terms of the individual needs, and that the dual system was important and there should not be an encroachment. Now, this state has been predominantly public higher education for a long, long time.

Miller

F--Virtually always, hasn't it?

M--Virtually always. As long as I can remember it was always in the [ratio of] 70-30, 75-25, and of course with the tremendous growth, it dropped around 82-18.

F--Let's talk about another source then. Do you have some attitudes about why the conflict between Michigan and Michigan State didn't get unseemly? One talks a lot about that stress because of the tremendous growth of Michigan State. And yet, I have the sense that that conflict didn't really get out of bounds.

M--No, it didn't get out of bounds. There were lots of people who made things of it; the football rivalry and that type of thing.

But certainly once the Legislature acted on naming Michigan State what in fact it was, a university, there was a pronounced fight against that. That is why, I'm sure, the University of Michigan took no effort at all to oppose naming Eastern, and Western, and Central, and so on, universities.

F--The fight had already been lost.

M--Yes, the fight had already been lost. Then again--you read in Willis Dunbar's history--Michigan was the university, the parent university. Understandably with that background--the prestigious nature of their total enterprise, not only in the State of Michigan, but throughout the nation and throughout the world--it's probably not unusual.

And then they lost the branch fight at Delta, and that was a hairy struggle for a short period of time. But once it became apparent to the University of Michigan that legislators and key educational figures at other institutions throughout the state were anti-branch, for the reason that if entered into on a large scale it would become a very vicious struggle and empire-building and that type of thing, [they submitted].

It would have been counter-productive and it would have had a tremendous impact on the emerging development of the community college concept. There were those in that sector who believed that this would virtually destroy that total concept.

Miller

F--It's a little hard to come to a feeling for Dr. Hatcher. People who have talked to me have been very laudatory about John Hannah, as they rightly should be. They've always been a good deal less praiseworthy, quite careful in their remarks, about Dr. Hatcher because they see this sort of polarity between the positions.

And yet I'm struck by the fact that with the power the University had, with its national reputation, with its relationships with Michigan industry and commerce, that they had to have taken an unrecognized statesman-like approach in some ways because they could have exacerbated the fight. In other states the major university has sometimes muscled the competition out. It might not have been possible for Michigan to have succeeded, but it certainly might have been possible for them to have decelerated the degree of challenge.

I wonder if you have some observations, from your experience, that the Michigan people have some sense of--I don't know quite how to put it delicately--not wanting to exacerbate the situation so that the enterprise would be able to proceed forward.

M--I know for a fact that John Hannah did not want to exacerbate the situation, and took a number of steps to try to reduce any friction that was developing. Well, you can say he had a selfish motivation. I think he had more than a selfish motivation. I think that John Hannah was very far-seeing in terms of the ultimate development of higher education in Michigan and felt that, you know, all would be hurt if [the] two could not find accommodation.

One may say, well, you sat in a prejudicial position on that matter. Well, not entirely, because I was named president of one of the universities and I was the Chairman of the Michigan Council of State College Presidents at the time when the University of Michigan was pressing for branch status for Delta Community College. The University of Michigan was beaten and beaten badly on the question of branches. In the Delta case in particular.

F--That's a key event. We'll come back to that.

Did any of the policy goals for the advancement of higher education have as their objective the destruction of class and culture barriers?

Miller

M--I wrote here in my notes, natürlich (naturally, of course).

F--I think that's a good answer.

Somehow we haven't been a state where our budget documents, and our Governor's materials in the legislative processes, have come out with the kind of John Gardner<sup>4</sup> ..., what I call "\$5 rhetoric."

But it seems you have to measure the state, not by what people have said, but by what they have done. I find it hard to point to any documents to say, "We're going to create an upward mobile class, we're going to open the doors of opportunity and expand the middle class and create colleges of opportunity rather than colleges for those who have already demonstrated by their academic records that they can perform." I don't find the rhetoric there, but I find the action there.

I think that makes it difficult for me as a historian to cite the documents, but the facts stand there easy to see. I think the community college system which got created in this period was a deliberate act, [but] didn't have anything to point to as a document or study that said we would do this as a master plan.

M--You did have the actual location of these institutions of higher education dealt around the state. Again, [manifesting] an interest in the communities themselves to have an institution of higher education which was an aspiration for greater cultural goals. And again, these goals are for all, not for a single class.

F--I want to come back to that later. It strikes me very much that the fact that local groups, the citizenry, the business, the Rotarians, the commercial people and the churchmen aspired for an institution for their regional area as a part of civic fulfillment tells you something about Michigan. You didn't find that in other states to the degree I think that you found it here.

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<sup>4</sup>John Gardner; Secretary, Health, Education and Welfare under President Lyndon Johnson.

Miller

M--You have to include the private sector because when you think of the influence that Hope College has on Holland and the surrounding area, [it's] very real. It is a cultural center for Holland. When I first went down to Western as President [I took] one of the first occasions I had to get down there and see what they were doing and note the number of people from the community that were coming in. They took great pride--that's their college. Kalamazoo with Kalamazoo, Albion with Albion, Alma...

F--Calvin, the same way; and U of D, too.

M--U of D too, very real.

F--I'm struck by the influence that Father Steiner and now Father Carron have had in very statesmanlike ways too.

M--I don't know Suomi College [Hancock, Michigan] that well, but Suomi has a very important significance so far as Finnish people are concerned.

F--I was there when they kicked off their fund-raising drive about a year ago. It has only 800 students, I think, but it was remarkable for the impact there for the Finnish people.

M--And look at the Soo. The growth and development of Lake Superior has been due in some large part to the community interest in having a college which they could point to and have as a resource for their cultural development.

F--Certainly. Lake Superior is a good example because their citizenry ran rummage sales and donated paint and things of that nature.

What about popularism in higher education versus elitism?

M--Yes, very definitely. Your question poses it for this particular period of 1958-1970. Remember that Michigan kept its tuition extremely low for a good part of the period about which we're speaking.

Miller

F--I personally regard the tuition as still low.

M--Well, certainly if you contrast it with the State of Ohio.

F--I was going to contrast it with Massachusetts. In 1954 when I went to Boston College the tuition was \$800. Today, in 1974, Michigan State's tuition is \$600. Then a boy was hard-pressed to make his tuition in the summer, but today no boy in the state would find it difficult to earn his tuition.

M--Well, Boston College is a parochial school.

F--...but I guess in Boston there were few, if any, public alternatives to the private sector until maybe four years ago. As you recollect, the University of Massachusetts did not even come to Boston until probably 1968.

M--Yes. When I went to college in '35 I paid \$400 tuition at Amherst. I don't know what it was at the University of Massachusetts but the University of Massachusetts is way in the western-most part of the state and was the only one that was public.

F--It was the only credible public...

M--Bridgewater had a normal school, which as a normal school was good enough, but...

F--But not in the way that we think of them today. Fitchburg the same way.

How important were vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education? Governor Williams talked about Sputnik and the shock of that.

M--Sputnik itself had its influence nationwide. I thought of it, looking at the question, more as the importance that it had on the community college concept. This is where I followed the question.

F--As a matter of fact, that's probably where the answer is. I'm not sure, though, when I framed the question, that I was there. I thought about Western with its paper technology and aircraft technology, and I thought about packaging at Michigan State, but I've been led, as I've discussed this with people, to think more about the community colleges and the Ferris model.

Miller

M--Yes. The Ferris model was very early and that was technical, occupational, and opportunistic in the sense of a very low tuition and a great interest in taking people who did not have a high school degree but were of an age who would be embarrassed to go back into the high school. Here was a way to come in and complete the high school requirements and at the same time view a variety of technical and occupational opportunities that possibly they had never thought about before.

Western got into occupational therapy, for example, oh, back even in the twenties they were thinking about this. In the thirties and by the forties these were pretty well established programs--and speech pathology. The paper [technology] came in just about or a little before your 1958 period, sometime in the early 1950's as I recall.

F--So you think the real focus of the occupational and vocational programs came much more in the intention to create community colleges, and in fact they are probably their preservation with the Delta branch case.

M--Taking your own language with your question, Jerry, you said vocational and occupational training objectives. I would say that that was predominantly significant in terms of the community college conceptual development. It's a rather unique one, really, to try to blend together a liberal arts preparatory program side by side with an occupational and vocational thrust.

F--And it has worked, too.

In foreign countries, particularly I think about Africa, they've specifically developed technical institutions separate from academic and liberal arts programs.

M--I suppose you had a pre-run to all of this in the sense that the so-called teachers' colleges, or at least Western, got involved in a fairly substantial number of two-year programs that have since been siphoned off into the community college.

F--Let me ask a question about that. The normal schools in Michigan--were their vocation teachers two-year teachers, graduates of two-year programs in manual training and the like? Or were they just sort of

Miller

natural outgrowths to that? The normal schools had that kind of handicraft basis.

M--Yes. Of course the normal schools started out with a two-year teaching certificate and then the policy changed: namely, that people entrusted with this type of responsibility should have four-year training. So we went to that. But they had experience with two-year certificated programs at a very early stage in their development so probably it wasn't at all foreign to them to look at the vocational occupational areas and say, "All right, maybe certificated programs of two years make some sense here."

We, for example, went into two-year secretarial programs and had a very good one. Two-year technological programs in aviation mechanics, automotive mechanics, distributive education. Some of this was an outgrowth of what has been called manual training, and then industrial arts and then industrial education. So it's been a rather natural growth and development.

F--You tend to forget that because they're no longer part of the scene. The community colleges have taken that constituency over.

M--Yes. Western is sort of atypical in the sense that it was concurrently running four-year programs as well as two-year programs. And frankly, there probably would have been a demise of the two-year program at Western anyhow, but the community college really hastened it for the simple reason that a student coming in and getting the certificate--we found that in some areas as high as 95 percent of those students--were going on and not stopping with the certificate. They would take the certificate but then they would go right on and take the full four years.

F--What about the growth of culture and the arts? Did that have importance in the dialogue over the growth in higher education?

M--I think there were two factors.

I think there has been a gradual development over the years in the arts, but I think it got accentuated when we started getting to the 40-hour week, and then the talk of the 30-hour week, and then the talk of, "What does one do with one's leisure time?"



Miller

I think then the question came up [about] the quality of that leisure time. With all due respect to fishing and hunting and golfing and the like, you can't put all of your leisure time in even lifetime sports: badminton, table tennis, fly fishing, golf, tennis, swimming, and so on.

I think that tended to have sort of a catalytic impact in the sense of giving added impetus to the development of the visual arts: music, dance, theater. That's a development that I thoroughly applaud.

F--I well know that, but you know back home where we're from there was a strong societal base for cultural institutions outside of the university: the museums and symphonies and the like back home in Massachusetts. Here in this state it really isn't easy to take a long look and see that there is a cultural tradition as amply supported. Rather one finds that the institutions of higher education have kind of become the places to nurture and support it.

I just wonder if there was some intention that the institutions of higher education become sort of launching pads for broadening the culture base of the citizenry.

M--I think the citizenry were thinking in these terms.

The thing that always impressed me at Western, and I think this is true both in the public and the private sector, was the number of community people who find out what is going on at the university. It wasn't so much the university going out and saying to the community, "Come on in." It was as much the citizen outside saying, "Well, something's going on at this university that I'd like to find a way to become involved with, if no more than as a spectator at plays and the like."

F--When you established the theater program at Western. were you surprised at the amount of community interest that existed?

M--Yes, I was. Of course, I think that Kalamazoo is frankly a little atypical in this respect: the fact that they have their own theater as a community; they have their own music in terms of a symphony, although it draws heavily upon the colleges and

Miller

universities in the area. Those people I found had been following university theaters for a long time. There was, I noticed, the audience.

F--In a sense, was that like the Hannah approach to athletics, broadening the base of support for the university?

M--There's no question that it did do this. I guess I'd have to say that it was pretty conscious.

F--Oh, certainly, Jim, at Western it was conscious.

M--It was conscious, but it was conscious not in terms of wanting to raise the annual giving for that particular year. This made sense if one was going to be an integral part of the community. You see, here's where the ivory tower is breaking down: the idea that somehow we're apart from the community in which we live.

F--At Oakland I always had the feeling that Woody's approach was in the most cold of cold blood to build a base. He could just as soon gone to football...

M--Or basketball, which is even cheaper to run. But good gosh, that wouldn't begin to have the appeal to the people who wanted to identify with something cultural.

F--The reason I'd lead this question [is because] it seems to me that frequently people derive the wrong lessons from events.

A lot of people who think they understand the higher education enterprise say, "Well, John Hannah built Michigan State because he went for athletics and now that I'm going to build my school at Slippery Rock or Snake Creek, I'm going to immediately hire a football team."

It strikes me that one of the ways you build an institution is to broaden its base of value to the community. It doesn't necessarily just have to be oriented to athletics, it can be for a lot of ways.

M--You're going to talk to John Hannah and he'll answer for himself, of course, but my feeling was that Michigan State has long had a wide, diverse involvement in intercollegiate athletics and that his thrust was to get identified with a conference that was

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superior in academic accomplishments. Getting into the Big Ten meant more, I feel, to Michigan State in terms of association with the academic and cultural developments that those institutions involved in the Big Ten [possess] than simply attempting to be a part of the supplier of flamboyant, outstanding...athletic achievements.

F--If you're referring to the consortium of faculty and students being able to...

M--The consortium was a later development. In the beginning I think that it was John Hannah's desire to have Michigan State grow as a contributor to and one of the leading universities in the country, and that you can't do on football alone, or basketball, and the like. Better have a summer camp, you know, and give these fellows Spartan discipline to put them on the Chicago Bear roster or the Green Bay Packers.

F--What was the position of labor in regard to higher education?

M--Walter Reuther I think demonstrated a very real interest in education. I don't know whether you've been to that fabulous Black Lake? It's really a wonderfully equipped continuing education center. It's a place for people to have an opportunity to improve themselves intellectually, culturally.

F--I've never been there.

M--Oh, you ought to visit it. I was just so impressed. They have works of art made by artists from Europe that are just as fabulous as you would find in any museum in the country.

F--What about Michigan industry? What was their position in regard to higher education?

Certainly in the Williams' administration one always felt their opposition to increasing the tax situation, but I can't recollect that I've ever felt opposition to expanding the appropriations base for education from industry. I can't say that I've been able to discern the same broad societal view that labor had. But in parochial and regional areas, industry supported specific institutions.

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M--You have the Ford Motor Company Fund, separate from the company itself, which has been assisting educational projects and cultural projects. You have, of course, the Kresge Foundation and the Kellogg Foundation. These all came out of industry, whose leaders must have had an interest in education for the simple reason that they put a large portion of their fortunes into foundations. You can go on, the Kellogg Foundation, the Relm Foundation, the Dow Chemical Company has been supportive of higher education in a variety of ways. Certainly Carl Gerstacker at Dow Chemical--Chairman of the Board--has been very active personally in the private sector at Albion College, ... the Mott Foundation. When you stop and think of the State of Michigan, it has some very outstanding foundations, the funding of which came from industry.

F--That's a good point. You know one loses sight of that because some of our foundations have become so outstandingly wealthy that they've taken national rather than regional roles. Particularly one thinks about Ford that way, but that's a good point.

What about commerce?

M--Well, how do you define commerce here?

F--I guess I tried to make the distinction between heavy industry. When I took a look at the governor's Blue Ribbon Commission--Romney's--I noticed that people like Heavenrich from Saginaw were on it. I began to wonder if Michigan commerce might have had a slightly different focus.

M--I don't really think so. The name that you mentioned rings a bell with me: Heavenrich, tremendously ardent supporter of higher education.

Here again, probably not as sustained, systematic, and certainly not as large, but their support has been quite real in a number of ways in terms of dollars. Certainly, I know in our annual giving fund, the contribution from small industry or commerce has been quite considerable.

F--What about agriculture, Jim?

M--I think agriculture was conditioned very early in the sense that it established an identity. They've

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already had their Farmers' Week over here. I don't think anyone could ever go through Farmers' Week in East Lansing without recognizing that the farmers of this state really do make the trek to East Lansing and to the Michigan State campus. Of course the extension program which brings the results of the university out...

F--Was that support also for other institutions as well as for Michigan State?

M--Well, again, I can state best for Western. We've had, on a much more modest scale, of course--nothing like Michigan State, we don't begin to have the programs--but we've been involved in a variety of types of agricultural programs. And yes, support was good. They think about us.

For example, a man has a number of seedlings. This man didn't know me and he called me and he said, "I have all these seedlings. Would you have any use for them at the university?" My gosh, we did have use for them. Being Johnny Appleseed, I was delighted. The Burpee Seed people gave us 25,000 bulbs for planting.

Now admittedly it was the end of the season. They didn't want to destroy them, they wanted them used. Well, the fact that they would get on the telephone and call Nellie Schrier and say, "Nellie, what could you do with all these bulbs if you had them? We know you like flowers."

F--Who was Nellie?

M--Nellie Schrier was one of our Bachelor of Science graduates who took to grounds-keeping and just loved it. It was atypical in the sense that one has a college degree, was the grounds-keeper, and had students work for him. I always felt they probably got as much tutelage from Nellie Schrier out there taking care of the natural environment of the campus as they would have gotten in many classrooms.

F--What about the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government?

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M--The federal government's influence has been tremendous. You've been exposed to it, as have I, in terms of certainly the brick and mortar aspects. But then, when you come to things like speech pathology, physics, biology, librarianship, these grants are very real.

The thing we have to watch, however, is that they provide soft money. They have a habit of starting things and deliberately phasing out. One has to keep one's mind active in terms of what are we prepared to do in terms of these grants later down the road.

F--Well, perhaps. But I'm not as concerned about soft money as some. It seems to me you shouldn't take something you don't really need or want, so they really became in a sense opportunity grants. The people who acquired them without the commitment to build on them were more often burned than those people who saw them having a use and then taking those things they needed.

M--Yes, they get burned, Jerry, for the simple reason that this is just a matter of getting more money and more programs without having fixed in their minds whether the program is truly important. For example, I'm sure that we could have gotten grants for nursing at Western Michigan University, but when I discovered that Grand Valley was into nursing, and Eastern was into nursing, and Sister Mary Bader of Nazareth College...

F--But I also have noticed that in the long history of Michigan, when the federal money left, in many, many cases the state's money replaced it.

M--If the program can be justified in terms of whether you have the unique strengths to operate it and there's a justifiable need in the state, sure. And that's the way I would assume the Legislature is going to analyze it.

Here again it's like anything else. You can get over-extended. I think that many places got overextended. I think the prime example in the country probably is Southern Illinois University. They had a president there who was very adept at going out and getting grants and getting programs started.

F--Now, I want to come to that point.

Miller

Yesterday I was in Chicago at the American College Personnel Association meetings where I was on a panel with Jim Holderman from the Eli Lilly Foundation, who was formerly the head of Higher Education Coordinating Council. They talked about Dwight Morris's \$1,400,000 president's home.

That kind of startled my mind, Jim, because I've always been struck by the fact that Michigan's presidents, all of them--and there's a greater variety of talent and skill than you'll ever meet--had a sort of private sense of probity about the degree of opulence that they were going to live in. Most of them lived in a great deal of what I'd call circumspection.

The first time I saw Dr. Hannah's office, I had expected a princely palace and found a plain office. Your office surprised me when I came to see you because you could have written your name to any voucher and had just about anything you wanted. I was struck by Fleming's office, again, quiet and workmanlike.

The fact that the presidents did not build these mansions has something to say about their skill and their sense of themselves as public servants.

M--I think, and again I don't know it in any detail, but the Southern Illinois University--there was something wrong there. I remember, for example, when they mounted 34 doctoral programs all at one time. That just said to me that they had no concept of what it meant in terms of resources required to nurture and develop. Could you really justify that number of doctoral programs? I just had a hard time believing it. That's why I went so carefully at Western. My colleagues were very supportive if we would go at a modest number.

F--It might have been a question of if you were in for the long haul or the short flashy show. I think our people have had a larger sense of the long haul because certainly we could have taken more programs on when the romance was heavy. Most of our schools haven't really overextended themselves.

M--It's another thing, too, of analyzing what your clientele expects out of you. For example, I trust that when you came to Western, just as you went to other institutions in this state, you weren't

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expecting to walk into a wondrous, spacious bit of opulence. That wasn't why you were at the institution. You were basically at the institution to view its programmatic developments and if you were being thrust into sort of a French chateau type of opulence, you'd say, "Well, what is the sense of value at this institution?"

F--As a matter of fact, I always regarded when schools-- and they did it very rarely--attempted to entertain me in that kind of French chateau style as an evasion, and in fact an answer to the basic question.

Personally, I always had great antipathy to the priorities of people like the Detroit School Board, which could manage not to afford to put money into breakfast programs for children because they didn't have money, but could mount ten chauffeur-driven cars for their senior executives. I always found that personally hard to tolerate.

M--I had the advantage of being the State Controller before I was a president and that was my training.

I'm sure that John Hannah's thrust for an administration building was always on the bottom of the totem pole (they finally got to it). I worked in that building in which John Hannah worked, and many other people worked. It was an old frame building with an outer coat of brick, but a job was done there. It's been my experience that some of the best programs are often conducted in surroundings that are far less opulent than one might normally expect.

There's another concept, too. I think there are some presidents who feel they ought to entertain in a magnificent home. I think in Michigan the feeling is we entertain in our communal rooms. In other words, I would take small groups to the house but anything that was 30 and above would go over in the president's dining room at the Student Center. John Hannah for years entertained in the Green Room in the University Student Center and then in the Kellogg Center. You expose your visitors to the communal rooms and decor of the university rather than exposing them to one's personal home.

I think that increasingly you're going to find that the president's home is just that: it's his family



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home. It's not essentially an entertainment center.

F--You don't think that's wrong, do you, Jim?

M--I think that's all right. I think that's absolutely the way it should be. Western has that beautiful Italian Renaissance home that is an architectural beauty, a historic piece of architecture--I think it should be preserved if at all possible--but it should become more communal. The president should probably have a family home in the community so that he and his family would be a part of the community.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any from the private sector? You've talked about that in a positive way. I was wondering if there were negative forces. I have not found them, but I am in the pursuit of the elucidation of opinions for the interview.

M--The main thrust here was, of course, to have a state assistance program that would begin to meet with the needs of the private sector that had to have a tuition rate considerably higher than the public sector.

F--But the public sector didn't fight that, did they?

M--No, no. As a matter of fact, in the Council when we discussed this we said, "Heavens, this makes eminently good sense. It's obvious that they need a greater level of support."

F--But in other states, Jim, they said, "If the revenue pie is only so big, and if we let somebody else into the soup bowl, we won't have enough ourselves and therefore it's in our self-interest to fight putting more mouths in." That doesn't seem to have happened here.

M--I think in the public sector, particularly in the period that you're analyzing, that the growth factors were such, and the support for the young in the Legislature was such, that really our needs were being met. It would have been, I think, pretty unfair of us to be picking on [the private sector]. And with the growth--we were growing in tuition dollars [and] we were growing in public treasury dollars--how could you espouse the dual system of higher education and be party to opposition to their survival?

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F--You know, I'm struck by the fact that from '58 to '70, in spite of all the institutional rhetoric, the support for higher education in this state was continuing and generous.

M--I said earlier I think that Illinois and California and Michigan have enjoyed more sustained good fortune in terms of support from the public bodies, the Legislature and the Governor, than any other state in the Union. Now, obviously, New York is putting a lot more money into higher education, but I'm talking about the long haul. This is a recent development in New York.

F--Yes. As a matter of fact, I understand that when Bob Fleming made the decision whether to come to Michigan or Minnesota, the historical tradition that Michigan had had over a long number of decades of solid support was the final and concluding influence upon him to come.

M--Well, this was always my argument to the good faculty member who would come in and say, "Jim, I've got an offer from such-and-such an institution and it's several hundred dollars above what I'm getting here." I said, "Well, in the short haul you're going to make more money. The question you have to evaluate is what does the historical trend tell you in terms of what you're going to get in the long haul? I maintain it's better for you to stay in the State of Michigan."

Sometimes I was persuasive and sometimes I wasn't. I remember when Florida took a man away from us for \$5000 more. It was so interesting; that man wanted back seven years later. Wanted back! Another man went to a private school out in the East for more money, less work in terms of number of preparations, number of courses, more money for his research, but didn't sell his house after he listened to me, and a year later he said, "I'd like to come back." And I said, "Well, that's sort of interesting. You were getting more money out there and you had less preparation." He said, "Yes, but I wasn't getting the stimulation." And I said, "Well, that's what I'm trying to tell you." He was interested in medieval studies and we developed in that area.

F--As I remember.

What was the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than

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another? I guess I'm trying to get a handle on Grand Valley, Saginaw, Dearborn, Flint, Oakland, Lake Superior...

M--I think the regional and local pressures were very great in terms of the western-middle side of the state. With Grand Rapids being the big city, they wanted to have their own four-year, degree-granting institution. I think that was very considerable, the fact that they raised what, a million dollars to show they were sincere?

F--And they didn't regard Kalamazoo as close enough to serve them in any way.

M--No. They would regard Kalamazoo as another community. It's 45 miles away and that wouldn't satisfy them. As a matter of fact, it didn't come out satisfactorily for a lot of them. There are many of them that had wanted the college in Grand Rapids itself. Many of them felt the ideal thing would have been to expand the Grand Rapids Junior College into a four-year school so that it would be a truly urban university.

F--I never could fathom why they located the school 20 miles away.

M--I think the givers, the people who put up the money, probably had some influence in that respect. Gus Langius<sup>5</sup> worked very closely with them in terms of new sites. I think they had a dream of starting anew with new land. I've never gone to Grand Valley State College the same way twice, roadwise.

F--Let me tell you, until they put a train or a transit there, I can't see it really serving the people who live in the City of Grand Rapids. Western was very much in and of the community. You know, the main street went virtually right past your campus.

M--I wonder if Grand Valley will, over the years, develop in that direction. I don't know.

F--What were the reasons, Jim, in your opinion, for the failure of the branch campus system in Michigan with Oakland, Flint and Dearborn? You've talked about it in terms of Delta.

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<sup>5</sup>Adrian N. Langius; Secretary, State Building Commission.

Miller

M--Dearborn became a reality with the gift from the Ford family. Matilda Wilson and her husband, particularly Matilda, was very anxious to have their estate developed into a campus. The contribution that they were making in terms of the land and buildings, in particular, was a handsome inducement.

I think at that point, then, the fears started to grow that there was going to be a wide-open scramble for a branch concept, one in Traverse City, one in Battle Creek, here and there and all over the state. That naturally upset other four-year, degree-granting institutions who said, "This isn't the way that it should be done."

And, it was just at that point that the John Dale Russell study was under way and approaching completion. The feeling was really not to have branches in competition with community colleges.

F--I can't see how you could have had in Michigan a branch system survive and have community colleges and regional schools at the same time.

M--No, you couldn't. I mean, they're incompatible. The Michigan Council of State College Presidents, while told from time to time that this wasn't our business, were solidly against branching in higher education with the exception of Harlan Hatcher. Harlan left our meeting when the subject was brought up for discussion.

F--I'm told by an observer at that meeting that it was his view, the observer's view, that Hatcher made a significant mistake leaving that meeting and should have stayed. He didn't think that if Hatcher had stayed the motion would have come out quite the same way. He also indicated that he...

M--Well, no, I don't agree that his staying would have changed it, but I think it solidified the position. I think the position of the Council would have been the same: that they were opposed to further branches.

And then it went to the Coordinating Council and at that meeting Harlan Hatcher did come and did stay throughout, with Gene Power and one or two other Regents. They argued vigorously and from their

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standpoint persuasively, but not to the total membership of the Coordinating Council.

[In] the Coordinating Council--at that time made up of all the presidents plus one or two board members from each one of the boards--the consensus clearly was that the vast majority were opposed to the development of branches.

F--I spent some good deal of time talking to Jim Farnsworth about this question, particularly since he's represented, you know, a Dutch area of the state and was a Con-Con delegate. I have a lot of admiration for Jim as a solid man.

Jim made strongly the case to me that Michigan's people liked the pluralism, didn't want to see super-large agencies of government or education come to be. He indicated that one of the strongest problems with the concept of the current Human Services Bill is the people's fear of big government. They didn't want to see a school that could control and monopolize the education of their children with one central entrepot and fifteen campuses as was happening in California. They wanted schools that they could understand and comprehend and be part of.

M--Well, the feeling was very strong. I suspect that this tended to bring presidents of public institutions and private institutions a bit closer together, too, because obviously the private sector wasn't interested. After all, a Hope College would not want a University of Michigan branch in its area. Now, whether that was ever contemplated I wouldn't have any way of knowing.

F--But once you started that pattern of going to Port Huron...

M--...or Benton Harbor...

F--It's hard to draw the line where you'd go next.

M--The feeling was very strongly expressed by the presidents of the private institutions that, "You people in the public institutions develop continuing education programs. Why don't you consult with us when you develop one in our area." That's a good point. Traditionally the private schools haven't been thought of as being very active in the continuing education field.

Miller

F--Yet your remarks about Hope seem to indicate that they were very vital.

M--Yes.

F--What do you think, Jim, were the reasons for the failure of an institutional system for the coordination of higher education? Why didn't that come about in '64?

M--Oh, because the institutions, the four-year, degree-granting institutions in Michigan are laissez-faire in attitude. I don't think I have to say too much about that to you. They're like political leaders in many respects. They understand how the present system works and to go into some form of coordination worried them.

I remember, for example, Ed Harden. Now you would have thought Ed Harden might have--being one of the so-called have-nots in the system for a period of time--been interested in coordination that might have conceivably given him a more equitable share of money coming from the state treasury. But Ed Harden, like other presidents, had sublime confidence in his own ability to compete in the legislative arena for more adequate funds for his institution.

Whenever I, for example, explained that one way we could effect coordination was by getting together as presidents for a week--totally isolated from our offices and telephones and the like--and just pound out a division of the pie. In other words, if you take a circumference of 360 degrees and you say, "All right, this is where we're presently placed in this. Whatever we get, this is the way we will divide it." Then, we would all argue for higher education in toto, explaining to the Legislature that we'd already agreed on a division.

This is actually what happened in Indiana. But Harlan Hatcher said it couldn't happen in Michigan because whereas they had four institutions, we had--I forget at that time--nine or ten. We're now up to 13 or 15. I thought it was interesting that Harden took the position, too, that coordination talk was really rhetoric and that the laissez-faire system produced the best results.

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F--I suspect, Jim, that the schools really believe that coordination really meant control and they didn't see any need for that.

I don't sense any desire on the part of Michigan legislators to move toward coordination.

M--They enjoy dealing with each separate entity, with each university or college president.

F--They haven't seemed to have difficulty in handling the conflict of the diversity of interests. I don't see any sentiment on the part of the legislators...

M--I thought they did it rather well in the field of medicine, for example. In the field of medicine they set up the Blue Ribbon Committee to ascertain: One, should there be a third medical school; and if there should be a third, where should it be located. I thought that was an admirably good way. I'm surprised the Legislature hasn't done that same thing in the field of law.

F--Oh, I suspect that the reason is that in the situation about medicine the answer was less well known. I've come to the sense now, which is different from when you and I talked some months ago, that the answer about law is clear-cut. It's just a matter of coming through.

M--I think that it is pretty obvious that there is commitment to Michigan State. I don't see anything wrong with this except that at some point they've got to come to grips with the geography question of the western side of the state.

F--Jim, who were some of the influential people, opinion leaders, in higher education in the period?

M--Well, I just jotted some down off the top of my head. Certainly Steve Nisbet as Chairman of Con-Con and as 24 years--as I recall--a member of the State Board of Education, and then later a Trustee at Michigan State, and a confidant and advisor to George Romney in the setting up of the boards of control for the new institutions. That is, the new arrangements for the institutions such as Eastern and Central...

John Hannah would immediately come to mind.

I think John Dale Russell's entry into the state at a

Miller

particular time, certainly was an opinion molder.

A former Congressman, Alvin Bentley, was one of the most pleasant surprises to me of any individual in the state. I always had him categorized as an individual who was ultra-conservative and really not that interested in higher education--surprised me no end. And of course here's another industrialist who put a substantial amount of his industrial earnings into a foundation, the Bentley Foundation, which has supported a large number of youngsters in higher education.

Certainly the governors, Mennen Williams, Romney, and Milliken. You could say, well what about Swainson? Well, Swainson's time was a two-year slot and these other men have had longer periods and therefore had a bit more influence.

Roscoe Bonisteel was...

F--That's interesting. I hadn't heard his name until yesterday when Jim Farnsworth mentioned him, and now you.

M--Roscoe Bonisteel and John Hannah are the ones who had a large input in terms of representatives of two major universities. Both were on Con-Con and were out to try to resolve the question of some type of coordination. The language in the present Constitution I think can be attributed pretty largely to the accommodation that John Hannah and Roscoe Bonisteel reached.

F--Are there other people that you would mention that would come easily to mind?

M--Yes, Irving Bluestone from labor. Wilson and Woodcock, Bob Briggs. I don't think one should ignore Frank Beadle, Charlie Zollar, Gar Lane on the Senate side; Arnell Engstrom, Bill Copeland, Farnsworth in the House.<sup>6</sup> There could be others but... Ira Polley, Dick Miller<sup>6</sup> I think had some input here.

Then I jotted down in general category, governors, state presidents, state controllers, the Senate and

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<sup>6</sup>Richard L. Miller; formerly served as Assistant Speaker of the House and as Assistant to Governor Swainson; currently Executive Director, Michigan Council of State College Presidents.



Miller

House appropriations chairmen and members, the budget examiners on the executive side, and budget examiners on the legislative side. All of these.

F--Right. Nobody has mentioned what I call the backroom boys. I personally have always felt, for instance, based on my own experience, the role of someone like Sturtz<sup>7</sup> was just paramount. I have tremendous admiration for Sturtz.

M--Yes, Sturtz has probably got the most agile mind, the most complete mind, of anybody in the budget process now. People like John Perkins as a State Controller and Frank Landers as Head of the Budget Division, I think had influence. Bob Steadman had some input in this area.

F--And I think C. J. McNeill<sup>8</sup> too.

M--Yes, yes.

F--C. J. was much taken with the need for vocational education.

M--Well, after all, this was a significant part of the general fund budget. There was input all along the line here.

F--From all of these people. I think about Art Ellis<sup>9</sup>, too. But most particularly Sturtz. The technocrats, the politicians, the educators, ...

M--Gus Langius in terms of the construction area.

F--They all had the sense of societal value of the enterprise, and we were lucky.

Well, I appreciate your time, Jim.

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<sup>7</sup>Charles F. Sturtz; Director, Bureau of the Budget, State of Michigan.

<sup>8</sup>Charles J. McNeill; Director, Legislative Service Bureau.

<sup>9</sup>Arthur Ellis; formerly Director Legislative Fiscal Agency; now Vice President Public Affairs, Central Michigan University.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
ROBERT E. WALDRON<sup>1</sup>

F--What in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on, Bob?

W--I've been thinking about this since you handed me the questions. I think it was just a general attitude that has been, let's say, extant in America from its beginning, with the public school system that Jefferson promoted, and the beginning of the Morrill Act that set up Michigan State University--that kind of concept.

I think that was aided and abetted by the GI Bill of Rights--in which I participated. I think about 1958, if this is when this explosion happened, was about the time that the guys that were beneficiaries of the GI Bill of Rights began to come into some sort of position of influence, and they recognized the worth of education.

As Americans, we're always struggling to understand ourselves, and we thought that more education was the answer to all the ills of mankind. I think that had a lot to do with it. It was a sort of attitudinal thing on the part of an awful lot of people.

F--What I'm trying to get, Bob, is at some of the feelings. In some states higher education was a partisan issue. In this state, in spite of the fear of communism and

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<sup>1</sup>Robert E. Waldron; Republican, of Grosse Pointe; member, Michigan House of Representatives, 1954-70; majority floor leader, 1963-64; minority leader, 1965-66; Speaker of the House of Representatives, 1967-68; Wayne County Republican chairman, 1964-66. Interview conducted April 19, 1974.

Waldron

the fear of the left which was prevalent in the McCarthy period, we didn't have higher education being subject to political penalty. We seem to have had all of the various social forces in our state: labor, the Blacks, the ethnic minorities, the small business man, the large industry, all cohering around higher education.

What do you think were some of the social and economic factors that led to this kind of aspirational attitude? Can you identify some of these?

W--Well, I don't know that I can. I don't know that it was partisan in other states. I have no knowledge of that, but the fact that it was not particularly partisan in Michigan I think was somewhat traditional. When you can get eight Republican Regents of the University of Michigan to hire a Democrat as President of the University, you know that politics doesn't enter into the picture very much. And I think that's the way it's been.

I think the University of Michigan has set the tone, to a degree, for the level of competency of education. Michigan has been willing to spend its money on the University of Michigan to make it the excellent institution that it is.

F--And other institutions, too.

W--Yes, all of them. Look at Michigan State, the way that went literally from a cow college to what it is now. Probably one of the first issues I faced in the Legislature was making it a university. That was not over my objection, I approved of that thoroughly, but over my objection we did make the other four-year institutions universities. I still think that was a mistake.

F--But that happened in Con-Con, didn't it?

W--No, that happened in the Legislature first, and then Con-Con recognized it. But that's an indication of what you're trying to find an answer for. That's sort of begging the question.

Waldron

F--What were the policy objectives that policy makers were after in enhancing higher education? What were you trying to do?

W--I think we were trying to give everybody as equal an opportunity as we possibly could to obtain a higher education.

For instance, our policy was basically that if the person couldn't afford a higher education, there should be some place to obtain a loan at a very low interest amount. Everybody that wanted a higher education and was competent to receive one should be able to get one, not at zero cost--there's a difference of opinion there--but at least he should be able to borrow the money and obtain it.

F--Therefore, there was a very definite policy, Bob, to expand the number of people who could have higher education. When you were a boy, obviously it wasn't the case that a great number of people could aspire to go to college. In Michigan, along with other states, we changed that, didn't we?

W--Yes. I think the educators themselves had a lot to do with that. I think there were all these different reasons. I think the educators realized that this was an area where they could really build a kingdom.

F--How did they build this kingdom? The states always had diverse interests. Obviously in order to create any kind of consensus in a political structure, you need 51 percent. How were they able to do that?

W--We go back to the first statement I made. I think educating our children has always been a very important factor in America: the idea of a guy pulling himself and his family up by the bootstraps, the Horatio Alger story, all that sort of thing. I think that's part of the American dream: that everybody, regardless of where he starts, has the opportunity to be President of the United States--and he supposedly should have a college education to do that. I think there's something to that.

F--I've used the term the Horatio Alger dream so I don't find that discomfoting at all.

Waldron

What were the key issues in this period, that you can recollect, that led to partisan and parochial conflict in order to obtain these things? I wonder about, you know, the conflicts between institutions. Certainly in your time in the Legislature we had industry fighting about tax policy and yet they didn't seem to fight about the expenditure of dollars for education, which almost directly led to their having to face new taxes.

You think about Governor Williams going through all those immense difficulties when they tried to change the tax structure. There were tremendous conflicts. And yet, I'm not aware, but it may be that the automotive industries, and other major sectors of Michigan industry like Dow, never fought the expenditure of money for higher education.

W--I don't know that they did specifically, but I think that there has been something that hasn't surfaced, and you probably know more about this than I. There had to be some balancing of the budget in the Appropriations Committee and there was some [discussion] back and forth there as to how much major universities would get, how much the community colleges would get, how much the other four-year institutions would get, what the capital outlay would be for each, and what the tuition level would be.

There was a struggle in this particular time, particularly with Michigan State, because John Hannah was sort of obstreperous and went ahead and did things and then got appropriations for them afterwards. So I think there was a little bit of a struggle between the Legislature and the constitutional autonomy of the big three. However, they won all the time.

F--Why do you think they won?

W--I think there was a basic support and I think there was a basic pride in the institutions that we have in Michigan. They didn't win completely, but at least they were treated equally.

F--I think that pride is an important element and we'll come back later when you attempt to ascertain why coordination and state control didn't come about.

Waldron

I'm struck also by one other thing, which is: In spite of the tremendous rhetoric of martyrdom as part of the educational dialogue about how they are being badly treated, how they're at death's door fiscally, in this period the budgets went from \$80 million to \$280 million. That's awful nice to be treated that badly.

W--Yes, it sure is.

I thought that during the process they should have relied more heavily on tuition. There was a little fight there, but I was in the minority. We did not go the California route, nor did we go the New York route, we're somewhere in between.

F--So there was strength to increase state dollars and keep tuition dollars down or limited. That was part of the policy objective, was it not?

W--Well, I think so, but I think there was a compromise in there because we literally forced some of these institutions to raise their tuition at times.

F--What about the fight between Michigan and Michigan State? How did that come about?

W--That was a lot of baloney. What happened was that Michigan was just jealous of wanting to maintain its position as the only university in the state and Michigan State had become in fact a university. It was called a college and Michigan came out with a lot of specious arguments on that. We had a big rhubarb that was stirred up by the respective alumni but was finally resolved in the right way.

F--And in a sense when that argument was over, permitting Michigan Agricultural College to have the title of what in fact it was, a university, some of the fight just went out of the whole issue, didn't it?

W--I don't know whether any fight came out of the whole issue. I just think we faced the reality.

It was that year or the year after--I think that very year--that we made Wayne State a state institution. So we went from the big one to the big three.

Waldron

F--Were there fights about that? In my time, which was almost ten years later, it was my understanding there had been solid difficulty about taking over Wayne.

W--When I got to the Legislature, Dr. Ruthven had just filed his report--either the year before or that year, very recently--and his report was that the state should take over Wayne and make it one of the three institutions because its mission was quite different than Michigan. The Legislature bought this.

F--It was my understanding--I wasn't there and I don't know if it was true--that in return for taking over the municipal College of Detroit there was some understanding that the City of Detroit would handle community college education, which it didn't do. And that later, when we fought the Wayne County Community College issue, there was some antagonism over the past.

W--I don't recall that at all. I don't remember that there was any understanding one way or the other. It might have been in the report but...

F--It might have been inside committee of some kind.

W--It might have just stated that they'll do it when they can. At the time we created Wayne State University there were one or two community colleges. There was Highland Park Junior, maybe another one, and that about handled the demand.

F--Bob, did you see that any of the policy goals for higher education had as their objective the destruction of class and cultural barriers?

Certainly low tuition, certainly the expansion of schools all over the state, certainly this aspirational aspect for the GI Bill, and what you talk about as a Horatio Alger dream, were some of them. But I'm trying to explain how the Blacks and how labor, two of the plurality of groups in our state, got behind higher education.

W--In the beginning I think all of that was a positive thing. I don't recall this coming forth as a particular legislative issue in terms of bills and that sort of thing. The only thing I recall is that that came

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forth as an internal policy of each particular institution. Certainly the very essence of the general philosophy that the Legislature had, as you point out, in a nonpartisan way, tended to do that.

F--Do you regard as one of the key issues of this period popularism in higher education versus elitism?

I'm having trouble getting a hold of that for the reason that it is very easy to say Michigan was the quality institution and the other ones were diminishing the quality. Some ascribe the success of Michigan State, Northern, Ferris, and the community colleges to creating the chance for people to try to succeed. Michigan had a different clientele and the support came to these other institutions because of the strong support for broadening and democratizing education as widely as possible.

W--I think that's true. I don't know that there was a big struggle between elitism and what you call popularism. I suppose that some of the University of Michigan people opposed the expansion of the others to their level for that reason, but that was a small minority. It's getting back to what we talked about before. I don't think there was much in that.

F--Did you go to Michigan?

W--Yes.

F--Let me have a slight digression.

It's sort of my feeling from reading the history that Ruthven was a man of immense stature and widely respected and admired by all kinds of people. People are delicate in the academic world, and we seem in Michigan not to enjoy conflicts or grudges and so seem to pass from them.

I have the sense, however, that Hatcher was not well thought of. I understand he was a formal man, a colder man than Ruthven was, but people somehow seem to imply that this man was the stereotype, the archetype of elitism and that much of the ground that was made against Michigan's defensive posture was made



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because of that. Governor Williams, not saying what I said, said, "I was an alumnus of Michigan and I regarded Michigan's opposition to Michigan State as unseemly."

W--I did too. I told them that too.

I told my constituents that, and I had a very elite constituency. I probably have as many Michigan graduates as any--Grosse Pointe--and I just told them to get off my back, that Michigan State was a university, that's the way it should be, and there's no confusion in the name. This was a spurious argument all the way down the line. But that faded immediately, I think.

F--I detected tremendous change of attitude in 1968 when Fleming came. He may have stood for, and I think he does, all the principles of excellence and preeminence that makes Michigan a national and international university, but somehow his attitude was warmer.

W--Yes. I don't think you can pin that on Hatcher though. I think it was as much the alumni body as the president.

F--Then the alumni changed somehow, didn't they?

W--Yes. The alumni, I got it from the alumni.

F--Why do you think they changed?

W--I think they recognized it.

F--It's hard to get a handle on the alumni thing but it does come forth...

W--It isn't if you were on the receiving end of their phone calls and their letters. Some of them were diehards. One guy I couldn't get to vote for me for over ten years after that--over the name change. It was absolutely ridiculous.

F--Passion is an important element in understanding how people move.

How important were vocational and occupational training objectives in the desire to build higher education?

Waldron

W--In the early part of this surge, if you want to call it that, was not as important. I think that began to get its foothold at the community college level. That happened about a decade afterward when we began establishing the community colleges and giving authority for the development of the community college districts, that sort of thing.

I think that's when we were talking about the vocational as opposed to liberal arts and professional education. I think in the beginning we were thinking more of liberal arts and professional education and now we're talking more about training for a specific job. I think we're shifting...

F--Some have talked about the impact of Sputnik. Were the automobile companies, for instance, concerned about the technological lag and hoping that the major universities could help and enhance their capacity to broaden Michigan industry's base? Was there some of that?

W--Oh, I think that was here all along. I think that was there, not in the junior college level, but in the college level. There was this definite attempt by industry to aid and abet programs that would develop the talent that they needed in the engineering area, the marketing area, and that sort of thing.

I think one of the leaders of that was the Dearborn branch under Bill Stirton. He went into companies and found out what they needed and designed courses for them.

F--As a matter of fact, Stirton, unfortunately not well publicized, built the evening technical programs for the advancement of people who worked at Ford.

I think part of the problem is that the question isn't good enough, Bob. Vocational and occupational seemed to strike at the heart of the community college, and technical and research more at the research and graduate institutions. I think they were separate markets.

W--Yes.

Waldron

F--Did the growth of culture and the arts have importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

W--I do not guess it had as much as...

F--Your temptation for the record is to say, oh yes, everybody was in favor of that. But I don't have the feeling that we had that societal commitment to ballet, theater, dance...

W--The Council of the Arts didn't come into being until Romney got here.

F--As a matter of fact I've put a great store in the appropriations for the Council of the Arts as an indicator because it's remained consistently an insignificant part of the budget.

W--But that is an American tradition, in a way, as opposed to the European tradition. It's crazy. I was thinking about that the other day, that the one thing that we really ought to nationalize, if anything at all, is that area and keep our damn hands off the petroleum industry and the automobile industry. They're perfectly competent to run themselves. But symphonies, ballets, and that sort of thing...

F--They're competent to run themselves artistically but they can't find the financial assistance.

W--Exactly. So it seems to me that the European system of commissions and subsidies is worthwhile for the whole community.

F--But there was not legislative enthusiasm for that, or executive or societal pressure.

W--That's right.

F--What was the position of labor in regard to higher education?

It struck me that through a lot of places in this country, labor was very bread-and-butter oriented. It seems that the UAW and Michigan industry were much broader based and had stronger aspirations.

Waldron

W--Yes, I didn't notice any opposition to...

F--I guess I was thinking not opposition, but strong espousal for it?

W--I think they were always pushing to make sure that the adult education program went along. The community college program started and they got into that a little bit.

F--MSU picked up Stevens on the Board. I don't know quite how that came about, but there was obviously a sign that labor had moved in behind the Republican agricultural institution.

W--I think it's fortunate for education in Michigan--and this just came to me--that the Democrats didn't get control of these universities until labor had matured, until labor had become less militant.

For instance, there was no big upheaval when Woodcock was on the Board at Wayne State University. But had Reuther been on it 15 years earlier, we might have had a lot of trouble. Had Reuther been on it 15 years later it would have been about the same as Woodcock.

In the early days, when the Republicans were running these institutions, they did not use them politically at all. With the ascendancy of the Democratic Party in Michigan, had they captured these boards at that early time, it could have caused a lot of trouble, but when they did start controlling those boards, they were a little bit more mature and they remained pretty much nonpartisan.

F--And on the other hand, when the Republicans controlled the boards, and there were a lot of what I would personally call mastodons on some of these boards, they didn't punish Democrats or liberals who were on the working staff.

W--No, no. And I know some of those guys who were on the boards and if politicians put their nose in the door of the Board of Regents, they'd get kicked out just as fast as possible. They didn't want any part of that.

Waldron

F--And they didn't succumb to political pressure from the appropriations process, did they?

W--Not at all.

F--Jim Farnsworth, whom I talked to and have a great deal of respect for, talks about that sense of Michigan citizens that you've got to protect, the American tradition of academic freedom and allow a different kind of institution to pursue the truth.

W--Right.

F--I was observing to Jay, my graduate assistant, that faculty who believe the worst of politicians would find his remarks, and I think yours, surprising, because they feel threatened frequently by what I call the nickel-and-dime rhetoric of people making cheap shots on the floor of the House. But in practice I have found it very hard to notice the punitive nature of the legislative process.

W--There's one issue that has gone through the Legislature over the years that's never been completely resolved, and that's the difference between the tuition of the nonresident and the resident student. The Legislature has been inclined to magnify the difference and the institution has been inclined to minimize it.

F--Did you want to add anything, Bob, to the position of industry in regard to higher education? I've remarked that institutions like Dearborn, Flint, Grand Valley, Saginaw Valley, and Oakland came into being because of regional interest. I thought about those being important to industry and espoused by them, although not with any major policy I could ever ascertain.

W--I think that's true. I think, as you point out, Dearborn and others... what's the college up near Midland?

F--Delta, Saginaw Valley.

W--Yes. I think industry has pushed this and so has labor.

Waldron

F--What about agriculture?

It's always clear that agriculture supported Michigan State because of the agricultural extension and cooperative extension services. I wondered if some of the regional schools received support from agriculturalists as a way of keeping their children at home and the like. They were certainly concerned about the migrational wave as the farms no longer could support their children.

W--I've never really considered that. I just knew that Michigan State is one of the finest agricultural schools in the world. I noticed that a lot of our farmers in the Michigan Legislature are graduates of Michigan State and they are very protective of that.

F--Do you think commerce had a different position than industry? I thought there might be but I...

W--Commerce?

F--Yes. I looked in Romney's commission and people like Max Heavenrich and other merchants were in some of these groups.

W--No, I don't think so.

F--The small business man and the merchant had similar attitudes toward higher education.

W--Yes, I think so. I think now, though, there is a movement toward vocational education rather than the other.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government?

W--As I pointed out in the very beginning, the GI Bill of Rights did an awful lot and that was a definite policy of the federal government. I think the policy of the federal government was as I stated.

F--I guess I'm saying it somewhat differently. Let me put it this way. I do not believe, and I've couched the question hesitantly, that there was federal control.

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But in social policy, in return for every dollar of money we've got in welfare, to continue to receive them there were constraints, requirements.

It appears to me that federal money came to higher education and research in the tuition support, in the construction support for the higher educational facilities commissions in the state, and in the GI Bill, without mandates on the way institutions function. It has certainly not been our experience in this state with the social...

W--No, or even highways.

F--That is true, too.

W--You know, you've got to design a certain way and if you don't, you get the funds cut off. Just all kinds of different things. You're right on that.

F--I was wondering if you had observed that there were federal constraints. I can't see them.

W--Possibly there weren't because the basic policies of the institutions across the land are somewhat similar.

F--Someone said that most congressmen have familiarity with local government and state government and they knew the institutions wouldn't tolerate that because they had a sense of independence.

W--I don't think that's true. In the era that we're talking about, I think some of these institutions would have done almost anything they wanted them to for a good solid grant.

F--Yes, I suppose that's always true. That's one of the problems about taking soft money, because sometimes soft money isn't in their real interest.

W--That's right.

F--What was the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another? Did you see coalitions like Grand Rapids, Saginaw, or Oakland?

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W--Oh, yes.

F--Was it a logrolling thing against you?

W--Against what?

F--Oh, against the will of the government to keep a certain kind of budget base, or against the senior leadership of the House or the Senate.

W--I suppose that happened occasionally, but I can't remember an incident. Maybe you can.

I suppose that's one of the reasons all these four-year institutions became universities. Everybody voted for that, but I don't know that that was any kind of a gubernatorial policy. I don't know what the reason for that was. It might be politicians trying to do something for their local universities.

F--Ok, now that's an important element.

W--Yes, and they all do that. They all watch out for their particular institution in their backyard. I remember a dramatic fight that Hal Ziegler<sup>2</sup> put up for the Jackson Community College.

F--As you may recollect, I was the one that did the staff work on state policy in regard to tuition that Ziegler was fighting against.

It strikes me that the big three have gradually come to be supraregional institutions but they don't really have the identification of their local legislators. They're really looked on as state resources. Frequently legislators from the big schools like Harold Hungerford<sup>3</sup> coming from the Lansing area,

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<sup>2</sup>Hal W. Ziegler; Republican, from Jackson; member, State House of Representatives, 1966- .

<sup>3</sup>Harold W. Hungerford; Republican, from Lansing; member, State House of Representatives, 1955-64; member, Michigan State Senate, 1967-70.



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didn't feel any reason or desire to support Michigan State.

But you take a look at the men who represented the small schools, the community colleges, they would never have dared to do that because the pride and the identification of the local people was so strong.

W--I think now that the students vote, the big institutions might carry a little bit more provincial weight with our representatives than before.

F--It's hard to predict that yet because it's still so new.

W--Yes, but I think that might be so to a degree.

F--Well, all the schools have to develop mechanisms to deliver that in some way.

W--Right.

F--They haven't, however. The alumni pressures, as you have indicated, could be quite severe, could they not?

W--Yes, yes.

F--I wonder how Michigan State was able to get up on that ground since all the lawyers, all the doctors, all the publishers, and all the bankers had come from Michigan, in the beginning.

W--That statement is not quite all true. Michigan State was headed by a genius in building a machine and he knew the power of constituent persuasion of the legislators. The alumni association of Michigan State worked hard and long and diligently on all the representatives across Michigan to make sure that Michigan State grew.

F--How do you think they built that machine?

W--How they did that?

F--How did they do it? The power structure was certainly identified with Michigan.

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W--Yes, but Michigan did not organize its alumni into a lobbying force. From the legislator's point of view we'd be invited to Michigan and we'd learn something and it was done in normally good taste. We'd be invited to Michigan State and we'd have a big, thick steak brought in on a flaming platter and everybody would be as obsequious as hell. It was nauseating. I only went to one of them.

We would go down to Michigan to a football game and we'd eat in a tent. We'd go to Michigan State and they would have the carpet rolled out and all that sort of thing. Then the alumni would hire a train to take you down to see the Notre Dame-Michigan State football game, which I didn't think was in good taste at all, but certainly I was in the minority. They marshalled their alumni together and the alumni paid for a lot of this activity.

F--Do you think that diligence to constituent relationships helped?

W--Helped? Yes, it helped a lot. Don't forget that their graduates tended to be all over the whole state as much as Michigan's did. They were in the farm community and this sort of thing.

F--Bob, what were the reasons, in your opinion, for the failure of the branch campus system--that had begun to be developed in Michigan with Oakland, Flint, and Dearborn--not to happen like in California or Wisconsin?

W--I don't really know. I think maybe it was the advent of the community college system that [created an attitude of] "Ok, let's make this a community college deal and let's have it local and not have a guy from some other place in here." Because, you know, we had Michigan State University at Oakland, and a few others, and they became independent.

F--I'm glad to hear you say that because as you talk to people, each person gives you a little bit of a refinement of an insight.

Yesterday I talked to Jim Miller who was president at Western. Most people, when you talk about the conflicts of the major institutions, the desire for an institution

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that can be comprehended, the desire to have something that civic pride can address as a reason for regional institutions, the fear of thought-control from the big three, and everybody focused on that conflict between the big schools. Yesterday Jim Miller said that the community college itself satisfied some of that demand, so when you raise that it interests me because I think that no answer is ever a clean-cut answer.

W--No, I agree.

F--What, in your opinion, were the reasons that an institutional system for coordination of higher education did not come about after '64?

W--Well, as you know, the Governor's Commission on Higher Education<sup>4</sup> came out with their report yesterday and didn't recommend that either. They recommended a different structure but they didn't recommend any power of coordination. They just recommended advisory coordination.

I guess the reason that that hasn't come about is that the diversified system that we have has worked. When you couple the fact that it has worked, with local pride, then there's no reason to change. I think that has something to do with it.

But if it hadn't worked, and if there were blatant examples of duplication, it would have come about.

F--A graduate student who is writing a dissertation spoke to me the other day. He's at Michigan and he said he's strong for coordination--it's the tidy way.

W--It's the tidy way.

F--This is not a subtle way and it's not the way Michigan has worked.

He said to me, "Don't you think legislators will demand coordination as a way to stop the conflict?" By coordination he really means control. I said to him, "My

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<sup>4</sup>Governor's Commission on Higher Education, "Building for the Future of Post-secondary Education in Michigan" (Interim Report, April, 1974. Final Report, October, 1974).

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best judgment is no. Legislators are happy with the situation because the schools really are responsive to the public interest and the competition for resource acts as a coordinating force." It was my sentiment to him that legislators were happy with the system and saw no need to change it. And also, the schools were.

What's your response to that?

W--When we discussed this thing, we realized that if we had put the power to coordinate, rather than the power to advise coordination, it would be politically impossible to get the support of the big three and all kinds of other groups. They don't want that kind of thing.

F--Some of the observers didn't think that Michigan citizens had any mind to see this kind of a control mechanism established and that they wouldn't support it.

W--I think that's right.

F--And that's what you were saying.

W--That's exactly right.

F--Bob, who in your opinion were the significant opinion leaders? Who are the people that you'd look to and say, "Well, these are the people." Certainly you could suggest John Hannah as one.

W--John Hannah, yes. I was a little bit of a Hannahphobe in those days. I'm a Hannahphil now, and have gradually become so over the years, but not in the beginning. And then there was Ruthven, of course. Frank Beadle, I think, had a lot to do with it--with broad stuff in the Legislature. Joe Warner, up until the time of his death, and then his son Jim Warner<sup>5</sup>, was a great advocate of the University of Michigan. I can't name them all. Jim Miller, whom you mentioned, was certainly a significant force. I think the governors were, in their way--all of them.

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<sup>5</sup>Joseph E. Warner; Republican from Ypsilanti; State Representative, 1922-30, 1936-57. James F. Warner; Republican from Ypsilanti; State Representative, 1957-64.

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F--You've got to mention the governors, I think you have to mention the House and Senate Appropriations Committees, you've got to mention the presidents of the big three. Even if the man were an idiot, the fact that he commanded such a mighty social engine would make him influential.

Who were some of the other people that people look to?

W--Art Neef isn't mentioned. He should have a little bit of play in here. He was the Provost of Wayne State. And Dean Scott at our Med School down at Wayne State.

F--What about Niehuss?

W--I didn't know him. I'm going to his lunch next Wednesday, but I didn't know him very well. But he was a big factor and I think on the right track on a lot of his stuff. Maybe you could name some others. I don't know the names of all of them.

F--One of the things I was after, you know, there's always a front man, but behind every front man there's always people that did a lot of the work. I was trying to see if some of these people could be identified. For instance, I don't know much about Romney, but certainly he's a major, major figure. I assume that Dr. Orlebecke had to have been of some importance here.

W--He might have been, I don't really know.

F--And I was thinking who in the Legislature were the people, and the executive office, and the institutions, and the professors. Some people mentioned Bill Haber as influential. In some other circles Wilbur Cohen might have been, but he was more involved in social policies.

W--I didn't get to know the names and numbers of the players because I was not on the Appropriations Committee.

F--Then it really is true, in spite of what you say about Hannah and the MSU alumni machine, that the conflict and the contest really has stayed very much inside the appropriations process, hasn't it? The other

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legislators have not been involved in these fights except in the most extreme and unusual...

W--Yes. We were with Michigan State as it reached its maturity, but from then on, not.

F--So therefore the influence on education by the appropriations legislators was keen. Have you some observations and conclusions about why our substantive committees in the Legislature never really had much influence, like the education committees, on higher education?

W--No, I don't know. I tried to break that when I was Speaker--I don't know whether you know this or not-- [but] it would take a number of years to do this. I think it's a feeling of "let George do it." In other words, if the Appropriations Committee is going to do this job, and it's a hard job, let them do it.

This is true in every legislature in the country. I don't know of any legislature where the appropriations committee doesn't have more power than it ought to have. I guess this power is held because it is the purse strings, it is the committee system, and people don't like to buck the committee. That particular committee has every legislator by the throat. Maybe that's it-- it's set up itself that way.

F--I guess I understand what you're saying. This is a subject for another kind of a dissertation.

Bob, you were Speaker of the House and I worked in the House, I can't tell you right now without going back, who, I remember Arnell Engstrom as chairman of appropriations, but I can't tell you who was chairman of the education committee. I can't even vaguely...

W--Well, I can. Cliff Smart was. When we had our school-aid bill it stayed one hour in the Appropriations Committee and they worked on it for two months in the education committee. And that worked, you see, so that the substantive committee took care of it.

F--That wasn't true in colleges though.

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W--Listen, I could only do it in a couple of committees, but we did it thoroughly in education. I told Pete Kok<sup>6</sup> to do it and he did it on mental health. The substantive committee had a different idea what it ought to be and he took it to the floor and won.

F--Did you have a colleges and universities committee? Or was that a creation of Mr. Ryan?

W--I think we did have one but it didn't get any bills.

F--And it didn't have the higher education piece either.

W--Probably not. But I discussed this with the head of the Appropriations Committee--all that sort of stuff--and I tried it with education and with mental health. This is a hard thing to crack. If I'd been Speaker again, I was going to try it with a lot more of them.

F--You need a lot of energy on the part of the substantive committee to make it work though, don't you?

W--You need a lot of energy there and Pete Kok had that energy. The proof of the pudding was that he overrode it on the floor when it came out and beat the Appropriations Committee.

You know they were all mad at me for urging him to do that. I was urging one member of my caucus to fight other members of my caucus.

F--That's a hard thing to do.

W--The only way you get it is to have a whole majority or the whole House say, "Look, this is the way it works. You guys on this committee are synthesizers and not substantive issuizers."

F--It's my recollection and conclusion that when you were Speaker some of the difficulties in the caucus that made it a little difficult for you were because

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<sup>6</sup>Peter Kok; Republican, from Grand Rapids; State Representative, 1965-. At this time he was serving as Chairman of the Mental Health Committee.

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of some of that. But you also had a thin majority though, didn't you? You had, what, two votes?

W--No. We had 55-55 and then we got 56-54. I don't think so, they knew what I was doing.

F--You didn't suffer a penalty.

W--I don't think so.

F--That's good. Thank you very much for your time.



TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH

GARLAND LANE<sup>1</sup>

F--Gar, what in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

L--Well, it was the number of young that were wishing to go to college. [Also] the organization from the teachers' institutions, run by a constitutional board of three under the Board of Education.

It was abolished, of course, in the Constitution. The Constitution made each institution autonomous so that they got some strength within themselves--I'm talking about the four normal schools.

F--Eastern, Western, Central and Northern were the four institutions.

L--Yes, they were all under the Board.

F--I have observed that the budgets went from some \$84 million to \$270 million, roughly, in this period of time from '58 to '70.

L--That would be twelve years. There was a great growth of students. The University of Michigan and Tech and MSU came down in their out-of-state enrollments in percentage, even though the percentage was set and running at about 20 percent. They were increasing so fast that it still meant more from out-of-state as well as from in-state.

F--Some have said that the GI Bill, and the desire of these citizens who had come back to have higher

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<sup>1</sup>Garland Lane; Democrat, of Flint; State Senator, 1948-75; Member, State Senate Appropriations Committee. Interview conducted May 1, 1974.

Lane

education for their children, was a very important factor in the growth of the institution.

L--I don't think at that point because the GI Bill had already been over with.

F--No, not for the GI Bill guys, but for their children.

L--The children of the GI that had had a first chance, and economic conditions which enabled a family to set their goal to that of higher education. That's true.

F--I think about you in a personal way. You came back from the war, got married, had children. Wasn't Gar, Jr. the first member of your family to go to college?

L--Yes, he was.

F--As I am the first member of mine to go to college. My folks never believed that a man could go to college--that was for the rich. That changed, so I think that that's what I'm trying to say.

L--Well, I'm saying the same thing: The stimulation of the person who came back from the service, who had got education and travel, and by being in different spots doing something different than he normally would have done. Unlike a printshop which was run in the family, or a factory that you could only work at in Flint. The families of the veterans made a more alert type of society.

F--What were the social and economic factors that led to this growth?

The fact was that this state was willing to put a lot of money into higher education. There had to be reasons for that willingness--obviously the people. You have represented a working class district all of your time in the Legislature.

L--That's correct.

F--Your citizens, or the voters, were they enthused?

Lane

L--Always were enthused, always were enthused, except that they didn't feel that they should have taken care of as many out-staters. But when you sent in a percentage, they accepted the percentage and worked the out-of-state [students] up to a point where they were paying more towards the actual cost than they were in the early years of the program.

F--What were the policy objectives that underlay this expansion? What were you trying to do?

L--Well, we were undergoing at that point, just about '58, the growth of some new schools: Flint in 1956, Oakland in 1957, Dearborn in 1957, then Grand Valley in ...

F--I think 1963 for Grand Valley.

L--About 1963 they put me on the committee--because we'd had to do with Flint and had to do with Oakland and had to do with Dearborn--to select where it should be. Of course it was more or less just to stimulate the people that we were there, because we never made the decision where it should be.

F--You're talking about Grand Valley?

L--Yes, Grand Valley.

F--I guess what I'm thinking about, Gar, is this. Obviously you had to have a decision not to go the California or Wisconsin route. You had some sense that you didn't want the major institutions to get too big because you encouraged Grand Valley, Lake Superior, Ferris, Saginaw Valley, the community colleges--you built 15 community colleges in this period of time--you built Dearborn, you built Flint, you built an entire new campus in this time for Tech, and when we start in 1958 the enrollment at Northern, for instance, was only 700. So it seems to me that one of the policies must have been to encourage regional schools.

L--That, plus the fact that we changed their status and name from a college to a university.

Lane

F--Do you think that was important?

L--I think it was important to the youngsters. It was important probably to the administration. The faculty didn't get too much out of it, but it did stimulate them to go out and get some more money from their alumni and more gifts from the private sector.

F--Governor Williams said that the fight really didn't happen at Con-Con, it happened in the Legislature when Michigan fought Michigan Agricultural College from becoming Michigan State University. Once the Legislature indicated that they were willing to have the name changed, he said, it just came for all the rest.

L--This was the truth. I think it passed almost unanimously. I was the one that voted against it in the Senate. It was only because the alumni pressured me so much that I just rebelled against that pressure and voted opposite it.

They would plug up my lines and the office on the weekends--five lines. If I were going to go out and see a customer, they'd get my appointment where I was going to be. The girls would tell them where I was going to be, they would call--it was important, life and death--and when you got to it, it was only, "we've got to change our name from MAC to MSU."

F--Were there other objectives, vocational programs, that you were looking to create?

L--Well, of course, putting Ferris in the state system in 1949 took up some rouding out of the programs that we didn't have before.

And then the decision was made that the junior colleges that were in existence should not be primarily in the academic, but should be primarily in the vocational. Possibly we weren't quick enough and fast enough and strict enough. Then they got the building underneath that, the layer of skill centers.

If we would have started with more muscle, some of the needed state policies...

Lane

F--What you're saying is if the community colleges had fulfilled the intent of doing the vocational job, probably the whole new system of skill centers starting to come would not have happened.

L--Would not have happened.

F--Because in a sense that was duplication, wasn't it?

L--A total duplication, not only of building but of program. They could have put the two programs within one building and maybe paid for the pre-twelfth grade vocational education.

F--What were the key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflict in the attempts to bring about these objectives?

I am curious, if there were fights between the four-year schools and community colleges and how you solved the fighting between Michigan and Michigan State?

L--Well, Michigan and Michigan State was always a rebel thing. Michigan State wanted to be up with the amount of money behind each student the U of M had. The programs were not that parallel so they were trying to bring their appropriations and also some programs up to the parallel.

Now, they didn't do it and they haven't done it. They took in that tremendous amount of undergraduates starting when the U of M was going down. In fact MSU went up in enrollment and passed Wayne so that Wayne became more of a parallel to the University of Michigan.

F--In the construction of graduate programs, you mean?

L--Yes, the construction of graduate programs, even though there were no sports at Wayne.

F--I haven't asked this to anybody else but you have just triggered me. Do you think the competition to create sports programs was an important thing in helping schools to build public loyalty?

L--I think particularly with MSU because they had strong teams. Like I told them, more people knew about Michigan State by their football team than they will by the changing of their name. They could never equal

Lane

the international status of the University of Michigan.

F--What about the rivalry over branch campuses?

L--There is none really. We, here in Michigan anyway, never really had them in a big blooming type. Now they're starting to catch hold. When they were first established they just wanted a nice little school with not too many students, and the students weren't ready to go there.

F--But it seems to me there was some kind of deliberate policy decision not to copy the Wisconsin system where, say, Michigan State would have had campuses at Oakland, maybe Port Huron, Saginaw; where Michigan might have had one at Dearborn, Flint, maybe the Soo, perhaps Muskegon, Grand Rapids. There was some decision not to encourage that, was there not, or is that wrong?

L--Well, not in these years. In fact, these years brought it more into the focus because of Dearborn and Flint with the U of M, and MSU with Oakland.

But then the boards never could give enough time to the branches to really help the branches in the administration. That's one reason that Tech and its branch were separated and made into Lake Superior. Oakland and its separation from MSU was by the administration asking the board of control to separate them because they couldn't give them enough time to give them guidance.

F--But I think from 1968--when I came to work for you--to the present, 1974, it's pretty clear to me that Dearborn and Flint have both grown probably five times as quickly as they did from '58 to '70.

L--Yes.

F--And it strikes me that that was a deliberate legislative pressure on the Board of Regents and the university in order to encourage that because Dearborn sat there and was nothing. When I came to work in '68 it was just a hole...

L--They had a dean there [but] the Legislature insisted on a chancellor. They got a chancellor in there. He was different than the old dean. The old dean

Lane

was given orders under President Hatcher: "Let's just accept Ford's gift and buildings, have a nice little program."

The guy that was put down there was Bill Stirton<sup>2</sup>. He was one of Romney's friends, a nice fellow, an engineer and administrator, but he just wanted to sit there the last few years and ride it out with no increase of extra curriculums on top of what he had in the co-op program.

Ford gave us this and closed up their own building, so Ford gave the University of Michigan the Dearborn campus, and used its product in its own factory, whereas General Motors still kept General Motors Institute as a private institution.

F--The other thing is that in the boiler plate of the appropriations bill, there is language that you can no longer accept a gift without the permission of the Legislature.

L--That was because of the fact that the University of Michigan was about to move into Saginaw and Midland wanted them. People in Saginaw didn't want them. In that tri-city area there was a real fight. Possibly, if they had accepted it, they would have had a much better population figure today.

F--Now, let's see. You're saying it could have developed if there had been some better system.

L--I think with the know-how of a big university--MSU or U of M--their know-how, the know-how of the Regents, has a tendency to have a growth factor faster than a separate entity, independent and new without any alumni.

F--Well, you know, I guess I hadn't thought about this, but my observation--in watching all of the schools in

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<sup>2</sup>William E. Stirton; Vice President, University of Michigan.

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the state in the time I worked for the committee-- [was] that the smaller schools really don't have a lot of talent in management. It all gets down into the personality of the president.

L--It is, that's all he's got.

F--And in a place like Michigan or Michigan State you have people like Bill Haber, and you have people like Niehuss, and you had Smith, and you had deans of the various schools like Fedele Fauri<sup>3</sup> and Wilbur Cohen<sup>4</sup>. You just had a lot of strength.

L--And you get some national figures. National figures can bring to you, as a legislator sitting there, a little more know-how, a little more guarantee that he knows what's going to go on. [Although] he may even waste more money than the guy who is a tight-fisted individual just running a little school.

F--The object really wasn't to save money, it was to serve the people, wasn't it?

L--That's right, that's right.

F--Did any of the policy goals for the enhancement of higher education have as their objective the destruction of class and cultural barriers?

By that I mean to suggest were we thinking about the poor, the black, the blue-collar types in the creation of...

L--Oh, absolutely, we did. Every time that we saw the colleges go up in tuition and fees we expected so much to be retained for scholarships for those that they were forcing out by the increase.

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<sup>3</sup>Fedele F. Fauri; Dean, School of Social Work, University of Michigan.

<sup>4</sup>Wilbur J. Cohen; Dean, School of Education, University of Michigan.



Lane

At the same time, and it's a parallel to this, we were growing so fast that we were smothering the private colleges and we did not want to lose them. And so we put this...

F--Tuition grant program.

L--No, not the tuition grant program, that was the second one. The first one was the scholarship program. The scholarship program was for the survival of particularly the private college but it ended up only a boon for the public schools in higher education.

But it permitted some smart young men who could pass an examination and didn't have the wherewithal to go to school to have some support from the state to go, with other types of programs that the university may have had to help him, and then the loan program coming by--or maybe the loan program being there at the same time.

That didn't salvage the private colleges. The very percentage that was in the higher education, by adding both the private and public, that same percentage was in the scholarship program. Therefore, we did not do anything for the private.

And then we went to the tuition grant program, which was the second attempt to save them, and which evidently has been the one that is doing it.

F--In a sense, there's no such thing as a private school anymore, is there? Because the private schools couldn't survive without the state's money that comes to them from the tuition grant and the scholarship program.

L--That's correct. They would have folded up, oh, some ten years ago.

F--And probably it's still not enough, is it? In 1971 and 1973 you passed this program that gave the main impetus to keeping the law and dentistry schools for U of D. And you've just passed this bill to give the grants to private schools for each degree granted.

Lane

L--Yes, for each degree, so this is beyond that of the tuition grant.

F--But then there's the deliberate public policy, as you see it, to keep the private schools alive and serving the people?

L--I think we should keep the public colleges on their toes.

F--You've been a Senator since 1948. The majority of your interest all through these years, some 26 years, has been education.

L--On the main part, yes.

F--Most of your activity has been with education, the construction of plant for them, the growth of medical programs, and the like.

L--First year I was here I forced accepting Ferris as an institution.

F--Have you been satisfied, Gar, that higher education has served the people and made this a better state?

L--I think we could have done a better job. I'm not satisfied that they're doing the best job they can, but they're doing a better job than some other states. Some other states are doing better than we.

F--Which states do you think are doing a better job?

L--Well, I think Ohio possibly is doing better than we for the amount that's being appropriated, but only for the amount that's being appropriated.

F--I guess I wouldn't agree with you, as you would suspect, for the reason that in Michigan, we have made a decision to try to take as many people as possible. We may be taking 60-70% of all those people of age to go to college. In Ohio they do not do that and large numbers of the citizens don't go to school.

L--Although if you're a person from Ohio, you know that if you register to go to college you get admitted if you've got a high school diploma.

Lane

F--That's true.

L--It doesn't say you're going to stay there more than three months, but it means that you're going to be...

F--Don't you think, and I've thought a lot about this, the policy of admitting everybody and then throwing them out really gives these large numbers of people who fail a sense that they're not adequate?

L--Oh, yes.

F--And it creates in the citizenry a large group of people who don't have the confidence or the belief in themselves. The Michigan system that didn't run that circular door of trotting them in and then throwing them out may be better in terms of each man's capacity to contribute.

L--By far, because of the fact that Ohio doesn't have enough institutions to take care of its population. How can you have a law like that and then just really pack your class the first quarter and then thin it down to the ordinary size that it should have been in the first place by denying the young man and young lady because they were not material for college?

F--There are a lot of people, as I know and you know, who develop slower. You've talked to me frequently about young boys from your district who did poorly in the first year and then better in the second and much better in the third and then much better still in the fourth. And then, you say, this boy deserves a chance to go to a professional school. If he lived in Ohio, he'd never have that chance.

L--That's right, that's right.

I'm only talking about the production of the FTE from the standpoint of the faculty. I know that I can't compare anything to our system and say it's better than our system, excepting certain parts. I was only talking about certain parts.

F--Well, then you're saying that the costs are better in other states. But in fact, if money is to be spent,

Lane

what better way? You've always been in favor of investing money for good public purposes.

L--I have done it because there is no other way that I have found that we can be fair about it and do it.

F--We've already talked around this several times. Did you regard as one of the key issues of these twelve years, from 1958-1970, popularism versus elitism?

What I mean by that is that you frequently hear when you talk to people that Michigan stood for taking the best and the brightest and graduating them and Michigan State and the other regional institutions were going to take... Governor Williams talked about Ed Harden creating the school for opportunity, Ferris being an opportunity school.

L--It's a second-chance school, say.

F--The first question is, do you regard that issue, the democracy of letting everybody in versus only admitting the elite, as a key issue?

L--I think that you've got to have certain schools that are popular schools, and the high-cost schools, and the professional schools. They have got to have standards, and good standards, so that when you plug somebody into those programs, they stay because they have the ability to stay. You don't plug them in and kick them out like we were talking about in the Ohio plan. It's too costly to have them there. There's no way that you could pick up somebody and push them into those slots.

F--Do you think that Michigan may have slipped a little bit during Hatcher's time in the competition against Hannah because of the fact that Michigan was an elite school?

L--Too elite. I think that they were possibly too elite. But you couldn't keep up with the students if you were not elite.

Now it's just like when Oakland was established. There was going to be nothing but intellectuals in

Lane

whatever course they were taking. Woody Varner, himself, was that intellectual-type of a guy, and if you want to use the old expression of egghead, an egghead who's going to have a school of eggheads and graduate all eggheads.

F--Ok, but that's a good example for the reason that the committee in 1969 and '70 forced the school to become less so. You remember Romney was all for the Woody Varner approach of being a very elite school.

L--Elite school, academic excellence, society-oriented, with all of the entertainment of Meadowbrook and such.

F--But it was committee policies that forced that to expand.

The other thing is that Fleming, whom I personally have a great deal of admiration for, changed the university's attitude towards taking the poor and the Blacks and in his presidency Dearborn and Flint have grown. It seems to me that the international reputation of Michigan hasn't softened even though it has become more oriented toward becoming a more popular school and giving poor people and less-qualified people opportunity to attend.

L--It has not because you can't destroy an international reputation that has taken 150 years to make. You can't destroy it in a couple of years. You can have some dents in it, maybe, but it straightens itself out.

All of those others of international reputation also had to do the same thing because the people demanded it. The givers and the alumni demanded it, the legislators on the appropriating end demanded it, and the federal government made it possible in a lot of ways.

F--How important were vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education?

L--It was a must. We were lacking and lagging very badly. One thing you can say for New York, even if they didn't have a university 20 years ago, they had a damn good trades program. A man could always, if he couldn't get a higher education, get the education of at least a good tradesman so he could go out and make a good living.

Lane

F--So the committee and legislators had the policy not only of creating the career ladder toward the Ph.D., but also a ladder of picking up job skills so a man could become an apprentice, or a master, or a skilled tradesman.

L--Very definitely.

F--Did the growth of culture and the arts have importance in the dialogue over higher education?

L--The culture and the arts have not been--what should I say--prominent in Michigan. Within the university, yes, it is cultivated.

F--I come from Massachusetts. There was a lot of community support for culture and the arts, not necessarily through the state, but through the private sector, through public gifts and philanthropy. Except for Flint, where you come from, it's very hard to identify a lot of community support for culture, art museums, theater, opera. I guess an academic man would like to say the people are interested in culture and the arts, but I don't have the feeling from any of the interviews and from my own experiences that Michigan people have.

They have a love of higher education institutions and that history you talk about of 150 years is important to them. That's one of the reasons I suspect we'll never have a statewide coordinating system, because the people treasure their independence and autonomy and they want that.

I don't have that feeling except in regard to culture. I have the feeling that the only culture that has existed has to some great degree been protected by the institutions, but that the legislatures and governors didn't put money in to build these programs.

L--That's right.

F--They weren't important or they were a lower priority. And you didn't get public pressure.

L--You didn't because of the fact that my town has a lot of hillbillies. Gene Autry could pack the IMA to the rafters, two or three appearances in one day. You could take a large band of renown and bring them in

Lane

and you couldn't even fill up the first three rows.

F--That's the way it is in Lansing, too, isn't it?

L--Yes. The thing of it is that rich givers are no longer available. Either the government is going to have to do it or the colleges are going to have to do it or it's going to have to be done [by] both. But it's got to be done in good taste. It can't be done in good taste if it's going to be done on the campus with some of the things that the students want...

F--So you're making a distinction between what I'd call popular culture--the rock bands and the like--and the more heavy...

L--That one Broadway show, what the hell did they call it, where everybody runs around nude?

F--Hair.

L--Hair.

F--I think that appeared at Western.

L--Well, I know it appeared at the University of Michigan.

F--One of the questions, it's a little bit out of sequence but I want to come to it. It's my sense that the bureaucrats, the planners who build these plans with all these organizational charts and boxes and the like will not succeed in this state because the system of coordination in this state is very subtle. It's a subtle process in the competition for resource with the committee making the case rather than going through a departmental or executive office commission.

I have the sense that the legislators are pretty well pleased with the way the system works and that the people are willing to stand some competition because they have a great sense of pride over the quality of institutions like Michigan and their international reputation.

And I don't have the feeling--I'm curious what your view is since you've been through so much of this--that there's any real sense in the Legislature that there is a need for a coordinating structure.

Lane

L--There used to be on the four normals or the teachers' [colleges] from the State Board of Education--totally.

I think I gave you to believe that MTU was in there too, but it wasn't. They were not, they had their own board.

But the only thing they've ever done really was to have all the professors pay at the same level, or bring them all up to the same level. They really didn't coordinate because of the fact that it gets back to the point that it takes money to do things and the Legislature really gives the autonomy by how much it gives in money. Autonomy is only as far as the bucks reach.

F--What was the position, Gar, of labor in regard to higher education? It strikes me that Michigan labor was more pro education, a little less bread-and-butter-oriented, and that they were involved in a lot of social issues and supported education and pushed it.

L--Yes, they did all of these up until just recently. Now they are starting to be concerned about the real high costs, real high costs of the professor--not the other workers around the university.

That this guy doesn't work as long as I do in a year, he doesn't work as long as I do in a week, and he's got that kind of money, and how come he should have that kind of money. They see, especially in university towns, the guy next door, who didn't go to work until 9 o'clock, mowing his lawn when he gets home at 3:30. How can a guy make that kind of money and be mowing his lawn before I get back from work when I went to work three or four hours before he did?

You find these [issues] in the university towns because they're more concerned than the labor of an area that never sees a university in action.

F--Do you think the UAW was more strong for education, for instance, than the AFL-CIO, or did they share that?

L--The UAW, when it was the UAW-CIO, was very, very much for higher education. Now that it's the UAW, I would



Lane

think it's almost the same. We're talking about the leadership, and not the rank and file. He's the one that's more concerned.

F--What was the position of industry? You come from a strong-industry town. I have the sense that industry was interested in institutions in communities, so that industry in Grand Rapids or in Saginaw or in Flint or in Oakland County supported the individual schools. But they didn't put pressure on for programs that they...

L--Not for the broad...

F--Not for the broad?

L--Not for the broad education, as you say. Their interest was limited to wherever they were. It's like General Motors. There was a General Motors millionaire who started the cultural development in Flint.

F--But I make a distinction there, Gar, because I think C. S. Mott represented his view of the world and not GM's.

L--Oh yes, it was strictly his.

F--It was his money and his view. He wasn't saying, "This is what GM should do." He was saying, "This is what I should do."

L--No, but he was not the chairman of it. He stood in the background. He might have helped push.

F--But did you ever see pressure from people like Wilson and the people at GM? I could never recollect seeing any.

L--No, only individuals that talk to you on the street or in a restaurant as you'd see them. It's an individual thing, excepting with industry. Outside of its function of helping the local community college, and if it's got a four-year college, the four-year college.

They only make contributions to that which betters industry at the campuses of the University of Michigan.

Lane

L--No. In fact, if you will check at MSU, the school of agriculture is so small that it's probably the most costly subject taught at MSU. Now, being a school for which the federal government donated the land that they were supposed to sell, keep the money, and use the interest. It wouldn't pay for 20 minutes of running the university.

F--If I remember, and I'll have to check this out...

L--\$98,000.

F--I think we used to put in the Bill, until you and I decided to junk it, a land grant interest of \$300,000.

L--Was it that much?

F--Out of MSU's budget, which is probably for all things, \$200 million. So \$300,000 is just pennies.

L--They get experimental expenses for agriculture from the state, and some help from the federal and the county agents. The extension service is financed from the federal and the state...

F--The county gives some, too, don't they?

L--The county in some instances gives an agent, or maybe some space, or gives them some travel expenses. It varies, but it doesn't amount to a great deal of money.

F--Gar, in the determination of social policy, the federal regulations have been very severe. Every time they gave you a buck, they had a requirement. I can remember that the Appropriations Committee in '69 had the Secretary of HEW, Secretary Wilbur Cohen, come to speak to them in private session.

I have not been able to find, if there were, federal requirements in education like there are in social welfare. So I've raised the question, what were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government?

L--None. Sometimes they led the way for awhile on a program but they would drop it. When we needed doctors, they gave some construction money, they gave us some

Lane

You know several things that they've done, in engineering mostly. Safety, you know, safety...

F--There was a highway traffic...

L--Highway traffic, those kind of...

F--That was the state, but the point is there.

L--No, no, the three of them donated a building down there. I think it's called traffic safety, or construction safety.

F--That's on the North Campus you're talking about.

L--It's on the campus. It was a gift and guaranteed every five years, on negotiation, that amount of money necessary to run that institute.

F--What about the role of commerce? I thought perhaps people like Heavenrich from Saginaw were involved. Did commerce have a different attitude?

L--Yes, but I guess I can only speak for my time. Commerce did have an attitude that was different than industry, excepting that industry was part of the congress group.

F--You would separate them?

L--Yes. In Flint the cultural development area received from General Motors a building for the community college. Mr. Mott gave one for a community college. You must contribute \$25,000 to get into the cultural development committee. With every \$25,000 that's donated you get a chair in the board committee of cultural development. And commerce, as well as industry, but not for the state as a whole, contributed.

F--Ok, so you're still saying that commerce's concern was local rather than broad-issue support.

L--Yes.

F--What about agriculture? Michigan State had support from agriculture through Co-op Extension and the ag station. I was curious, did agriculture bring pressure on the Legislature and the Governor to develop other institutions?

Lane

operating money for special projects. But you see, always on a program, a direct written program from the university right to the federal government, with the Legislature not knowing anything about it.

F--What about HEFA? That doesn't seem to be unbalanced or anyway near as influential as its publicity.

L--We're talking about the HEFA grants for construction. It gave the state commission so much money and the state commission really built it up...

F--Except for the fact that some of that went to private schools.

L--Oh, yes. In fact we sometimes would not give a building to a university or a college just so the private school that had a certain amount of points coming up next could get that. And we would postpone it and bring in the state school or building the next year to pick up the HEFA rather than deny the private school.

F--So even there, we have again that public policy to protect the private...

L--But that was the Legislature's tip. We would try to get the scores of what the buildings were for the private school, and how badly they were needed, and how solvent it was in their operation.

F--We've talked a lot about the role of the private school and the Legislature's concern. I've been attempting to ask what were the pressures and influences from the private sector? I've been curious to know if the private sector was opposed to the growth of the public sector.

I haven't really found that the private sector did anything but attempt to broaden the base of education. I haven't found that people from Kalamazoo or University of Detroit fought the public schools in the Legislature.

L--No. In fact, the only way that the Legislature helped the privates was by the privates coming up and having lunch and telling us their real troubles. They asked, you know, how can we straighten them out. Then after they got a little help from the state they put a coordinator here so that maybe sometimes on a Bill we could structure it in some language to permit them to borrow and bond.

Lane

F--You're talking about someone like John Gaffney.

L--Yes.

F--I guess what I was thinking about also, Gar, is that in some states, the Council of State Colleges would fight state grants to private colleges, saying that that will thin the pie. In this state you just ran this Bill through. The public schools didn't fight it at all. I think that's a measure of the cooperation that exists between both groups.

L--It's because of the fact that Michigan is north of the cross-country route. Because we're north of it, we did not get the great percentage of private schools that the other states have. And our state, when it was young, took the attitude that we're more interested in the public schools than in the privates.

F--What was the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one area rather than another? I think about the Saginaw situation being very messy.

L--Well, it's because of the fact that the University of Michigan was willing to go up there if the local community gave them any encouragement such as the land and the buildings. That set neighbor against neighbor--whether they wanted the University of Michigan all over the state or whether they didn't.

If you go back to the Constitution of 1837, you will see that the University of Michigan was assigned seven locations. They started out as the University of Michigan and there were seven branches supposed to be established. Only one was established and that was in Detroit and it moved to Ann Arbor. I think it was because of some problems with Canada. They were scared there was going to be a war and they moved into Ann Arbor.

The issue in Saginaw ended up as a private school for a while, as you remember. It was because of the community itself which was blocking the University of Michigan.

F--What about in Grand Rapids?

L--Grand Rapids did not want any big school affiliation. Grand Rapids wanted to be independent and they wanted

Lane

to be able to serve about twelve counties. Their chore would be educating the young that could drive to the college and back, but they found out really that they couldn't do it on a commuter basis.

F--I've already asked you about the reasons for the failure of the branch system and you have talked about the fact that they couldn't get the attention and counsel from their own Board of Regents. So I guess I'm going to move on from that question because we've talked about that some.

Gar, what in your opinion were the reasons that an institutional system for higher education, a coordinating system--although it's hard to draw a line between what they meant by coordinating and what they meant by control--did not come about after 1964?

One of the things I want to ask you about is a tough question. It seems to me that there might have been a possibility, although I wouldn't say a high one, that there could have been state coordinating when the Constitution was first established in '64, except that the State Board immediately picked the fight with you over Flint.

L--Right. The first assignment they were given was the University of Michigan, Flint, and expanding the freshman and sophomore classes, because Flint was established to pick up those from the junior college.

Really, the University of Michigan wanted the community college of the city of Flint, which would have been ample space to take care of 7,000 people to start with, before they'd done any more building. But we said no, we're going to keep our junior college--at that time it was a junior college--and we will accept you on the 3rd and 4th year classes.

Now, when I got that Bill through, it was the breaking of a tradition of long standing. You didn't establish a campus, and you didn't establish any branches. When that happened, Wilson did it for MSU and Ford did it immediately for Dearborn. They were all done in about a year or a year-and-a-half.

But the State Board went there and said--even though you planned before we came into existence under the

Lane

Constitution--"We'll let you have the first and second year, but you shall phase it out and you shall go to another structure." The city of Flint said, "We want the University of Michigan structure." It meant, by picking the fight with me that it was a head-on collision constantly for about four or five years. Everybody saw it, and looked at it, and said it really wasn't what they wanted.

F--You know, it strikes me that probably nobody ever expected when they picked the State Board members that either party would have won all of them.

L--I guess you're right.

F--We ended up with some members of the State Board who were not as strong as some of the Republicans that got beat. I understand Alvin Bentley was running. If the Board had had a broader base and more wisdom and more experience... Bentley then went on and served on the Michigan Board of Regents as an extremely valuable and wise man.

If they had not picked that fight with you, do you think that could have brought about...

L--It would have survived and it probably would have functioned.

F--In the coordinating?

L--Yes, because we would have appropriated some people for them to do the job.

F--In certain kinds of ways, like in the fights over law schools and medical schools, you probably would have been willing to turn some of that jurisdiction and staff work over to them.

L--But the fact is that the presidency of the Board was won by one thing--you establish the last two years in a medical campus and he can be president. Then he was president and he'd vote for it, although he didn't want it.

F--I don't know what you're saying.

Lane

L--I'm saying the guy that was the tie vote wanted to be President of the Board of Education.

F--You're saying he swapped programs for...

L--He swapped programs for position.

F--Legislature can do that. They don't need that from the State Board.

L--That's right. When it ended up they got the approval. There was nothing wrong with it, but it just diluted them. They got so they couldn't get along even with each other.

F--What medical campus are you talking about? State?

L--State. Yes.

F--I did not know that.

L--Yes, the third and fourth year.

F--Who, in your opinion, were the key opinion leaders in Michigan in this period?

L--Opinion leaders?

F--Who were the leaders of higher education?

L--I think you can't leave out Porter as one. You cannot leave out Frank Beadle as one.

F--You already mentioned Spathelf, of course.

L--Oh, Spathelf was a good one. There's several presidents that were responsible for it. And I think the strong leaders within the Legislature had more to do with it than the Bureau of the Budget or the Executive Office.

F--Well, then you're suggesting Frank Beadle, yourself--you're not suggesting that but I will add that--Arnell Engstrom.

L--Arnell Engstrom was only a captive of MSU.

F--Who were some of the other leaders you are thinking about?



Lane

L--I think you pretty well got them--three or four and they've all been on the Senate side.

F--Initiative was with the Senate.

L--Yes. Now if you took before '58, then you'd have to bring in Vanderwerp. But you're starting at '58 and Vanderwerp was already defeated.

F--What about institutional presidents? Hannah?

L--Hannah was a good con guy. Ed Harden was a bigger con guy but with a smoother way. Hatcher and his aloofness had something to do with keeping the University of Michigan strong, but I think he was also weak because of some of his staff. Pierpont had too much to say to run him, and even though he is a good man, he doesn't always make good decisions. He stopped the University of Michigan dead still for a period of five years with no buildings...

F--Over a planning fight.

L--Over a planning fight.

F--Are there others you would mention?

L--Miller was one.

F--Any labor people? Reuther, of course, is dead.

L--Walter Reuther always was for education. I don't know of any other labor leaders who stepped forth, outside of Gus Scholle who helped put some coalitions together to make sure that we got some money and some help.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
NEIL STAEBLER<sup>1</sup>

F--Mr. Staebler, what in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

S--The pure demographic pressure, the increase in the number of young people, was the central source of the change.

Second was economic. Michigan was conscious of its economic vulnerability. It was very heavily dependent on the automobile and other heavy industry. It was very conscious that the economic system of the country was in a state of flux, moving toward some more technical industries, and that Michigan was being left out of that race.

So we felt under a double pressure: the need, in any case, to accommodate a lot of young people; [and] the need to accommodate them in a way that would help to guide Michigan toward a more modern industrial plant.

F--You were able in the period from '48 on to build a broad-based Democratic Party in this state. From 1850 on there have been only five Democratic governors in this state. The Legislature has only been [Democratic] controlled 12 years in the House and six years in the Senate since 1907.

You were able to build a broadly based party...

S--Before you go on, let me make the picture a little worse. There were two sessions of the Legislature in

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<sup>1</sup> Neil Staebler; Finance Director, Michigan Democratic Party, 1949-50; Chairman, Democratic Michigan Central Committee, 1950-61; Member, Democratic National Committee for Michigan, 1961-64, 1965-68, 1972- ; Congressman-at-Large, 88th Congress, 1963-64; Associate Committeeman, 1968-72. Interview conducted May 5, 1974.

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this century in which there was not one Democrat in either House. So it had been a one-party Republican state for a long time.

F--And in 1946 you had obviously begun some of that organizational work. I believe it was the lowest Democratic strength since the thirties. There were something like four members in the Senate and 10 or 15 in the House. Obviously the Democrats were successful because they were able somehow to identify with rising expectations.

S--Let me give you another reason that we rose rather rapidly. Democrats were there--not during the 100 years, but they were there for a lot of the time prior to 1932, and certainly all the time after 1932--but there had been no means of getting together.

When Williams came along his encouragement drew a lot of people together. We worked hard, we finally discovered how to create a political party that would be sufficient to counter the entrenched Republicans.

F--Isn't it in this level of rising expectation that higher education had to have had an important part in the political program of this new coalition?

S--It was one of the issues in front of us all the time, one of the most conspicuous items in our platform. But let me enlarge on that just a little.

It never became the very highly polished item of the platform that education is often thought of: "So many people are interested in education, there's so much talent that's involved in education, so surely education must have been a real gem in the platform." It never became that because the battle on education was always conducted on a kind of broad, almost a crude level, that is, that the need for education was obvious.

The reluctance to vote for educational money was great--the reluctance growing out of the composition of the Legislature which was drawn from the areas of the state that didn't have the new population pressure. These people just couldn't see the need for education as being pressing, and so the battle was conducted in a very simple form. We saying, "Look, the problem is huge, apparent, we don't have to refine it or pretty

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it up, it's there and just recognize it." We didn't develop it in any fine way.

F--Ok, but there are some issues that draw people together in a political spectrum. I've always suspected that housing and health are two of the good issues. Although people have always identified housing as a divisive issue, I've not personally believed that of health or education.

It strikes me that education didn't receive, particularly higher education, the cannonades of reaction from industry, for instance, or from conservatives. We were able to build a middle ground for education.

S--Well, there was much more recognition of the need for education than there is for most changes in the social life. It grew out of some of those factors that I mentioned. The vulnerability of Michigan industry was recognized by all segments of the population and the need to update ourselves, get into a position where we had hope for the future. There was the feeling at that point that the auto industry was closer to extinction than it later turned out to be.

Now, since the fuel crunch, we may be a little closer to stagnation than we imagined, but at that moment, there was the feeling on the part of business as well as labor [that] we need education to guarantee us a future.

F--In 1946 there was some opinion in conservative circles that we would probably go back to a 1939-style base. There was some talk about a return to a depression kind of modality. Is it to that, do you think, that education was looked at as an escape to prevent the...

S--No, it was really in their not looking back but looking toward the future. See, Michigan was the fastest growing population of any state east of the Mississippi at that time--later it was overtaken by Florida--so we were one of the four or five most rapidly growing states in the country. We were a very young state, the population was young, so that we were producing kids at a terrific rate and that pressure was very apparent to anybody who looked.

But the Legislature was in the astonishing position of resisting change, almost irrespective of the facts.

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Year after year we were pushing for higher budgets, for balanced budgets, for new taxes. The Legislature--really the Republicans in it--for a number of years was just taking it year by year: "Well, we got by this year without new taxes." One year they used up the Veterans Trust Fund to avoid new taxes. Another year they shifted the date of the corporation franchise tax to balance the budget. Another year we used up the liquor revenue. It was just hand-to-mouth delaying tactics that were used.

We were screaming and pressing and pushing for a broad program, recognizing the state's needs and pointing to education as one of the most obvious spots where the people could agree there was a need. So it was the forefront of the campaign, but always in a rough and tumble way and not much refinement as issues.

F--What were the social and economic factors that led to this growth, besides the ones you've talked about? Do you want to add to those? Certainly growth, certainly aspiration.

S--There was a different perception of education between the parts of the state that weren't growing and the parts that were growing.

Now, remember what the old apportionment did to the state. It gave a majority in the Legislature to the parts of the state that were least populous and we were way over-represented in rural areas and small towns, under-represented in the cities and especially in the new suburban areas.

It was in those suburban areas where education was, of course, most warmly welcomed. In the cities it was mixed. The leadership in the cities saw the need for education. The cities, where a lot of the Democrats were, kind of went along with the idea that education was good, [but] there was not a great perception of it as being something that was important.

There was not, for a long time, the realization that the black participation in education could only be improved greatly if we had more education. Frankly, we were improving that percentage, but slowly, even without corresponding improvement in the overall education. The Blacks felt so left out of education that they didn't get caught up in the furor about the

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increase in total education. Their percentage was so low anyway that they felt their grievance wasn't even related to the total solution of the problem.

F--I'm going to skip down. I asked a question about regional pressures. It's my thought as I talk with you that many of the institutions went into rural areas. Ferris was built in the earliest days of the Mennen Williams' administration. That was in Big Rapids. Later in the sixties came Grand Rapids, the college at Grand Valley, Saginaw Valley--which at that time was represented by people like Begick, who would fit my view of a conservative, indeed. We had Dearborn and Oakland. We had a large number of community colleges that were built in the sixties in rural areas. I think about one in Scottville, West Shore; one in Roscommon, Kirtland. These happened most after 1964, of course, when the one man-one vote changed the political landscape indeed. But the first people to profit from that were the rurals.

S--Yes, because remember how long we were in getting the community colleges in the Wayne County area. We had a terrible fight to get in there. But there was quite a fight for the community college too, because that didn't come automatically and it was very much in the line of what we were pushing for. I noticed that in '64 in my platform I encouraged the growth of the community colleges, especially in urban areas, by the state at least matching local and federal contributions in construction costs.

But regionalism was a factor. I think Democrats were especially conscious of, not only in education, but in taxation and in other areas, the discrimination against the cities. We were trying to remedy that. The plight of Detroit was becoming apparent by the mid-sixties. Even before the riots in '67 we were trying to do things. In fact, we felt we'd started so much we were surprised by the riots, but there was that much impatience.

F--That was a good point because I came to the job with the Legislature in '68. I sensed an amazing degree of astonishment that in this state--when we had the idea that things were well compared to other states, like Indiana or Illinois or Ohio and the southern states--over this impatience.

S--I could tell you how greatly surprised we were from a little incident.

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I had an old friend, who was a professor at the University of Texas, and his wife who were visiting us in '67 in July. He was a liberal in Texas and we were talking about development of liberal parties. He had lived in Michigan, in fact in Ann Arbor, while he was getting his degree. We talked about the development: I was telling him what a great leadership the Blacks had developed in Michigan with the aid of a lot of other people and that Michigan wasn't going to have the troubles like New York and Washington. We were immune to that.

He left Sunday morning and on his radio in his car as he left he heard the news about Detroit. Of course, I picked it up as soon as I turned on the radio. It was totally contrary to any of the expectations.

F--I drafted all of the legislation that created the community college and went through the crisis--I drafted the tax legislation against the advice of all the tax lawyers. I observed the floor fight for it.

It's instructive to know that all the rurals fought us. All the rurals fought us because they were opposed to a community college that would take away their share of the pot. We frankly did it with building the Wayne, Oakland, Macomb axis. There were enough votes then to be able to do it that way--and going through a very bitter floor fight.

S--We really had left quite a mark on the state from that narrow apportionment that existed for a long time. What it permitted was the persistence in the Legislature of the status quo mentality a lot longer than the facts would otherwise have warranted. And we were fighting, we didn't feel bitter on sections, we just were fighting the old stick-in-the-mud attitude that you didn't need change.

F--Were Democrats disaccommodated in 1964--when you finally had the kind of franchise which you had hoped to have all along, that Mennen Williams votes had proved existed for statewide offices and things like the Auditor General and the Superintendent of Public Instruction--when the suburban Democrats came in and allied with the rurals on many issues?

S--Now, you're saying in '64?

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F--Well, there was really no Democratic majority before that in the Legislature.

S--No, no. We are accustomed in the Democratic Party, I guess in both parties we are accustomed to it, we rather more than the Republicans, to a lack of discipline. There isn't any such word in the Democratic Party.

We are aware that having a much wider range, much wider spread of people in the Party, that we're hard to hold together, harder to encourage to follow a given line. We aren't as surprised by defections.

We hope that if we lose people on one issue, we get them on another. But I'm not especially conscious of this in education.

F--I guess it's been my sense that this state is divided in thirds--rural, urban and suburban--and that you can't rule this state without picking up two out of the three. It struck me that we've had the rurals against the urbans, with the rurals holding a slight preponderance because of malapportionment, and the urbans holding the strong position, but still less than they deserve though, with legislative supremacy.

In '64 when they had the great victories, when large numbers of suburban Democrats came in, I think there was an expectation that the suburban Democrats and the urban Democrats would move together to move a lot of the programs, but it didn't happen.

S--Well, a lot of us had been reading the polls more closely than that and we never divided it up in those three ways. We had been looking at the division: On economics we got a majority, on social matters we had not.

There is a lot in common in that respect between Michigan and the U. S. Congress. The South will go with the North--with northern Democrats--on a lot of economic and international issues, but come to social matters, it used to divide the other way.

And so we saw that in our own support, we saw it beginning with the first poll we took--which was 1954--when a third of the people who called themselves Democrat disagreed with us on our social program. So it's rather more a matter of battling to bring people



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up to date, to bring them along out of their old states of mind and prejudices and get them to recognize current facts.

F--And that's why the role of the Governor, who has the capacity to command the media, if he uses it skillfully, such as Mennen Williams did, and Romney did...

S--That's terribly important.

Romney didn't use it. Remember what Romney did? Romney was selling complacency. I had three debates with him and in the second one I pinned him right to the wall and pointed out all the shortcomings in Michigan's social outlook. Romney couldn't counter except by saying, "Michigan has no unmet human needs." That was 1964.

F--I find that hard to believe.

S--Yes, it's incredible that a man should say that.

F--What were the policy objectives that people were trying to get at to handle this expansion beside the ones you have cited about the tremendous number of children and further...

S--Let me go back. The heart of the problem, of course, was taxation. It always is. We spent our first ten years trying to unlock the treasury, the people's willingness to tax themselves. We kept trying to get the progressive income tax. Williams began with that in 1948 and it wasn't until we got the new Michigan Constitution that we got an income tax at all.

That was one reason why some of us wanted to favor having a Constitutional Convention. We thought we'd get some progress and that was the most important piece of progress we secured. We didn't get the progressive tax and haven't gotten it yet, but it opened up the income tax. That was a terribly important thing because the state was simply hog-tied previous to that time trying to meet its needs.

F--I suspect you couldn't have succeeded with taxes--watching all the bitter fights that have occurred--except that the income tax was pay-as-you-go. It's sort of installment financing since the majority of Michigan's people pay their taxes weekly. It seems

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to me that that's probably the most important element about building an adequate revenue base.

S--It was really the terrific propaganda resistance. Even some of the brightest business people objected to an income tax. It took a long time to convince Bob McNamara<sup>2</sup>. Business was so adamant on the income tax. Business feared that once there was an income tax it would be called upon to carry the undue proportion of the burden.

F--And yet they didn't fight the appropriations process, did they?

S--Yes. It got fought a great deal of the way. And then there was always the realization if you didn't have the money the appropriations couldn't get very far out of line. That's where the crazy expedients were resorted to.

And you remember, we tried at one time to dramatize the need by letting the treasury go dry. That was a very sad mistake from the standpoint of the Party position. It was the most damaging thing we ever did to Williams.

F--You lost that propaganda fight, didn't you?

S--Yes, they utilized that magnificently. They had the propaganda tools and they talked about Michigan on the rocks. It was the very fact that there was need that they dramatized--that we spent more than we received. They won that, and nationally it was devastating for Williams.

F--He never really recovered from that, did he?

S--Not nationally, no.

F--Well, I've raised the question about what were the partisan and parochial conflicts to obtain this higher education. Obviously, the taxation one is one that's in your mind because if you limit the amount of money the till takes care of itself.

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<sup>2</sup>Robert S. McNamara; Ford Motor Company Executive, 1946-61; served as President, 1960-61, until appointed Secretary of Defense.

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What about other conflicts? Certainly regional ones were there to create schools here rather than there?

S--Yes. There was the desire to have the branch colleges and that ran into all sorts of cross fire. I remember when the University of Michigan proposed to ally with Delta [and] Saginaw Valley, and when MSU first established Oakland. These were moves toward branches and the Legislature got very suspicious of that. It ran into all kinds of difficulties.

First, the broad feeling this was going to result in too rapid an increase in education. Second, the competition between areas got rather keen and a little bit of log-rolling got started.

It wasn't until we had a number of branch colleges in various places that there got to be a feeling that we had passed the point where you had to fight for another one in your own locality--after we got something in Grand Rapids, and that's still under-represented.

I guess the community college situation helped also because that began to take pressure off local needs, and with the combination of the two, finally wiped out the bitterness of regionalism.

F--What about Michigan versus Michigan State?

S--Well, that remained a constant battle growing out of three or four different factors, but the most conspicuous one was the great political weight that Hannah always enjoyed. He didn't enjoy it, he worked at it and he was a very effective operator. I always thought he was the best politician in Michigan. I feared for the moment when he would run as a Republican candidate. I thought that he would cut a swath right through the Democrats.

F--Let's come to that for a moment, because John Hannah is certainly one of the key figures. He was regarded as a Republican. His alliances were with Republican farmers, stretching way back, and yet he built a very fruitful alliance with labor. Mennen Williams talked of that.

S--Oh, everybody had to cooperate with John because he was a very effective person in dealing with the

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Legislature, and that meant dealing with labor.

F--It struck me that Michigan State picked up labor early on.

S--Oh, yes, and he worked with anybody who had influence. John was a pragmatist of the first order. The University didn't go from its earlier size to its present dimensions without masterful handling.

F--He obviously had to have Democratic support. Where was that from?

S--All over. He had it all the time.

F--Waldron talked a little bit about how he built this massive alumni pressure that he found just immensely difficult to handle.

S--I thought John's real skill lay in the close cultivation of the Legislature. He used proximity well, he serviced the Legislature well, when there were needs he filled them. He entertained them well, he cultivated them. It was easy with proximity to do things, but John, stopping short of other blandishments, used all his resources in a very skillful way.

We used to urge Wayne and U of M to copy more of his methods because he broke down the feelings of awe and some of the starchiness of academic behavior which is used to intimidate legislators, who are generally not very much given to academic achievement. John simply wiped that out. You were on all fours between the members of the staff and the legislators. But U of M and Wayne kept a little bit of the academic standoffishness evident.

F--I'm going to be talking to Dr. Hatcher, I hope. But it seems to me an important element, and I like the way you pick that term, because Senator Lane used the term "aloof". I think "starchiness" may be a more graphic term. Do you think that Michigan, in this president's starchiness, made it possible for John to succeed?

S--I think they gave him more room to maneuver in. The University tried to practice some of the cooperative devices that encouraged the Legislature, but we used

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to do a little compensating knowing that the U of M was clumsy at it.

For instance, in the Institute of Science, Williams got on the phone and practically bludgeoned the University into establishing the Institute of Science. They didn't want to, but Williams said, "You better." It was a logical place to have it, and if we're going to get it through, now is the time.

F--That's a point of interest to me for the reason that I've raised the question, "Did any of the policy goals for the enhancement of higher education have as their objective the destruction of class and culture barriers?" Many have suggested that Michigan was elite, stand-offish, snobbish, serving only the opper classes; and that Michigan State was popularist, democratic, school of the second chance.

Yet it's hard for me, and I think there are parts in this that are true, but it's hard for me to think of a university with 40,000 people--probably 70,000 human beings--as being elite in the sense that something like Reed College, which takes a couple hundred people, could be, or was, or Albion even.

S--The distinction breaks down a bit, too, when you remember that Wayne and U of M share much of the same fate along the line. Wayne prides itself in not being elite. It prides itself in being the poor man's college and the city man's school. I guess we men better be careful about using that since...

F--The term "man" is useless these days.

S--But having been a U of M graduate, having done a lot of work there, I saw what their distinction was, what inhibited them. The University of Michigan for a long time resisted the idea of the practical disciplines.

Then John established the hotel and restaurant school. I remember the University of Michigan just looked down its collective noses at that as being a great violation of university tradition, ignoring the fact that nothing is more tradesman than medicine and law. They were the traditional professions, and when new ones came along the University simply wasn't conceding that new professions took upgraded education to make them practical. They were stuck in the old idea.

Staebler

John, that was another point, John used the needs of the society and of the state to provide an answer in many of the new curricula that he instituted.

U of M was sticking with, you know, classic terms and the traditional definitions. So, it took a long time to update the University. It's pretty well updated now. I think that it will always prize its emphasis on graduate schools and excellence in that direction and will try to fight hard for faculty that will reflect the competition with the top half-dozen. But it went over to the Hannah approach to being useful to society.

F--And obviously there was legislative and popular support for that.

S--Yes.

F--And so the end of the conflict was that all the institutions became more susceptible to a public sector rather than a classical model.

What about the question of using higher education to break down class and culture barriers?

S--Well, except to break down the segregation, and to get all elements of the population into the main stream, we haven't been and we weren't particularly conscious of using education directly as a device.

Now let me go back. One of the things that we started immediately when Williams came in, he used as one of the sources of his appeal, was to get ethnic groups aware that they had all the privileges that anyone else had, [that there] were no reasons why they shouldn't be in the center of things. He encouraged [them] all the time to be part of his administration, part of state government. We appointed people from every segment of the population in order to dramatize that.

We hoped that education would be one of those segments where they would participate. We didn't do anything particular about it. We didn't try to get any quotas of Poles or Cypriots or Italians.

F--That was a later mechanism.

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S--Yes, but we did try to get people on the governing boards to reflect the diversity. We did work hard on segregation, or integration, to break down the exclusion of Blacks.

F--I guess when I fashioned the question before I began the interviews I had some idea of the sociologist's model of nine classes: lower-lower, middle-lower, upper-lower, and so forth. Yet it strikes me that the objective wasn't the destruction of class values, it was the envelopment by the ever-widening middle class of ending the upper class and certainly ending the lower class. So you had a state where 99 percent of the population would be middle class.

S--We in the Democratic Party--at least the part that looks at platforms and so forth--were very conscious of the distribution of income. That is one of the things we use as a benchmark. We're also very conscious that from 1960 to 1970 we didn't make one damn bit of progress and we were disgusted with that, with all the things we did.

We have a bigger pie but the pie is sliced up in the same old way. But over a period of time we were very conscious of what government can do when we look at the 11 percent of the population that's below the poverty line now. And in 1930, just before the New Deal, when the percent below the corresponding poverty level--now it's \$4,400 a year for a family of four, then it was about \$1,200 a year...

F--What was that percent, then?

S--Sixty-eight percent. It wasn't that a third of the nation was ill-clothed; it was two-thirds who were ill-clothed. We've gotten half the people out of poverty. So we're very conscious of that and one of the main motivations in the Democratic Party is to keep moving in that direction.

F--One of the social engines certainly to create that was higher education.

S--Exactly. And that is one of the devices that we think of as being important.

F--What about vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education?

S--We were enthusiastic about the community college and the Party worked for it from the very beginning. I

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think we feel that it's done more for the people who have attended than universities can do in the way of opening up possibilities to the people who attend universities. I'm saying it not to make any other comparison except the great need that gets met.

F--But we do get into the model where the Ph.D. becomes the status model. Society to function needs men who have pride in themselves, and I underline that, who are good carpenters, good machinists, good printers, and the like.

S--There's another significance in community colleges. Community colleges serve part of the population that would otherwise be trapped. The people who get in the universities generally have enough going for them--their family's income or individual push--to make a lot of headway, one way or another. But the people you get in the community colleges represent generally the second chance for people who would otherwise get caught. So they're tremendously important means of helping the people, the population, get ahead.

F--What about the position of labor in regard to higher education?

S--Surprisingly favorable in Michigan. The biggest union always respected education--UAW.

F--Do you think that was because of Reuther himself?

S--Partly, and partly, I think, the traditions of the people who believed in education. They believed in the good life and they wanted unions to help insure the good life. They hadn't had the education for the most part, and by God, they were going to get it for their kids.

F--You mean the factories were so bad that they thought, "Gosh, I may be getting a good living but I sure don't want to see my boys at this machine."

S--At least there was the feeling that you can get a lot more realization in other means than in an assembly line.

F--You know, I've been struck here that labor in this state had a much broader base, much more interested in social issues than lunch-pail issues. I've tried to fathom that, because even while there was energy between, say, Gus Scholle and Reuther, they seemed to cooperate here very strongly.



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S--They were never really very antagonistic. It was always on small jurisdictional things, and Gus's change of fortune due to the UAW going out of the CIO and that kind of thing. But they were always good allies. I knew them both extremely well and had worked with them.

F--It struck me that Reuther, personally, was much taken by the academic values because he, himself, lived quite close to Oakland afterwards.

S--My own feeling is it was deeper than that. It was part of his philosophy. All of the Reuthers, you know, I know three of them--Walter, Roy and Vic--and all of them remarkable people, very broad.

F--The only ones that didn't seem to cooperate in this general alliance was the Teamsters. The Teamsters is the only union I've ever noticed not being in the vanguard of being pro higher education.

S--There are some other unions that aren't terribly enthusiastic about it, but overwhelmingly labor was for higher education.

F--They seemed to have the idea almost like the Minnesota experience of Democratic Farm Labor. They were interested in broad issues to govern rather than lunch-pail issues. Yet I never had that sense about business. People will point out, "Well, think about this industrial leader," or, "Think about that one." They will point out Bentley or someone like that. You see these men, and yet industry doesn't seem to have had that same broad interest. They were more regional in their interest, the automotive people for Dearborn or Oakland, or the business community in Grand Rapids. They don't seem to have had that same interest. That's my suspicion.

S--I didn't find that that was very heavy. It's always easy to organize some extra concern about your locality because there's another group of people who are just making their living in that locality, the trades people and so forth.

I can always understand that. That's the kind of business I've been in most of my life. And so you can get a little extra support for something that does some particular good for your city. But the big industry in this state has not been parochial at all.

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F--That's good to hear because I've never felt that support from big industry for higher education.

S--The one exception to that was Mott. Mott was so devoted to Flint that he gave that extra impetus, and pushed for the university there, and influenced enough legislators, gave money to the university, so that he was a one-man lobby for the Flint branch. And succeeded, of course, very well.

F--I don't know how to say this. I have the sense that Flint was a more closely held, closely run town than others. It looked to me like the power structure that ran Flint was pretty limited and Mr. Mott could be an extremely persuasive...

S--Yes, it was. I would think several other cities would run a close second. Grand Rapids had a very, very tight power structure in the fifties, and a very corrupt one. With all those pious people up there we always thought of it as sin capitol. Not the carnal sins, but the fiscal sins. That was the seat of Frank McKay<sup>3</sup> and a lot of the shenanigans of the Republican Party.

F--They set a great store by authority and that gave a lot of coverage for that.

Did the growth of culture and the arts have importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

S--Surprisingly little. There were always a lot of people in both parties who are interested in the arts and in science. Science got a lot more attention because of Sputnik and the feeling that we had a lot to catch up.

The arts had to fight like the devil. To illustrate, in the University of Michigan, a new school of music was badly needed for about 20 years and it had priority status in the university's list of things it would do. It was right at the top for about 10 years, but the Legislature always appropriated for some more urgent thing. It had difficulty trying to convey the idea that art had a degree of urgency. We never did get an appropriation for a theater in Ann Arbor.

F--No, the Power's one was built by philanthropic...

S--And prior to that our other theater by gift. It was hard. There was so much need for bread-and-butter

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<sup>3</sup>Frank D. McKay; State Treasurer, 1925-30.

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money, and so much need for justification of education on a bread-and-butter basis, that the arts fared very poorly.

F--That really does say something because people can always afford the things they want.

S--We're hardly emerged from being a state of fender-benders. We just barely appreciate, well, I'm a little too harsh. There's a lot of feeling but the sense was one of a little desperation, that, "Damn it, we're in jeopardy on our financial base in the state, you'd better not fritter it away with schools of music and theaters."

F--What was the role of commerce, if different in your opinion from industry?

S--Well, it's almost indistinguishable. It supplies a lot more of the regionalism, but the Chambers of Commerce are always nine-tenths local businesses.

F--And agriculture. Do you have something to observe about the role of agriculture? Were they statesmanlike...

S--We've always had this odd relationship in a modern Democratic Party to agriculture because we were the people who saved agriculture, or always were trying to save it. Mostly it took the form of trying to cushion the squeeze on agriculture, which was always being forced out by its own ingenuity and impoverished by new methods that were coming in, as we see now.

I used to say, if you produced one-half of one percent less than was needed, you wouldn't have any trouble about prices. But you can never aim at creating a deficiency because you are so productive, you are so many productive units.

F--I suppose that's true. I've never thought about that--but the Brannan plan and the like--you couldn't legislate out of existence the law of supply and demand.

S--Yes, we kept trying to help agriculture strike a little better balance. Most of the farmers hated us for it because first of all, it was something new and the farmers were, above all, the traditionalists in everything except how to grow crops. And second, it was bookwork. Third, it was always carried on by some city slickers, so...

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F--Did they want higher education? Excluding the agricultural research and the School of Agriculture at State, were they strong for other schools? Did they want to increase higher education opportunity?

S--Well, they didn't want to spend money at it. They could never appreciate the need for higher taxes.

Bear in mind, there's one anomaly in the whole tax system that makes farmers more resentful--that doesn't affect higher education, but it does lower--raising so much of the cost of higher education from property taxes hits farmers in a most irrational way.

F--Not higher education--elementary.

S--Elementary and secondary education hits them in a most irrational way and they carry that over a little bit to the feeling on all education. So moneywise they object.

The farmers certainly have seen the benefits of higher education... what it's done in farming practices. Michigan State University has done a beautiful job in its relations with farmers. So farmers were not directly an obstacle, they were just reluctant spenders.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy from the federal government, if any?

S--Well, Democrats are always in favor of doing something and Republicans are always in favor of holding back. I can remember my session in Congress, we had a breakthrough there because we got the first subsidy for college construction.

F--HEFA.

S--We had to solve what to do about private colleges and religious colleges. We said you can't use subsidy for teaching of theology--and a couple other things associated--and you can't have any expenditures in a public building for theological devices or things or rooms related to prayer and so on. So we solved that. And we put in the subsidy for medical colleges and that sort of thing.

But the Democrats were pushing for that, Republicans weren't. In general there's been a most astonishing

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lag. I find it very hard, and I'm a little impatient, in trying to understand the reluctance on the part of Republicans to spend money on education. It always seems so evident that it's going to pay well. It's funny we always emphasized the fiscal advantages of education, not the social and the esthetic advantages. It pays so damn well that you would suppose you could make Republicans recognize the good investment.

F--I never could understand this.

I've done a lot of speaking. I go to groups and talk to them about the best investment you could possibly make. It would cost you, in recent terms, \$1600 a year to keep a boy at Michigan, \$600-\$700 at Wayne County Community College, about \$9000 at Jackson Prison and about \$10-\$11,000 in a mental hospital. I said from the last two categories you never got any tax money back and from the others you made your money back right quick. It always strikes people as a surprise.

I agree with you. I never understand why there hasn't been more of a willingness because it really fits the Republican ideal of investment. Higher education is an investing rather than an expenditure-oriented kind of public...

S--And we kept stressing that and having great difficulty getting people to see it. It was really quite surprising. The idea of federal aid for students, of course, came along. That we had tussles with and finally won. Oh, and research, of course, and NASA, and all the expenditures and health research and so on. These became the invisible support of the universities.

F--But I guess it's clear in research, biological sciences, student aid, and construction, that the federal role was significant. And yet it doesn't seem to have come with the same degree of controls and requirements as it did in the social welfare sector.

S--No, I can't explain why other than the fact that it was conceived differently and passed out for different purposes.

I am reminded of one battle that ought to be mentioned and that was the attempt to get the cyclotron in

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Michigan. I fought hard for that and I had a lot of the skids greased. We got it down, out of all the contenders, to Michigan and Illinois. I had worked with the President and with Congress and if Romney hadn't been so damned intrusive in trying to take credit for it, I think we'd have gotten it in Michigan. But he finally made it his special project and the administration then couldn't give it to Michigan without having Romney claim that it was his doing. So we lost it to Illinois.

But that was part of this business of trying to get new industry. I was on the committee on science and astronautics and we conceived this as spawning lots of new businesses and lines of inquiry.

F--As a matter of fact, when you talk about that, coming from Massachusetts--where we lost the textile industry, where we lost the fisheries, where we lost the shoe industry--a whole new host of modern industry grew up around that golden circle, 128. I could never understand when I first came to Michigan and had my own mental set of what an institution would be to come down to Ann Arbor and see so little of it.

S--We've corrected that greatly now. Michigan has spawned a lot of new technical industries and Ann Arbor gets 60 percent of them.

F--If you think about Stanford and MIT, it should be there. But I hadn't had the sense that existed still.

S--We finally got smart enough to set up an industrial park. Once you give that opportunity of a quick base it's a lot easier.

Now, one thing you haven't asked me is what about Michigan's higher educational control? That I've been in on a great, great deal.

F--I'm coming to that. But you can answer that right now.

S--We looked at California and we looked at what had happened when you put them all together and concluded that you get an unwieldy situation in the first place. The question was: Is Michigan with its separate arrangement more unwieldy than that?

There was recognition that we ought to do better but we ought not to get caught in the trap of having the

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Legislature control the universities. They obviously, in making appropriations, get awfully close to controlling, but we ought to keep the Legislature out. We ought not to get the one overall unwieldy control. We ought to get some sort of coordination.

When Gene Power was a Regent, he spent a great deal of time working with all the university presidents, getting them together in a council. We thought that was going to be a solution and I think maybe if Mr. Hannah hadn't been so successful working independently it might have worked. But he could never, you could never quite get him and the other two chief ones...

F--Wayne and Michigan.

S--...together. It's like the present state of Europe with Hannah being Mr. DeGaulle. Hannah was so good that he wasn't going to be bound down by the lesser fry. So we never did get a really concerted operation there.

It got promising at times. There were a lot of kinds of cooperation where people using some of these new expensive devices worked out cooperative arrangements so all of them didn't have to have cyclotrons and...

F--I'm curious about that because that's one of the reasons I was hired by the Legislature. They just didn't know how to handle--being a noncollege-educated committee--they didn't know how to deal with these requests for cyclotrons. The starchy academic coming in and telling them, you know, they needed it or else...

Their desire in a very basic kind of way to do right but still not knowing what was right and still get the most bang for a buck. It struck me that all the institutions wanted each of these. They wanted pluralism in the universities.

S--Had the council of presidents been effective, it would have worked out so there would not have been this duplication. They would have agreed on some priorities.

F--Let me push this along. In 1964, much to everybody's surprise, the political landscape went through a tremendous crash here. I shouldn't say crash, but change. You elected eight members to the State Board. This was the first time they ran. They were all Democrats.

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Do you think that very success sealed the doom of the State Board's capacity to coordinate higher education because they didn't have any Republican [members]...

S--Well, we had wrecked it earlier. Some of those first people who got on did so much internal damage. They behaved like a bunch of children. Our very first people sealed the doom.

I think we've come back a little way since then. This committee on higher education, which helps a bit. We really haven't solved it in Michigan but we've sort of reached a point where people can live with our differences.

F--It seems to me we've sort of dealt in a gentleman's agreement or a modus vivendi. Michigan State does not appear to me to want to muscle Michigan. And Fleming, who came very much to the fore, I think, as a conciliator, doesn't want to muscle Wayne, and the like. And so they sort of have an accommodation with each other.

S--Getting Hannah in Washington was the great step. That enabled people to live together.

F--The first time or the second time? He went to Civil Rights and then the last time in sixty-...

S--I think the moment he went it took the heat off. He began to have some interest outside Michigan. And then, uncovering some of the shenanigans...his and MSU's...

F--You're talking about the land and Phil May<sup>4</sup> and all of that?

S--Yes.

F--I find that a puzzlement personally. It seems to me that great power always brings great responsibility. I handled just billions of dollars and the only one I could never take care of was myself. I mean, I could get thousands of dollars for good projects but I couldn't get 15¢ for myself. You could never plead a case of need for other people if you didn't forswear any chance for yourself.

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<sup>4</sup>Philip J. May; Treasurer, Michigan State University.



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S--I find that the most amazing thing about Nixon is this pettiness on his personal affairs: that he takes time in the great role that a President could play to figure out how to chisel a little bit out here and there.

F--And that just passes understanding for me that a man would bank the nickels and dimes. And some of the things like Phil May did--I had the same admiration for May that I had for Pierpont. These great innovative men who created new kinds of financial structures that the old types could deal with. The bonding mechanisms were particularly astute.

S--I think that was the contribution of a man who just died a month ago, Earl Cress.

F--Cress died? He was the Ann Arbor Bank and Trust. They had every school in the state locked in. They sold all those bonds to sweet little old ladies who probably would never have voted for a single dime for higher education, but these were blue chips. And Cress was the man that came ahead.

S--I think so. He was at least heavily involved, whether he deserved as much credit as I'm giving him, I'm not sure.

F--Well, the bank does, whether it was Cress or not. They had something like 97 percent of all the business before it was done. And it was sizeable.

S--He was a Republican and he got started during the Republican era. Had there been a little more competition, I think... but they did such a good job, then nobody could dislodge them.

F--No, you couldn't dislodge them when the Democrats had the Legislature even.

S--Nor was there any inclination to.

F--Not from the schools. They were happy.

We're talking about the failure here, the State Board never really did matter in the end. The cooperative venture between the schools didn't work.

It seems to me that we probably had some acceptable level of conflict and as long as the schools didn't

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go beyond that point, the competition for resource was acceptable as long as the outputs were there.

S--I hear some faint reverberations to the effect that cooperation will be tried again, or is existent to a modest degree.

F--You hear that, but I wonder about the difference between the rhetoric of what they say and what they do. There have been very few cooperative efforts. Michigan has probably made the most gestures, the other schools have been studious in not saying anything about accepting them, which is different from coming out against them. I don't sense that there's a climate for that yet.

You talked about this earlier, but people looked at California, they looked at Wisconsin, and decided to keep this peculiar decentralized system in Michigan.

S--I think our situation is better served without trying to get too much central control or any push toward uniformity. Wayne is a different species. They do something different down there that they ought to be encouraged to keep on doing. It's awfully useful. And MSU does its job in filling the niches in the economic system beautifully and quickly.

F--In my opinion--you live in Ann Arbor--there's a place for Ypsilanti to do a better job than it's done, located right there in the middle of Ypsi-tucky.

S--Well, Ypsi is a kind of Wayne when you live away from home. It's again a poor man's college and a second chance college

F--They're very blue collar.

S--And their requirements are a little more relaxed. Not bad, but more relaxed.

F--I've never been an elitist myself. I figure anytime you can convince anyone to take four years of additional higher education you've got to enhance him some way beyond where he was. Maybe he won't come out at the same high level as Michigan, but he'll come out infinitely better than he was.

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S--Well, I think that keeping a little core of the old concept of the university, sort of the monastic tradition of preserving of a lot of the old skills, is worthwhile. Some place needs to preserve the spirit of pure inquiry, and there's some of it in every university, fortunately. But there's a little more of it when you get some of the Ph.D. groups together that we've got in Ann Arbor.

F--What about the private sector? I never saw the private sector...

S--We have an unusually small amount of it here in Michigan and I've had explanations given me in the past without catching up with it.

Compared to Ohio, we're insignificant, but quite good ones. I've paid attention because it figured very much in the life of my wife whose mother and father were graduates of Albion and Hillsdale and were the respective tennis champions of their time and met on the tennis court.

And so whenever I've gotten invitations to talk at any of them I always go over and try to keep acquainted. Hope is such a great place. I got all my philosophy from Hope graduates. There was a tradition in Michigan that the philosophy departments are run by Hope. And I get over to Aquinas often and I'm impressed with what they're doing. I get into U of D at times and see what they're aiming at. So I'm impressed that there's a lot of good work that gets done here. I, curiously, never get into Olivet, though I have the highest admiration for everything I hear about Olivet.

But we've never solved their problems, we've done little in the way of aid to students there. They get help now nationally from anything we do for education, at least in construction and the student loans and so on.

F--And now, we've just passed this McGeorge Bundy-type plan in Lansing that will give grants for each degree granted.

It strikes me that in some states the fight between them was divisive.

In Massachusetts, for instance, the private schools fought the entry of the public school into the metropolitan area. In some other states, the public schools,

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being very strong, fought any kinds of grants to private schools because it cut down on the size of the pot.

Here there seems to have been statesmanship on both sides with regard for both parties, although the strength of the private colleges every year was more attenuated than it had been the previous year.

I wonder if you have some observations about why that was. Was it the men themselves, you think? Because you can see the energy when you look at parochiaid that the clerical efforts can bring to an issue. They never did that. And you can see that over abortion.

S--I guess I don't have any answer. One ought, presumably, to give credit to the breadth of mind of the people involved in the private schools, oughtn't we? They were forbearing about the great appropriations advance made by the public institutions.

F--I'm going to talk to Father Carron about that Thursday. I, myself, am interested in that because I think that there's no doubt that when the religious people in the state build a political machine it's something to look at.

I can already see the drums over abortion, that it is going to be an immensely difficult issue. Parochiaid--they certainly mounted immense force. Even though the public wasn't there, there was enough of it there to matter.

S--And if any place we should have felt the heat, the Democratic Party being half Catholic, and Williams was Protestant, I'm a Protestant, but...

F--It wasn't there.

S--I think awfully wise Catholic leadership must account for it.

F--I asked you what were the reasons for the failure of the branch campus system. You've talked about that a little bit already, about the concern about unwieldiness. Have you any other observations?

S--I keep pondering where the enthusiasm, the high excitement about education has gone. I see the sort of disillusionment with the kids at colleges. They in turn were disillusioned by the war and we've got to wait

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until people spring back to some sort of normal attitude. But the uncouth behavior, the unwillingness to listen to differences...

F--It was a totalitarian attitude...

S--Yes. It was very disillusioning to a lot of the enthusiasts for higher education. I'm puzzled where we are right now, how we'll get the train back on the track again.

F--I guess my attitude is a little different than yours. I'm a historian by training, and then had a good dose of practical experience which tempered a lot of that philosophical zeal or blue-skyism.

It strikes me that you've had in this country several large pulses of growth. The Morrill Land Grant Act built a large one. Then came the GI Bill that created the idea that there was a place for everybody. I'm the first member of my family, for instance, to go to college.

S--So am I.

F--My family never believed it was possible. In the ethnic neighborhood I came from, the only educated person was the school teacher and the pharmacist. There were no other people that had ever gone to college. And all the employment companies used to say, stockboy wanted HSG--which was high school graduate. When I graduated from college it said, assistant buyer, BSBA--bachelor of science in business. This was the same job, but the aspiration of society and the aspiration of employers had changed.

In the period we've talked about and that you were so vital in, we went from a society that had a small percentage of population in college to one that had virtually 60 percent of the available market. We went from schools that had 4,000--like Michigan State--to 40,000.

In this sense, maybe the enthusiasm has ended because we're a mature institution. The need level for broadening the base is no longer the 18 to 22 bracket. It's for the elderly, it's for the retraining of people in second careers. It's for the enhancement of culture rather than occupational interests. Work is less important because it can be. Leisure is more crucial.

Staebler

And I think it probably means that higher education has to broaden its focus beyond just training.

S--You're saying what many of the younger people have been saying, that the emphasis in the past was on quantity and now we're shifting to qualitative aspects. Nobody quite knows what quality is or how we agree, whether it's even appropriate to get enthusiastic about quality. Maybe you just have it, let it grow.

F--I think you've struck a very good point and I want to come to that because I'm going to speak of this in my writing.

A friend of mine said--and he is one of the chief civil servants in the government structure--when a new program comes and you have a large need for mass programs, Democrats and liberals do a tremendously good job and they are able to mount the public, fashion the program, and create this tremendous desire and market for it. Once you've fulfilled the demand you have to come to qualitative, rather than quantitative, decisions. That creates a different style. Liberals are less suited to that, frequently.

He makes the observation that in higher education now that we're to some great degree, certainly in Michigan, satisfied with the quantitative thing, we must improve the qualitative. In many of our institutions, I suspect, are still bare bones in the qualities of the arts, the sciences, music.

S--This is very hard to put into political terms. Kennedy succeeded in doing it but very few people can because it has an exclusionary aspect about it. You're glorifying one aspect of the community or life and saying it's better than others. So there is...

F--I think you're right. When you get to the qualitative thing each man must follow his own soul and therefore the identifications get smaller.

You and I want to have a higher education. We agree about that. But perhaps you're better at sculpture and I'm better at music, so we follow separate paths then. It may be that we'll have to build a political rhetoric that will value both of those separate tracks as commonly good. I don't know how you're going to do that.

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S--My wife and I have a division of labor. She's very interested in the theater and directs, writes, acts, and so on. She said, "You spend your time saving the world, I'm going to spend my time making it worthwhile to live in."

F--Yes, ok, but there's again a quantitative versus the qualitative. In conclusion, let me ask the last question.

My problem talking with you, Mr. Staebler, is you're a delightful person to talk to and I could see talking to you for hours. It's always good to talk to people who have been able to get some richness out of the experience. I find it difficult to talk to people always involved in the process without some concern about the entry point and the exit.

Who in your opinion were the main opinion leaders?

S--I tried to answer that as I drove off. I'm very thin on who I thought was important. The several college presidents all played a role, and the people who investigated: The Russells and Porters played a role. Lynn Bartlett was the most important Superintendent of Public Instruction, I think, at least of modern ones. I don't know the older ones. Williams played a significant role.

F--Romney was certainly able to get a lot of political mileage out of it. I don't know where he was himself.

S--I don't think he made much difference. He was hit-and-run here as elsewhere.

F--Well, Mennen Williams certainly. He had a long time. Probably John Hannah.

S--Yes, Hannah very definitely.

F--But what about some of the backroom boys, people have mentioned Jim Miller. What about--I think about somebody like Haber.

S--Oh, yes, if you're getting down to... Jim Miller. Certainly at Western they have done a remarkably good job working, looking at their own establishment. I never came across much that he did elsewhere. When he was Controller he was right there with Williams and I can't distinguish what he did from what Williams started.

Staebler

Haber was a great contributor to the popularization of education, justifies it in all directions.

Another person I guess we ought to think of, especially since we talked about private colleges--the head of the U of D about three back--Steiner. I always thought of him as practically jesuitical in his skills. But he was a broad guy and he was getting the community to understand and trying to get people related. So I'd give him a great deal of credit.

A couple of others of the men there distinguished themselves too. I don't know whether at Wayne some of the long-time guys get a lot of credit or not. Henry was there for a long, long time.

F--But he built his reputation in Illinois after. Hilberry is one a lot of people have talked about.

S--I never bumped into their influence very much. I can't say much. My vantage point wasn't particularly good at seeing the internal input. It wouldn't get put into me. It got put in elsewhere.

F--I don't know how I'm going to write this, but... institutions look at the thing in a very parochial way. They go from themselves to the Appropriations Committee. It's a pretty straight pipe. And politicians generally are member-oriented and they find it easier if they represent a district like Ann Arbor or Saginaw or Big Rapids to be oriented toward that.

It strikes me that somehow what Bob Waldron has said to me--not on the tape--that there's 3 or 4 or 5,000 people in the state who are what you call opinion makers, the people who colleague together to make the dialogue. Where labor leaders or ethnic leaders or business leaders, educators, industrialists, all sort of get together to get some balance about the well-being of society. There certainly seems to be, to my mind, a sense that there's a community spirit in Michigan which I don't notice for instance in Indiana.

S--You need to enlarge that number. I see it because I get into parties and into the local groups and I can see the opinion-making going on at lower levels. You could get a layer of 4,000 here, but I'd make it 20,000. The opinion-making goes on in every union.



Staebler

F--It gets to be very impressive, doesn't it?

S--I am impressed with how much relationship, how much effective work gets done person-to-person here.

F--That's why I wondered about Reuther. I've only met Reuther a couple of times. It seems to me that he must have been a past master of that because you could see Woodcock's difficulty. They both seemed to have had the same kind of philosophical vision but it looks to me like Reuther had a better way of pressing the flesh, so to speak. I don't know, maybe that's wrong, but it strikes me that labor is less...

S--No, in his time, you know, when you're in at the very beginning--Woodcock was not far behind, but Reuther was out in front then and the Reuther guys together got just a bonfire of goodwill going.

F--You know, but it's the old "With Kennedy before Wisconsin." Reuther could say, "Here, look, I've got my head banged around by the goons from Pinkerton."

S--But he was eloquent on so many occasions, and so early, and so many people were touched by him.

F--That, Neil, is what I mean about the capacity to build this opinion as propaganda movement. The fact that the newspapers, the radio, the magazines, the unions, the churches, all of these people seem to have colleagued together. You've got to be able somehow in order to represent that community sense in the state, to be able to talk about the skill of opinion makers.

Certainly it's been pointed out to me that Bentley's change of heart was a crucial thing in bringing Republicans along. It's that kind of ambience that created this generalized support.

S--Yes, and there were a lot of loyalties. I think each university's alumni played a rather great role here because there is a wonderfully "salty" influence among alumni.

F--Ok, but you were talking before...

S--Just take Bentley. I beat Bentley, but I was always his friend. I serve on the board of historical collections with Mrs. Bentley--and Mrs. Bentley has just

Staebler

given a half-million so that we can build the building-- but there is that overarching loyalty to ideas, and beyond the immediate things, worth fighting for.

F--That's why I'm not pessimistic about the enterprise of higher education. I went through all state institutions, generally when people leave an institution they don't like, they have no loyalty to it. If you think about the lack of identification to high school reunions, the lack of philanthropic giving to school districts.

You think about that immense loyalty of just hundreds of thousands of Michigan people to their institutions, they're really saying something. They're saying, I enjoyed the experience. I'm grateful for it. I have nostalgia for it, I have pride for it. And I guess that's why I'm not personally a member of the group that is a negativist or doomsayer about higher education. I think it's probably well served the people and the proof of that is that tremendous strength and loyalty that people have to it. I can't think of an institution in our society that has more broad-base support than the enterprise of higher education. It must have done something right to have it.

S--They change people.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
WILLIAM MILLIKEN<sup>1</sup>

M--[In response to the] first question: "From '58 to '70, the state funds appropriated went from 82 to 284 [million dollars]. What in your opinion were the reasons which led to this expansion?"

I think you'd have to first acknowledge that we had continuing population growth. We had a growing feeling on the part of most people in the state that they wanted their children to have the advantages of college. We would certainly have to acknowledge that the cost of education due to inflation continued to mount.

Given the sharp increase in enrollments, given the inflation, given the feeling that people had that their sons and daughters should be afforded that opportunity, I think the net effect was that the demand was there and we responded to it.

F--Was there also some attitude that higher education was an investment in the industrial sector to improve our state?

M--I can recall a number of discussions and studies to the effect that to the extent that the state invested its dollars in higher education economic development of the state would occur: that there was a direct relationship between the number of students who were in colleges and universities and the level of affluence and development in the state, economically and otherwise.

Yes, I think that certainly was a factor.

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<sup>1</sup>William Grawn Milliken; Republican; Trustee, Northwestern Michigan College, 1957-60; State Senator, 1960-64; Majority Floor Leader, 1963-64; Lieutenant Governor, 1965-69; Governor, 1969- . Interview conducted May 8, 1974.

Milliken

F--I wonder about the national security aspects because many have talked about Sputnik having a tremendous effect, the people thinking, "Well, the Russians are ahead of us."

M--That was the period when the Russians and we were competing very publicly, very openly. There was a substantial investment, as I recall, at that time on the part of the federal government in underwriting scholarship programs that would enable students who were willing to move into those areas to go on to school.

F--There was a lot of money put into research and the government still continues to do so.

M--Yes. I think some of the programs have been terminated but I think a lot of money was put into research. So you'd have to say that a combination of many factors led to that.

F--What about vocational and occupational education?

I know that it's hard to separate that between higher education and K-12, and I know your experiences were much concerned with the K-12 part. But I think about places like Ferris and the like.

M--In that period I think the thinking in the state was changing--it's even changing now, at an accelerating rate today--for the first time we were beginning to say that we weren't technically preparing our students well enough. There was a greater emphasis on vocational and technical education.

Ferris is a perfect example. I don't have the figures at hand--no doubt you do in your studies--but I think they would show that we stepped up our support of Ferris. We built an awful lot of buildings over there.

F--The reason I selected Ferris is that in 1946 or '47 it burned to the ground, virtually. It was just a wreck. The decision was made to take it over and almost all of the construction happened in the period '60 to '70.

And you built during this period Michigan Tech, which is sort of a phenomenal experience. We encouraged

Milliken

engineering programs at Oakland and we encouraged the growth at Dearborn. So it strikes me that there was some of that.

M--I'm certain there was some of that. That would be reflected in the stepped-up expenditures.

F--Although I know it's difficult, Governor, to draw the line between training at a four-year institution and training in a K-12, there has also obviously been much of that, too. In your administration, for instance--I don't have the numbers right handy for the conversation--in the School Aid Bill, you've virtually doubled the vocational monies.

M--This, of course, was the period of the greatest growth of community colleges...

F--I wanted to ask you about that.

M--...with their much greater emphasis on the vocational-technical aspect of it.

F--Right, I recollect going and talking with Preston Tanis<sup>2</sup> at Traverse City and seeing the auto shops and the like. The community colleges were built in this period.

M--That's right. Northwestern Michigan College I think would be a pretty good example of what happened across the board in community colleges. I think that was the first community college in the state, and it began in the period '53. It began with an enrollment of some 60 students and its period of greatest growth would have to be in this '58 to '70 period.

F--One of the things that makes it difficult to deal with issues like planning for higher education is it doesn't seem to me that Michigan's been the state to issue these fancy plans that people can point to as Bibles.

The community colleges, for instance, really developed with a sense of will and dedication, but not in a very

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<sup>2</sup>Preston N. Tanis; President, Northwestern Michigan College.

Milliken

public way. When I came in 1964 we had very few community colleges--I came, Governor, to teach at Delta--and in 1970 I looked at the landscape again and there were 100,000 students. There were tremendous programs in places like Sidney and Petoskey. They began to have a real effect.

Was this a deliberate policy without going into all kinds of formal pronouncements? Was there a deliberate policy to...

M--You mean on the part of the state?

F--Right.

M--I would say the early emphasis really came from local communities that decided they wanted to have community colleges in every sense of the word, with a broad base of local support. Gradually the state matching support came into the picture.

But the real incentive, if the college that I have intimate knowledge of is any example, came from local support. The efforts through tuition and through fund-raising programs carried on locally, through millage supports within the area served by that college, those were the major sources of financial underwriting for those schools.

And then, of course, the state involvement became stepped up as time went on.

F--It was easy to do because it was popular.

M--It was almost a fad that took this state by storm. This growth started in the early fifties and accelerated up to the present time.

F--I've wondered about this. I'm from Massachusetts. I do not have a sense that the public had a strong support for culture and the fine arts in spite of their dedication to higher education. It seems to me that there was less of a willingness for that. I know how much interest you've had and how hard your wife has worked with the Arts Council. It's not a popular kind of thing that you ever have grass-roots support for.

Milliken

M--I think it's true. I think we, today, suffer still from a failure to attach enough importance to the arts.

We have a tradition, I think, in this country that any public dollars that go into the arts through government is somehow money poured down the rathole. That, of course, is a tradition that is entirely opposed to the tradition you find in Europe.

F--Somebody said in another interview, "Well, this is a state that is not far removed from being a fender-bender state." And I think there's something to that. It's not nice to say but...

I'm struck by another thing and that's this: If you take a look at Ohio, if you take a look at Indiana, you take a look at many states virtually as rich as we are, or in some cases richer, that dedication to higher education and K-12 is not there.

M--It's far behind us.

F--Many have talked about that sense of history. I know you're close to that because you have family contacts with Central Michigan University.<sup>3</sup> You yourself have been concerned about education.

Eastern Michigan University was the first teacher-education institution west of the Appalachians; MSU was the first Morrill Land Grant school; we've built the largest and one of the most effective community college systems in this country quickly and without public protest; the University of Michigan is older than the state itself. You know, people forget that.

During the period of McCarthyism the attacks at a very delicate time were not successful in bending the public love away from higher education. When you were first governor and we had the student unrest--it was a very troublesome time for you as I recollect--still the forces that were anti-education were never able to prevail.

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<sup>3</sup>Governor Milliken's grandfather, Charles T. Grawn, served as President of Central Michigan University, 1900-1918.

Milliken

Do you have some insights or suspicions--you've talked to so many people in so many years--about where that love comes from that's not true in Ohio or other midwestern states?

M--I think we do have a very early tradition of public support of higher education. Unlike Massachusetts, for example, where the tradition of private institutions was very strong and the need for public colleges and universities was not as great. We have relied on from the beginning the publicly supported institutions at the higher educational levels.

We have developed over a period of time the sense of autonomy, particularly related to the big three in the state, where there was a real separation, a feeling of academic freedom, insulation from the influence of government, tradition of believing that the legislature could not properly encroach upon the educational policy-making prerogatives of the governing boards.

All of these are factors to give, I think, a sense of pride, a sense of independence, and a sense of commitment to public versus private. We have private institutions but they're not nearly as strong in this state as they are in the East or in your state in particular.

F--Or in Ohio, either.

M--Or in Ohio, that's right.

F--And we were the first state that had public high schools with the Kalamazoo case in 1870's.

What exactly, in your opinion, were the objectives that elected officials had as their goal in view of significant investment of public funds?

M--I'm not sure that I quite understand the question.

F--Well, I guess what I was thinking about: People wanted places for their children, as you said. They also believed that the way for upward mobility was through higher education. Do you think there was a sense in the public elected officials--senators, representatives, the executive officers



Milliken

of these various administrations--that they had a clear-cut idea of what they wanted to do, like make a place for the poor, widen the middle class, train more professionals, and the like?

M--I think they responded to the needs and pressures in the area of professional training--lawyers, doctors--the needs that developed and the pressures that developed throughout the state.

I think that perhaps more than anything else, they were--if we're talking about more recent times--they were responding to an educational system which had achieved over previous years a level of support and excellence. They were simply attempting to carry on and to be responsive to education practiced at that level.

F--And this goes back...

M--I don't know whether you can say consciously. They had a philosophical view that they were responsive to.

F--You have never been "beat up", to use the term, when you recommended monies for higher education, have you?

M--You mean...

F--Every year you go through the difficult agony of taking a certain limited amount of revenue and spreading it across more needs than there are dollars. It's not my sense that the public has ever been really uncomfortable with the recommendations that you...

M--I don't think so. I think, basically, because the recommendations have been at a generally high level. Not by any means responding to all the requests that were made, but they attempt to be responsive and supportive.

And also because, Jerry, I think we were able to keep the lines of communication open between our budget process and the budget people within the colleges and universities. We did not create the great voids which had not been responded to or met so that when the announcements came out, when the budget came out, we certainly didn't agree but we weren't totally far apart either.

Milliken

F--Well, after having worked in the appropriations process, I make a great distinction between the rhetoric of the campaign and what people's real sense is. It seems to me that institutions of higher education in this state are pleased with what they've received in terms of public tax support.

M--I think so. I think the public is generally supportive and I think that support is reflected in their communications with people who are down here making the judgments and decisions at the appropriations committee level.

F--I guess that goes back to the earlier question about the history. I don't suspect that we would have that kind of general support if there were a discontent among the public that the institutions had not served the public interest.

M--I think the institutions, by and large, have been responsive.

Ferris, again, is a good example of meeting what was seen as a need in the state, the kind of thing that people supported. The institutions have been responsive in their professional schools. They're more responsive all the time to vocational-technical needs of the state. They're always out of phase to some extent, but I think because institutions have generally reflected the public concern and need, they get public support through elected representatives.

F--Obviously, Governor, in the construction of public policy, conflicts among secular and regional interests arise, as we know so well from our experience with K-12 school reform. What were these interests in higher education and what were their positions, as you recollect them, in the attempt to modify or constrain public policy?

I guess what I'm concerned about is where did you see labor, agriculture, industry, the big schools against the small schools, the privates against the publics, and Michigan versus Michigan State?

I think, myself, that more has been made of some of these energies than are real.

M--In the conflicts that still existed or the activities of these various groups in support?

Milliken

F--I'm saying my own personal opinion. That's not a good way to ask a question, but I have the sense that much more is made of these conflicts because they're good news, they're flashy, people understand issues sometimes in terms of personalities.

I was curious what your responses were about the conflicts between these people: where labor was, for instance.

M--I think labor, of course, has been always very supportive. The community college development program: I think they see this as part of the upward mobility in which they have a great interest on the part of their children and their members.

I really haven't seen great conflicts in the interests of labor versus business or other special interest groups. Have you seen that kind of thing? I haven't.

F--No, I guess I really haven't, but people believe that they have existed because of some of the kind of rhetoric. I haven't been able to find them and in the interviews they haven't.

M--I see agriculture, for example, very supportive of agricultural-type programs, obviously at Michigan State University. They're locally supported, they're down here, but that doesn't necessarily mean that they're really in conflict with other interest groups around the state. Each in a way is supportive of its own special interest.

F--Let me try something on you. Planners don't like rivalry. They think it's disorderly and untidy, although I haven't noticed that untidiness is a handicap to the political process.

People saw Saginaw fighting for a place; Grand Valley fighting for a place; they saw what some saw as imperialism with MSU moving to Oakland and Michigan moving to Dearborn and Flint. They saw some of these rivalries. And there's been some curiosity as to why the branch campus system, which existed in Wisconsin and California, has not occurred.

Why do you think we turned our backs on the branch campus system?

Milliken

M--Based on my observation it really hasn't worked particularly well.

My impression, as I have talked with the administrations at Michigan State and U of M, is that they seem, somehow, once they get a branch established, to lose interest in that branch and the branch becomes quite autonomous in its own right. Their essential interest seems to be in the parent campus itself.

More and more I see that detachment, that willingness to cut off from the branch and let it function by itself. There's very little interest except at budget time when the head of the branch and the head of the parent school come down together jointly to plead their case. Beyond that, there's very little interest.

F--I go back to what you were talking about--Northwestern Michigan. One of our respondents used the term "civic energy," i.e., the desire for people as a civic pride to have an institution of their own. I felt that very strongly when we went to Traverse City when bankers and all kinds of ordinary people--the druggist and the like--came forward and spoke strongly for the school and their need for it.

Jim Farnsworth said one of the reasons the Human Services Bill was in trouble was that Michigan people fear big government. There's a sturdy sense of local independence.

I wondered what you thought about that being a reason for the failure of the branch campus system and the desire to have a local school?

M--I think so. I think you can see in Flint, for example, the local pride and local involvement. That institution has been considered essentially a local product. It isn't considered to be a part of the large university system.

F--And they really did select their own chancellor, didn't they?

M--Yes. They did and he has become very closely tied in with, as you say, the civic pride of that community and involved with civic groups.

Milliken

There just doesn't seem to be the kind of climate in the state which is supportive of a very large and impersonal system of higher education which all flows back to a single parent.

Jim Farnsworth may be right. Maybe that's one of the problems that we are encountering in the human services effort.

F--And he talked to me about Con-Con and the fear and the desire about people not willing to have institutions of higher education get beyond 40,000. Berkeley, for instance, got to be in their system 165,000. He said people didn't want that.

M--I think that's true.

F--What about the Michigan State-Michigan rivalry? That got a lot of attention as a source of energy.

M--I suppose you could say the athletic competition was one of the things that gave rise to the feeling that there was a sharp competition. There is competitiveness, there's no doubt about that, reflected probably among the graduates more than between the administrations and schools as they function.

F--Are you afraid of that competitiveness?

M--No, I think it may, up to a point, be healthy. Where it becomes unhealthy is if the institutions want to compete in program areas and as a result of it are going out trying to get legislators and executive support for programs that don't have to exist at every institution so that we get an overlap and a duplication. To that extent, that kind of competition, seeking to cover every discipline, is harmful. That's damaging, and it's an inefficient use of resources, but I don't frankly see that as a destructive point.

F--It has a way of balancing...

M--It does have a way of balancing out.

F--And I don't know why or how, but somebody once said to me it was a very subtle system of competition for resources. They never let anybody get too far ahead. It seems to have been the case here too, hasn't it?

Milliken

M--I think so.

F--We've had a far-ranging conversation. I want to ask one last question and then I'm going to let you go.

Do you have observations about the need or desirability of additional management or policy coordination mechanisms for higher education in order to obtain your administration's objectives? And further, do you have any insights as to why coordination of higher education failed in 1964?

M--I think as the costs of education continue to rise-- obviously they will for many reasons even though we're seeing a leveling off and even a decline in enrollments--there's going to be a greater need to attempt to coordinate our educational offerings so that we don't have this overlap and duplication.

I will be very reluctant to see a California-type system, a very rigid system, imposed from the top. I think in the process of doing that you lose some of the variety and some of the competitiveness which up to a point is healthy.

I do think we need some kind of coordinating body in the sense that it would be beyond the State Board of Education. It would perhaps be a commission of higher education which would have sufficient staff and resources available to it so that by sheer force of logic and soundness of argument you could so influence the policy-makers, for example, at the executive office level and the legislative level, that you could get a sense of direction and cohesiveness out of our whole higher education system to maximize the use of the resources we have and avoid some of the fruitless competition or duplication that otherwise could occur and to some extent has occurred.

F--I don't think that the average academic has a real understanding of how difficult it is to get adequate information.

I can remember appropriating money into Detroit and having no sense of it in fact doing any real human good; having doubt about it, wondering if the representations I would make to the committee members were in fact accurate. I knew the need but I didn't know if the solution was occurring.

Milliken

It strikes me though that what you are talking about is elevating the base so that we can deal on a more factual basis.

M--I think that's clearly a critical need. We really don't have now in the state, other than through the legislative process itself, or the executive office budget function, a means of developing information and developing public support of understanding for the effective and efficient use of our resources.

F--You're really talking about policy analysis rather than... A perfect example, I suppose, is what I regard personally as a preposterous suggestion that three law schools be established now.<sup>4</sup>

M--Where do we resolve that question? If we bring it down here it's essentially resolved on a political level. The three law schools, or the proposal for it, and the bill supporting it, came out of a political process which was really unrelated to the facts and unrelated to the needs.

F--I don't know that I've ever personally seen the facts in terms of need analysis. I know that my institution feels strongly about it. I know that you recommend it. Optometry is obviously another area of dialogue and program competition.

One think I did want to observe: The cost of keeping a student in an institution of higher education, say at Michigan, our finest institution, is probably, in terms of state funds, \$1600. A cheap enough price when you consider that we spend \$10,000 to keep a man in Jackson.

I think of that as a rather good investment to enhance the people, but I'd like to know more myself about what would be the right way to get the most bang for the bucks.

M--There are a number of ways you can approach it, but it seems to me to make sense to create in this state

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<sup>4</sup>At the time of this study Grand Valley State College, Western Michigan University, and Michigan State University were all seeking state appropriations for a law school.

Milliken

a continuing permanent commission of higher education in the same way that the State Board of Education has been dealing, although not as effectively as I think it should, with K-12.

I find it difficult to believe that you can have a State Board of Education, even though contemplated under the Constitution, which can deal effectively both with K-12 and with higher education. But if you have the latter, and if you did, as I indicated, give it sufficient resources, sufficient staff, and if the process of selecting the members of the committee was such that that process led to a really top-flight, high-caliber, dedicated, experienced, knowledgeable commission, and if by the force of argument and of logic you can develop the rationale in support of the school of optometry, or no school at all, and the rationale in support of a single or three or two or one or no additional law schools, then I think you would have created for the first time a mechanism by which these judgments can really be made and effectively implemented.

We don't have that now. The State Board of Education is not equipped and capable of doing it, in my judgment. It can even be said in the executive office, management of the budget, or in the legislative or appropriations process, that we don't have a mechanism with sufficient exposure and acceptance to communicate itself.

F--Well, let me ask a hard question. I admire your attitudes about this, but do you have the honest sense that the institutions or the bureaucracy themselves want it to occur?

M--I think to the extent that the institutions feel that their autonomy would be encroached upon or that their freedom of action to move might in some way be restricted, to that extent they will be reluctant to move in this direction.

I don't want to go all the way, as I say, to a totally rigid system which imposes from the top in a very arbitrary manner.

F--It would require a very delicate balance.



Milliken

M--It's going to require a very delicate sense.

F--There's a fine line between control and coordination,  
isn't there?

M--There is, and yet I'm convinced that we can find that  
fine line and make it work.

F--Thank you very much, Governor.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
MALCOLM T. CARRON<sup>1</sup>

F--Father Carron, what is your background with the University of Detroit?

C--I was a student here, came here in '35 and graduated in '39. I have lots of memories of this place, from undergraduate days, through the time that I came here 18 years ago after I graduated from the University of Michigan and was assigned to teach here, up to the present.

That's a considerable span and I've thought about and even investigated, in many ways, our own history. I think some of your questions aren't too far off in terms of some of the questions that I had.

As far as I can gather, in our earliest days we were kind of just left alone, nobody in the other educational circles really understood us much. I think we had a reputation as a kind of small enclave or kind of seminary-type school. That was back in the twenties and thirties; that despite the big football team and everything that we'd had.

F--I went to Boston College. I'm struck somewhat by the feeling of similarity.

C--Yes, you'll find similarities in the 28 Jesuit universities no matter what their size.

F--Was your school identified in the public mind as a school for poor boys?

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<sup>1</sup>Malcolm T. Carron; President, University of Detroit, 1966- ; Member, New Detroit, Inc.; Member, Board of Directors, Detroit Chamber of Commerce; Member, Board of Directors, Detroit Educational TV Foundation. Interview conducted May 9, 1974.

Carron

C--Probably, [as a school for] sons and daughters of immigrants. We were here first. We were here in 1877 and there wasn't any university in Detroit, or any college. There was what is now Wayne Medical School but that was all. So we were doing what was called the "Jesuit thing."

We came from different parts of Europe after having a tremendous reputation over there. At one time we ran 500 colleges in Europe, and a few universities.

When we came to this country I gather there probably were a couple of ways to go. One might have been to pool our resources and establish one huge university, something like Notre Dame, but we didn't. We sought out the Catholics in the larger cities. Almost every one of our colleges is in a major urban area, whether it grew and got to be a complex university or whether it remained small like Loyola College in Baltimore.

F--I think that's true, except that I never could fathom how we had Spring Hill.

C--Spring Hill is probably the exception, and the one that went out of business in Bardstown, Kentucky.

F--I've never heard of it.

C--That was another Jesuit establishment that lasted for a few years and then went out of business, maybe because it wasn't in an urban area. But, yes, Spring Hill would be an exception to that.

Our schools were set up with a two-fold idea of giving a good education: a kind of meat-and-potatoes, bread-and-butter kind of education--there was never anything fancy about it--responding to immediate needs.

Why did we start a dental school? There was one dental school in the state, that was University of Michigan, but come the early thirties and somebody said you have to have another dental school in the state. So we started one.

We didn't start a medical school because one was here. For some reason when Wayne got going they didn't start a dental school. Without anybody agreeing to it

Carron

formally, they said, well, we've already got one here.

So you have really an unusual situation for a large state university, you've got a fine medical center and no dental school. And we have a university that probably under normal circumstances could have supported a medical school. We don't have one, but we do have the dental school.

That's the way we kept responding. And then we had our own kind of stamp we put on it and that was part of the curriculum. As a Catholic school you took 18 hours of philosophy and 9 hours of theology...

F--Do you think the Ratio Studiorum, with their curriculum requirements, cut the capacity of the schools to grow in more flexible times?

C--No, it's just because we've done all that. The Ratio Studiorum was principally a document for high school. It was the plan for what was the European college or lyceum, like the typical European middle school. So in a university you really didn't have to worry about the Ratio Studiorum. But there were national and international plans for what ought to be in a Jesuit curriculum. They're kind of minimal liberal arts things.

F--I can recollect the rigidity of the curriculum. We had to take Greek, Latin, 18 hours of philosophy, rhetoric, mathematics...

C--That's right, but not too different from the typical core curriculum of the twenties and thirties in all the schools of the country.

F--I can't say I have any regrets about it. I think it was helpful.

C--Ours had the added insistence on the philosophy and theology, no matter whether you were in engineering, the business school, or the liberal arts college.

F--How do you think private schools have fared in Michigan? Has there been conflict with the public sector?

C--The closest thing, and you shouldn't even use the word, was indifference, lack of communication until recent

Carron

years. It would have been unusual for Father Steiner-- even as late as that--and the president of Wayne and the president of Michigan to be real good friends. They didn't run in the same circle for some reason or another. Now we do.

F--And yet it was my impression that it was a conscious act to put through the tuition and scholarship program as a way of keeping the private sector alive in this state.

C--Part of that development came from my own interest. I did my doctoral dissertation on the contract colleges of Cornell University<sup>2</sup> and I was very enamoured of the way that the State of New York had encouraged, out of its land grant beginnings...

F--The agricultural school.

C--Yes. I spent a year at Cornell tracing the origin of that relationship and then I came back to Detroit and began to work in those areas. First we worked in the tuition grants and we thought that was about as far as we could go in getting some indirect state help for private colleges in Michigan.

The first thing I personally began to work on was the dental school bill. It was really necessary. You know, we got worried about whether we could sustain that dental school. We had many needs up here on this campus, we'd already spent a lot of our own funds and did a lot of...

F--It was in 1969, as I remember, that the Legislature ran that through.

C--Yes. In 1965 we'd built the new dental school down at McDougall after our old building was condemned for the expressway across the street from our law school.

I went up to Lansing and I talked to Speaker Ryan, I talked to a few others, and it looked like "Now is

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<sup>2</sup>Published as The Contract Colleges of Cornell University: A Cooperative Educational Enterprise (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958).

Carron

the time to start something like contract arrangements." We could draw a circle around the dental school. We didn't see any church-state problems. As I told one of the committees, there's no such thing as a Catholic cavity.

They began to listen and we passed that with, well, you were there. There wasn't much debate.

F--No, we were able to grease the skids on that very quickly.

C--Yes, it was done very well.

The second time around--and this isn't hitting all the schools yet--the state came to me and said, "How about taking some more law students?" That's how we set up the contract for the degree reimbursement for the law school which is going to be in its third year next year.

F--Were the federal funds that went to HEFA for construction of assistance to the private sector?

C--Yes, we built the life sciences building [but] it was just a partial grant.

You mean through the authority of Michigan.

F--That's right. But as far as I know there's been no state aid for construction to any private sector schools.

C--No.

F--I was the staff man for all of education, Father, and I did the parochiaid bill. I noticed when the forces came to repeal that, [although] the U of D dental bill was there and we were putting money into the tuition-grant program, no efforts were made by the antagonists towards attacking the private school in any way.

Do you have some thoughts about higher education why, in that strong emotional attitude, the private sector was immune?

Carron

C--I don't think it was immune. I think it was the way that the legislators and others began to think of the private schools. They were looking on them as a rather solid contribution to higher education in the state. They didn't think they were all that religious.

The great weakness of the kind of argument that backfired on the forces that were pushing for parochial aid was their definition of a Catholic school--which was permeated with religion. You heard that word.

When you get into higher education you don't really make that kind of claim. You have a right, for instance, in a liberal arts college to have a theology department but that doesn't have to...

F--We have a religion department at Michigan State.

C--Well, yes, as long as you aren't proselytizing and teaching one dogma, people can understand these things. That's what they're understanding in New York State.

But I could see an easy kind of relationship. I think the economies that were rather apparent in aiding private colleges were very appealing to legislators.

We had little flurries, you know. There was an article in one of the Lansing papers about this degree reimbursement. But it appeared once and quoted somebody as saying, "This is certainly cracking the wall between church and state." and then you never hear about it again.

F--That's a good point, Father. We did it, and I never heard much comment. It was no secret. I talked to the press about it, explained what we were doing, and there seemed to be something in this that said, "That's a good idea."

C--"Different...it's going to help the state." You've got one private university in the state. I think that people think that that would be a bad thing if we went under.

F--Ok, now that's an important point. I never had any experience before I came to Michigan with the public

Carron

sector. I went to private schools: Boston College, Boston University.

There's a real sense here that even though the private sector is small--10-15 percent--it would not be in the public interest to let it go by; that there's a need for diversity, or as Staebler put it the other day, pluralism. Do you have some thoughts about that?

C--I don't think a monolithic system of education, to have what you'd call government schools and have that the only option, is very attractive to anybody in this country. I've never heard anybody proposing it seriously.

F--Do you think that there's a chance? The McGeorge Bundy-style bill<sup>3</sup> was just passed and it's, in a sense, a contract because we're really not going to support the student now, we're going to support the institution. Institutions can't survive, in my opinion, without institutional support rather than tuition support.

C--Are you familiar with Goal 4, that report from the committee that I chaired--the total program for the state support of private education in the State of Michigan?

F--Are you talking about the State Board of Education goals for higher education?

C--State Board's goals--they [also] have numbers 1, 2, and 3--and 4 was that the state will encourage private higher education.

Then the Governor says, "Well, how are we going to do that?" My response was that we've already done some of it with those tuition grants.

The rest of the plan would have two more stages that it would go through. The second, after tuition grants, and after bolstering those--we increased them last year up to \$1,200.

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<sup>3</sup>Public Act 75 of 1974.



Carron

Well, number 2 of our plan was--and this was adopted by the State Board--to encourage the degree reimbursement across the board, not only go with professional schools like dentistry and law, but we proposed a program where we would reimburse the institution directly for every bachelor's and master's degree at the rate of \$400, [awarded to Michigan residents].

We also had a thing in there for doctoral degrees but since we're the only doctoral degree-granting institution, and it was a kind of point that nobody understood very well, we dropped it. We may go back for it later, but it was to be a negotiated sum for every doctor's degree.

F--Although in the New York plan they do have a price for the doctoral degree.

C--Yes, that's right, and they should have in this plan.

That was passed, you know, a few weeks ago, signed by the Governor, and the money's been appropriated.

F--With no opposition from the public sector at all.

C--No.

F--None that I can observe.

C--No, no public difficulty at all. We're going to get the money for this year's graduates August 1: \$350,000.

F--That's going to be quite a... what is the budget of the U of D?

C--About \$16 million. It's a modest budget.

F--\$350,000?

C--No, that's not the [whole] story. Next year in direct state aid we're going to get \$1,100,000. We're graduating two dental classes and that's going to be \$600,000 at the rate of...

F--But that's still cheap from the state's point of view.

C--Oh, yes.

Carron

Let me finish for your record because unless you go back to that Goal 4 you won't get it. The best part of that 3-point program is the third point. And this is not direct aid to the institution, it's direct aid to the student.

Here's what we asked for. We asked that you find the line-item in the state budget for the state school students. Western Michigan's going to get, let's say, \$1,800 per student, or \$2,000...

F--It's going to be less...

C--Let's say \$1,500. We're saying that every student who wants to go to a private college gets \$1,500 minus \$1,000 automatically. He starts with \$500 just because he wants to go to a private school. Then he starts showing need and he could get up to \$1,200. You continue the degree reimbursements, and putting everything together, the private colleges could do a very good job.

F--Father, what do you expect the impact will be of a significant increase of funding base? Do you expect enrollments to grow?

C--No, our enrollment I think will be stable. We're just like all the private colleges. We've got problems, you know, market problems.

We're turning away 2,000 law applicants. We can only take a class of 300. We have 2,700 applicants for 92 dental chairs. We've got 1,200 in our MBA program. That's just booming. We're accredited and Wayne isn't so we do a good business at much higher rates. The engineering looks like it's coming back. But nobody's taking language, so I'm suffering over there.

F--Let's talk a little bit about engineering. I did an engineering study and it indicated to me that almost all of the engineering programs were marginal. They didn't have enough enrollment in them. I used the Tiedman cost-study basis to do it.

There's a perfect case of competition making it thin for everybody to live. Oakland, Wayne, Michigan, Michigan State, Michigan Tech, U of D, running head-on, head against each other.

Carron

Was there pressure to abandon the program because of the competition, or is it just a matter that they had the dollars and they could stand the drain better than the private sector?

C--Yes, I think, in large, it's been true.

Our school is a little different. Again, we were here first. We had the co-op program and it drew students. Our first resident students were engineering students because we're known all over the country as one of the few Catholic engineering schools--whatever "Catholic engineering" means--so students began to come here. And then again it appealed to our middle-class-poor-kind of constituency.

F--Do you have a program like Northeastern does?

C--Yes, a 5-year co-op. We have a 6-year co-op in the School of Architecture. We have a co-op in the MBA program. There are some Arts co-ops.

F--Do you think you'll have to widen the market? It strikes me that one of the problems that higher education has today is that the market is probably getting saturated for the 18-22 group. Do you think you'll have to go for continuing education, second-career education, senior citizen cultural enhancement, and the like?

C--You mean to survive or to perform a service? A lot of schools are doing this. Siena Heights, you know, is giving courses in knitting...but it's to get students, to get income, and to provide more service to the surrounding community.

F--Well, I was the first member of my family to go to college.

C--Fifty percent of our students still are.

F--I notice people who are afraid to come to college. They have a sense of their own inadequacy. It takes a lot of courage sometimes. Maybe bringing people in to take an avocational approach can then lead them on to more rigorous disciplines.

Carron

C--We would judge all those options and possibilities on the surrounding area: what Wayne is doing or not doing, what Michigan is doing, or what Oakland is doing. It means also that we might even drop something based on that, but that's a different kind of question.

I'm rising or falling on my idea of this university. I'm not about to drop professional schools unless I really have to because I think they're part of our personality and identity.

I should think that as a private university, if we dropped engineering, we'd lose considerable support from industry. We're the largest supplier from any private school at Ford Motor. For many years we had more graduates there than any university in the world, about 1,600. And GM, we have more there, about 1,000.

F--I'm struck, Father, by your term "survival." Do you think institutions can have that kind of attitude and be vital? Don't you have to have an expanding kind of philosophy, without becoming imprudent?

C--No, I don't think so. If you're talking about physical expansion, certainly not.

I think you have to be innovative, and you have to react to what's needed, but if you're talking about numbers and the old kind of expansion that brought us to where we are now, I don't think that's going to happen again.

F--I guess I have the sense that you have to broaden the market to bring higher education to a different clientele. Maybe we have to turn our back on credit. Like the College of Lifelong Learning. Isn't that really an enhancement rather than a manpower decision?

C--Who's got that? Where did I hear that?

F--Well, President Wharton talks about it, but President Gullen is seemingly on the way to establishing it if he can get it through his faculty. He may not be able to, but they've taken all the continuing education pieces and wrapped them into a bundle. Not that the program is that different...

Carron

C--There's many dimensions to this. I don't think colleges and universities are going to change much in their approach to professional education.

F--No, I don't think so.

C--They may or may not want to, or have to. I've talked to our dentists about how they could cut through the whole question of how to change their profession. You know what a losing argument that is, when you're talking about auxiliary people who might be trained just to fill a tooth.

F--I don't think they're going to have much choice though. Not because of them, but because of things like the tremendous expansion for the market of dentistry that will come from the UAW contracts. The dentist is not going to be able to survive as an artisan, just as the doctor isn't.

C--I was talking to the faculty and more or less announcing to them that we were going to cut back and maybe drop about 25 tenured people because of the departments that aren't growing. One member of the faculty said, "Why don't you just take in everybody who applies?" Wouldn't that solve your problem?"

We turn away maybe 300 or 400 students a year who we consider couldn't compete in our environment.

F--That probably wouldn't change the market for the people you're talking about in French, German, or Romance languages.

C--No, it wouldn't change that unless the faculty changed. The attrition might be the second factor that would kill us, and we aren't that selective. We're just kind of moderately selective, we're not nearly as selective as the University of Michigan.

F--Do you think it was the personality of the leaders? I gather that there wasn't much contact in the time of Hannah, Hatcher, and Hilberry, in the way of relationship and concern of one for the other. You said you didn't travel in the same circles.

C--I just began my career as Hannah was leaving his. Hannah and I did one thing together, along with--who

Carron

was the former superintendent of schools in Detroit? He's quite a guy--Brownell--we formed the Michigan-Ohio...

F--Michigan-Ohio Regional Education Lab.

C--We did that together. Hannah called and then his man walked into my office one day and said, "Sign this." I said, "What's it all about?" "Well," he said, "we're going to tell you later. We're going to form a corporation." That's how MOREL started and it was a flop. But anyway, that's beside the point.

I didn't know John Hannah very well and there was no opportunity for us to work together. Wharton I know better, but we don't talk about doing anything together.

F--Aren't you cooperating together on trying to save the Detroit schools, or are you out of that? I know Michigan, Michigan State, and Wayne are working on some kind of consortium.

C--Yes, I'm on that.

F--Although it's hard to move the Detroit schools these days.

C--Yes, I worked on that through New Detroit. But I used to talk to Keast a lot about more cooperation down there.

One time he started talking about how they lacked architecture. They had something like city planning and we were trying to put something together.

The latest attempt with Wayne--President Gullen came to me and said there was pressure on him to start a dental school, but he didn't particularly want to start a dental school. He thought that our school was furnishing in response to the needs of this area pretty well. And he said, "I just want you to know that, because you might hear that somebody's going to push for Wayne's dental school as a completion of that center."

Carron

I said, "You know, George, it's not going to be enough for us just to talk. How would you like to go all the way? We've got to have a whole new plant. Our plant is worn out. We need about \$15 million for a dental school and the place for that dental school shouldn't be down on McDougall, it should be in the medical center. It should be the University of Detroit Dental School right in the medical center so that our dental students get the benefit of the hospital experience. They get the benefit of our faculty, get the benefit of dental research, and the medical school gets the benefit of dental research. We can work the whole thing together."

F--Do you think that could work as a contract school?

C--Now wait. I said, "Nobody is going to believe us unless we go out and talk to the Legislature together, not separately, but together." So we went up there and talked to Gar Lane, talked to several others, and they said, "Let's get going."

So we got a planning grant--\$100,000--and that's what we're about now. I've got my planners working with the Wayne people and getting opinions from the Attorney General. We can go in a couple of ways. One would be, if there's any problem, for the state to buy the land and build the building and lease it to the University of Detroit for 100 years.

We think that's the answer. We put the big clinic in there. We service an awful lot of poor people through the clinic every year. We are already built into a health care building that Wayne's starting to build now, where we have this family care kind of thing. It's just a modest kind of clinic.

We are already on Wayne's campus. We're using one of their buildings to teach basic science, and we're using their teachers to teach that science on a contractual arrangement.

So that's where we are on that. That's pretty good cooperation.

F--Do you have any insights about why private schools didn't develop in Michigan and have the same kind

Carron

of clout that they did in the East or in Ohio, for instance?

C--I think probably the strength and prestige of the University of Michigan would have an awful lot to do with that. I don't know too much about Ohio. I know all about why private education developed and prospered in New York. But Michigan, I think, was one factor.

I think they have a fair number of private colleges in the State of Michigan, something like 30-35. That's not minimal. What's more important is the rate of decline. At one time there were about 24 percent of the college-age students in private colleges. Now it's down to about 14 percent, isn't it, or 12?

F--Yes, and it's been going down, generally.

C--The obvious factors are the increase of the community colleges in the state and the development of the teacher-education schools into full-blown universities around the state.

I know that Ohio is outstanding and different, has an awful lot of private schools, but I'm not familiar with that history.

F--We talked before we started the tape about a lack of conflict, one toward the other. In Massachusetts, for instance, the private schools fought mightily to prevent the University of Massachusetts from coming into the urban area. Private schools never did fight the growth of public schools in Michigan, that I can see.

C--Well, Father Steiner used to as kind of a one-man band. He used to inveigh against the community college plans. I don't think it was a very useful kind of debate or argument because he didn't get out with it that much. But he was very fearful of community colleges taking away students from us. He was very fearful when they came in with the U of M-Dearborn. I worried through that, too, a little bit because they started a co-op program, which was our kind of thing.

I've never been aware, unless it was very quiet, of anybody opposing us, and I've never felt the need to feel threatened by other public schools.



Carron

The fact that you can go to Wayne for \$700, the fact that we have 9,000 students paying \$2,000--I told the faculty, you must be doing something right if we can attract students at those rates. Next year tuition is going to be \$2,100.

F--What do you do with the money that you get? Will you try to lower the tuition some?

C--If this total plan comes in, yes. We have quite a scholarship plan of our own. I don't look on that as a problem yet--what will I do with the extra money!

We've got so many things to do here. See that "Archy Save" on the end of that building? That's a message to me. The architecture school is running out of space and they want to say, save the architects. I'm looking for a new building for them now.

We've got about \$1 million worth of delayed maintenance here. Our older buildings are in very bad shape. We're starting a centennial drive to get a new library, architecture buildings, and some new recreational facilities, but that's brick and mortar.

F--But part of the problem that I see with the private school is that you have to about once every 10-15 years renew your plant. And you're about 10 years out, aren't you?

C--Yes, that's right.

F--Are you having a large growth in the third year? What's the effect of the community college?

C--It's good. We've had some transfers. I maintain that we haven't taken full advantage of it. We've got to do more earlier in developing those transfers. But we've been doing pretty well. That's what I always thought was the benefit of the community college, that you'd be filling your upper-division classes.

F--It's my understanding that Michigan State, for instance, has more "first-time-in-the-university" people in the third year now than they have in the freshman year.

Carron

C--It could be.

F--Or if not, the number is amazingly close. That's got to be a means of lowering unit cost and revivifying an institution, too.

What about the cooperation with the Protestant sector, Calvin...?

C--The history of that's all in the Independent Colleges of Michigan. At one time we had the Catholic Colleges of Michigan, but when I became chairman of that Board, I moved that we dissolve it and just be part of the Independent Colleges.

F--John Gaffney is the head of that group. He's Catholic, isn't he?

C--Yes. At the same time that we dissolved the Catholic Colleges the Protestant group dissolved.

F--Was that about 1966?

C--Something like that.

F--Have you been able to work cooperatively there?

C--With all but Hillsdale. Hillsdale pulled out of Independent Colleges because they take the stance that they don't want state help. There are a couple in Independent Colleges that have, I guess, a religious problem. But they won't pull out, they just won't accept money if it comes directly from the state. Andrews University will take the tuition grants but won't take a building or won't take the degree reimbursement. Hillsdale takes the stand that they don't want any part of it and...

F--Before I came to see you I was struck by that because their president had quite a lot of rhetoric in recent weeks about the danger of the government. It sounded very John Birchish to me.

I wondered if the private sector were afraid of cooperation and government aid.

Carron

C--They don't seem to be.

F--Somebody said to me that there's very little difference between a private school and a public school. They're both public institutions.

C--I suppose in one sense they're public but that's the constant problem of private schools--maybe public schools never have the problem--our identity. It's what we talked about before, what made us different in Catholic and Jesuit [institutions], and made it so worthwhile.

"Well, you look just like Wayne, I might as well send my kids down there." We're in the throes of resolving that and why it is worth the \$2,000 to come here. Is it just the academic quality or is there some other dimension that makes this a better place? Some people say that your school has all the advantages of a large university because you have all these programs, doctoral programs, professional schools, but really you have also the strength and opportunities of a small college. Everybody teaches and is a full member of the faculty. We don't have a lot of teaching assistants teaching.

I used to think it was a kind of PR but I really believe that our people spend a lot of time with students. I see these relationships.

F--It may be PR, but that certainly was one of the strengths of the community college, too. They use the same arguments.

C--My answer to that is there's a difference and if you see it, fine, if you don't, you shouldn't be here.

F--We're really talking to you at a very auspicious moment in a sense. If the bill is implemented, in a real sense it will remove some of the real perils these schools have faced, the question of day-to-day survival will be behind you and you can get back to the questions about which a man spends his career: about enhancement, improvement, and finding new and innovative ways. You won't have to worry every day about meeting the back mortgage payment.

Carron

In a sense the man that will succeed you, and other private colleges will be looking at probably the most promising sets of situations since 1950. Do you have that sense of...

C--Well, I just don't think it's that easy. I think that an awful lot of private schools are going to go out of business.

I still want to ask the question: When we finally get absolutely competitive, whether students are still going to really come to this school, whether they really prefer it, whether they think it's better, whether they think it's got it's own personality and identity.

When I've answered that, I suppose the question will be answered. I think there might be some private schools at which you could give it away and they still wouldn't survive.

F--State schools have that same problem.

C--I know it.

F--Because when they all have grown to copy Michigan, and try to be identical, there's no reason to go to one rather than another.

I don't know how to say this tactfully, but my view of the Eastern Dilemma is that they didn't create a personality and an institutional style that was identifiable.

C--Yes.

F--The next president there will have a very treacherous and arduous job to create a sense of why you should go there rather than to some other place.

C--I have a feeling that Kalamazoo College would survive without state help. I have a good feeling about that. I think that state help will just give them a little extra.

F--It's my understanding they've developed some cooperative arrangements with Western much like yours with

Carron

Wayne, particularly in the hard sciences. They had the nursing program that was costly.

Well, thank you very much, Father, for your insights about the University of Detroit and your observations about the private sector of higher education.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH

JOHN W. PORTER<sup>1</sup>

F--John, what in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

P--I think the principal reason was the expanding desire of high school students, and others, to seek a higher education. Apparently the Legislature was inclined to finance that type of upward mobility for higher education.

I think the second reason--and I think just as significant--was the movement following the war of community college growth and development.

So between the community colleges and the baccalaureate institutions I think you had the makings for expansion of public higher education.

During this period of time there was not the expansion in private education.

F--That's true. In fact, there was a slight contraction every year over the previous year in this time.

We built community colleges; we built four-year institutions; we built a place like Ferris, which had a vocational and technical constituency; we encouraged the growth of intermediate districts, and they began to have vocational constituencies also.

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<sup>1</sup> John W. Porter; State Superintendent Public Instruction, 1969- ; Consultant to Michigan Department of Public Instruction, 1958-61; Director, Michigan Higher Education Assistance Authority, 1961-69; Associate Superintendent for Higher Education, Michigan State Department of Education, 1966-71. Interview conducted May 9, 1974.

Porter

Besides demand, do you think there might have been some kind of psychological attitude, which I have called sometimes a Horatio Alger belief, in the value of education?

P--Well, certainly. I think the whole premise for the two points was the concept of Horatio Alger, tied in with the ingredient that was there in 1958--the John Dale Russell study and the work that John Jamrich had done.

That work and those 13 volumes tied in with another phenomenon--you can't really isolate these, but I happened to have joined the Department of Education in 1957 as the first research person, and I'm sure that Governor Swainson, or at least Williams, identified this--in 1952 Governor Williams created a commission on community colleges.

That commission made its report in 1954, sometime about then. That's why I said the community college movement really began to take hold [then]. Look back, prior to 1950, and see what happened between 1950 and 1960 in terms of creation of community colleges--nine of which were probably too small to have been created.

But more important than that, we've got to realize that it wasn't until 1955, three years before this date [1958] that we had the second university in Michigan. Nobody seems to realize that.

I think the John Hannah movement to get Michigan State College in 1955 designated as a university was critical. Following that, you had in 1956 the designation of Wayne from a city college to a state college. I don't quite have the dates here, but you had within a period of time right around here the other four state colleges, which were only teacher colleges, designated as universities.

F--That happened in Con-Con, but it's been my impression that after John Hannah won the fight over Michigan State University, that when Con-Con came...

P--It was too late.

F--There was just no energy to fight it.

Porter

P--That's right. It was too late.

I think that added to the expansion of higher education, because you then had alumni who were eager to get their institutions off and moving; you had the Horatio Alger thing; and you had several documents, Williams's commission on community colleges and the John Dale Russell study, that were saying, "Hey, the enrollments are going up and we'd better be prepared for it."

I think when you put those three things together, you have a natural in Michigan.

F--But John, in Ohio they had probably as high a desire. They didn't fulfill that need, they created a system where people could get in but it was hard to stay in. The law in Ohio said every man and woman could go to college if they graduated from high school, and then they ran that system of flunking everybody out.

We didn't seem to do that. I wonder why?

P--Well, I can't say why, but I think it had something to do with the personalities that were on the scene at the time.

I think the egalitarian approach of the late 1950's and early 1960's was such that you couldn't get to the University of Michigan--and you had to get someplace. Every local area in Michigan, why, I don't know, wanted to have its college.

When you look at Ohio I think you have a different kind of picture. In Ohio they had a number of private institutions scattered across the horizon, whereas in our state we didn't have that kind of arrangement. You go back and look at Ohio. You'll see there was a Youngstown College, there was a Cleveland College...

F--There were lots of small church-related private schools spread across the land. They had a great many more colleges than we have in this state; I still think they do.



Porter

We've been talking about some of the factors in this growth. Can you think about some other significant social and economic features?

P--I look back on what happened, not in '58, but 1960. Legislation was passed creating the state-guaranteed loan program--which I was pleased to have set up--which is the first time that the state had adjusted itself to financial need. It was only the second or third state in the nation that had dealt with that.

I think that that grew out of this new egalitarian-type of approach where Michigan, which has been predominantly a blue collar state, was beginning to respond to the needs of that particular population: indicating that higher education was desirable and it ought to be available to the blue collar son and daughter.

I think that ties right back into [question] number one. Money was starting to become available for the blue collar worker as discretionary funds to send his child off to college.

F--Not many people have talked about that, but that's one of the points that has been made that struck me with the most vigor. After '56 there seemed to have been an increase in the standard of living so that discretionary opportunity was available.

Some have talked about the view that Michigan industry couldn't survive unless it became more technologically sophisticated, and hence it began to have a desire [to see higher education expanded]. This is also the time of the Russian predominance in space.

P--Yes. No doubt about the fact that Sputnik caused part of this expansion, and likewise the discretionary income.

Probably far more important than that--and I think this sort of ties number one and two together--we have to realize that even in 1970, twelve years later or through a whole decade, half of all the enrollments in higher education in Michigan were in teacher education.

Porter

What was happening in 1950 was the start of the baby boom, which I made reference to before, and this push on for teacher education. By changing the teacher colleges to universities we attracted an overload of people into the colleges, many of whom were in teacher education, women primarily, as sort of an insurance policy.

If someone just goes back and takes a look, the record shows very clearly that the expansion of higher education was not in most of the basic areas, it was predominantly in teacher education. You had Northern, Central, Western, Eastern, Michigan State, and Wayne expanding their teacher-education programs to the extent that half of all the graduates for the past eight years have earned teacher certificates.

F--I wondered about that when I read--I think it's Silberman's book. He was talking about higher education and statistics came out that three of the ten largest teacher education institutions in the United States were in Michigan.<sup>2</sup>

P--Six of the 25 largest teacher-training institutions in the United States are in Michigan. We have the largest teacher-training institution in the United States, the second largest in the United States, and four others in the top 25.

Western and Michigan State each year trade back and forth on which one's the largest. Central, Wayne, Eastern and the University of Michigan are the other four.

How? That people don't understand. If you go back and isolate the data on the program classification structure and ask the question of what led to the expansion of higher ed, [you'll find] we didn't have "an expanse of higher education." What we had in effect was expansion of teacher education.

F--I wonder why.

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<sup>2</sup>Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 376.

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P--I think it ties into "how can you attract funds to an institution without heavy commitment in an area where there is a relationship between supply and demand when enrollments are going up, damn near doubling, in the elementary and secondary schools?" Where would you put your emphasis if you were a college president.

F--I see that, but it seems that our supply of teachers was a national phenomenon, not just a Michigan phenomenon.

P--But Michigan, I think, because of the leadership that it had in the colleges of education... I almost said the athletic arena, which is closely related to education.

I think a lot of what I said before ties into leadership; where you have education as an easy social, upward mobile stamp in a highly industrialized, labor-oriented state.

It seems to me that the response in Michigan was far greater than it was in many other states and that's what made Michigan the leading teacher-education producer in the United States for the past ten years.

F--That may be part of the trouble now.

P--Oh, no doubt about that.

F--It's hard to get institutions to change their markets, so to speak.

What were the policy objectives that underlay this expansion?

P--Frankly, I don't think there were any major policy objectives that underlaid this expansion. The problem in Michigan, unlike many other states--although I haven't looked at many other states--is that the policies weren't being laid down by a state planning and coordination agency. The policies were being laid down by some very far-sighted, articulate, powerful people, such as John Hannah and some others.

We had at that time in Michigan some pretty strong and significant college presidents. I was commenting

Porter

to someone the other day that when I began in the higher education [field] in 1960 we had some of the giants in the nation with Hatcher, Hannah, Hilberry, Spathelf, and some others. Since 1970 not one of those guys remains.

F--You know, I thought about that when I began this work. In 1966 when I worked for you, you sent me up to the north country on an inspection visit. That was shortly after Ray Smith<sup>3</sup> had taken over. I went with Sturtz and Endriss<sup>4</sup>. I just happened to think as I began this work that not one of these men is left, except for Smith. That was '66 and all of those incumbents have gone. They're all new people.

P--Everybody's gone. When I began in 1960 all of these guys had been in their jobs for God knows how long, all through World War II practically. Now I look back and everybody's new; the Flemings, the Whartons. They don't know what was taking place back in 1960-61 in Michigan. We don't have one guy left, not one.

F--I've had trouble, and it's that there's been no institutionalization of planning.

P--That's right.

F--There's been very few clear-cut documents where people said, "This is the road ahead, this is what we'll do." Rather it's happened by forces of grass-roots attitudes, regional civic energy, the power of individual legislators, and the personalities of educational leaders. And it's hard to point to, to say, "According to page 7 of volume 3, this is what we're going to do."

But yet it seems to have had, on the balance, some kind of symmetry to it. It all worked out.

P--Well, it did all work out.

You know one way to translate question number 3, in

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<sup>3</sup>Raymond L. Smith; President, Michigan Technological University.

<sup>4</sup>Charles Sturtz and Robert Endriss; Counselors, Bureau of the Budget, State Board of Education.

Porter

my opinion--and I'm not certain of this fact but it ought to be checked out if you're going to do this history--Michigan is the only state in the nation that had in its constitution prerogatives for institutions of higher education.

There's no other state in the nation that embodies in its constitution the kind of autonomy that Michigan institutions have. When you have that, if you put the right kind of visionary, energetic person in, that wants to build an institution with this egalitarian approach of the masses, wanting young people to get an education, you have, in effect, a strange policy objective for expansion.

F--Strange?

P--I say strange because as long as the populus will support that, and there's money to finance it, what you're in effect going to have is an increasing amount of concentration in those public institutions.

F--As a matter of fact, it struck me that in '58 the budget for higher education was about \$84 million and in 1970 it was about \$264 million.

It strikes me that while the rhetoric is often passionate, the schools have never really had to know want or hardship fiscally. They've been able to have the resources that they've wanted and been able to command, and I think in a very generous way.

In spite of the fact that it's always impossible to get a comparative number, it looks to me like Michigan's institutions have lived pretty richly compared to their fellows in other midwestern states.

P--I don't think there's any doubt about that.

Up until recently that's been quite true. I think maybe that might be one of the real tough pains that the 1970's will bring about.

F--Tough pains? In what way?

P--That if one has to drop from living richly back to living normally, it's a lot more difficult than if one has to drop from living normally back to living a little less than normal, which is what may well

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happen in a number of other states. But with the community colleges, and with the new push for aiding private higher education, and with the whole change in the attitude of people, this could have tremendous impact. It's showing up at Eastern right now.

F--It struck me, in talking with Father Carron, that the impact of this bill that's been passed to pay a grant for each degree could have rather immense fiscal ramifications. Maybe not immense in terms of the total budget, but it could be a payout of \$8 to \$10 million. That would thin the pool. It would thin the pool a lot.

Do you have some suspicions that this may give a chance for private higher education to come back some?

P--Oh, yes. I think this office, through the legislative appropriations, has sustained private higher education in Michigan for the past five years.

F--You're talking about the tuition grant program.

P--The tuition grant program, the scholarship program, right.

F--As I can detect, this was a deliberate public policy to keep the private sector alive.

P--Absolutely.

F--And the tuition grants and the scholarship grants were done as mechanisms, strategy...

P--And capitation grants now.

F--And now we have capitation.

I did not notice that there was that energy of hostility between the private and public sector. The private sector didn't try to prevent the public sector from flourishing. In Massachusetts the strong private schools prevented the public schools from coming into the metropolitan area. I didn't see that the state schools in Michigan attempted to prevent the private schools from getting monies, as they have in some of the western states.

Do you have any idea why that statesmanship came about?

Porter

P--No, and what you say is true. There was a sufficient amount of public educational institutional opposition to these various programs, but once the programs surfaced to the public arena--that being the Legislature--no public opposition surfaced.

Frankly, I don't know why, except again I think that that's part of the unique Michigan scene. There was a lot of organizational concern--Council of State College Presidents--hoping such legislation would not go in, as I recall. But once it got to the public arena, the opposition didn't take place.

My observation would be that that's because Michigan's private institutions, although they're not very powerful individually, are quite powerful collectively because of their boards of trustees. You just look at Albion or Adrian or Olivet and see who makes up these boards. When you add all that up I think you get a unique phenomena.

F--It may be a strange thing, but I'm quite struck by the fact that in terms of physical muscle, Michigan's universities are much more powerful than those in other states--because of the Constitution and the alumni.

But I also, in spite of the weak enrollment mixes, wouldn't want to take on a Calvin, an Albion, a Hope, or U of D because they have some hold on the spirit of men. I think about Hope in a very forceful way. Governor Williams mentioned the influence that President Lubbers had. It strikes me that these men were influential, and still are.

P--With influential board members you generate quite influential institutions.

F--I haven't studied that. I think<sup>5</sup>I'll have to go take a look at who was on the boards.

P--That's the key, and I think that's partly why the institutions didn't go public. I suspect that the private colleges have more influence across the street [at the State Capitol] than the public institutions if it came

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<sup>5</sup>See Appendix III.

Porter

to a showdown on any one of these. You've got to realize that the Gerstackers and the Dow Chemicals or the Kresges, and the people who give money to public institutions aren't on public boards. That's something people don't realize.

F--They're on private boards.

P--They're on private boards. If I'm at the University of Michigan and I want a grant out of Kresge to build a library or something and I know Kresge's on Albion's board--which he was at the time--I've got to think twice before I take a potshot at Albion. That's a very interesting phenomenon.

F--That's a good point.

What were the key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflict in the attempts to attain the above objectives?

P--My response is that I can't add any more than I already have to that question.

F--Let me lead you down the path a little bit, if I may. What I was thinking about is that there were regional pressures: Saginaw versus Grand Rapids, Dearborn versus Oakland, and Flint, and the energy to have regional institutions. I was curious if there were community college fights with four-year schools as they attempted to make a place in the sun for themselves. I've been curious how to really interpret the Michigan State-University of Michigan conflicts, to find out how to value them, find out how real they were.

I have the sense that some of these fights that caught the public's attention, and caught mine, were a good deal more ephemeral and less real than they appeared to be.

P--Well, Jerry, I'm wanting to get through all of these 20 questions. I don't want to belabor all of these but I realize that I'm one of the few guys that's been around since 1958 that's looked at this thing quietly.



Porter

I think the phenomenon was what you identified in questions one and two. As I look back on what happened in 1955, the University of Michigan did everything that they could to keep Michigan State University from being designated a university.

And if you saw the paper about that whole branch business, the University of Michigan proposed that there be at Saginaw, Grand Rapids, everywhere, a University of Michigan branch. They lost, they lost a bitter struggle. They lost the struggle principally because of John Hannah. Once Hannah opened the flood gates, then the politicians came up and said, you know, "Let everybody get part of the action." Before we could get any planning under way, every public institution had gotten its foot in the door and had gotten its name changed.

This all took place by 1958: all the institutions were universities, except the two that became colleges after 1960. The institutions then pushed so hard--and nobody's ever said this before, and I'm just thinking about it. It's kind of funny because I was in the Capitol at the time and listened to the debate. People tend to think we're talking about a 40-year history. Hell, we're talking about taking 40 years and collapsing them into six years.

F--Yes, a lot happened.

P--The Easterns, Westerns, and the Centrals pushed so hard between 1958 when they became universities, and 1964 when the State Board came into being, to try to become miniature University of Michigans that they did not view the movement by the local constituents to create community colleges as the kind of political threat that I think they have now become.

Eastern is a good example. Eastern now is like a barricaded lion because Washtenaw is growing at the freshman and sophomore levels and the U of M has copped all of their graduate programs. They've just got to change their image. What really happened was a matter of hindsight.

F--I agree with you. I used to say when I worked on the floor of the Legislature how glad I was that the community colleges never realized what real strength

Porter

they had. They could have wiped us off the block, because there was one in every hill and dale.

P--That's right. I just don't think the baccalaureate institutions took time enough to realize what was going to happen. Only ten percent of the enrollments in 1960 were in community colleges.

F--About a third now, isn't it?

P--Oh, no. 57 percent.

F--57 percent of all...

P--57 percent of the freshmen and sophomores.

F--Why that's staggering.

P--I predict that by 1980, 80 percent of all the students will be enrolled in community colleges.

F--That will be an interesting thing.

P--So you see back here [the attitude was] "create a few of these little things. We don't want too many freshmen and sophomores anyway. We want to be the University of Michigan."

F--What about the policy goal for the destruction of class and cultural barriers? What do you think about that?

P--G. Mennen Williams articulated this policy in his rhetoric. I think part of the response at both the community college and baccalaureate level was an objective to eliminate class and cultural barriers.

F--Let me speculate with you. When John Hannah broke Michigan in the fight over the university title, he was able to line up all of the small regional institutions behind him. It was Michigan against everybody else. It was not really Michigan against Michigan State.

Michigan State has been regarded as a second-chance school: a chance for democratic-popularism-kind of situation.

Porter

Do you have the sense, John, that this was an objective that had real wide support?

I think about the community college thing. That obviously was another part of that same facet, wasn't it?

P--Well, I think that the John Hannah movement, in terms of question number 5, was more of a destruction of class and cultural barriers than the initial movement of the community colleges. The initial movement of the community colleges was to develop the transfer academic program.

What Hannah did, and he did have the support of the regional institutions, was in effect to marshall the resources of labor and agriculture.

F--Did you ever wonder how a school so closely identified with the Republicans was able to make that transition and embrace labor and be all of a sudden across both spectrums?

P--Sure, very easily: because of the agricultural field extension agent.

F--You think that the fact that they were in every county...

P--Yes. When you get down to the rural Republican farmer, you don't have that much difference between him and the common laborer in the factory.

In other words, the transition between the Republican rural farmer that Michigan State epitomized, and the guy at Oldsmobile who's a Democrat, is not that much different when it comes back to the...

F--...social issues.

P--That's right.

F--I think that's a very perceptive point.

That really leads to question number 6: popularism in higher education versus elitism. I didn't really know how to separate questions 5 and 6. They're really the same thing, aren't they?

Porter

And yet I wonder why Michigan didn't take part of that, because it's been a flexible institution. It allowed itself in some ways to be portrayed as elite. And yet, if it's elite, it's an extremely broad elite. There are 40,000 students there.

P--Well, yes. But you've got to realize that Michigan is the only institution in the state that sets a quota on the number of entering freshmen: the 2,900 top entering freshmen anywhere in the United States. Very interesting. People don't realize it; you talk to Alan Smith<sup>6</sup>.

I agree with you, University of Michigan is quite unique. For some strange reason they're able to get kids who tend to be extremely bright, and yet are able to continue to produce very good undergraduate athletic components--something that Michigan State can't seem to do and they don't have the quota on setting the elitism. Maybe that's something for Cliff Wharton to think about.

I think the University of Michigan could have had the best of both worlds, but...

F--Do you think it was the personalities on the scene?

P--Oh, absolutely. Hatcher epitomized the academic elite aspects, that the University of Michigan was the institution and Michigan State was just a cow palace. Michigan State argued the popularism and responded to both the labor and to the farmer.

F--One of the things that makes it hard for people to see this is that we don't have a history.

I personally watched Fleming from the first day he came--I was in the room when Fleming came to the appropriations committee--and said, "We will no longer be arrogant. We will consult." I think in a very subtle and stylish way he's moved the institution a good deal away from that starchy attitude.

P--Oh, yes. I think Bob Fleming has done a darn good job. It's very interesting. It seems to me that you have in the two institutions now, almost the reverse, but

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<sup>6</sup>Allan F. Smith; Vice President Academic Affairs, University of Michigan.

Porter

not ingrained, of what we had ten years ago.

You have in Fleming a labor negotiator who knows the political arena, who's trying to move the institution back more toward the kind of image that the legislators would support. You have at Michigan State a true academician who wants to move Michigan State to be a great institution academically, but I think who also wants to keep Michigan State back there with the people.

You have a funny kind of juxtaposed position, similar to the Hatcher-Hannah position of the fifties and sixties.

F--It's kind of curious, isn't it. I'm beginning to detect-- although this is outside of the area of the study-- certain kinds of energies between the two schools, certain areas of noncooperation in a very genteel way, in a very private way. They're beginning to occur because I think they're both striving for a new constituency.

P--That's right. They're going to have to.

F--Michigan State's moving much closer to the Michigan position, and Michigan's beginning to drift back toward the State position. It may be that there's a need for balance, but it's going to be curious to watch that phenomenon.

You've raised the point about the community college. That's going to change a lot, isn't it?

P--That's right, plus the fact that neither of them has the population base that Wayne has. Wayne really hasn't figured out how to pull off its "thing" yet.

F--But if it does...

P--If it does, it's "watch out, baby." They just don't know how to do it.

F--People forget that something like 95 percent of the population of Michigan lives in only seven counties.

What about the vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education?

Porter

P--I think that the pressure put on by the State Board of Education and by the Legislature, coupled with the support that's coming from business and industry, has really given this new importance. It's going to have, I think, a major impact upon not only the public institutions but also the private.

F--I've heard a disappointment when I've talked to key opinion leaders. They have talked very strongly about the desire to upgrade the skills of our people because of--they haven't expressed it--what I sense is their suspicion of the value of the whole assembly line process. They wanted to create more skills where people have more of a sense of personal accomplishment and achievement.

Their expectations that Ferris or even community colleges would fulfill this has been somewhat disappointing because they sort of implied that all the schools tried to follow the University of Michigan model.

P--Well, they did, the first ten years.

F--That's why it's been cited to me that the area vocational school, which they regard patently as a duplication of other functions, has been created to fill a need outside of the baccalaureate stream. They made some distinctions between professional vocational education and sort of hands-on vocational education. It's been said to me that the agenda is not yet done in this area.

P--It's only beginning. That was my comment in regard to question number 7. I don't think number 7 can be put in the same context as the first six questions because number 7 is part of a new agenda which, in my opinion, has just begun to emerge during this decade.

F--What is that new agenda?

P--The new agenda, I think, is related very closely both to the higher education amendments of 1972 and to the movement of the State Board of Education to create 77 area skill centers for secondary students. Once those area skill centers produce secondary students with skills tied into job placement, that's going to have a tremendous impact upon the baccalaureate institutions and community colleges.

Porter

And third, it's tied into the whole concept that I've been pushing and the Legislature supports, and that's giving a differential for vocational education. Even though some of the people you've interviewed have some displeasures, you'll never get any institution creating vocational and occupational training objectives until there's an incentive for it.

F--I would agree with you. There was a lot of support, I believe, in 1968-69 when the language was put in the bill to create the incentive and the differential. It wasn't something that was staff-oriented. When the staff pointed it out there was support across a thousand constituency boundaries. The most astonishing kinds of people came out.

I can recollect when a man came to me and said, "I represent the fisheries." A city boy like me, I'd never heard of the fisheries. He wanted that differential because he said they needed it in order to train people.

P--That's right. That's a new phenomenon.

F--What about the growth of culture and the arts? Did that have importance in the dialogue over higher education?

P--Insignificant.

F--I've only seen culture and the arts used once, cleverly, in the enhancement of an institution. That was Woody Varner at Oakland. He built a very curious kind of institution where he tied the automotive society into the theater and tied Reuther in at the other end.

P--Yes. Woody initially built an institution based upon the culture and the arts and it fell flat on its face. Flat on its face. They had to redesign the whole institution.

F--That's O'Dowd's<sup>7</sup> trouble, isn't it? They have gone through the transition of taking an elite institution and making it into a blue-collar one.

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<sup>7</sup>Donald D. O'Dowd; President, Oakland University, 1971-

Porter

That might have been inevitable since even though the address says Rochester they were three-and-a-half blocks from Pontiac.

P--That's right, that's exactly right. That is very perceptive. They put together an institution for the culture and the arts on the old Wilson estate which should have been responding to the city needs of Pontiac.

F--What about the position of labor in regard to higher education?

P--Very supportive. That's why we were number one. You had guys like Staebler and Reuther. You know, the giants of the nation were around here.

All these common laborers, whether you were black or blue or pink, made the same amount of money, and the aspiration was that "I want my kid to be able to do better than I can do." I think that's the key.

F--I wondered about this, John. You have the sense that labor in many other parts of the country was concerned with lunch-pail issues, bread-and-butter issues. Here they've built an interest across the whole spectrum of government. The UAW is interested in social programs, pensions, and they're interested in education on a very broad state basis. I often wondered if you could ascribe that to the vision of the men themselves. There was Bluestone; there was Woodcock; there were the Reuthers, all three of them; and there was Gus Scholle.

P--Jimmy Hoffa.

F--Jimmy Hoffa, Don Stevens.

P--Yes. You've got to realize something on question number 9--Michigan is unique. You've got to remember that Michigan is the only state in the nation where we equalize the opportunity of the common man around a common productivity--the automobile--which in the 1940's and 1950's became in effect the thing that made America what it is in 1970. Why the hell were we building highways? We didn't build highways to walk on, we built highways because we got General Motors, we got Ford, and we got Chrysler.



Porter

These guys, I don't think they planned it. They're brilliant, but I don't think they planned it. These guys created in Michigan the standard of living for the nation, which was high. Once you have done that, then you look around for some of the social benefits: welfare plans, retirement plans, education....

I sat down with some Democrats because I was involved with these guys at that time. They had it made because all they had to do was negotiate with General Motors and the whole Michigan economy was adjusted. No other state could do that because in other states they've got diversity of enterprise.

So once they got General Motors to say, "Yes, we're going to give everybody \$5,500," and I can remember this one quite well, the question became, "Now, what do we have to do once we get the \$5,500?" Walter Reuther said, "Well, geez, we've got to kind of do some other things. You know, education, retirement...." I think that's really the key.

F--You had the social engine here.

P--That's right, and that ties into question number 10.

F--What about the position of industry in regard to higher education?

P--Supportive.

F--I wondered why.

P--I don't know.

F--If you talk to Williams he's still much marked up and battered by all the grief he had with industry over taxes. You know, the foolish rhetoric that they were going to move the Flint automotive factories down to Mississippi or something if taxes were increased. In the taxation committee they beat his brains out.

P--That's right.

F--Yet they never seemed to fight against the expenditure level, they never fought higher education. When I look

Porter

at the kind of committees that we had--Governor Romney's Blue Ribbon--we had people from Whirlpool, from GM, and from Chrysler. They always seem to give some of that civic energy. Not, however, like labor, John.

P--No, they weren't like labor.

F--Labor fought for state issues, these men were more localized. Guys fought in Saginaw for their school, for their community. Ford guys fought for Dearborn as an outlet for themselves in their community.

P--And that's one of the reasons why we were able to get the community college movement off the ground. You look at any community college and look at what was behind it and it was an industry. Just look at the names, Battle Creek was Kellogg, Alpena was Besser,<sup>8</sup> Flint was Mott. You just go down the list.

F--That's a perceptive point.

P--Dearborn was Ford. You just look at where the community colleges were started and look at how they got under way and you see behind them industry.

F--Virtually in every one. That's true. I hadn't thought about that. I'm too close to those, John.

P--Northwestern was Les Biederman<sup>9</sup>, a millionaire.

You look at what happened and then you will find out who was sitting at the desk invisible. You'll see a millionaire business man or industry of some kind behind the community college movement of the 1950's...

F--It didn't necessarily have to be a hard industry, you see. Biederman, for instance, was radio. God, that radio was a tough act because he had, what, the Paul Bunyan network?

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<sup>8</sup> Jesse H. Besser; President, Besser Manufacturing (concrete); Founder of Besser Foundation and Besser (Jesse) Fund, Inc.

<sup>9</sup> Les Biederman; President, Midwestern Broadcasting Company; Member, Citizens Advisory Committee for Higher Education.

Porter

There's a perfect case. Nobody wanted, as I recollect, the Naval Academy, but nobody wanted to say "no" either. I'm not sure to this day whether that was a right decision, but when that train came through, everybody stood aside, you and I, and everybody on the committee.

P--I talked to Les a long time about that one, but...

F--Ok, but I think it's a perceptive point about the role of what you call the invisible men at the table.

P--Industry tended to put their emphasis locally.

F--Do you think you can make a distinction, John, between industry and commerce?

P--I can't. I could, but I don't think that there's significant difference. I'd tie commerce into Detroit Edison and Consumers Power and companies of that stature.

F--I thought about Seidman and Heavenrich coming from a slightly different base. I wasn't sure of that, but I thought I'd ask. I can't find it.

P--No, I don't think they were. Frankly, my perception is that commerce--the Chamber of Commerce versus big business--just wasn't there.

F--What about the position of agriculture?

P--I think agriculture, in the final analysis, in merging with labor is what pulled off public higher education in Michigan in the fifties.

F--Why are they invisible then, John? Nobody talks about it. Nobody says much about it. I think you're right.

P--Well, you've got to go back and look at what the Farm Bureau was doing all during this time.

I don't know why that's the case. That's right, they did not surface as a very visible [force], but it would never have happened without Farm Labor.

F--Ok, and I think about the Minnesota name for their political party, the Democratic Farm Labor Party. In fact, I believe we sort of created that kind of thing, but we didn't use the title. When Governor Williams

Porter

talked he mentioned John Laughton and the Michigan Manufacturers Association and what a truly old-style boss he was. People mention McKay in Grand Rapids.

Nobody talks about agriculture and yet I have the sense that the way this state is constructed--agribusiness and the fact that the Michigan Legislature was unbalanced in favor of rural interests until 1965...

P--It would never have happened without agriculture.

F--I'm dealing with '58 to '70, but most of the expansion was under way by 1965. When the State Board came, it really came into existence in 1965, it was too late.

P--It was all locked up.

F--So agriculture has to be important. I don't know why I can't find its trail.

P--Well, that's because you didn't have any giants on the scene. What you had was a coalition, a very powerful coalition, but no giants. All you had to do was to read the Constitutional Convention minutes to see how powerful agriculture was in the background.

F--But again no personality.

P--But no personality. The personalities all hung around labor and industry and education. The Alvin Bentleys, the John Hannahs, and the George Romneys were the...

F--I've had only one insight into this, John, and I'll share it with you.

Jim Farnsworth, who was at Con-Con and is now Vice-Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, said he had met Dr. Hannah forty years back when John had come to judge a chicken contest of some sort. He said this was a man who was interested and chatted with him. John must have gone to a lot of those things over the years.

They joke about John F. Kennedy having gone to every bar mitzvah in Massachusetts. Maybe John went to every chicken-judging.

Porter

P--I think he probably did. I think that's very interesting. That ties back into what I was saying about Michigan State having married labor and agriculture. I think John Hannah wrapped the agriculture people up so nicely that they didn't have to talk because he was in effect "their" farmer.

They'd bring the farmers over there every spring, and they had the Future Farmers of America tied in with the Department of Agriculture. Half the people in the Department of Agriculture teach out there. I just think that...

F--They're tied into your department too.

P--Oh, hell yes.

F--Don't you have programs inside Ferris Crawford's organization for Future Farmers of America?

P--Vocational education, sure.

F--Vocational ed., so they got tied in there too.

P--Oh sure, very powerful. If you rock the boat, they just have to flex their muscle, but so far they haven't had to. Frankly, there's been nothing to hurt them.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy from the federal government, if any?

P--None.

F--I want you to know why I asked the question. I wasn't going to put it in. I talked to my major professor and he said, "Well, let's just ask, because look at our social policy. For every buck the State of Michigan has got for welfare or human services, the Feds have wrapped 95 requirements around it."

It seems that the money that came for research, that came for biological sciences, that came for construction, and that came for student aid, came with very, very few constraints.

Porter

How much discretionary power did you have in the allocation of the HEFA grants? You were the head of that organization.

P--That's right. All [the discretionary power] we wanted.

F--How did you plan that? Senator Lane talked about how they had a subtle policy of attempting to enhance the private schools by holding back the construction from year to year of a state project so that a private college could get a grant by coming up to the fore.

P--Well, if that was happening it certainly was awfully quiet because it was a matching program. The only way a public institution could participate would be for Lane to give them the matching money. Whereas, in the case of the private institutions they could get their money through their private forces, however they wanted to raise it.

But I don't think the federal government was very influential at all. The first grant didn't take place until 1964 with the HEFA Commission. We were well down the pipe by then.

F--We were down the pipe by then for what?

P--Well, of having our colleges and universities well established.

F--And pretty well constructed too.

P--Pretty well constructed.

F--As a matter of fact, from '64 to '68 not that many buildings were built in public-sector institutions.

P--They're going to have a hell of a time keeping them full.

F--What was the nature of the regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another? Do you have some observations about that?

P--Well, yes. This has been one of the real sore points that we grappled with. I think we won, but it wasn't easy. Let me just communicate that in two different directions.

Porter

The regional and local pressures to expand community colleges were based upon some individual, or some group of individuals, that had a vision. Their area had to have a community college. The record doesn't show--and you're right about no history--that the State Board of Education denied nine community colleges between 1965 and 1970: Cheboygan, Owosso, Lenawee, Ottawa, Iron, Dickinson, the one around Cadillac, and there's two others. Nine of these community colleges the State Board got beaten up on because the people felt that they just had to have that.

Cass County-Allegan, you remember that one we turned down because the people said that the next-door neighbors have got one of those things and we want one.

F--That's what I mean by civic energy.

P--That's right, and you couldn't convince them. Michigan is steeped in local control, but nobody knows what that means. I think we won another major battle, and I give the State Board credit for this, too, in getting Michigan State and Michigan Tech to split off the Sault and Oakland.

I look back over the record and the only area the State Board went into--and incidently this was right before my time--where they bombed out was with the University of Michigan. There's no doubt in my mind that the State Board was on the right track. The problem was Mr. Mott tied into the money to establish the Children's Hospital at Ann Arbor. I don't know if you know the record of it.

So I would say that when you look behind what was going on, there's usually a person or a group of people that really wanted something. That really affected the whole system.

F--I specifically asked this question because in my dissertation proposal, as you may have noticed, I said I'm going to consider the Davis report.

P--Right, I saw that.

F--In 1964 the State Board comes to power, the first one. It comes with the constitution of some ambiguity. It also comes, in my opinion, and I'm going to ask your

Porter

response to this, when the Democrats in that unexpected Goldwater landslide won eight seats. The state didn't change its political makeup, it just voted for an occasional figure. It still went back to its rugged independence and its middle course.

People like Briggs and Bentley didn't make it to the Board. I thought that probably weakened the Board in the first place. You started off with probably four Democrats of talent and four whom they had not expected ever to elect.

Do you concur with that?

P--I think it's safe to say that the State Board that came into existence did not have the experience in higher education that the constitutional framers had hoped the first board would have. Nor did the Board represent both sides, and therefore they were very disadvantaged.

F--I asked the question, "Why did the branch-campus system fail?" It strikes me, from what I've been able to deduce, that the State Board picked the fight and a strong sentiment of opinion made people say, "Well, this is the end of that." It cut that energy out. People didn't go to Port Huron, they didn't go to Saginaw, they decided not to go to Grand Rapids, and the like, and more regional institutions could develop.

I often wondered if one of the reasons for the failure of the State Department of Education to have the real influence in the coordination of education was that they took on Mr. Mott, they took on Michigan, they took on Gar Lane. In that fight, even though you won, you lost.

P--I don't think it was the Department of Education because you've got to realize, Jerry, that in 1964 and 1965 when the new State Board of Education came into being, there was no department of education. The fight was lost before the State Department of Education was created.

You see, from January 1, 1965 until July 1, 1965, which included the critical period in April when the position statement was written, you had the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lynn Bartlett, a lame-duck elected official. The State Board was wanting to exert their



Porter

responsibilities starting January 1 for education, and Lynn Bartlett in office was not willing to give up his elected responsibility. We drifted during that period of time.

Then, from July 1, 1965 until July of 1966, we had an acting superintendent in the name of Alex Kloster. There still was no department of education.

If you'll recall, at that time I became the first head, we then went out and created our Bureau out on Grand River [Avenue]. During that whole time there was no department of education.

F--Ok, now you've confused me. You're saying there was no Bureau of Higher Education. When I came to work for you and we went from the Pruden Building to Grand River there were only like three employees.

P--That's right.

F--But that was going to be the Bureau that...

P--That was going to be the Bureau that was to be created. What happened was we had almost lost the battle of planning and coordination before the Bureau had gotten under way.

F--I'm glad you refreshed my memory. I wasn't thinking about the bureaucratic and staff part, although it is certainly true that all the policy-makers can go nowhere without having adequate staff.

P--And they didn't have it. The policy-makers went someplace without the backup material and got out there and the limb got sawed off. There was just no way to heal it back. We're now, hopefully, in the process of healing it back but it takes...

F--It's taken time.

So you wouldn't ascribe as much damage to the State Board, as I have suggested, in the fight over Flint?

P--Well, let me put it this way. I don't think the fight over Flint was as damaging as was the after-effect. We

Porter

went in to fight a skirmish and in the process of stalemating on the skirmish, or losing it, we in effect didn't have any troops to do the job.

F--You could never get another position from the committee?

P--That's right, that's where it was.

F--I guess what I've been trying to suggest is that in stalemating on the Flint issue it appeared to the institutions that branches would be too much of an expenditure of their goodwill and capital to be worth the fight. After Flint we've never had another branch campus.

P--That's right.

F--It doesn't seem to me that there ever will be.

P--Oh no, not now. Plus the fact that from 1955 to 1969 the State Board worked very cooperatively to spin two of the four branches off.

F--It's not impossible at all to see a day when the University of Michigan at Dearborn, perhaps within five or six years, could be established as an independent unit.

P--By 1980 Flint and Dearborn will be separate institutions. I have no doubt about it.

F--I have some suspicion that Flint will come a little tougher than Dearborn.

P--With Mr. Mott gone, and with the new political climate on the scene in November, that could go very rapidly.

F--I think that it's worth observing that Michigan seems to be allowing these institutions to function far more autonomously than ever before. I wouldn't want to say independently, but one heck of a lot differently than in the old days.

I have asked you, in many ways, why in your opinion an institutional system for the coordination of higher education did not come about after '64? Do you want to add much to that?

Porter

P--Well, I think that there were basically three reasons it didn't come about. As I reflect on what we're now doing (I just had a meeting of higher education this morning), the primary reason it didn't come about was that--and this I hold the responsibility of the State Board and the people who were in these offices--we didn't have a game-plan on what planning and coordination meant.

In fact, we've only begun to put together a rational gestalt of a game-plan in the past 18 months. Even the council on post-secondary education--you've seen the green book and the white book on that--we've got a new state-aid bill for higher education and we've got 20 position papers which state policy objectives. Quality of access, freedom of choice, and things, are beginning to move.

So I would say that one of the big reasons was that we didn't have any game-plan. There were no game-plans anywhere in the United States, basically because this was a new philosophy. That was the first fault.

F--You never could handle a fight because you never had a choice.

P--No. There was no real rationale for spinning off the institutions because there was no long-range vision of where we were going.

The second was--you've already identified it--the unfortunate makeup of the State Board. We've got to admit it, the State Board had two things going against them.

One was they were all Democratic--with a rural Republican-controlled legislature which was constantly against any Democratic-kind of process, who were threatened by the Constitution creating this new autonomous agent.

I was just reading a letter from Frank Kelley, the Attorney General, who gave the State Board some broad powers in a letter to Ed Robinson in April of 1965, but he didn't have the people on the Board, the Bentleys, the Briggs, or the people who could command the attention of the state political figures.

Porter

F--I think about a guy that nobody much talks about, like Roscoe Bonisteel--or that kind of a guy--behind the scenes, a powerful attorney. Those were the kind of people you needed.

P--We needed a Roscoe Bonisteel, we needed a Gene Powers.

Now the third thing--and it seems to me there are only three things that brought this about--I don't think the institutions would have anything to do with it, if I see what's going on now, because they didn't do any planning themselves. They were all running in different directions.

The third one is that the Governor and the Legislature in Michigan just can't seem to get together. I have never been to anyplace where the Legislature seems to want to exert.... In almost an appetite-kind of way, they get so much pleasure out of being wined and dined by the institutions. It's almost, I don't know what it is, but it's the strangest kind of thing. Illinois didn't have this.

So it seems to me that with those three things going on, with the Legislature not willing to take any advice from the state agency or from the governor, and wanting to get in there and find out themselves....

In other words, someone's sitting over here and says, "Hey, I want to know what's happening." If I'm a John Hannah out there, the way to do it is go down and take those guys out, wine and dine them, and really let them know what's going on.

At Michigan's institutions, such as President Ed Harden of Northern Michigan University, these guys just wined and dined and I think whetted the appetites of the Legislature, the appropriations committee people primarily, to make them very powerful individuals. And that's something you just don't want to give up.

F--I understand that perhaps better than most.

P--That's right.

F--In Michigan we seem to have a condition where the executive power has been seriously curbed by the

Porter

Legislature. I don't know that it exists in other states in the Union. In fact, I suspect that it exists in almost no state except Michigan. The legislative power is equal to the executive power, whereas in a place like Iowa the legislature comes in three months and they're nowhere.

P--Not only Iowa but several of our more populous states. They don't work like our Legislature works.

F--There's always somebody around. Is there ever a day when you don't have a legislative inquiry about something?

P--They've got good, competent staffs.

Even with the kind of board that I thought would have been needed in higher ed.; with that kind of legislative makeup, not taking what the governor says and wanting to do their own work; with the constitutionally established institutions; higher education is going to be hard to plan and coordinate.

F--Do you think there's any possibility of a state board for higher education, with an adequate staff, in leaner money times?

P--I think that would be a very serious mistake.

You see, if one looks down the road, one will see that higher education is moving more toward being egalitarian, responding to the needs of adults and lifelong learning, and less and less toward the old elitism. The secondary schools and the community colleges are also moving in that same adult framework.

To bring in a fourth agent of government to try to do that I think would create more problems than it's worth. I think there's need for some kind of a commission for post-secondary education, but I don't think we need a constitutionally established body. I think that would just confound the problem.

F--In any case, you suspect that it's going to be right hard to manage?

P--Yes.

Porter

F--John, who were the key opinion-leaders in this period?  
Certainly you have to say the governors.

P--The Senate appropriations chairmen: Porter, Beadle, Zollar, and Lane. I think several of the university presidents were.

F--You mentioned some like Hannah, Hatcher, Spathelf.

P--Harden. Hilberry wasn't too influential. Jim Miller.

F--Any House members?

P--Well, you know, the House....

F--It seems to me--this is the trouble with something on tape--that the school-aid bill has always had a greater degree of knowledge, support, and strength in the House, and higher education in the Senate.

P--Yes. I'm not talking about in the past several years, I'm talking about since 1958. I just believe that Speaker Ryan, Copeland's committee, and all of the powerful House people, have been more elementary and secondary oriented. The people who have been wined and dined and have developed stature in higher education have all been in the Senate. In fact, not even in the Senate Education Committee, they've been all on the Appropriations Committee. I think that's because of the capital outlay as well as appropriations committees.

F--Capital outlay was an impressive unit, wasn't it?

P--Yes.

F--Anybody else you'd mention behind the scenes? Other people I should look to besides some of the presidents, some of the legislators...?

P--...and governors. Well, certainly I think you might well want to look to some of the people in labor. Don Stevens I think would be someone that you might...

F--Right. We've discussed people like Stevens, Bluestone, Woodcock, and Reuther. They were important.

P--I think there are a few people like Mott. You wouldn't believe this but the Motts and the Les Biedermans had

Porter

a hell of an impact on higher education. Les Biederman literally ran the community college movement from 1950 to 1956, single-handedly. Nobody knows that.

F--No, I guess I didn't know that, but I could see his energy when he was running around...

P--I think the other thing that you ought to be aware of, I don't think as far as power is concerned, but I think the superintendent of public instruction. Lynn Bartlett is dead, and therefore you can't tap him, most of your study is during Lynn Bartlett's era. Lynn Bartlett was superintendent of public instruction from 1957 to 1965. That's over half of your study.

The reason I mention that was, you remember that during that whole period of time the four teacher colleges were under the supervision of Lynn Bartlett and the State Board. There were no separate boards. Don't forget that. There was not a board for a state college until 1965. There aren't fifty people in the state that remember that.

F--Well, thank you very much.

P--My pleasure, my pleasure.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
CHARLES ANSPACH<sup>1</sup>

F--In your lifetime you've seen the whole higher education enterprise in Michigan built, and you were quite important, valuable, and crucial at the Constitutional Convention. It's not for you to say, but others have said that.

What in your opinion, Dr. Anspach, were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

A--From 1958 on? Well, it starts back with Governor Kelly after the war when the vets started to come back.

Governor Kelly called us together--I remember him very well pounding the table--and said, "Build and make room for these students. They need the advantages of education, build and equip. If you don't have enough money come back and the Legislature will appropriate the next year to add on." So the building program started in that period.

Along with the building and the influx of students came the self-liquidation project. That program came out of the Ann Arbor Trust with hundreds of millions of dollars in bonds for dormitories.

F--You think that, besides the veterans coming back, the significant contributions of Earl Cress of Ann Arbor Bank and Trust were crucial to create that impetus to build?

A--Yes, because Earl Cress was very aggressive with his board in meeting the need. I think they were wise

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<sup>1</sup>Charles L. Anspach; President, Central Michigan University, 1939-59; Dean of Administration, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, 1934-35, and Head, Department of Education, 1930-34; President Emeritus, Ashland College, 1935-39; Member, Board of Regents, Eastern Michigan University, 1964-67. Interview conducted May 20, 1974.



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enough to foresee a great opportunity in business. So we had a combination of motives.

I'm not sure that the Ann Arbor Trust initiated the idea. The University of Michigan built many housing units through the self-liquidating program with the aid of the Ann Arbor Trust, so the program might have been a University of Michigan proposal. Michigan State University also was active in developing the plan and other state institutions joined the plan.

The State of Michigan was to build the instructional facilities, and the colleges and universities were to build the housing and some recreational facilities through self-liquidation without state obligation. The board of directors of the Trust Company, including such persons as William Habel, responded well to the program.

F--Bill Habel?

A--Bill Habel. When he was in our area he was assistant manager of Saginaw Steering; he later became manager of the Willow Run transmission plant, and was on the board of the Ann Arbor Trust. There were a number of individuals of that caliber so really it's pretty hard to separate the factors instrumental in the development of the program.

I think we had these two factors: the need for facilities and a good business enterprise which knew its way around with the banks and particularly with the insurance companies. They certainly had a very fine entree with insurance companies to sell the bonds.

One thing that made the bonds sell very well was the general standing of the institutions. And the fact that the graduate programs at the four teachers' colleges were under the University of Michigan at that time. All this together, I think, made a very good setup and created confidence in the bonds.

F--What were the social and economic factors that led to this significant growth?

A--Well, as I recall, business was good and the state treasury was in good shape. The graduate program started in 1930 and--I came here in '39--there were good business periods all through the thirties. Economic and social conditions were poor and then good.

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F--So money was there....

A--Money was there and also the same force as after World War I when the enrollment in high school shot up because people saw the need of high school education. After World War II we had the same thing happening in higher education.

F--There was obviously some kind of new attitude when people began to think higher education had value. They believed that they could aspire to it.

A--That is right. At that time I think there was a great deal of emphasis on the fact, "Well, I want my son and my daughter to have a better opportunity than I had. I didn't go to college, but I want them to go to college." So you had that attitude.

F--Let me ask you a little about that.

I'm the first member of my family to go to college. When I grew up, people just didn't imagine they had the chance to go to college, it was outside the ken of working-class folk. After the war, the GI Bill, people began to believe that there was a place.

Why do you think that whole attitude changed? People began to believe that higher education was available to them and they wanted it. That has to be one of the strengths of....

A--Well, that's true. I think one reason is that during that period our publications and the commencement speakers fired away on this idea--you still see them occasionally--that if you had this much education, this was your life income; this much education, that was your life income.

People had several thoughts. They felt they should have the opportunity and "here's the opportunity to get out of my particular line to do it." And also labor at that time wasn't paid the wages that they're paid now.

We were also moving into a period of industrial and professional expansion. The jobs for unskilled labor were drying up. Education now became a requirement for higher standards of living.

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F--That's true.

What about the policy objectives that underlaid this expansion? You could see Williams, Swainson, Romney, and Milliken. You know Romney well.

A--I knew Romney well, and I knew Governor Milliken when he was a youngster.

It's an interesting happening. When I first went to Ypsilanti, Eastern practically covered the whole eastern and northern parts of the state in its extension program. Central gave only one extension course in the field.

I taught two courses at Traverse City, one in philosophy and one in sociology. At noon on Friday EMU would take me to Plymouth. I'd take the C & O to Grand Rapids and then the Pennsylvania to Traverse City. I'd get there a little before dinner.

I'd have dinner, and then Mrs. James Milliken and Mrs. Titus-- C. P. Titus was the conservation man who did a great deal of popular writings in that period--and a Mrs. Thrilby (her husband was a prominent physician and surgeon in town), these three took my course in sociology and would take me to one of their homes for a discussion period. We became very well acquainted.

F--Mr. Milliken's mother?

A--Yes, she was the Governor's mother. I'd get in there on Friday night and either the Millikens or the Tituses would pick me up. We would go out to their house and sit around and talk Friday night. Saturday morning we had the class and Saturday night I'd come back down to Ypsilanti.

This was the start of my relationship as friends with the Millikens. The Governor's father became Senator, and Governor Milliken's grandfather, President Grawn, was president of this institution [Central Michigan University].

So there was a natural relationship with Bill when he was just a kid. I knew him but not well. But for years and years the Milliken family, the seniors and myself, were good friends.

F--So the policy objectives were to expand the whole base of education.

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A--Right. I think maybe you have to go back to Michigan State in the 1860's: the land grant institution providing the opportunity for an individual to go to school at low tuition. You see, at one time the tuition in these teacher colleges was \$10 a quarter; three quarters, \$30 a year. That was it.

F--Did people like Romney have the specific desire to make schools available for the poor?

A--Well, I don't know exactly. I would say that he did, in the matter of the common run. I don't know as I would say the poor over those of moderate means or the wealthy. But he believed in education for all people.

F--Well, you see the expansion. Look at Central. What was the size of Central in 1939?

A--In 1939, when I came here, about 1,000 students.

F--And today it's...

A--...about 14,300 students.

F--About 14,300 today?

A--When I was at Eastern Michigan in 1930-35 the enrollment was 2,200. That was the largest one of the four schools. Western had 1,800, this school had about 700 or 800, and Marquette had around 400.

F--So the sizes of these institutions are just fantastic compared to what anybody thought they would ever be.

A--That's happened all over the United States. I think some of the influence that affected us affected the institutions in other states. Practically all of the normal schools became teachers' colleges, then they became state colleges, and a number of them are now universities. But not as large as we are in our expanded program, or not as large in facilities, extension courses, and curricula as Michigan State.

F--When Michigan State won the title of University, it pretty much made it clear that there were going to be other schools with that title.

A--That's correct, you're right.

At that particular period--if I may reminisce a bit here--we remember that Michigan State lost the first time they

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came up for a change of name in the Legislature. At that time, then, we did not try. The first time we came up, it was about 1939.

We had just started a graduate program with the University of Michigan. Under the State Board all the work could be taken on the campus of one of these four schools, with the exception of the last six weeks which had to be done at the University of Michigan. Then the diploma was granted indicating that the major portion of the work was taken at Eastern or Central or wherever it was, and that the degree was granted by the University of Michigan.

Western was the first one to break the affiliation. I would guess in five years--I'm not sure of that date--CMU went independent.

There was quite a bit of discussion and the Governor--you mentioned the Governor--you could see the Governor practically any time. That's one advantage we've had in Michigan. We've had no difficulty seeing a governor about educational problems.

Governor Williams called the presidents of the four colleges and the University of Michigan together--because we were breaking from the University of Michigan--to discuss whether we were capable of doing graduate work.

We were because of the fact that all of the people who taught courses at the graduate level had to be approved by the graduate faculty of the University of Michigan. A special department, say, mathematics, approved that particular person. The catalogs were published as bulletins from the University of Michigan listing people on our faculty that were approved for giving graduate work. I presume that we must have had maybe as many as 40 people that were approved for graduate programs.

So you see, when we came to break, we had had a good training period. Once or twice a year a representative from the University of Michigan came up and visited with the various professors giving graduate instruction. When we came to make the break we already had people who were qualified to do it. It was a good program.

But when the time came to do it, there was some resistance, of course. It isn't a matter of no consequence

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for a university to let programs go. But they agreed and everything ended up very peacefully. So that's the beginning of the graduate programs in the four teachers' colleges.

F--Did you line up with Michigan State to fight for their name change?

A--Yes, but not in an active fight. As a matter of support, we talked with the legislators and so forth.

By the way, the relationship of Michigan State between this institution--John Hannah and I--has been very, very fine.

I'll give you an illustration, which I don't suppose could be a matter to publish because it was just a matter between John and myself. At one time there was an idea, following the John Dale Russell report--I don't know how many years later--that there would be a concentration. Russell recommended that Eastern Michigan become the school of education for the University of Michigan; which Eastern Michigan didn't like, of course.

He also recommended that this institution start chemical engineering, which was a surprise to me. His argument was that Dow Chemical, one of the great chemical concerns of the United States, was here, so therefore we had our buildings, our laboratory, and our faculty right there. Well, we never did it, but nevertheless that was in the report.

At that same time the Board of Governors at Wayne State, and I guess the Board of Regents at the University of Michigan, talked about cooperation. They were going to cooperate in medicine. I guess they were also going to cooperate in law, and this sort of thing. There was a growing feeling in Michigan that there should be sort of an integration, or an exchange back and forth between these institutions.

Well, I don't know what happened at Wayne or the University of Michigan, but it didn't materialize. At that time, if it had gone through, there might have been two umbrellas. As one umbrella, the University of Michigan had Flint, Dearborn, Eastern, and so forth. Then you might have had another umbrella over here at Michigan State University with Central and Western.

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So there was a possibility of this sort of thing happening, at least a cooperation of the boards, but it didn't materialize.

F--What were the key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflict in the attempt to bring about a policy of enhancing higher education?

Obviously the fight over the name was one. What about the branch campus fight?

A--The University of Michigan took the position, because our first Constitution says that the University of Michigan may establish branches. So it hit in this area because, in my own opinion, the alumni had a great deal to do with it.

I think before Saginaw Valley and Delta were established some of the alums from over in that area said "Michigan State." Some of the alums of University of Michigan said "University of Michigan." So as a result you got an independent organization set up over there. This is a factor, I think, in the manner of establishing branches.

I'm not so sure about Russell's report. He recommended independent boards, as I recall, and independent institutions because of his belief that higher education would develop better under individual boards rather than under an overall board.

F--What happened at Con-Con? You were on the Education Committee.

A--Yes, I was on the Education Committee at Con-Con.

Roscoe Bonisteel, chairman of the board at the University of Michigan for 18 years, John Hannah, and two or three more of us, including Don Lawrence<sup>2</sup>, who was then the delegate out of Ypsilanti, wanted to set it up so that all state colleges and universities would have the same rights as the University of Michigan, Michigan State, and Wayne. That is: counted as constitutional bodies and so named. Therefore, outside of the appropriation of finance, the board operated the institution. This

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<sup>2</sup>Joseph Don Lawrence, Jr.; Republican from Ypsilanti; served on Committee on Judicial Branch at the Constitutional Convention.

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would permit growth, development, and that sort of thing.

Then it came to the matter of electing the board. In the Constitution, the three institutions are more or less set aside. We repeated that. Roscoe Bonisteel and Don Lawrence copied from the old Constitution, word for word, the section which gives the university boards of control the right of administering.

John Hannah, by the way, on the method of selecting boards of control by election or appointment, said, "I don't care." He was very liberal in his position. Mr. Bonisteel, who had been a Regent of the University of Michigan for 18 years, wished the board to be elected, because of 100 years of history and the prestige of being elected a Regent.

There is some conflict now due to the differences in the interpretation of the Constitution. There are those at Lansing who say, "Because the three major universities have boards of control elected by the people, they are responsible to the people; and those institutions that have boards appointed by the governor are responsible to him. Therefore there is a difference in the authority of these institutions."

In a recent decision of one of the courts concerned with the authority of the University of Michigan, the court said in ruling in favor of the University that the decision might well apply to the other state universities and colleges.

I would guess that sometime, Mr. Faverman, the four colleges will have to go through the courts to establish completely that right, because there's no documentation there. University of Michigan, Michigan State, and Wayne, when there's been an encroachment, the court has always ruled in their favor. There's no such decision which will support us. Therefore, we are independent financially, and yet in a way we're not completely independent.

F--Did you seek elected boards at Con-Con?

A--No, appointed boards.

If you remember the Con-Con--you go through the proceedings, if you haven't, and check them--Governor Romney's position was, everything appointed by the governor. The same as if you'd run a factory, everything would be appointed all the way down. So you got the compromise.



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The auditor general is responsible to the Legislature, not appointed by the governor, but responsible to the Legislature because it all was a matter of money. This is a compromise. The treasurer was to be appointed by the governor because of the fact that the governor has to do with the money, and he wants some flexibility there.

And then they came to the boards of state colleges and universities. All the boards now are appointed, with the exception, of course, of the big three. So there was a compromise there. Now the board of control for the junior colleges was a compromise within the Committee on Education. My idea was that this should be an independent board, but, particularly because Adelaide Hart was quite opposed, we had to compromise so this would be a board responsible to a board.

F--How do you explain the language, Dr. Anspach, that said that the State Board of Education would be in charge of coordination and control and the other section that says that institutions will be constitutionally autonomous?

A--Again, this was a compromise. There was a feeling, particularly on the part of Miss Hart and Mr. Douglas-- I forget all the names of the people who were on that committee--that the superintendent of public instruction should have a great deal to say about education in the state.

At one time Senator Milliken, the Governor's father, said to me, "You know, the Superintendent of Public Instruction should be head of the whole system. He should be at the top, with everything, higher education, secondary, elementary, all under it." This, indeed, would be appropriate. Well, I wouldn't say that Miss Hart had that particular position in mind. She felt it would be better if they had the community colleges put under the Board of Education, which would be elected. So this is the way it is.

The Board of Education, in the minds [of the delegates]-- I think you'll find it in the discussion--would have the authority to determine the need before new institutions would be established. Now it's gotten down into the matter of courses and some other items. If they are coordinating there, I don't think we've defined it correctly. It wasn't in the mind of a great many people that it would be the overall board that would have all control.

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F--It's my sense that people weren't especially impressed with how the State Board had handled the four schools, that they had the sense that the schools should be autonomous and weren't looking for control by the state.

A--That's right. I think you have that exactly right.

The Board has really three functions as far as most of the delegates were concerned, including myself. First, we thought of the State Board as in control of the elementary and secondary public school systems; second, that before new institutions could be started, and before there would be any great expansion from the standpoint of curricula, it would report to the Legislature and they would have something to say, not authority to stop it; third, it was not to control your budget but to say to the Legislature, "You're not appropriating enough money for higher education," or "You're appropriating too much money."

Those were really the three functions in our minds, as I remember them, when we argued the case.

F--There wasn't really much to give out after 1964, though. Between '58 and '64 we just about gave the store away. You created Saginaw Valley and Flint, you created about 15 community colleges in places like Clare-Gladwin, Roscommon, and Sidney--all over the place. There really wasn't much left, was there?

A--No.

F--So, therefore, one of the reasons the State Board really couldn't have much impact was that there was no real question of new resource. Since '64 as far as I can recollect, there's only been two new education agencies that have been created. One would be the College of Osteopathic Medicine--where I work--and the other is Wayne County Community College. There's nothing else that I can recollect.

A--No.

F--Maybe the Maritime Academy at Traverse City, but that's it.

A--It won't come under your period of study, but I doubt if the law has ever been revoked. At one time the Legislature enacted a measure which would establish another teachers' college in the northern part of the state. As far as I know, that's never been rescinded.

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F--I don't know of that, but there's always been some strong energy, hasn't there, to create another institution in Traverse City?

A--Yes, that's right. It isn't quite like the northern peninsula, but there's been a feeling up there that they could serve. And we have some very important, influential people in that area.

F--It strikes me that there could be a case made for an institution at Traverse City. And also one in Macomb because there's a tremendous growth there. Macomb is probably the largest county in the state without an institution of its own, except for the community college.

A--I think the Carnegie board brought out a report in which the idea was that the University of Michigan and Michigan State, as an example, were tremendous universities and large universities, and the growth in the future would be in community colleges and smaller state schools.

F--Then at Con-Con you had certain kinds of attitudes: one, the desire to create autonomous institutions based on their experience; two, some kind of philosophical attitude about the State Board being in charge, not of day-to-day operation, but sort of settling the gun fights; the third impetus certainly was that the schools...

A--Oh, finance. In other words, the State Board would take a look at all the budgets, then say to the Legislature, "You're not appropriating enough money for higher education," or "You're appropriating too much money."

F--You think they had the sense that these institutions would have greater political clout tied together than going through the State Board to the Legislature?

A--Well...

F--It certainly didn't happen, did it?

A--No, it didn't. Of course, there's one unique factor that we have in this state--which is beside the question you're talking about--but it brings up an interesting point.

You started out asking the question, "Why did higher education in this state profit more than in other states?" Two or three reasons. The fact that the University of

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Michigan, Michigan State, and the rest were autonomous gave them a freedom of operation that you didn't get in other states.

I'll give you an example. When we were looking for a president at Eastern Michigan University--I happened to be chairman of that committee--a man came from the West Coast. Eastern was then a school of about 10,000 and the man came from an institution of 17,500 in California. The salary he was getting would be pretty close to what he would get here.

One of the members of the committee, very much impressed with him, said to me, "Why would he be interested in coming to Michigan?" I said, "I think I can answer your question. Because of the fact that our institutions are autonomous in Michigan. We have a freedom of operation and planning that he doesn't have in California. So ask him."

So when he came back the second time, he asked him, "Why would you be interested in leaving an institution of 17,500, the life of California, and all the rest?" [His answer was], "Because if I see my board once in two years, I'm fortunate. Everything is controlled from the Capitol."

We went to their state architect when we were going to build a music building. We went to San Jose where they had just built one. The Dean took us through and told us about the state architect.

[We asked], "How do you like the system?" He said, "I don't like it. I'll show you something." To get to his office you had to go into a classroom, go through a storage room and then into the office. He said, "The only change of the plans I could get was to cut a door into that office from the hall. It's that strict."

So therefore there has been a freedom of operation in this state. I don't think it's cost the State of Michigan any more in higher education than any of the other states that have a restricted type of control.

Another thing is that we've had less politics in Michigan. Now, one argument for retaining the Board of Regents, the Michigan State Board of Trustees, and the Wayne Board of Governors, was that if you take everything out of the election, you'll kill your elections. You can't have everything appointed. It is an honor to be

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a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan, the Board of Trustees of Michigan State, or the Board of Governors of Wayne State. That was one of the big arguments for election of those boards, even though they were elected on a party ticket. Politics was pretty much forgotten in the area of higher education.

Now that hasn't been true in recent years. There's been a great deal more, I think, political influence in all sections of the United States.

F--It also seems to me, when you talk about the big three, that there had to be a deliberate intention, as you alluded to earlier, to keep them from getting bigger. It appears to me that the people were starting to get afraid that we were going to build California-style institutions.

A--That's right.

F--Another thought has struck me--that Con-Con had a deliberate policy to curtail the big three and encourage the regional schools.

A--I think this would be true. It never came out on the surface, but I think you're right.

F--And that was really directed towards the undergraduate...

A--That's a good observation. I hadn't thought about it, but that's right.

F--Did any of the policy goals for the enhancement of higher education have as their objective the attempt to break class and culture barriers?

A--Well, if you're referring to the culture of people and minority groups--Blacks and others--yes. Mayor Young of Detroit was a delegate to the Convention.

F--You can't build a society that is democratic without everybody starting out the starting gate with similar marketable skills. Michigan for a long time had served the elite. It looks to me like Hannah was able to make a lot of ground on Hatcher because of the attitude, "There's got to be second-chance schools." Ferris and Northern were regarded as second-chance schools.

A--You have that exactly right. I think this is true.

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F--Michigan State, which you would have thought of as being a Republican school very closely tied to the conservatives, went out of its way to build alliances with labor.

Our state's largest minorities are the ethnic Slavs and the Blacks. You couldn't build a society where they had a share of the middle- and upper-class positions without deliberately expanding institutions, having institutions willing to take people who were less skilled in the College Aptitude Tests, give them entry, and then base it on graduating elites rather than admitting them.

A--I think you're right.

I may be wrong in this observation, but I think that he did it deliberately. But I don't know. I won't be quoted as saying "deliberately", because I don't know. John Hannah did two things: one, this matter of an open gate; on the other hand, at one time Michigan State had more merit scholars than any other university in the United States. He built both ends of his curve.

In other words, he didn't sacrifice the group up here and he didn't sacrifice the group down here. As a result you had a chance at Michigan State where maybe you wouldn't have had in some other institution.

F--There's a difference. Many people look at Hannah and say he built a powerful and large institution. They didn't also understand that he had another agenda, which was building a great institution. You had to do that differently.

The public focused on the athletics and the size, but he took the money he made and stuck it into merit scholars, built some of his programs, and the like. He had to make a ton of money off the colleges of education--this institution must have made a lot of money off its college of education--and was able to build a graduate program out of that money. It didn't go to enhance the people who were doing the work because you can't get ahead if you're always putting it just where it is, you've got to drain. I was curious about that.

What about the question of popularism, which I've just alluded to, versus elitism? I have the sense that Michigan, which was tagged very much as being "elite, quality, the university," may have been unfairly tagged

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because Hatcher was such a distant man. He was able to perform the role of being a stereotype. You looked at him and he looked like he had a corset up his backbone. He was rigid and tough. And Michigan has such eminent prestige--it's older than the state. That's something people don't recollect. You alluded to the first Constitution giving it the power to have branches, as I recollect.

It's hard to believe that an institution can be elite with 40,000, so they obviously had to have some programs that were geared to broadening the societal base. But I think people have seen the fight in terms of popularism versus elitism, or open-gate versus closed-gate.

How do you see that fight? I'm curious what your observations are--as an observer but not a participant--of Hannah versus Hatcher or Michigan versus Michigan State.

A--Well, let me... I'll answer this way. Just before we had the riot down at Eastern, which cost us \$109,000...

F--You're talking 1971.

A--Yes. Just before that we had an open meeting with the students. My remark then was that a university, particularly state-supported, should be open to any student who could profit by the offerings of a university, and if he were admitted, you should do everything possible for him to succeed.

I've been a great believer in what I call the "plus". For years colleges and universities have checked your minuses. They didn't check the pluses of what you had. In this school [Central Michigan University] there's now what they call a "university without walls". You can qualify for a certain amount of credit on the basis of your experience, which is a plus rather than a minus.

This was brought home to me when I was president of a college in Ohio which was dismissed from the North Central Association. One of my first jobs was to get it back in the North Central Association. A young fellow came in from Philadelphia--I say young, he was married and in his thirties--who had perfected some sort of part used by Philco in the radio.

He said, "I need my degree because all the way along some clerk stops me because I have no degree." He said, "Can

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I come to college, audit courses, and then take the examinations on them and carry a full load?" I said, "Sure, you can do that, that's always open."

He graduated in two-and-a-half years. Instead of going back to Philco immediately, he decided he wanted to get his master's degree. So I said, "Where do you want to go?" He said, "University of Chicago." Well, University of Chicago wouldn't admit him to graduate school because Ashland College at that time was not a North Central institution.

So I went up to Chicago to see Mr. Bixer, who was the university examiner, because I didn't want the report to get out that our credits were no good. We were out of North Central and in order to get back in we needed students. So I went up and he said, "No, he graduated in a shorter period of time than he could graduate at the University of Chicago." That was before Hutchins and his bachelor's degree. "So," he said, "that's it."

I said, "Well, look. I'll guarantee that if you admit him, before the quarter's over, you'll do something for him. Every student's on probation, isn't he? When you admit a freshman, he's on probation, isn't he? If he doesn't do his work, he's out. I don't see that you're going to harm anybody by putting him on probation." He did, and before the quarter was over they gave him an assistantship. He later went back to Philco.

So here we are, a student runs 100 yards in eight seconds. They say, "Son, you have just broken the world record by forever and a day. Where did you get the shoes?" "Sears and Roebuck," he replies. "That's too bad," they say, if you'd gotten them from Spalding, that would be a record." You say that's assinine, but that's what we've been doing in education for years.

I've seen plenty of individuals, and so have you, that started late in life. There's a fellow that's moved here who's a paperhanger and painter. He moved to this town--he happened to be a high school graduate--years ago so that his sons might have an education. They didn't want to go to college, which is quite all right. They're doing exceedingly well without going to college. But he went to college and ended up as a teacher in English down here at the high school--new life completely.



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We just passed a regulation down at Eastern this last board meeting on the matter of a veteran or perhaps another person--I said this could be more than veterans, I think they're going to include others--kicked out of college because he didn't do his work. Now, he'll come back and wipe off those grades. State, I think, did that years ago. You take other examinations in the courses and wipe off the failures.

F--Why do you think John Hannah was able to succeed? Do you have some ideas about that? Do you think Michigan was inept in the way they handled things?

A--I think John Hannah possesses two characteristics. He learned to love--not as we ordinarily think of love, but from the standpoint of a great human sympathy--to give an individual a chance. I think this went on under his administration.

On the other hand, John Hannah could be very hard. If he wanted to make a move, he made it. Some people said, "John Hannah is ruthless," but I don't think so. You need to learn that sometimes when you think you're being kind to a person, you're being cruel. I've seen this happen in college administration. It's tough to let a person go, so we keep him on, keep him on, and maybe after ten years--out. That's cruel. I think that John was accused of being pretty hard-boiled and harsh, but I don't see it that way.

I think that he has those two qualities; he had a great feeling about people and about his own institution. John emphasized time after time, when they came in in the sixties, a land grant institution which made it possible for individuals without a great deal of wealth to go to a college with a range of courses which would prepare them for vocations in life, and all the rest of it. He had a program he wanted to move.

F--What about the role of vocational and occupational training in the decision to expand higher education? You mentioned John Dale Russell and chemical engineering.

A--We need more Ferris-type institutions that offer two-year courses instead of four-year courses. John Dale Russell handled the matter of vocational education through his proposed community college program.

I think there are plenty of courses and curricula in the universities if we're smart enough to see them. Michigan

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State has over the past put a good many of them in.  
The rest of us are coming along too.

However, there is an offsetting fact. I'll give you an example. Eastern has a declining enrollment--as all institutions have had--that's been rather severe. Because of the location of the university, and all the rest of that, we've lost quite a few students. Well, the answer, they say, is to put in more courses that will attract students. But as soon as you get too much into the vocational end, are you competing with the junior colleges? The community colleges are getting on the horse, too, and they say, "You are encroaching in our area. This is what we're supposed to do." And that's right, they're supposed to do it, if they do it.

But again, alluding to what you said, we are getting so many demands for technological curricula it is almost impossible for a community college to offer all the curricula and satisfy the needs. Hence, community colleges are not completely fulfilling their function.

F--At Con-Con, did you have some concern about training people for work?

A--Only indirectly. I don't recall any particular sessions or any great push in this area other than the community college angle.

F--The community colleges definitely had the vocational interest. People saw them being different than the baccalaureate institutions.

A--Plus expense. The big argument was that the student could live at home. Well, according to John Hannah, you can't.

I remember very well--I think it was on the floor, you may find it in the proceedings--when we were talking about this. [Hannah claimed that the] community college "soon wants to become a four-year college, and then it's got to have a band, and if it's got a band it's got to have a football team, so then you get into the construction of dormitories and all the rest of the growth factors." They haven't become community colleges in the sense that all people could live at home and commute.

F--The community colleges have become more like baccalaureate degree institutions and less vocational, haven't they?

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A--I think to a degree that's right.

F--And that's probably one of the reasons for the expansion of the skill centers that are starting to occur outstate--the job hasn't been done.

Was there any energy, that you could observe, for the expansion of culture and the arts in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

A--Oh, yes. Young Mr. Jack Faxon<sup>3</sup> was the first one to propose it when we started to put in proposals that would be referred to various committees for discussion and then come back on the floor. I think he was the first one to come out with the matter of subsidizing cultural areas.

F--So that had some impact.

A--Yes, it did.

There's another incident that you may not uncover that's interesting. We were laughed out of court.

Frank Millard from Flint--former Attorney General of Michigan--got the idea there should be a Committee on Emerging Problems. As a result, such a committee was appointed. They didn't call it pollution but pollution was one of the topics that came into the discussion.

People down at the Convention laughed. "This is one of those committees just set up to make a point of being busy," they said. Well, a man came up from Detroit and found I don't know how many thousand particles in whatever the measure is--a quart of air?--right there at the Capitol and showed that pollution was already occurring. This was one of the problems.

Another problem was brought up by a young Polish attorney--he backed up on it later--who came to the committee on the matter of the authority of commission regulations. The rules are not law, but they become a matter of law.

F--He was concerned about administrative law.

A--Yes. Any commission you point out--I don't recall that he mentioned any particular commission--which could pass a series of regulations. It's not law, but you have to

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<sup>3</sup> Jack Faxon; Democrat from Detroit; Michigan State Representative, 1964-70.

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accept it. The commission is given the authority.

Now, some of the other things that that committee talked about. One was a matter of pensions. Also, the encroachment of the federal government on Michigan land, as you now have up in the dune country. We have a state park, but the federal government decides it wants to take it so it comes and takes it. There's nothing you can do about it.

These are a few of the various things that happened to be discussed at that particular time.

F--From your long career in the public sector, do you have any observations on the role, if any, of the federal government in the expansion of higher education?

A--Well, my observation goes back to the old idea we used to have that the state will operate its own until it can no longer do it, then the federal comes in and does it. I think there's a lot of encroachment by the federal government on the state's rights and so forth.

But to come back to education. So far I haven't seen any great derogatory influence from the federal government on higher education.

I've participated on various boards which received federal grants. There's no attempt to dictate to you, except the matter of objectives that you hope to achieve through the grant. I can't see that their regulation interfered with the right of the state to operate.

I don't know. What's your observation? I'd be interested to know what you thought.

F--Well, I have some experience from when I worked with Arthur Ellis in the state government. I find that federal encroachment in the area of social policy is quite severe.

A--Oh yes, it would be there.

F--We put the question in because we thought we should ask it. My major professor and I didn't observe it, but we thought, well, we'll ask it anyway. I don't see much encroachment.

A--I don't see encroachment by the federal government on education; in other areas, yes.

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F--Jim Farnsworth thought that most congressmen had come from a long background of local government and weren't willing to meddle with something like education because of America's traditions and history. And also it works well. Why get involved in something that's working well?

A--That's a pretty good observation.

F--What about the role of the private sector, the private schools? Did you feel any desire on the part of public policy makers to preserve those schools?

A--Yes, I did. Of course I may be prejudiced a bit because I was president of a private college before I came into the public educational sector, but I also have a criticism of the private colleges to a point.

Let me start with the criticism. They tried to ape the state colleges and become everything for all people. I don't think that's the function of a private college. I think a private college... liberal arts, right, but I think that liberal arts has to have a vocational turn.

Dean Cooley at the University of Michigan used to say, "If I were building a dam I'd want engineers. If I want someone to supervise that, I want more than an engineer, I want men with intelligence, an individual of broad background and all the rest of it." The liberally educated individual would be such a person.

To me the liberal arts colleges have missed it in that they haven't tried to pull vocational objectives into the liberal arts setup.

F--I'm from Massachusetts. In Massachusetts the private schools fought the public schools to prevent them from growing strong enough to hurt them. In some of the western states public schools fought private schools getting things like state grants because it would limit them.

I haven't been able to observe that the public and the private schools in Michigan dealt with each other in any unstatesmanlike way. They seem to have gone out of their way to help each other.

I wondered if you had felt pressure of a negative, derogatory sort. Or, if you would concur that we haven't had many fights here. Why?

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A--Well, I think it happened, to some degree, a number of years ago, but I don't think so now.

I'll give you an example. I was at Eastern Michigan and President Seaton of Albion College was at a banquet at our place. He sat next to me and said, "When are the teachers' colleges going to get out of the field of liberal arts?" I said, "The same day the private colleges get out of teacher training."

Ninety to ninety-five percent of the students in the private colleges take certificates, which is quite all right, but you see the inconsistency of the position. In 1918 we were given the right to grant the degree without the teaching certificate.

For years the teacher-education institutions of this state were far superior to those of the East because a liberal arts background was emphasized. The old normal school that you had in Massachusetts didn't disappear until recent years.

F--They were still in existence in the 1960's when I came out here.

A--Exactly. In 1918 we were given the permission to build this liberal arts background. I don't think many of them took their certificates but you've had... this has been a competition. Private colleges have had the feeling that the state schools are unfair, particularly with respect to tuition and rates. Their rates are low, therefore it takes students from private colleges.

When you come back to it, as you will, our enrollment in public institutions is too large, not only because of the desire for more education but also because money for operations is based on numbers. Appropriations on the undergraduate level are not based particularly on institutional functions. The present system is better, for appropriations are now based on credit hours earned.

I don't suppose you noticed the comments in the paper where some of the colleges in the United States have padded their enrollments, particularly in Florida. It's been pretty bad... because the amount you get is per head.

So we've had competition. The private colleges feel that the state is unfair because students go to a state school rather than someplace else because it was easier and cheaper.

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Now, there's one thing the private college has not recognized and that's the fact that the old loyalty of the parent to the alma mater isn't there anymore. There was a time when if your dad went to school A, you went to school A. That's not true anymore. If you want to go to school B, or C, or D, you go.

The church has pulled away from the private college--these are criticisms--they're church-related and that's about all there is to it anymore. Some colleges are completely independent. They're competing, I think, on a level with public education where public education is bound to win.

The second thing, and I think I'd mention it briefly, is that they haven't correlated the liberal arts with vocational objectives. For instance, there's no reason in the world why private and public don't cooperate because Michigan State and other public institutions would cooperate in practically any of the vocational courses. Two years here, two years there; or three years here and one year there. There are plenty of areas in which you could get this co-op relationship. It's true enough that they aren't going to graduate from both schools, but maybe you can give a dual diploma someday. This is a new concept but it could be done. They would preserve the private colleges in an area in which they're unable to compete at the present time. So, that, I think, is the next thing.

Also, the private colleges have to have students because they've gone into bonding issues the same as the public schools. You've got to have students to pay off the bond, you've got to have new dormitories, and you go all the way down the line.

F--But has there been a fight or has it been pretty gentlemanly?

A--In this state?

F--Yes.

A--Gentlemanly in this state.

In Ohio at one time it was kind of awkward. I can't answer for Ohio now because I've been out of it for many years, but one year the Legislature had a bill introduced that a public institution could not put out anything but a skeleton catalog for the protection of the private colleges. In Ohio there are 88-plus colleges but many of them are private.

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F--What about the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another? You observed some of that. I wondered if you had any observations?

A--You mean that in one place you want this sort of system...

F--I was thinking, in this period '58 to '64 areas were fighting and sometimes they would fight one against the other. You know, Michigan State making moves toward Saginaw; Michigan making moves toward Port Huron, Grand Valley and Saginaw.

Do you have some observations about how that fight spilled over?

A--No, I haven't any. I would think local pride and alumni pride pretty much would negate that type of system.

Now, if you're talking in terms of curricula, New York tried that, you know. At Oneonta you had one discipline, at Fredonia you had industrial arts and music. These are the two institutions that concentrated in those two areas. I imagine it's pretty much gone now since they've become state universities.

F--But at each of those places, at Plattsburgh, New Paltz, Fredonia, and Cortland, they all had a different style. I don't have the feeling that's true anymore.

A--No, I think that's been discontinued.

F--I think it's gone the same way our normal schools have gone. They've become full-standing regional schools.

A--Well, it's difficult to kill a college because of the alumni, because of the local pride, and because of the legislators that are pretty much concerned with their area.

F--So what you're saying, then, is that rather than one area killing another off, they ended up colleaguizing with each other to get what they wanted.

A--I think we're in that position now. I'll give an example. I don't know that it's been passed, maybe it's just in the proposal stage, the amount of money that can be expended versus private funds. We've got about \$450,000 from the Kresge Foundation at Eastern--we have a small lake area out of Lapeer given to the university--to put a biological station there. Kresge's money goes in there and no state



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money. There's a move on that no money, public or private can be expended without the approval of the Legislature. I suppose the argument there is future obligations for support, I don't know, but the university, you see, is not exempted from supervision and control. If Eastern loses, all lose.

F--That comes back to your discussion about the constitutional crisis. You're probably much concerned in your thoughts about the Eastern difficulty, and that may color it. Eastern is an institution that's found itself in some peculiar difficulties that haven't been true for other regional institutions.

The other regional institutions really aren't in competitive situations. Western stands alone pretty much, Central stands alone, and Northern stands alone. Eastern is the only one that has to compete against Oakland, Wayne, Ann Arbor, and then five or six of the strongest community colleges. Eastern is a place that needs a market identity and they haven't done that. Eastern, I think, is an institution that probably has to become something clearly identifiable and different, whereas Central doesn't have that problem because Central doesn't face life and death complications.

A--No, we don't. And you see, during the period when we had the trouble with the students, the only march you had on the board here was by about 100 students led by two students from Eastern. They weren't from up here at all. Later at Eastern we dismissed 14 students, including those two, and seven professors. Of course, we got sued in the courts on the whole thing.

Eastern is right in there and in close competition with the universities in the area. I said to the board recently, one thing that we have to look at as a matter of reality is the decrease in enrollment. It's a different situation. You can't compare us, EMU, to some other institution.

F--What in your opinion, Dr. Anspach, were the reasons for the failure of the branch campus system that had begun to be developed in Michigan at Oakland, Flint, and Dearborn? Why didn't that succeed like in Wisconsin with maybe one or two institutions with hosts of satellites?

A--I can't answer that. I really don't know. I wondered about it myself. However, the tradition of institutional independence in Michigan is very strong.

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F--Well, I think about the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. That kind of situation really didn't happen here.

A--All the teachers' colleges are now branches of the university; the University at Oshkosh, the University at Milwaukee, the University at someplace else. It didn't happen here.

Again, unless it's this strong independent local pride and influence, I don't know. That would be my best guess.

F--That's the guess that other make, too. I think that's probably the answer, myself, but it's curious that it didn't happen here.

We actually had a retreat away from the branch system because Oakland became independent. Some speculate that Dearborn and Flint will shortly be independent institutions.

A--I don't doubt it at all.

F--But that's not going to happen in Wisconsin.

What in your opinion were the reasons that an institutional system for the coordination of higher education didn't come under the control of the State Board after 1964?

A--You mean of complete coordination?

F--Yes.

A--Well, I think two factors. In the first place the general attitude, as I said before, here and in part of the Constitutional Convention wasn't to do that. It was merely to stop new institutions and new program expansion, not the coordination of the others.

Also the resistance--as you now have the new government proposal on this super board which, I think, is in pretty much a compromise position--by people to do the thing that we thought they would under the old board.

F--You're not speculating, are you, Dr. Anspach, that that's going to succeed?

A--No.

F--We're talking pretty frankly. I don't have any indication that any institution of higher education, or the Legislature, wants to create a new super board.

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A--I think you're right.

F--One of the reasons is administrative. We spend a lot of time talking about politics but not enough about administrative science.

A--You made a good statement. You ought to put that in print.

F--You mean about administrative science?

A--Right.

F--Well, you know, when I went to school at MSU I had some occasion to take a course with Dr. Melby and to listen to him. An old, old man but savvy.

It strikes me that the rule is this: Forget about all the fancy junk about drawing charts on pieces of paper, political solutions aren't sought until administrative procedures cease to work. In Michigan the higher education system, for all of its untidiness compared to Illinois or California, works. People are happy with it.

I don't see any impetus. The Legislature feels--in my opinion, after working there for four years--that the schools are really susceptible to the public interest. They feel that the schools perform in the public interest and are amenable to suggestions from the public sector.

So why create a whole bureaucracy that you'll have to deal with when the thing works? It may not look modern...

A--You should write an article on that and make it part of your dissertation. It's pretty important.

F--You know, people don't understand the rules for the administrative sciences and they look for all these political things.

A--This would be good for the boards of control in the future. It would be good for them right now, as far as that's concerned, because I think we have some questions.

Years ago--maybe they still do it--the new legislators were brought in for a series of lectures. I think the boards of control should have the same thing.

F--As a matter of fact, one of the problems about boards of control is that they really don't have a sense of the history, or a sense of how the system really works. They

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get in and talk to their own officers who give them very parochial views. The Legislature in the beginning of each four-year session--maybe two--brings in all the legislators and runs over how the whole thing works.

You just selected a new member of your board at Eastern. That woman is not going to know what the heck is going on. A new member is not going to know any of the history, not going to know any of the peculiar relationships that exist between, well, like the Lincoln district. A new person is not going to know about that and won't understand some of these impetuses.

A--You're 100 percent right. Write an article and put it in your dissertation.

F--What about the role of labor in regard to the support of higher education?

A--Always been good in my opinion. You go back into the history of education. If there was any group out supporting education, it was labor. I personally--my experience is limited to a number of institutions--never had anyone try to come in and say what you should do in the way of teaching or anything else.

F--Dr. Anspach, the attitude always has been that labor is interested in lunch-pail issues, but they don't seem to have been interested in lunch-pail issues about higher education. They seem to have been interested in the broadest public policies.

A--That's right.

F--What about the role of industry?

A--Same way. In each of our states we have an organization of independent colleges that solicits business. As a result, the amount of money that they'll get--a couple of million, three million, four million a year--is apportioned out to the private colleges.

A part of that, I think, is a result of graduates of private colleges being in prominent positions, plus the fact that they've done a good job of communicating, even on the TV, "Support the private colleges."

They've done a better job than public institutions, in my opinion, with industry. In general, I think industry and

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people in various nonindustrial positions do more for private colleges, but not when you come to research where you need to have the know-how and the facilities for research.

I'll give you a case. Down at Mesa, RCA came in. Why did they come there?

F--Where is Mesa?

A--Right outside of Phoenix. They came in there because of the college of engineering [at Arizona State University].

F--That also happened in Massachusetts right along route 128.

A--Right. As small as this town is, Spang--which manufactures the clutch and brake--is here because the university is here.

F--That's a very good point, and I think that comes back to the desire of regional institutions.

You see, my studies lead me, Dr. Anspach, to believe that labor supported the broad concept, whereas industry didn't support the broad concept and had a strong attachment to private education. It was very strong in local areas.

I look at Mt. Pleasant. This town is just a wide bend in the road. It would be a nothing village, just like lots of other places in this state, except for the institution. The higher education institution made this town. It brought in the work itself, it brought in a huge payroll--the payroll here's got to be \$30 million at least--but further, it created the spinoffs.

A--I think you're exactly right in your analysis. I haven't thought of it in terms of the broad role in education. That's the first time that question has ever been put to me, but I think that's right.

F--And I think the strong pressure that Midland has brought on Central, Michigan, Michigan State, and Saginaw Valley to have training resources for chemistry, for management, and so on, is part of that same regional argument.

A--Dow Chemical has taken the position that they wanted their Ph.D.'s in chemistry and physics to know some business administration, so we've been giving courses over there in business administration. Any number of these Ph.D.'s are taking a master's degree in business administration.

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F--That goes back to our discussion. What about the role of commerce in higher education?

I'm not sure that this is at all valid, but when I looked at Romney's Blue Ribbon Commission I noticed people like Max Heavenrich, very influential people. And I think of Seidman in Grand Rapids.

I wonder if the role of commerce was different than industry?

A--Well, no. I'll give you an example here, again it's limited, from our school of business administration.

Recently a bank here in town, Isabella Bank and Trust-- where I happen to be chairman of the board, but I didn't initiate this, one of the other members of the board did-- began a program where the top junior student will receive assistance in his senior year. The student, the office in business administration, and the bank will each get a plaque with the student's name on to encourage him to go into the field of finance, not necessarily banking.

Dow Chemical is doing the same thing from the standpoint of excellence in business administration.

F--That's an interesting point and I hadn't thought about it. What's happening is that you can't build an institution, industrial, commercial, or scientific, without being able to get the smart people.

Industry finds itself for the first time, I think, having to compete for the young men and have got to enhance. They're starting to lose talented people that they normally could have automatically had. Many people, when I was in college, went into finance so they could go into law or of the public sector.

A--Some years ago the president of the College of Wooster had the reputation of getting \$100,000 in three minutes. A building burned at the College of Wooster, he made an appointment to see Carnegie, walked into his office, and presented his case in less than three minutes. Carnegie asked this question: "Why should I be interested in the College of Wooster?" And he said, "Because we are training your employees." Carnegie said, "Good enough." He got \$100,000 in three minutes.

F--What about the role of agriculture in support of higher education?

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A--Well, I'll go back a number of years on this. For years they used to say that the University of Michigan and Michigan State controlled the Legislature because the lawyers were in the Senate and the farmers were in the House.

Agriculture, I think, has supported education but pretty much in the area of specialization. Although at one time this institution had a course in agriculture because the students came in and a good many of them went back to the farms.

Now, of course, with the changes in farming, the way it's done in concentration and all, you don't have that demand anymore. As far as colleges like this are concerned, we have gone over to conservation education. So instead of agriculture, it's conservation education.

F--Natural resources.

A--State has had many farmers on the board. We have Wightman, an orchard man and a stock man who was head of the farm organization of the state, on this board, so there is an interest in agriculture. In the past it was pretty much concentrated, I think, at Michigan State.

F--Many schools had agriculture. You know, even Wayne owned a farm.

A--Yes, that's right. I remember.

F--At the regional schools in Illinois they built agriculture into all the curriculum, down at Carbondale as well as at Urbana. In Michigan that didn't happen. Do you have any idea why?

A--Yes.

F--It seems to me to have been the right decision, but I wonder if it was an accident.

A--I can understand why you'd get one at Carbondale. Dwight Morris went down there from Terre Haute. He was president and he wanted a college of agriculture. That's Little Egypt, similar to the northern peninsula in relation to the State of Illinois. It's got a rather choice position in getting appropriations because in order to do something for upper Illinois, you've got to do something for Little Egypt. The University of Illinois fought it, but he got it after about two years of effort.

Anspach

But I think in this state what you had in the Lower Peninsula was agriculture, so this was concentrated pretty much at Michigan State. Lumbering, iron, copper, were in the Upper Peninsula. In between there wasn't a great deal except resort areas.

I think, therefore, it was because of the geographical location, type of state that it is, and the concentration of agriculture.

F--Agriculture really hasn't been economically significant in this region, has it?

A--No, not through here. It's largely dairy through here, where they have anything. It's good pasture land and there are some good beef herds.

F--I imagine if an institution had grown up at Saginaw, with the same history that Central had, it would have had a school of agriculture because agriculture is a very crucial crop in that area.

A--That's right.

But you know, this institution might have been located at Cadillac. There was quite a battle on. A newspaper man at Cadillac by the name of Perry was on the board. The reason it came here was because the citizens started a land development and every third lot, or something of this kind, was given to the college.

F--When was the school started?

A--1895. It was organized but for one year they didn't appropriate, appropriations came the second year.

F--So it had that civic support.

A--That's right. With the civic support it went over.

F--Who were some of the influential people, Dr. Anspach, in higher education in this period?

A--You mean from '39?

F--No, I was thinking in the fifties and sixties.

A--You're talking about the fifties. Well, I'm not certain how many of them are still living, but in education



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proper it was Dean J. B. Edmondson of the University of Michigan. He was a great soul.

Can I depart just a moment to tell you one story that changed me around, as Hannah would change some other around? I was married, went back to the university, got discouraged, and said to Edmondson one day, "You know, I think I'll drop out. I made a living before I came here, I can make a living after, I don't need a degree." He said, "I agree with you." I said, "I've been in Chevrolet and these other companies." He said, "I agree with you, but did it ever occur to you it might be easier to do it now than explain the rest of your life why you didn't do it?" I said, "You're right." So I went back and finished up my doctoral degree. Well, that was Edmondson.

In the field of agriculture, Dean Anthony at Michigan State. He was a great soul too. And then of course Cliff Harden came along--he went out to Nebraska. He is a great soul. And then Hannah, who was quite influential.

Ruthven was a great president. Ahead of him was Burton. The Legislature accused him of kidnapping the Legislature. He couldn't get them to come down so he got a special train up there and put them on. Later one of the legislators said, "That man is a dangerous man. He kidnapped us."

Burton's idea was, "Ok, now we have facilities, now we can get staff. This can be a great university if it has some of the greatest scholars in the world."

F--So you had Hannah, you had Cliff Harden.

A--In the private colleges, Seaton of Albion was very well recognized and important in the educational circles of the state.

In the Legislature itself we had people like Milliken, Beadle, Gar Lane--Gar Lane was always active for education.

A man by the name of MacKay<sup>4</sup> from West Branch happened to be our representative there. Sandy MacKay, a Scotsman,

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<sup>4</sup>Alexander M. MacKay; Republican from West Branch; Michigan State Representative.

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took a great deal of interest in the young people of this area. He made sure that they had a good education here and that the facilities were here. He was a great man.

F--And certainly you've got to mention Romney and...

A--Romney, of course. And Williams was always very active and quite influential.

F--And some point out Bentley.

A--Bentley, too, with his Foundation. I happen to be chairman of the Bentley Foundation for college scholarships. Yes, Bentley was quite influential at the University of Michigan and in the Constitutional Convention. But of course you didn't hear so much about him in recent years.

Paul Goebel, because he raised \$77 million or whatever the sum was, instead of \$50 million [the goal of the University of Michigan's Sesquicentennial Campaign fund drive].

F--Well, one of the things that's been a great fascination to me is to find how strong the history in Michigan has been, how dedicated the people have been to institutions of higher education, how much civic pride there's been, and how well schools have done compared to other states.

I think when you talk about people, if we spent time, you could mention industrialists, you could mention farmers...

A--Newspaper people like Hill of Detroit, and any number of other people.

F--We've been very fortunate in this state.

A--The Free Press and Detroit News both have always been strong supporters.

F--One of the important things, I think, is that this history should be written so people will know the great men that did great things.

A--You are exactly right. You know, you can do it now and do it well, because you're getting some of these individuals who are still alive to talk to.

The history of this institution has not been written. A man started it twenty years ago but he was a perfectionist.

Anspach

He didn't cut off at a certain period, you see, so he'd get sidetracked. Took twenty years and didn't get it done. I hope he'll get it done one of these days.

I was disturbed two weeks ago because the paper came out quoting one of the professors to the effect that the university organization here was a copy of Kent State in Ohio and that the vice-president down there had been the consultant. So I called him and said, "No, those facts are wrong."

We had organized it as a state college into these various schools. The question was whether to call them colleges or schools. Well, under the old definition four years within the administrative area was a college, two years was a school. You took two years of liberal arts as a base for all schools.

So we went to schools and set them up. We limited the number to five. Michigan State for years had been a state college with different schools before it ever became a university. One of the arguments that we used in getting the title "university" was that we were already organized administratively and we were ready to go on.

So you see, this has never been written. Ten years from now someone is going to write a history of this institution, will run across this article on how this institution was patterned after Kent State University and a certain person had been a consultant. The facts wouldn't bear up.

F--This is one of the things that I am so interested in. I'm trying to build the historical record. And I've talked to you, I've talked to Steve Nisbet...

A--Are you going to talk to Steve? Good.

F--Yes, and I'm going to talk to John Hannah. These tapes are going to be donated to the Michigan State University Historical Tape Library. Well, when men begin to write these things they will be able to listen to you and to others, too. And the transcript will be there and hopefully we can broaden the base of our understanding.

A--I think it's wonderful.

F--Thank you.

A--Not at all.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
WILLIAM RYAN<sup>1</sup>

F--Bill, what in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

In 1958 we were spending some \$80 million a year for higher education and in 1970, when the study concludes, we were spending something like \$260 million. That is quite a significant expansion.

What do you think the reasons were?

R--I think that the basic underlying reason was the fact that you had the societal need for improved education. You had the needs of industry to have persons trained to fill the job needs; you had the needs of the students and the citizenry generally to obtain the education that was going to fit them to take their place in society.

You had the general acceptance of the masses of the citizenry who, although many of the elderly had not had higher education themselves, did want their children to have a better education. They were getting to be more and more in a position to finance their children's education, whether it was financing it through taxation or whether it was financing it through tuition and fees, and as we know, through both.

I think too there perhaps were more social programs than [previously] existed which were enabling the youth to be freed from family responsibilities so that they could spend the years necessary to go on to higher education.

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<sup>1</sup>William A. Ryan; Democrat from Detroit; first elected to Michigan House of Representatives in 1958; Speaker of the House since 1969. Interview conducted May 5, 1974.

Ryan

I think those were the basic underlying reasons that created the atmosphere that caused everyone to pursue the expansion of higher education.

F--You raise a point that not many people have raised, which I suppose is understandable since you've been a great student and an expert in the area of social policy. You say that as the social programs began there was a greater opportunity for the poor to aspire to higher education.

Do you think this was one of the key objectives: to broaden the base of those who could have higher education?

R--I think it was. I think in order for students to be pursuing higher education two factors are needed: One, there has to be the opportunity for them to obtain financial wherewithal; two, they have to be freed of family responsibilities, to a reasonable degree.

This does not mean that students cannot possibly take on their own types of family responsibilities and work that into their student years. I think that's quite a different thing than being tied to the sustenance of the family from which they came, as distinguished from the family which they are commencing.

I think that's a very big factor. In fact it is so basic that it's probably more important than the acquisition of the financial wherewithal, because given the first instance--that is, the freedom of the student to do one's own planning--the financial wherewithal is separately obtainable if even it isn't initially present.

F--What were the social and economic factors that led to this growth?

R--I think that the social and economic factors would be the growth of the labor unions and the gradual improvement of the living standards of the factory workers: their gradual change from the ranks of the impoverished to the ranks of the middle class. I think that's probably the most basic underlying economic [factor], and I guess you would call it a social factor too.

F--One other thing that has a great degree of interest to me has been the changing conception of people's view of themselves in the class structure. Many of us

Ryan

[were], I am for one, the first member of our family to go to college. The GI Bill certainly changed the attitudes of many people to believe that higher education was available for the children of working families.

Politics, when it comes to class issues particularly like welfare and taxation, has a way of splitting people apart. It has not been my observation that education was one of these groups where people broke down into factions. It seems to me that education was something that crossed political boundaries and caused them to be able to unite.

R--Yes and no. It's true, in my opinion, that higher education was somewhat freed from rural-urban divisions. Nevertheless I think that there has always been present high regional pride in educational institutions. I think that's one of the factors we have always had to deal with.

I don't think it has been harmful to the expansion of education. I think it has been helpful because it created multiplicities of local efforts to try to improve their respective educational institutions. I think it has been present.

F--Bill, what were the policy objectives that underlaid this expansion? Certainly making a place for the poor, and creating access where there was desire, are two.

R--I think it was a policy of education for education's sake: just an assumption, almost an axiom, that the greater degree of education of a country, the greater the country.

There of course was international competitiveness on the national level which carried down into the state and local levels, which also helped to promote the idea that education just had to be a national objective. The technological and scientific developments of the day certainly lent tremendous credence to the necessity of education for education's sake if we were to be a great country.

I think those are the main policy objectives. It's quite vague and general, but I think it was something that everyone seemed to take for granted.

Ryan

F--That may be part of the problem because when one deals with planners they like to state a set of objectives and then ways and means to attain them. We seem to operate in this state without a clear-cut plan. The agenda and the aspirations were understated or not stated at all. It seems to have been part of the Zeitgeist of the time. As you have talked about the technology, Governor Williams talked about the impact of Sputnik and the competition with the Russians.

What were the key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflict? Certainly some of the regional interests must have been difficult.

R--Certainly regionalism was one of the factors. I think the partisan competitiveness of each political party, trying to prove to the citizenry that they were more for the citizens than the other party was, certainly caused both political parties to be for better and better education and the means to obtain them.

F--Did the parties direct their loyalties to one institution rather than another?

R--No. I think that it was a flexible, fluid-type of thing. It flowed with whatever happened to be the matters of the moment. I don't think you can say that either political party geared into this or that institution and pursued them to the exclusion of others.

Even in a place like Wayne State. I would think there you had both political parties, as urban as it was cooperating--at least in trying to convert it to an institution.

F--What about the fight between Michigan and Michigan State?

R--I don't think that that one should be overemphasized.

Those types of rivalries and the various ways in which those rivalries reflect themselves is something that is certainly understandable and to be expected in any type of institution, educational or otherwise. I think the natural human desire to make comparisons, one with another, is something that is always going to be with us.

It probably had some spin-off or rub-off effects to keep everybody on their toes, but I don't think there

Ryan

is anything unusual about it.

F--Were there other issues that you recollect besides the regional one, which was certainly a very difficult one?

R--I know within the ranks of higher education there was an underlying labor-versus-management competitiveness for influence in the universities.

I'm not all that sure that that was a factor that stimulated the development of the institutions. I think it was taking place. I think it was quite noticeable and quite interesting, but I just don't think that it was a stimulating factor to cause the expansion of higher education.

I think labor, however, in and of itself, aside from its competitiveness for influence with industry, was a tremendous stimulative factor.

F--I guess I was thinking as you talked, Bill, that while labor may not have been responsible for the growth of one institution rather than another--the fact that in our state, labor with Reuther and Gus Scholle, and I think about Woodcock on the Wayne State Board, Stevens at Michigan State, Bluestone at Grand Valley--their affirmation of support broadened the base of the institution of higher education and therefore made it again less political, more societal.

One of the things that I'm trying to get at, and it's tough to get at, Bill, is this: In many states private education, and even public education, was very definitely owned by one class, related to the needs of one class, and wasn't broadly based. In our state it seems that we've crossed a lot of boundaries and we've built a tremendous kind of support for higher education across all those boundaries.

At the same time that labor and management were busy beating each other's brains out, for instance, against Williams over tax policies, they didn't seem to use this as an arena. They seemed to work together here. One thinks about Bluestone and Bentley serving together on Romney's citizen's commission--probably the only area where they ever did.

So I think that labor certainly rapidly became in this state fifty percent of the deck.



Ryan

What about the key issue of popularism in higher education versus elitism? Many people see this as a key area of conflict.

R--Well, like you said, I think Michigan's inclination to bring education to the grass roots had to respond to grass-roots needs. I think that was one of its big factors in causing education to expand in Michigan as much as it did. I think if it had been held in the area of elitism it probably would not have been expanded quite as much. It wouldn't have had the broad base of popular support.

I think the tuition arguments that took place in those years, as to whether tuition should be higher or lower, was one of the evidences of this kind of thing taking place. Recently, I guess, there has been more of a willingness to let tuition rise without protest, but I know that not too many years back that when tuitions were going to rise, it was a pretty big political issue. Conservatives were pretty much taking the position that more students should be financing their own education with higher tuitions and less with taxes.

F--I've never been impressed with that argument personally.

I always have regarded tuition as a form of tax, a user tax. I've always looked at it as the state pays part of its tax revenue to institutions to provide an education and the tax fee that we call tuition is another public money and not a private money.

R--Yes, that's true, and it is offset by the fact that the real taxation comes after the person concludes his education and presumably gets higher paying jobs for having done so, and then is subjected to higher taxes because he is receiving more money.

That's the quid pro quo. The state provides the education but then the student pays for the education every week in the remaining years of his lifetime.

F--Of course, that's the argument that was fought about for progressive taxation, because higher income gives one a greater ability to pay.

How important were vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education?

Ryan

R--Well, I think too few, too small, in a narrower sense of the words vocational and occupational. As far as industrial training, the ordinary job skills, I think higher education played a very small role. Those types of skills were acquired through apprenticeship programs in industry.

If you are talking about more professional-type occupations, of course, ...

F--I guess I wasn't because I suppose everybody works. I was really thinking about what we call the skilled tradesmen.

Is that why you think, because we weren't doing enough of a job in higher education in this period, we created the community college system?

R--That was the theory in the creation of the community college system, but even it hasn't done its job in that area either--yet.

It's pretty strange because labor and industry are strongly for vocational education and yet nobody seems to be grabbing the bull by the horns to try to get good, organized, comprehensive, well-conceived types of vocational training.

F--That certainly was one of your aspirations when we went through the agony of creating Wayne County Community College, wasn't it?

That went through with a great deal of strain and stress.

R--While you'll have to say that some progress has been made, it certainly hasn't caught on yet.

F--I don't know how I can get to this, and it may not be possible, but I've always felt that higher education sort of modeled itself on the research university and followed the status trail of places like Michigan and discouraged institutions like Henry Ford Community College, and Grand Rapids, for instance, from really pushing and espousing the vocational. Maybe that's the reason for the development now of the new--and actually duplicative function--skill center which is more closely tied to the intermediate district.

Ryan

R--Right, right. There's a lot of individual efforts being extended now in that area. It may be that all of them at some point along the way may blossom all at once and we may end up with some massive results, hopefully.

F--But, you're saying that in the aspect of training of men, this is an unfulfilled agenda.

R--Yes, that's what I'm saying.

F--Did the growth of culture and the arts, Bill, have importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

R--That one's probably a little bit out of my field. I can only speak from my own personal observations and conception.

I think certainly it played a role, but I never felt it to be a part of the push, the pressure, the reasons for the growth of higher education.

It may have contributed in a sense that a degree was valued in industry for job-obtaining purposes. Many of the various areas in which degrees could be obtained were still quite relevant in getting the degree which enabled one to obtain the job, as distinguished from doing the job.

So, I think in that sense the culture and the arts played a role. There's no doubt, but what the groups which are intensely interested in the arts are an intellectual factor and did play their role, but I think it still is a relatively small percentage of the total picture. You could never feel that particular pressure in the Legislature.

F--I guess the only time I personally observed where culture and the arts would have had the same kind of impact, say, as athletics, would have been at Oakland where they used the theater programs and the like to build a sense of community. I myself haven't observed that that helped Wayne, for instance.

Did you want to add anything to the position of labor in regard to higher education?

Ryan

R--No, I just think that its political activities were parlayed into tremendous support for the growth of higher education.

The fact it was heavily involved politically was the circumstance that caused it to make its tremendous contribution.

F--I do see several factors and I want to raise them with you for your reaction.

In Michigan one has the sense that labor was less oriented to bread-and-butter issues than they were in some other states. They had a lot of broad societal interests that had to do with well-being in a broader sense rather than just lunch-pail issues. It's been my observation that labor was interested in higher education across the broad spectrum, not necessarily in terms of specific institutions.

Whereas industry, which was much more involved in taxation issues throughout this whole period--prevention of increasing state appropriations and hence taxes--was less interested in a broad sense but had a more parochial interest. Local industries led pushes, along with other groups, for places like Saginaw Valley and Grand Valley and Oakland, Dearborn.

What's your reaction to that?

R--I think you're right. I think though that there were particular members or individuals in industry who helped to play fund-raising roles for the institutions--out to play alumni roles. Because of this fund-raising role, as civic leaders and as common alumni, I think industrial personages did play substantial roles in the promotion of higher education.

I do agree there was always that underlying effort to balance education with the taxes, and as always the persistent argument that the state should not be assuming a stated role in the financing of education--as it was.

But that was sort of mixed. Industry could not unite on any such concept as that because there were too many persons in industry who were not supporting that particular concept. It was incompatible with their role as educational leaders, by reason of their civic

Ryan

activities or their alumni activities. It was never a unified type of thing. It couldn't get off the ground very much for that reason, it couldn't get unified.

F--Do you think that the position of commerce might have been different or would you lop them in with industry?

R--I think that there we're talking about persons and individuals rather than talking about industry or commerce. I think the mixed dilemma that persons in commerce had were similar to or somewhat the same as persons in industry. I don't think you can very well distinguish between them.

F--Well, that may be an important point because certainly in the taxation process one didn't find during this period that they were as divided or mixed in their approach.

We went through several taxation crises over increasing the base. We went over the attitudes about progressive taxation and their arguments were very much that if they didn't get what they wanted they were leaving the state--always as sort of a final threat.

R--That was always on the area of taxes, but they usually didn't oppose, though, the spending program the taxes made possible. In fact we quite often reminded them, without much response from them, that those taxes do buy services which are beneficial to industry and which they wanted and which they usually conceded.

When they would be comparing Michigan's taxes versus nearby and other industrial states, we would be saying, but look at what you're getting for that money. You're getting better educational institutions and other types of services. They usually wouldn't argue against that point.

F--What about agriculture, Bill?

R--Agriculture I guess did play a pretty big role in education in Michigan. MSU, of course, is sort of the exhibit that displays that fact.

I think elsewhere, though, too. As agriculture moved from the small individual farmer to the large corporate

Ryan

farmer, they then became persons with the ability and means. Education was certainly one of their requisites for the sons of the farmers.

Agriculture, I think, was highly promotive of education in this state.

F--I was curious. Certainly with the agricultural research station and the curriculums at Michigan State there was strong support, but I was curious if you felt that in other local contexts: so that their children wouldn't go away from home and the like.

The small farmer in the 40-acre holding no longer could support a family and moved to corporate farms. One of the tragedies of this period--and of our current history--was the migration of people from homes to the city and the destruction of the quality of life in rural areas.

R--Well, I guess it was inevitable that the agricultural populations would diminish as you moved towards more production with fewer people due to mechanization. It was inevitable that that would happen. Perhaps the only way it can happen is by migration from farm areas to non-farm areas.

But, I still think, though, that among that element of the agricultural population which remained agricultural, education became absolutely more and more essential. One, because they had greater ability and means; and two, because they had an absolutely greater necessity to obtain more education.

F--In other words, the agricultural segment needed more occupational alternatives than the urban dweller did?

R--Yes, but it's not only alternatives, it's enhancement of the few alternatives. If agriculture were to be mechanized and were to make technological advancements, you had to have education in order to make that possible.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy from the federal government, if any?

The reason I ask the question is that when you look at the social policy of America, the federal government grants to states required many quid pro quos: regulation, distribution, access. That doesn't seem to have

Ryan

been the case in higher education.

I'm curious if you've observed, for instance, constraints on the states from the federal government the way it's been very definitely so in welfare policy.

R--Well, I suppose the way in which the federal government influenced higher education was the way it always is: in the way it makes its grants and what kinds of grants that it makes.

It made money possible to cause the faculty and professors to take on national and international responsibilities which lent national and international flavors to the educational institutions. It's not that the federal government was spending that much money in doing it, but they were spending it in a very attractive way, which probably did considerably influence the thinking of the faculty in broadening their concepts and activities.

I think also the federal government played pretty big roles in its research grants in the types of money that it made available for that type of research project.

F--You know, as you've talked, Bill, you're the first one that's observed the international role.

People have talked about the research grants to enhance biology and technology; people have talked about eh role of federal aid for specialized curriculums like counseling; people have talked about the construction grants which helped to support and enhance private schools, but this state isn't an insular state. As I think about what you've mentioned, you think about Michigan State in Turkey, Nigeria, Viet Nam; Wayne in Yugoslavia; you think about Eastern Michigan University in Somaliland.

Nobody has talked about that, but that obviously was a significant and unspoken factor. Perhaps the right word to use is attractive. I had not thought about that. I think that's a good insight.

What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy from the private sector? I'm thinking about private higher education. I'm thinking about U of D, Albion, Calvin, Kalamazoo...

Ryan

R--Of course all of those institutions are heavily committed to the concept of education for education's sake and help to form the whole public concept that was taken for granted among the mass of the citizenry: that education was good and necessary.

I think that the main role these institutions were playing helped legislators, for instance, and society in general, just to accept without question the necessity to expand higher education. These institutions in some instances, of course, were pioneers. For instance, U of D in their co-op arrangements. That's in the days when public higher education was laggard and retarded and private education was foremost when relative costs favored private higher education more than they later did. They were able to send higher education down various types of experimental and constructive roads.

But as we made more and more money available for public higher education, made low tuitions possible and made these public higher educational institutions more and more attractive in their environment and their facilities, private higher education diminished in relative influence and found itself resorting to a fight to stay alive financially.

F--But there's some degree of statesmanship, the fact that you can't identify the conflict because I don't believe it exists. That's the reason there's a degree of statesmanship.

In Massachusetts, where I'm from, Bill, the private schools fought for 20 years to prevent a state school from coming into the urban areas because they would offer alternatives that they were afraid would destroy them. Recently in Colorado there was a meeting of the state colleges and universities, so I am told, and one of the states came across very vigorously against any support for private education.

Yet, in this state we just passed the bill to give grants to institutions for each degree earned, the McGeorge Bundy plan. And not one public school that I know of fought that in any public way. Now, obviously, there's been a certain kind of attitude where both sectors, the more powerful public sector and the declining-in-strength private sector, have some degree of statesmanship that believes that there is a value in this state for the continuation of both models. That, I think, is worth remark.



Ryan

R--I think you're right about Michigan. There has been more cooperation between public and private education.

F--Nobody wants to talk about it. I think that the public institutions have a tremendous amount of political power because of the linkages with the alumni, with industry, with labor, and the fact that for a variety of reasons, the modern Michigan citizens identify with the individual institutions.

If they decided to make a fight, a real tough fight, the votes wouldn't come so easy, would they?

R--No, they certainly wouldn't.

But, my own personal opinion is that the private sector is still on its way out. I think the financial pressures are just too great for them to be able to compete. It's true that public higher education could hasten their demise if they opposed these relatively modest degrees of assistance the state gives to private higher education. But, I think, nevertheless, it's still only a matter of time.

I think that some elements of it can survive, you know, if they stay small and if they cater to particularized objectives.

F--But, doesn't that really threaten a place like U of D, maximally? I think you're probably right about the fact that institutions will only survive when they pick spots on the market of very limited effect.

Places like U of D have a broad-based curriculum, and I sort of have the feeling that the private sector is being pushed out of professional education, being pushed out of high-cost technical education and expensive and small programs. They will probably have to end up being...

R--The thing that's going to murder them too is capital outlay. No institution can survive without replenishing its facilities from time to time.

F--The last time they really got money was 1965 with the HEFA, which came from the federal programs. There's been no state aid or construction.

Ryan

R--There's been some helpful assistance to students to pay their tuition, and as you say, these grants for degrees would be of some help to the institution directly.

F--In our medical program people talk frequently about the fact that we have a \$4 million budget in our college. The reason we can do that is we've got \$50 million worth of capital that's part of that effort too, which doesn't show on the ledger.

What was the nature, Bill, of the regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another?

R--I think it's economic and civic.

F--Were they an advantage to you? A lot of people, particularly planners, make a great fuss about the rivalry between, say, Saginaw and Grand Rapids or Oakland and Dearborn.

I myself lean to the belief, based on my experiences working for the Legislature, that that's not bad at all. As a matter of fact it wired people in who were never in. It brought people into the game who had the privilege and legislative tactic of voting no. All of a sudden you brought in Grand Rapids people and Saginaw people and Dearborn people and you could wire them into a system where in order to get this they had to give something else too.

So I wasn't sure that that kind of competition was at all divisive or bad for the objectives of the state.

R--No, and it certainly has stimulated the particular legislators, I sort of figure about 30 percent of them, who find it most convenient to vote no on everything, all of a sudden picking up some of these people in order to get votes for their institutions and civic interests. They had to swap them for welfare and mental health and public health issues.

Do you feel that way too?

Ryan

R--Yes, except that this core of legislators that you're talking about that vote no on everything--I don't think that they vote no on everything. I think they vote strictly in accordance with the provincial wishes of their constituent leaders. But it serves the same purpose.

F--Ok, maybe the districts say no, but they certainly learned to watch that board. It was always red.

R--If you're talking about this particular type item yes. The concept I mentioned would reflect itself in red votes for institutions elsewhere. But, I don't think that these people, as you say, who vote no just for the sake of voting no, that's not really what's motivating them--their desire to vote no--what's motivating them is their desire to get themselves re-elected.

F--I guess I'm speaking to something very directly. When you have a program you have to fashion, since party regularity in Michigan doesn't really exist in the fullest sense, votes are crucial from this sector.

You have served as Speaker since 1968. Is that correct, Bill?

R--Yes, I started in 69'.

F--The Legislature's been Democratic in the House only 12 years between 1850 and 1970. Every time you have a program you have to make up your mind how you get the votes. As I have said to my class, anything less than 56 votes is a stimulating opinion. A lot of good ideas don't have 56 votes.

So I was thinking, did the increased role of education assist you and other Legislative leaders in the building support for other programs? I, therefore, wouldn't be highly critical of the competition, I think it may have tied more people in.

R--Oh no, competition is certainly a good factor.

F--What in your opinion were the reasons for the failure of the branch campus systems that began to be developed in Michigan with Oakland, Flint, Dearborn, that we turned our back on pretty much?

R--I just don't know much about that.

Ryan

F--Farnsworth said something very interesting and I am curious as to what your observations are about it. He was very much into the attempt to make the human services bill a reality. Jim said one of the reasons is that people were suspicious of very large institutions. They didn't like big government, they didn't like big schools, they didn't want to see one school be bigger than 40,000 and be like California where the system might have 150,000. They were afraid of thought-control and the like.

And then, of course, he made the strong point that you have made about the civic energy: their desire to control their own destiny rather than being run from East Lansing or Ann Arbor.

Do those make sense to you?

R--Yes, I think so. I think those thoughts probably overcome and supersede the human desire to be associated with bigness and to say you have some association with status and prestige. I think that the points that Jim Farnsworth made there probably are more valuable.

But I think that in the Legislature they are not looking at the bottom part: that is, not from the civic aspect to the state, they're looking from the state down. I think Jim's right there, that people in the state are suspicious of efforts and attempts to build empires, to create extra and additional power for oneself. You know, to pursue a system that says when we exhaust our possibilities in one location we will continue to expand by taking over other locations under our direction and guidance. I think the people in the state were somewhat suspicious of that even though there might be some advantages such as educational and economic advantages.

F--There is a certain kind of cultural resistance here in people.

But why, in your opinion, did an institutional system for the coordination of higher education not come about after 1964?

R--I guess because higher education didn't want it.

Ryan

F--I think that's a good answer too.

A young man who is writing his dissertation at Michigan came to me. They're all involved in planning and they have all these beautiful charts and boxes and bars and hierarchial structures. He said to me, "Well, you know in Ohio and Illinois the legislatures are just fatigued by the conflict. Don't you think they want a system?"

I said my personal opinion is that, no, everybody's quite happy with the way the system works. They can stand the strain of the competition in return for the opportunities of getting the schools to be susceptible to legislative initiatives.

R--Well, of course, the autonomy of the institution is the big factor. They want autonomy, not to be coordinated.

F--The other thing that I was struck by is simply this. It may well be that in Michigan we really do have a system of coordination, where there is a subtle competition for resource. In fact, the legislative and executive branches are really able to control institutions, without the need for a large bureaucracy to effect that control, by the competition for resource.

R--Yes.

F--Do you have the feeling that the members of the caucus, and legislators that you have known over the years, feel that the institutions are not susceptible to control to obtain state objectives?

There is some rhetoric but I don't have the sense that that's the case.

R--The institutions don't want to be controlled by a state institution or state board. The only way they will submit to control will be if they are allowed to retain and strengthen their own autonomy so they can resist control if they don't like it. They have an objection to somebody telling them what they should do, advising them what they should do. They want that autonomy that gives them the right to not do what they don't want to, or gives them tremendous bargaining power.

F--Someone said that Michigan citizenry seem to be willing to pay for that duplication and competition in return for the freedom, that ideal, that autonomy is dear to Michigan's people.

Ryan

R--I don't know what the masses of the citizenry think about that. I don't know that they've been confronted with that.

I think in Con-Con the representatives of the institutions fought hard for autonomy and was the main voice that was heard.

F--And they won.

R--And they won, as you say, but there's been no counter-valent force that's been giving the other side of the argument. Occasionally, though, the politicians who have to be responsive and accountable to the people do use in their argumentation with the citizenry the limitations to their power that the autonomy of the institutions impose upon them. It may be that some point down the road the citizens may rise up against autonomy on the grounds that the institutions can do anything they want to and the elected representatives of the people are powerless to prevent them.

In most cases you might talk about not so much the economic but the social trends in institutions which people get all concerned about and ask the legislators to do something about it and which they just have to say, "Sorry, we don't have any power to do something."

F--It's amazing things like coed dorms can create tremendous attitudes, can't they?

R--Yes.

F--Do you see any countervailing forces developing at this time?

R--None that are strong. They're not strong enough to do anything.

F--They'd have to develop in the Legislature and executive, wouldn't they?

R--It'd have to develop in the grass-roots citizens first. Then the politicians would nurture it. That's the way it would happen if it's to happen.

F--You were saying something about legislatures that I think is important. Frequently people look at

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legislatures as creating events and then the grass roots respond. You're saying that one of the main energies of legislators is to survive and to be reelected. They listen closely to their grass roots and there'd have to be a basic change in the attitudes of the grass roots in order to find programs and mechanisms to change those attitudes.

R--Yes, I guess I would put it in that way. And this is not to commend it.

They are politically successful to the extent that they can ascertain what the people are thinking, and can express what the people are thinking in a way better than the people themselves can express it, so the people recognize it as their views when they hear it expressed.

In some cases that is good. In other cases it's very, very bad for the politician to play that kind of role because politicians should be leaders, should be leading the citizens away from those views which are selfish and inconsiderate of the masses of the people or even the neglected minorities. He should be leading people towards a constructive view. Too often politicians take advantage of a political situation for their own good.

F--Well, I'm struck by what you say because it strikes me that as long as higher education in Michigan serves the people and broadens their base of understanding rather than following parochial interests just for themselves, the day of control probably will not come. Probably only when institutions get really out of whack with society do we have these mechanisms.

Bill, who in your opinion were the significant opinion leaders in higher education in this period?

R--I suppose the outstanding person, outstanding individual who influenced the development of higher education is G. Mennen Williams. I think he is probably the one who helped to shape tentative direction of state support for higher education with the greatest degree of popular political influence in his day.

F--Are there other legislators or institutional people that come to your mind?

Ryan

Well, obviously the governors, the members of the appropriations committee, the party leaders in the House and Senate, the presidents of the major institutions, just because of the tremendous power-base that those institutions have. Those people have to be mentioned and have been by others.

R--Yes, but you don't think of those persons really as being persons who are promoting education for education's sake. What they're doing is trying to respond to the pressures in working out annual budgets. You never think of them as being influential leaders in the area of education. I suppose maybe there could be legislators who had solid convictions as to the necessities for improved education.

I can't think of many who impressed me from that standpoint. Many impress me as having done tremendous work in this area but not doing so much for that motivation, [but] doing it because they had to work out the annual budgetary problems in accordance with the public pressures which were presented to the Legislature.

F--Then when we deal with leadership, we're talking about people like G. Mennen Williams, perhaps Romney, because they created a public part, Walter Reuther, maybe Gus Scholle.

R--Now, all of those persons were persons who you could sort of feel were dedicated to the promotion of education.

F--Thank you very much, Bill.



HIGHER EDUCATION IN MICHIGAN,  
1958 to 1970

VOLUME 3  
Interviews

By  
Gerald Alden Faverman

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TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH

JOHN X. JAMRICH<sup>1</sup>

F--John, we're talking about an inquiry into the nature of higher education in Michigan from 1958 to 1970. In that period higher education appropriations increased from some \$80 million to some \$270 million.

I'm curious, what in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

J--I think there are probably half-a-dozen important points that can be made on that question. These are not in any order of importance, necessarily, but let me just cite a couple.

Number one is obvious. Namely: There were just many more young people graduating from high school. That in itself might or might not have produced expansion and growth. It could just as well have been that instead of going, let's say, from 20 percent or 25 percent of the high school graduates going on, instead of that growing to 47 percent, that could have stayed at the same level. There obviously were other sociological, philosophical factors which gave rise to the phenomenal increase in numbers and growth of education.

In other words, if the percentage of high school kids going on would have remained the same, we still would

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<sup>1</sup>John X. Jamrich; President, Northern Michigan University, 1968- ; Assistant Director, Legislative Survey of Higher Education in Michigan, 1957-58; Professor of Higher Education, Michigan State University, 1957-58; Director, Center for the Study of Higher Education, Michigan State University, 1957-63; Associate Dean, College of Education, Michigan State University, 1963-68; author of several books on education. Interview conducted May 21, 1974.

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have had larger numbers, but when you consider that not only were there larger numbers but larger percentages of those numbers going on, this is where we find ourselves with the tremendous pressure for expanding the opportunity.

One might ask, why is it that the percentage of high school graduates going on increased? There, again, are several reasons, aside from the draft and all this kind of thing. It's hard to measure what impact that had.

I think there are some very practical things that came in. Number one, at that point in time the demand in a number of professional areas was evident to the young people. They saw this as a way of moving into the teaching, engineering, or whatever, professional arena.

So I would say that as the numbers increased, the percentage of those going on increased. This was a result of newer goals emerging in the young people's minds, and their parents' as well.

F--That's a political decision, John, to increase not only the number but also the percentage of high school graduates who'll have a place in the higher education system.

J--That's correct.

F--Ohio increased the number, but not the percentage of the class.

J--That's right. This state was responding in the political arena with fiscal and financial support for the need as it was perceived by those who were in a position to make decisions, for programs, for example, at the less-than-baccalaureate degree level.

F--We created some 15 community colleges in this time.

J--You go back to 1958 and '57 and '56 and you think of the infancy of junior and community colleges in this state. You compare it then to the survey of '57 and '58 which recommended that there be a community college within a 30-mile driving radius of every citizen of the State of Michigan and you come up with a map showing some 35 of them throughout the state.

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The state has moved in that direction. It's in response to the recognition of: a) these programs of less-than-degree [status]; and b) an opportunity to begin higher education with a transfer option. This really convinced the decision makers in the state: at the local level, politically, in terms of community colleges; those who vote millages; those who vote in the Legislature; and the governor's office, in terms of providing the budget.

F--That's a good point because traditionally higher education has been paid for at the state level. With the construction of these new community colleges, local citizenry were voting to directly bear part of the burden with their own dollars.

That's quite a level of community and social support, isn't it?

J--This is right. It goes back to the kind of point that I've made many times in speaking on this subject: the recognition in the State of Michigan of what I call the social value of higher education. And having it, recognizing it as an appreciating investment rather than a depreciating investment. Taking one's discretionary income and recognizing that putting it here is an investment that is appreciative in character, rather than as when you buy a car and the next day the Blue Book says it's worth ten percent less.

F--You're saying that there was a social understanding that dollars invested in higher education were an investment rather than an expenditure.

J--I believe that--in the decision maker's mind. You take some of our people--we were talking a while ago of Senator Zollar and Senator Lane--these men recognize this generalized social value of investment in higher education.

Public higher education was of such stature as to rather naturally warrant the notion that that's something worth expanding. When we go back to the

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'57 and '58 study<sup>2</sup> you realize that in the State of Michigan you had the total spectrum of higher education, practically everything. I remember saying in that report that the only two things that we didn't have were optometry and osteopathy. These two things were visible because of their absence in terms of public institution availability.

You have the whole spectrum of post-secondary education: undergraduate, ... you take your choice and you could find it in the State of Michigan in a public institution, and highly respected, nationally and internationally. You had something to begin with.

F--You went from Ferris to the University of Michigan. That's quite a broad spectrum, isn't it?

J--Absolutely. One of the important things that was recognized by those who were making the decision was that this is a total service to the state. It isn't just a Ph.D. in ornithology, you see, but it is that, plus a whole lot of other things.

F--Did you sense that there was some real belief that the only hope for the state's economy was to enhance the industrial sector by encouraging the growth of higher education for the support that industry could get from research and the like?

J--That's a little more difficult, I think, to put your finger on except to say that the net result is indeed that.

You take the research in the ag school here at MSU, or you take the research in engineering, nuclear physics, and the like at Ann Arbor. These things, when translated and transformed into the industrial business arena, have certainly shown tremendous dividends to us.

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<sup>2</sup>John D. Russell, John X. Jamrich, and Orwin T. Richardson, Instructional Programs in Michigan Institutions of Higher Education, (Staff Study No. 6, The Survey of Higher Education in Michigan) (Lansing, March 1958).

Jamrich

Now, sometimes those things are difficult to discern in advance and say, "If we put \$3 million in research on hybrid corn it's going to yield \$300 billion of dividends." Who knew that in the beginning?

But this is how it comes out, and some of the experiments in research pay off more than others. That's the character and nature of experimentation.

F--The John Dale Russell Report was sort of a curiosity, in a sense. It's the most well-received and influential, as far as I can ascertain, report. It was the one that was subject, in many ways, in my observation, to the least political fratricide.

It strikes me that Michigan has not been a state sympathetic to either centralized control or bureaucratic mechanisms for coordination. There's been a great deal of resistance, all through, to the administrative kinds of decision structures that occur in Wisconsin and California.

It further struck me that there's always been a great deal of legislative opposition, to the contrary of other states, to creating control mechanisms. Whether they be in higher education or even in the area of social services, where we are now currently facing a discussion over the human services agency.

Have you some thoughts about what were the reasons that the Russell report succeeded so?

One of the big things that strikes me is some of the attempts of coordination, such as the combined-board administrative structure that existed for a while. It's my understanding that M. M. Chambers came and effectively got driven out. That's always struck me as somewhat astonishing that such an eminent man... and yet I gather he didn't even last long enough to unpack his bags here before they tossed him out and he headed back to Illinois.

And yet, [for] everybody who was studying higher education, John Dale Russell seems in many ways to be the beginning and the end.

J--Well, a couple of facts have to be recognized. That study came out with 45 basic recommendations. The

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one and only major recommendation which has not yet been put into effect in any way in the State of Michigan is the one having to do with coordination and planning.

You will remember, though, that in the 1963 State Constitution they tried to reflect that, but they reflected it in this inconsistent fashion of saying on the one hand that the State Board is this, and on the other hand, in another section saying they're [the colleges] autonomous. So really, it didn't accomplish that, but all of the other 45 major recommendations were indeed implemented.

There were some difficult times trying to put some of the data together. There were great objections, for example, in our staff report on medical education. The idea of expanding Wayne and maybe even starting a new medical school--that of course initially was opposed. Eventually it came about with, I think, the proper kind of success.

To go back to why central coordination has not found a good nest in Michigan. I think that has some obvious reasons and it goes back to the point I was making before. This state's higher education enterprise has been of such long standing--since 1837 [U of M], 1855 [MSU], 1849 for Ypsilanti as a teacher-training institution--and of such high reputation, and all in a setting of individuality and individual performance.

Anyone who thinks about it for any length of time has to ask the question: "If we've done so well under these conditions of individuality and autonomy, who says there is anything better to be obtained by merging all of this under one board?" South Dakota has had a single board since 1800--something, and fame and stature don't happen to reside in higher education in that state. It is modest, it does its job, but certainly nothing like the fame and stature of U of M, MSU, et cetera.

I think there's a tradition here that can be translated somewhat into dollars and cents, but basically it's more of an interpretive perception of how well things have been done. Again, you have to remember that this took a certain kind of insight in the political arena. To translate some of this, "How did



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those institutions get to be what they are?" The answer is state support through a sympathetic, supportive legislature and executive office.

F--And I think societal support, too.

J--Yes. I think the Michigan citizenry was willing to absorb and internalize this. Had they been resistant it might have been a different matter, but I think you have to recognize some of our legislative people's leadership in this thing.

F--You've been president since 1970?

J--1968.

F--One of the things that strikes me as worth a remark is the fact that I don't know any other state in the Union where the educational enterprises have constitutional status. You take a look at the Constitution. You are guaranteed rights of autonomy. That's got to say something for Michigan attitudes because...

J--From way back...

F--And it was there in 1908 too, and the first Constitution spoke to the powers of the University of Michigan. So there's got to have been some strong prerogatives here and yet Russell did have significant impact.

The Legislature brought Russell in, didn't they?

J--Yes, that's correct.

F--Do you think that was the reason it succeeded?

J--Oh, there's no question about it.

It's like anything else, Jerry. For example, if the legislature, the governor, and the institutions, those three entities, suddenly decided that they need a central coordinating board, there would be no problem. There would be one, provided all three of them recognized a single agency to carry this on, and if at the time they recognized it was something that probably ought to be done.

Jamrich

There's a little background to this. There's an interesting little monograph printed by the Council of State College Presidents about 1955 or '56. If you've not read that, you'd better read it as part of your history, because there's a thing that makes projections for enrollments that are fantastic. If I remember the chart, there are five different options for enrollments and the most extreme, liberal, highest option, let's say for 1960, was exceeded in 1958. The one for 1965 was exceeded in 1960.

So the institutions were faced with a little piece of paper that projected something that, almost as it came off the press, they recognized was really way, way off target. Something had to be done to respond to this kind of thing that was felt by people. I think we can feel all of this, now what are we supposed to do? What's the best response?

In the meantime, prior to the Russell study, people like Ferris Crawford<sup>3</sup> and some of us were dabbling into the community college situation in various parts of the state. There were little bubbles of this need throughout the state, and I think this sort of came at the right time.

F--I think there's something to that. It came at the right time, but there's not been a study since, that has been accepted as significantly as the Russell one was. Virtually every one of Russell's recommendations has come to pass but that one of state coordination.

J--Just that one. They're working on it now.

F--What are your observations about that?

J--Well, there are two. One is that the way it's proposed now I would support it.

I would express my support for it: namely, a post-secondary commission separate from the State Board of Education, for obvious reasons that I think you're as aware of as I am. The State Board of Education has

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<sup>3</sup>Ferris N. Crawford; Assistant Superintendent for General Education, 1958-65; Associate Superintendent for Educational Services, 1966- .

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plenty to do if it's taking care of K through 12, a tremendously complex enterprise in itself.

I think a separate commission to advise on planning and coordination--and those are the words now being used in that proposed piece of legislation--does have my support. Our Board at Northern has looked at this, we've talked about it, and it has our support.

But just between the two of us I think the chances of that getting on the ballot and passing this fall are fairly slim. That would be my guess.

F--My studies lead me to believe that there's no public at all for this kind of structure. The sentiment that I can ascertain is, "Michigan's policy leaders say the system is working. Why, therefore, create an instrumentality that's not necessary?"

J--The paper I read on behalf of the Council of Presidents before the Commission [Governor's Commission on Higher Education] four or five months ago... perhaps you were there.

F--I know, I read it.

J--That summarizes precisely the point you're talking about. I think that's right. The leaders look at it and say, "Well, wait a minute. What's wrong with it?"

F--I'm not sure that people are displeased with the stewardship of any of the institutions in any grievous way.

John, what were the policy objectives that underlay this expansion, as you see it?

Obviously the decision to make a place, not only for the current percentage of people in college, but to increase that percentage, was obviously an objective. The community college idea of having low-cost education within available range for every citizen was certainly another.

What are some of the others that you saw?

J--The opportunity for education beyond high school, I think, is the broadest policy objective under which a lot of these things will fall.

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Take Northern Michigan University, for example, or Ferris State College. Northern Michigan University has had for more than a decade a thing called "the right to try." Ferris says "open admission." This is an opportunity for a student who shows interest in, an inclination, or some support for going on to college, even though his high school grades may not be 3.0 or 2.75.

I think there is a realization on the part of the people who look at this that, let's put it quite bluntly, our governments, our businesses, our industries, are not run and operated by people who graduated in the upper one percent of their class and are in the upper one percent of IQ measurements. They are operated by people like you and I, who put their pants on one leg at a time, and whose IQ's will range from 100 to 200.

F--I'm laughing because somebody told me something yesterday that just broke me up. They said, "Remember that 50 percent of the doctors now practicing in the United States graduated in the bottom half of their class."

J--This is exactly the sort of thing I say to people when they get all hot and bothered about [the fact that] this kid to be a school teacher must have a 3.85 average.

I say, "Wait a minute." I get sick and on Thursday I'm going to have a little eye operation. I'm going to be lying there and the doctor's going to come in with all his cutting tools. Am I going to say, "Just a minute, let me see your transcripts and your diploma. What was your GPA in med school?" This is ridiculous. That's where artistry instead of numbers really comes into play.

But getting back to my point: If one man-one vote is going to mean something in terms of participation by citizenry it goes back to Jefferson's basic point-- a well-educated citizen. Now, whether our leaders and our citizens in this state read Jefferson's statement or not and said, "This is exactly what we want so we're going to do this," the point is that this is the direction we've taken. We are saying, and were saying in those days, that the basic policy commitment is an opportunity for the maximum number of youngsters to go on.

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Let me remind you, though, that not everyone in this state was supportive of that policy. For example-- a very specific thing--I did the survey for the Legislature in that six-county area which eventually came to be established as Grand Valley State College. My analysis of the high school graduates, parents, and their expectations and goals, led me to the conclusion that that six-county area was indeed right for a four-year, degree-granting institution--based on the notion that we ought to maximize the opportunity for young people to go beyond high school.

Well, this lady just took me apart: What a terrible thing I'm foisting on that area in terms of the erosion of the quality of education by bringing all these less-than-qualified students into the college arena, et cetera. It's an eight- or ten-, maybe twelve-page document where she took issue with my position.

Interestingly enough, and fortunately, she was in the vast minority. But still, I'm saying it was not a unanimous rising-up of the Michigan citizenry saying, "Everyone of us wants this." But in the main, I think you found the leaders of the Grand Rapids area, Kent County, and so on, seeing that something like this had to be done in that part of the state to respond to the needs of the young people.

Under this comes such things as opportunity for the minorities. This emerges as a very important reason why certain kinds of numbers came out in the expansion, plus why certain kinds of programs developed in our colleges and universities.

F--Was there also the attempt and the vision to cap the size of the large schools and encourage the growth of regional institutions?

J--This is sort of built in if you're going to say we should maximize the opportunity for access to higher education. I think you immediately have to recognize that many who want to go on are not economically able to pick up and go miles away from home and pay room, board, and tuition. If we're going to really put into practice that principle, we have to put the schools nearby.

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I go back to the Grand Valley thing. I made my recommendations on the assumption, I forget the dates now, but by 1968 or 1970 there should be 10,000 students there.

Well, I remember the first president, Jim Zumberge<sup>4</sup>. He used to chide me. He would say, "Jamrich, where in the world did you come up with those numbers 4, 5, and 6,000?" My response was very simple: "You didn't read my report very carefully in terms of the kind of curricula and program offering. If you're going to become the Harvard of the west shore of the State of Michigan, that's an entirely different proposition."

F--Zumberge's problem was that he didn't know what Grand Rapids was.

J--That's exactly the point. He was somewhat reflecting this lady's point of view. I remember when I made the study out there. He said, "Oh, why are you fussing with that? After all, we want our kids in Grand Rapids to go to college for a degree."

Weren't they surprised when they found what a large proportion of them actually aspired to such things as cosmetology, barbering, and so on. This was the real world of work. And it was an awakening, because if you remember, Grand Rapids Junior College was also 80 percent oriented in terms of transfer.

F--It was the oldest community college and really an academic and not a vocational institution.

J--Absolutely. It was not a community college in the sense that we normally think of them.

F--If you look over these last few years, it really strikes me that Michigan, Wayne, and Michigan State really haven't grown that much. They're not that much bigger than they were when you started.

J--Yes, I think that's right.

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<sup>4</sup>James H. Zumberge; President, Grand Valley State College, 1963-68.

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F--If you take a look at the total number of kids in college today, and if you take a look at the kids in community colleges, private colleges, and the regional institutions, you'll find that Michigan, Michigan State, and Wayne have declined in their percentage of the market.

J--I think this is a problem for us in the next five to ten years. Let me tell you a little bit about this, because for Northern Michigan University what you're saying is supported by statistics.

Back in 1965 or so, Northern had about .8 percent of the college-going population in public institutions. In 1970 and '71 we had 3.6 percent. That's quadruple, which means, of course, we were taking a larger percentage of the total. Therefore, somebody else was staying reasonably level.

Now the problem I see in the next half a decade is simply this. The peak in high school graduates for Michigan occurs June of '74, this year. Thereafter, for the next eight or ten years, that number of high school graduates is going down very sharply. And with that is the interesting phenomenon that the percentage of high school youngsters going on to post-secondary education has plateaued.

If it doesn't do anything, there's some indication that it might even drop, but if it just remains steady, it's the same percentage of less and less. Therefore, there will be fewer and fewer numbers in the total public institutional setting. If U of M, MSU, and Wayne continue to grow in the next five to ten years, their percentage of the market is going to grow sharply and some institutions are going to...

F--That's Gresham's law, the reverse of that, applied to the reputations of higher education institutions.

But I guess that's why I expect very strongly that the lifelong learning, the midcareer vocational retraining, the adult education, and the continuing education, will have to become vital forces as the institutions have to move to new markets. The high school market is dead and they can no longer be just post-puberty institutions.

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J--A) we have to do it; and b) we have to somehow find a way of bringing about the recognition of this on the part of the Legislature, the budget bureau, and the governor's office. They're going to say off-campus is self-supporting, but they will need public support.

There are two kids living as neighbors in Iron Mountain, Michigan. One kid has money, his parents are reasonably well-to-do, so he enrolls at Northern, takes his bag and baggage, lives in the residence hall, and takes History 101. He pays \$16.50 a credit. His neighbor's kid is poor. He's got to stay home and work, but he wants an education little-by-little so he enrolls in History 101 that we teach at Iron Mountain. He pays \$25.50 per credit. He's a tax-paying citizen of the State of Michigan and we're saying to him because you're poor and you're staying home, you have to pay double. Now, that's never going to be acceptable if we are to serve a larger part of the citizenry.

F--It's a bad public policy. It's going to have to change.

J--Somebody has to look at this in terms of the mode of delivery of education in the state.

F--You're going to have to offer equal protection under the law to all the citizens.

J--Basically, yes.

F--That's why I think that's the only future for higher ed.

J--Sure. Somebody has been bugging me about reciprocity on tuition with Wisconsin, and I say, "Wait a minute. When you give reciprocity to my Iron Mountain citizens, then I'll be talking with you about reciprocity for people from Wisconsin."

F--John, what were some of the key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflict in the attempts to attain some of the above policy objectives?

J--I can give you some very specific ones for what that's worth. The one I just gave about Grand Rapids.

F--Certainly there had to be fear of attenuating the market and lowering the quality of the degree-holders



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by broadening the number of holders.

J--That was a factor expressed by these people. There was another contingent in the Grand Rapids area that said, "Look, we're all for expanding the opportunity but only if you establish a branch of the University of Michigan here."

Now, let's move to Saginaw. That's another area where some of this partisan, parochial conflict arose. If you'll remember back there, Delta College in the beginning...

F--I taught there.

J--You taught there? You ought to know.

We went in there, we made a study, and we said, "Well, what ought to be here is a state-supported, degree-granting institution. In view of the fact that there's a good two-year institution here, why don't we try something a little newer here and set up a junior and senior level state-supported institution called Saginaw Valley Senior College?"

All of that made a lot of sense and--you may remember or you may not--we were there almost at the last moment with Senator Lane. Some of his people were talking about this and everybody was seeing that this made a lot of sense. All of a sudden, a local group from the area came into the conversation and said, "Look, we have \$4 million pledged. We want to keep this a privately supported institution and we don't want this 'tainted' money from the state." You know, all this kind of thing.

The Senator expressed some concern about the lack of unity, and that sort of dispersed that meeting.

F--So we had problems in Grand Rapids, we had problems in Saginaw, and we had problems in Flint. Wasn't that partly over status too? New institutions didn't have the status and reputation of a Michigan State or a Michigan.

J--That's right.

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In Detroit you had some other kind of things. When you talk about establishment of community colleges for opportunity and education, Detroit was a logical place, but look how long it's taken to do this.

F--I suppose that one of the only persons that could ever write the inside story of that is me.

J--The final chapter anyway, or the beginning of the final chapter.

F--I've often joshed about donating my couch to the people at Wayne County because the college was established there. Legislators talked in my home at night about [its establishment]. It was a major conflict... I never saw a tougher fight.

J--But that was in what year?

F--1969.

J--You see, those community colleges should have been established in 1958.

F--It wouldn't have happened if they hadn't had the riot. I'm sorry to say that, but that's my opinion.

What about the fight between Michigan and Michigan State? Was that really a divisive kind of thing or was that more a sideshow?

J--I think it was pretty real, all right. I think it was pretty real on the medical school for reasons that appeared to be legitimate at that time. In retrospect one could say, "Well, what was all the fighting about? We need the doctors." But it was real.

People I worked with down there in the study, for example, although Michigan State University was actually a state university--MSU--these old-timers would never call it MSU. There was something status about the semantics of it that they just didn't permit themselves to even pronounce it.

F--They all used to call it the "ag school."

J--So it was real. You go back to the original 1855 period. When you read about the kind of shenanigans that took place in opposition from Ann Arbor for the

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establishment of this institution, the ag-mechanical arts complex--my God. The story was, "You do that and you're going to ruin the quality of higher education forever more. Opening up a college to let the farm kids in!"

F--Well, let's talk about that for a moment because John Hannah's shadow looms across this twelve-year period very strongly.

In other states we built a system of one academic institution and one agricultural and mechanical institution. Like Indiana, where Purdue has never been able to compete with the University.

In this state, we've made some kind of political-social decision to create not one university, but two multi-faceted universities, moved to three, and may be on the threshold of making a decision for Western that in the next decade could create a fourth comprehensive university.

Do you have some observations about why that happened? It's quite unusual. There's no other state where that model really has happened.

J--Take a few illustrations, Ohio, for example. The institution was in the capitol and sort of center of the state. It took a long time for the State of Ohio to move from the private-public imbalance to a great deal of public support for public institutions.

In our state, of course, we had the public image and public support already existent. There are a couple of things going here. I think Wayne was able to do what it did because it's in a natural setting of population and growth for the medical school. All of these kinds of things were natural ingredients.

MSU, I think you have to say, was essentially the work of one very aggressive, talented, articulate, influential person--and that's John Hannah. I just don't think there's any question about that. I don't think there are any general, how shall I say, social factors which said, "Well, there ought to be another one here at MSU." I think this is just the work of one man.

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Take, for instance, the University of Illinois. President Dwight Moore emulated MSU when trying to establish Carbondale--didn't quite make it. I just don't believe he quite made it. There were lots of things in his way. One was that the City of Chicago was not being served by any institution. As soon as they established Chicago Circle, that did something. Northern Illinois at De Kalb was closer to that population center. He was trying to do this at the wrong end of the state.

F--He was trying to serve St. Louis, that's the problem.

J--Then he decided Edwardsville was the way to do it, so he opened a 600-acre campus there.

F--Edwardsville is really a suburb of St. Louis.

J--Sure it is. It's an across-the-river kind of thing.

Dwight Moore in many ways was sort of a self-made image of John Hannah in aggressiveness and ability to consolidate legislative strength and so on. But as I say, I don't feel that he quite made it to the extent that Hannah did.

F--So you think part of this decision was based on the character of a man?

J--Oh, absolutely. I personally believe that. I really do.

F--John, did any of the policy goals for the enhancement of higher education have as their objective the destruction of class and culture barriers?

J--I think the answer to that is yes--now whether conscious or somewhat below the conscious level... I say yes, very definitely.

F--What about popularism in higher education versus elitism? Certainly you've talked to that in the Grand Rapids sense.

J--Very definitely--the whole idea of providing educational opportunity for a broader spectrum of intellectual ability. The student realizing, as I

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said before, whether it's the man with the welding torch, the TV repair man, electronics specialist, the medical technologist, the one-year licensed practical nurse, that they need basic education in addition to their apprentice-type preparation.

F--I find it hard, John, to understand how the University of Michigan could have painted itself into the corner. In a sense all the regional schools, State, and the community colleges, succeeded because Michigan, in a real way, was unwilling to meet part of that horizon of new need. They could probably have succeeded in stopping some of this if they'd been willing to move ahead. They could have probably built the regional system, like Wisconsin.

J--I think that's right, Jerry. If you go back in the history of the University of Michigan you'll find that in its earliest decade or two they did have a branch at Romulus and a couple of other places.

F--As I recollect, the first Constitution said the University of Michigan will be located in five areas.

J--But that didn't work for financial reasons.

In the history of U. S. higher education, this is a rather common recurring phenomenon: the inability of the existing enterprise to respond to a need and thereby forcing the establishment of another entity. For example, in the 1850's or so, with universal high school education after the Kalamazoo case, demand for teachers meant somebody had to educate them. Most, if not all, of the existing higher educational institutions essentially said, "Now that's really not for us, that's a little bit below our dignity." What happened? There emerged the normal school, the teacher's college, dozens, hundreds of them, across the country in response to a need which just wasn't being met adequately by the existing enterprise.

Community college growth of, say, 20 years ago, the beginnings of it, was the same kind of thing: the inability of the existing enterprise to respond to that one- and two-year-degree kind of thing. The social pressure was, "We must have this kind of opportunity." Therefore, something else was established and the community colleges grow and blossom.

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F--I went down to Southern Illinois at Edwardsville the other day and gave a speech. The real text of my remarks was simply this: That political leaders regard higher education as a social engine and that if in fact it won't meet a need, they'll create another institution. That's your point. They created normal schools, we've made them regional institutions. We've created community colleges but when community colleges began to fail in the vocational mission, we started to create area skill centers.

I guess what I'm wondering about is why didn't [University of] Michigan respond to that need? It certainly had a tremendous lock on the love and regard its people had for it. And it had tremendous clout. Do you think that institutions just get rigid and can't meet a need, and then the change comes after the fact, sometimes?

J--I think that's one answer, yes. The other is, that there develops a certain feeling of tradition about a thing called quality of education.

Here at MSU, when I first came aboard, they had a whole array of things: one-year programs in secretarial training, a course called Family Living, 095 courses in arithmetic, written English, and so on. But as this institution took aim at the target of merit scholars--you remember that era here--they decided that all of these other things really were below their dignity, so they were pushed aside.

At that very moment, what was happening? A thing called Lansing Community College was established. People said, "My God, in the shadow of MSU? How could a school exist there?" Well, how could it? Easily, because MSU felt it had enough to do with other kinds of commitments and all the other students flocked over to Lansing Community College.

F--I'm troubled by the concept of status because status sometimes gets in the way of social utility. MSU, as you recollect, had at this same period a degree in mobile homes. People turned their backs on that because that was less prestigious. But architecture is not déclassé. People live in buildings and I'm not sure that the architect is any more noble than the mobile home builder.

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J--However, you recognize in the pronouncements of President Wharton a return to the kind of thing that John Hannah had in the first place for MSU: give the student an opportunity, give him a chance.

The 095 courses in math and English and so on were designed for the student who needed some assistance in coming up to the line. I think that President Wharton, in a little different wording, has essentially the same idea.

F--I think that all the institutions are going to have to go back to older markets to handle the fact that you're going to have so many fewer high school graduates. There's no hope, otherwise, to be majority institutions.

J--As you said, the extended education, lifelong education. We have to devise systems for doing and delivering that. That will keep us busy if we can find the way to do it.

F--How important, John, were vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education?

J--Very important. I think I sort of alluded to these several times. In some of our studies we surveyed the Kent County area--thousands of high school students, thousands of parents--and asked, "What are your aspirations for going on and what would you pursue if you went on?" One emerged with reinforcement of the notion that people still were quite directly seeking preparation for the world of work.

Clearly the vocational training thing was important--is important now. Maybe it's getting more emphasis now than it ever did, despite the fact that the community college movement of 15 to 20 years ago derived from that recognition.

F--It will be outside the period of the study, but it's my own hunch that this is still an unmet agenda and hence this is where a great deal of energy is. We're probably meeting 100 percent, or real close to that, of the market of those who want a baccalaureate education.

J--I agree with you. In the Upper Peninsula, 5,500 students graduate from high school every year. Forty percent go on to college for two- or four-year degrees.

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I doubt that we can increase that percentage. The real question that I've been raising the last two or three years is, what in the world are we doing with the other 55 percent? I say practically nothing.

Now, some of them don't want anything, but most of them, if we had the proper opportunity, would. We just finished a study in our Marquette-Alger County area and what we find is that hundreds of these youngsters are looking for opportunity in such things as welding and automobile repair--all of these mechanical kind of things, the world of skill training. Our two counties don't have that kind of opportunity. This is what our skill center is all about at Northern.

But that's not atypical. I think this is very definitely a need that's to be met, as you say, for the next several years.

F--Did the growth of culture and the arts have importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

J--Well, social recognition of cultural and arts development is a pretty tough problem. This has recognition and verbalization in certain circles, but not as broadly as some of these general policy things.

For example, Woody Varner at Oakland University for many years pushed this very, very heavily. Walter Reuther was moving in the direction of utilizing the union as a vehicle for the arts. It's a beautiful concept.

F--The place that he built up north, Black Lake, was part of that, wasn't it?

J--Yes. Tremendous idea. You can only do so much steward-training in the labor union. Beyond this, there's a built-in vehicle for "Everyman" to somehow get an exposure to the culture and art. It's a tremendous idea.

I think, as to this question, I'd have to answer "to a very limited extent" because of the rather arty nature of this thing.

F--You just mentioned Walter Reuther. What was the position of labor in regard to higher education?



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J--My feeling is that labor has and continues to support the expansion of higher education, giving great support in our own area, even currently, to providing opportunities for preparation for the world of work--the skill center type of thing. But not exclusively just to that. I think they are very supportive.

F--One of the things that's always struck me is that nationally one has the sense that labor supports lunch-pail issues. Yet in Michigan they supported issues beyond the lunch pail. They were interested in societal issues and supported higher education in a very broad sense, which wasn't typical.

J--This was a very interesting phenomenon in the Russell study. Several leaders from labor were on that committee. Very, very important people. Similarly in the Grand Rapids area.

Getting back to that 1957-58 report, another reason possibly for some of its success is that you had very influential labor leaders involved.

F--Well, I'm thinking about people like Woodcock at Wayne, Stevens at Michigan State, and Bluestone at Grand Valley.

J--Bluestone was on that group.

F--And Bluestone wasn't from the area. You had Gus Scholle, you had Reuther. That's a very strong base.

J--That leadership was important in recognizing and giving impetus to higher education and its development.

F--What about the role, John, of industry?

J--Industry and commerce, I think, you can point to in the same way. The business community supporting the business schools at U of M and MSU, for example. The banking and financial world supporting this development...

F--I think when I first came to your school at Northern, when you were first president, you brought out a man

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named Sam Cohodas<sup>5</sup>. There was a man that had no economic or particular interest in the institution; it was a civic sense--because he thought it was right.

J--That's exactly the way it was.

F--I was impressed with that.

J--It is very typical to turn to business and industry, much as the labor leaders you've named, and obtain support. And I don't mean just simple verbal support.

On the boards of control, boards of trustees, and boards of governors of the institutions of higher education you have labor and industry represented, and vigorously active in them.

F--You really don't have a regional board, do you?

J--No. Up at Northern we have five from the Upper Peninsula and three from down state. It's not written anywhere, but it's attached to the agreement with the governor and the Board itself recognizes it as set up this way.

F--One of your recent chairmen came from Williamston, didn't he?

J--Yes. Our present chairman is from Marquette. One of our relatively new members, Mrs. Jackie Nickerson, is from MSU.

F--What about the position of agriculture in regard to higher education?

J--When you mention that, it brings out a point we should have referred to when talking about MSU's development. Agriculture was tremendously influential and powerful in supporting Hannah's expansion and development of Michigan State University. No question about that. It was very important.

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<sup>5</sup>Sam Cohodas, who with his wife Evelyn, founded the Sam and Evelyn Cohodas Scholarships, 1963, to School of Business at Northern Michigan University, and contributed \$250,000 for a Professorship in Banking.

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F--I couldn't think of prominent agricultural leaders. I inquired about that and somebody said to me, "Well, there was no need for agribultural leaders to stand out because John Hannah was their spokesman."

J--This in a way might be true. I hadn't thought about that. Dale Ball is one.

F--You know, somebody's got to write a biography of John Hannah. I was talking to Jim Farnsworth, who was an automobile dealer, a Con-Con delegate, and is now on the Appropriations Committee, and he told me that he had met Dr. Hannah many, many years ago in the twenties. He'd come out to judge his chickens.

I thought to myself, how many thousands of people did John talk to, press the flesh with, and deal with to build that kind of overwhelming sense of value?

J--This is the unique character of the man, the ability to somehow bring out of every person a dedication and commitment to, and recognition of, the importance of this. People have sort of been casual or critical by saying, "Well, he was a chicken farmer." He was one of the most successful chicken farmers I know and if I were going to be a chicken farmer, I'd want to be one like John Hannah.

F--I have to go along with you. A lot of academic men were put off by the fact that he was not classically educated...

J--He got his degree, I've forgotten now...

F--It must be chickens [poultry science] or something like that. But, if I could ever have a career one-seventeenth as successful in its contribution to the public sector, I'd be a right proud man.

J--And you know, he had foresight. He was involved in community affairs. I'm sure in the early days when Hannah was able to purchase thousands of acres around this area people must have thought he'd lost his marbles. Today, it has to be looked at in retrospect and said, "That was ingenious, absolutely ingenious."

F--In a sense I'm kind of regretful Michigan, which obviously had far more money, didn't do that. You

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visit there and see that campus just snuggled into town. They've had to go and split the campus with the North Campus...

J--Hatcher and Hannah were just two different men, pure and simple.

F--You know, historians, and that's my origin, talk about, "Is it the man or the times?"

J--But the times were the same. I mean, the men were different, just different.

F--I think we're probably too close to the Hannah time and the Hannah legend to get a good look at them. John Porter said, "You know, one of the things that you can't forget is that national figures, giants, strode the Michigan scene. Reuther, Hannah, Hatcher, ... great men."

I think probably one of the reasons education in Michigan prospered so is that probably in no other place in the nation was there such a confluence of great and powerful leaders in the political sector with Williams, and then Romney, and ...

J--And labor.

F--Labor, and major national industry like Ford, GM, and Whirlpool. Major agricultural industries that became the breadbasket, virtually, of the world.

When I lived in Saginaw I was struck by the fact that the beans were heading for places like Iraq and Iran. Massachusetts is a much more parochial economy.

What about the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government?

J--I think they were pretty well recorded: the federal government's assumed role in public education in K through 12; and higher education in the Facilities Act; the health professions acts, and the support of regional laboratories, which was money down the drain but nevertheless it was an attempt at that time to help, presumably, the quality of K through 12.

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But certainly the federal government's rules and so on provided opportunity to remove economic barriers. I think federal funding was very important there.

F--I guess I was looking to see if the constraints were severe. It's not my impression that they were, as they are in the area of social policy.

J--You mean constraints by the federal government on the institutions? I think you're right. They were much more liberal. You take research, whether it's in psychology or whatever area, the grants which came from the federal level really didn't have great...

F--...whereas every dollar we get from the federal government in the area of social policy has a kind of constraint or requirement.

J--Yes, yes.

F--It may be that there has been a national sense of the need for the autonomy and sovereignty of the academic enterprise that faculty sometimes don't appreciate.

J--Yes, this is true.

F--There's often a time to worry about the invasions, but I'm struck by the fact that probably no other sector of American life is challenged or threatened as little as higher education. Industry certainly can make a better case that their degree of sovereignty has declined immensely.

J--There are some threats at the federal level now. There have been some suggestions of establishing a central kind of higher education scheme at the federal level, and data reporting, and so on, but that's a long way down the road.

F--There certainly do seem to be indications that that's coming.

J--Right, right.

Jamrich

F--What about the role of the private sector in creating pressures and influences in the determination of public policy in Michigan?

J--It's kind of interesting. I think that until a recent year or two ago the private sector has fared very well in Michigan, despite the tremendous support of public funds for state-supported institutions.

It is true that it used to be 75-25, then was 80-20, and maybe it's 85-15 now. In Michigan the private sector was never, percentagewise, that large. Never like Ohio or New York, for example. I think the influences of the private sector perhaps are coming to the fore much more now than they did during the period of '58 to '70.

F--I'm struck by something.

I'm from Massachusetts and in Massachusetts the private schools fought the entry of the public sector into the large metropolitan area, prevented them from coming. Even the decision to locate the University of Massachusetts medical school at Worcester was, in a way, an egregious, blundering edict from the political strength of the private sector.

I'm struck by talking to the vice-president of the Eli Lilly Foundation and finding that in some western states the public sector has banded together to fight dollars to go to the private sector.

We just passed a bill to give grants to private colleges for degrees granted, we put money into tuition grants, and we put money in for scholarships that disproportionately advantaged the private sector, but there was no fight. When the public sector received immense amounts of money to build facilities there was no fight from the private sector.

And yet some of these schools are immensely influential in their areas. I think about Hope. You talk about the Grand Rapids area...

J--Kalamazoo College.

Jamrich

F--...Calvin. And you think about Albion, you think about the U of D. These are powerful institutions with constituencies, and strong affection from industry too.

J--That's one of the real reasons why they have been able to hold their own. They certainly have a loyal, influential, and financially able alumni, plus private industry and business support.

F--Do you have some speculation about why we had that degree of statesmanship when the conditions were right for a fight?

J--Well, I suppose back in '58 it was easily recognized by the private sector that they were not in a position to serve the numbers that were coming. Therefore money had to be put into the public sector.

New York's a perfect illustration. I was over there in '59 working for the Heald Committee--Heald and two other distinguished citizens had been appointed to this committee--and up to that point it was all private, essentially. Albany State Teachers College was a kind of a cobwebby place.

If you look at New York now and see that situation, it is a phenomenon. There were fights there, but they were overcome by public pressure. We really didn't have great fights on this thing. I think the private sector just recognized that this had to be done and...

F--Now that's a good point. The New York analogy is a valuable one because New York had to do in ten years what we've done in 150. We never really had to abrade the fabric.

J--Well, sure, we had a curve like this [indicating a slowly upward curve], you know, and New York went like that [indicating a rapidly upward curve]. There was that very brief period when New York really just had to exert tremendous pressure.

F--Every year we only had to get 10 or 15 percent more than the previous year, whereas in New York they had to go for 100, 200, and 300 percent. I think that may be something to which you alluded earlier--about the history and the tradition.

Jamrich

John, what in your opinion were the reasons for the failure of the branch-campus system that had begun to be developed in Michigan with Oakland, Flint, and Dearborn?

J--I was just commenting this morning to somebody that maybe I'm changing my mind on the branch system. I guess I'm defining it in a little different way. There were great dissertations written on this by people who opposed it--I being one of them--feeling that if students go to a thing called an "institution of higher learning" it ought to be an entity in itself, governed by itself. We recommended the dissolution of the State Board of Education and its governance of the four regional colleges, for example, on that same basis: There ought to be an individuality so the degree the student receives is from that thing and not from something twice displaced.

When you look at Flint, I think perhaps the problem there was that the faculty--as I remember the thing--seemed to reflect a sort of second-class-citizen feeling. I think the faculty themselves may have had some problem there. And then there was a problem of the kind of students who were admitted. The rigorous admission policy implemented on the Flint scene was not a realistic one in terms of the kind of students who should have been served there. There were a number of reasons of that kind which I think were working against the branch notion.

As I said, in the Grand Rapids area, when I first began the study, there were quite a few people who said, "Well, the solution is very simple. Just say yes, have a thing here as long as it's a branch of the U of M." We agreed after some wrestling matches that anything but that, if there was going to be something there.

Part of that was regional pride. There were enough people in Saginaw, enough people in Grand Rapids, who said, "If we're going to have something, it ought to be our own kind of thing and not sort of a displaced island of something else." They said, "Well look, if they're short on funds, or quality, we'll be the first ones to feel it. Whereas if we're our own entity, we'll make those decisions." This is how the thing worked out.



Jamrich

F--So you think that in the end institutional status, no matter how overwhelming, couldn't beat the tremendous machine of civic energy and local pride?

J--Local pride was very important.

F--Isn't that an immense component of your own institution?

J--Sure.

F--I've always had a great interest and amusement that Eisenhower, when he got elected President, promised to go to Korea. It always struck me, knowing you as well as I do, that you found it important to go to Finland. I don't think that's at all bad. I notice in the outer foyer of your office the flag of Finland is there. That may sound corny...

J--But it's real.

F--The love that people give all of the 30-40-odd institutions in this state is something that makes an educator proud.

J--We had our 75th anniversary observance luncheon and we had a three-hour program. If you can imagine 400 people sitting through three hours of a program, but nobody became restive. It was a family-type affair, alumni, emeritus professors, and visitors from way back reminiscing about the institution. A tremendous, as you say, exhibit of pride.

F--I'm not going to do a good job by this subject unless I make that point very clear: that the love the Michigan people have lavished on the higher education enterprise and their identification with it is just immense. And any derogation of that, or being snide about it, will do our people an immense disservice.

J--Yes sir.

F--It's really quite something. I've often wondered about why this state had such a love of higher education when states like Illinois, Indiana, or Ohio--much like us economically and socially--didn't have that same dedication and commitment to it. It's a question that I'm going to puzzle over a long time.

Jamrich

J--But it's there.

F--And it's not even as strong in Massachusetts, which has great pride for its institutions, but nothing like here.

I asked a question, "What about the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another?" You have spoken to that some. Did you want to add anything else?

J--Pretty substantial in many parts of the state. The community college thing, I think, shows this. The growth of Lake Superior State College from a two-year branch into a four-year institution was a result of regional and local pressure, no question about it.

F--But there's something curious about it. Usually in politics if you have two forces they will neutralize each other. Here it seems they had some kind of accommodation where when one decided they couldn't get it, they would back the other and then in return expect their support. Saginaw Valley stood back for Grand Valley, Tech was willing to let go of Lake Superior, and Michigan State was willing to let go of Oakland.

J--Sure. Oakland's another illustration of a certain degree of local pressure for autonomy.

F--Woody couldn't play the athletic game but he played the culture game. John Hannah went and recruited Earl Morrall here. Woody went and hired Vladimir Ashkenazy. Ashkenazy had the same kind of clout there that Morrall had here, I suppose.

Why in your opinion did an institutional system for the coordination of higher education not come about after 1964?

J--I think I referred to that before: essentially the status and tradition of higher education in Michigan over 100 or more years, the demonstrated success of the enterprise. There are no facts that are convincing people that we need to indulge in major surgery on this thing.

Jamrich

F--I often have wondered if the fact that an all-Democratic State Board, elected after the Goldwater landslide for Johnson in '64, picked the wrong fight over Flint with the Legislature... I wonder if that was there. Some have said, "Well, that was a major thing." Others have said, "Well, if it hadn't been that fight it would have been something else."

J--If the State Board of Education had not attempted to move so openly and vigorously and inclusively on higher education and planned it a little more incrementally and gradually, I don't think we would be where we are today with the confrontation of the Salmon case and the governor's commission recommending a separate state post-secondary board.

We could very well have some of the planning and coordination in a systematic way within the State Board of Education. I think there was a tendency at one point of that Board to suddenly focus on higher education. They were really going to redo it, and plan, and coordinate and so on. That began, I think, to rub some people the wrong way.

F--In other words, I would suspect that you're saying that if they'd moved in a way where they counted the House first.... We used to joke about that. In the Legislature we used to say 56-20 is the Constitution, anything else is a stimulating opinion. I have the feeling that that Board found it had stimulating opinions rather than a consensus behind it.

John, who were the influential people that you would point out in this period?

J--Well, we talked, and again in no particular order, but we talked about several of the labor leaders, Walter Reuther, Bluestone, Woodcock. We certainly have to pinpoint John Hannah as a tremendously important, influential person.

Soapy Williams. I did some things for Soapy in terms of his own perception of the need. At one point he said, "Look, write out for me the 100 most likely questions on education and some of the alternative answers to them." I prepared a working book for him

Jamrich

on this thing. I think Romney you have to recognize as a very influential person in the education committee, the Constitution, and as governor.

Certainly spanning all of this you'd have to point to Senator Lane and Senator Zollar. I think you have to look at these people as decision-makers, policy-makers, influential, insightful; having to fight off a lot of the aggressive, negative thing to keep our higher educational enterprise going full steam.

You go back and look, of course, in history. I think, as I've tried to say to our people, that you can take pride in where you are but don't forget that where you are is due so much to people who have come before you. Some may not be named in the history book but their contribution was there in terms of the line of continuity.

You take Bill Seidman. Grand Valley State College is where it is because of Bill Seidman. I think you'd almost have to say that without any question. With Romney's support, and Glenn Allen involved, this is the way that institution began and grew and was financed and supported.

F--This is a good state to work in, isn't it, because of that?

J--It's great, really. When you really look at the people and the kind of things we've been talking about; the recognition of some very subtle kind of things, the role of culture and the arts. You look at certain kinds of people and the role of...

F--You've spent the major portion of your life involved in this and have been a participant in many ways at Michigan State, with John Dale Russell, and now at a major regional institution. I imagine as you look over these years you've got to be well pleased with the time you've put into it.

J--I have to be, Jerry. It's a gratifying experience. Little things sometimes make it. I shook hands with 801 graduates last week, name by name, individual by

Jamrich

individual. Afterwards, when the student and the parent come just to cite a little anecdote, that really touches you. This is what did it or this is what did that. That's where all the payoff really is.

F--Thank you very much, John. It's been a pleasure.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH

DAVID H. PONITZ<sup>1</sup>

F--What in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

P--I think that people said, "If you're going to grab the golden ring you'd better have at least a two-year and hopefully a four-year college education--or more." The great American dream during the fifties was that most jobs would require a college education. Irrespective of who you were, a college education was the end-all to any kind of job which would have good salary and which would let you be a productive and capable individual within your community.

And there were an awful lot of industries saying, "Give me a person who's well qualified, who has a general education, and we'll train him from there."

There was an awful lot of discussion that talked about attaining a four-year college education and you will make so much more than somebody with an eighth-grade education, so much more than 12th grade education. That myth was--and it is a myth in my judgment...

F--It was certainly a myth that the people lived by, and they still do.

P--That's right, absolutely, but less now than during 1958.

F--I've called that part of the Horatio Alger dream.

P--That's correct.

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<sup>1</sup>David H. Ponitz; President, Washtenaw Community College, 1965- ; President, Freeport (Illinois) Community College, 1962-65; Member, advisory committee, Governor's Commission on Educational Reform, 1969-70. Interview conducted May 23, 1974.

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F--It's probably more modulated because the dream had some excess to it. I think they're trying to find room in it for other aspects of human personality besides just the academic tradition. But I think as far as enhancement--the artisanship, the craftsmanship, the vocational and occupational aspects--if that can be fitted into that Horatio Alger dream, it'll work fine.

P--The GI Bill had a great amount to do with this. During the '58 time period, and before, persons using the GI Bill had gone through as never before and now were out as taxpayers.

They were beginning to say, "The government paid x billions of dollars to put so many people through on the GI Bill and now those individuals are paying a substantially greater figure annually in terms of taxes." That kind of response was, "Here's a way that we can improve our community and improve our individuals."

I'm impressed that there were a number of politicians-- I guess Terry Sanford<sup>2</sup> is the one that comes to mind-- that actually ran their campaigns on improvement of education. I've forgotten exactly what the date was, but Sanford, as you remember, said that...

F--He's president now at Duke.

P--That's right. He said, "We're going to have total community college involvement in North Carolina." He set up a number of community colleges and technical schools.

F--One of the reasons that I wanted to talk with you is that you have been in the community college movement for a long time. You've built one of the greatest institutions of service to the people with great skill and acumen.

You can't say that because it would sound immodest, but I think many of us have a great regard for you and for what you've done.

I'm particularly curious, when did you come to Ann Arbor, Dave?

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<sup>2</sup>Terry Sanford; President, Duke University, 1970- ; North Carolina State Senator, 1953-55; Member, executive committee, National Committee in Support of Public Schools, 1963- .

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P--'66.

F--When I first saw your campus it was the old abandoned Willow Run camp, right smack in the middle of the cotton-farming Blacks and the hillbilly mountain whites, and in the shadow of one of the nation's greatest institutions, the University of Michigan, with its international reputation and certainly high on the ladder of status. And then a more workman-like university at Eastern, which is the oldest teacher-training institution west of the Alleghenies.

How were you able to build the school? You see, it comes back to, "What were some of the social forces?" How could you build a school that had its own clientele, its own view, and not be destroyed?

The answer that you give for this locality may well be representative of what the social and economic factors were that led to this significant growth.

P--I raised the question with the board when I was first asked to come here as president. The first time I said, "No, I don't think I'm interested." I frankly wondered whether we were going to have another institution in the area simply for the process of gilding the educational lily.

There's no community in the state, in my judgment, that has supported education more than this particular county and the people of this area because there are so many teachers and professors and persons related to education that live within this county. A figure that I use often is that 20 percent of all the census track people in this county are going to college.

That makes it atypical, but the question is, "How do you find your own clientele?" My response was very simple. I said, "Look, if we're going to try to simply duplicate what U of M is doing, or duplicate what Eastern is doing, then there's no reason for our existence." Some people were pretty unhappy with that kind of response, but I believe that very strongly.

I put it very candidly into a response of division of labor: The University of Michigan has a division of labor, Eastern has its function, and Washtenaw has its function. There will be some duplication in terms of subject matter, but there should be not that much duplication in terms of the clientele.



Ponitz

One of the things that's always intrigued me has been the comment of the major universities that the faculty is the university. In my judgment, if the faculty is the community college, the community college would be doomed to failure. The faculty is one very, very important part, but you've got industry, you've got business, you've got advisory committees, and you've got a host of other groups who have to make an input.

F--So what you were saying was the community was the community college.

P--Yes, our middle name is Community. I believe very strongly that you've got to work for the community.

F--What, Dave, were the social and economic forces that you were able to harness to build this institution?

P--From the social point of view, this is looked upon as one of the wealthiest counties in the country, and certainly the first or second within the State of Michigan.

F--It's certainly one of the best educated counties, too.

P--That's right, but there were very substantial pockets of poverty that were not being dealt with by the four-year institutions at that time. There were very substantial pockets of blackness where the specific emphasis in dealing with needs of minority students was not being met.

Those were two areas where we said we must make specific attempts to deal with those persons. There were no specific attempts at that time to take the person who maybe didn't have a high school education and say, "There is still a future for you."

And lastly, industry was beginning to say the apprenticeship route, that is, you work to become a horseshoe specialist or whatnot for four years and then you become a journeyman horseshoer. There was a beginning trend at that time, as I saw it, for industry to say, "In order to stay competitive perhaps we should not be spending as much time on entry-level kinds of training for our people. That, perhaps, should be a public responsibility."

F--So you're saying that previous to this movement, much of the entry-level training was done by industry itself.

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P--Much of it was, but I saw some decline. Industry began saying, "We need people of higher skills than we can provide," or, "You can do it. If you do it correctly, you can do it better than we can. We'll be willing to work with you and then hire those."

F--It was probably most obvious at the state level in health education because there all of the entry-level training for hospital schools and nurses was abandoned virtually overnight.

P--Right, because of the tremendous cost. We're going to go through another cycle of that, I think, within the next couple of years. As the Blues [Blue Cross-Blue Shield health insurance companies] say, "We aren't going to finance that part of instruction..."

F--...because the hospital industry has been subsidized by the insurance sector.

What you're saying is that in Michigan the GI Bill created the realization that people could have a higher education. Those people, who were the first who had ever had a higher education, believed that that was an important and attainable thing for their children.

Secondly, we talked a little bit about the Horatio Alger dream, this desire for the enhancement of themselves and their position.

Some have talked about the increased wealth. Once people moved from the subsistence level they began to think about how they could enhance their lives. They were past the problems of survival.

You've talked about the fact that there were minority populations that were not being served. You've briefly alluded to the fact that there needed to be a post-high school institution that was a second-chance institution.

P--There were a couple other factors involved. The economy in this area would fall into three categories: the educational kind of economy which...

F--Public sector economy, which would figure state government, municipal government, and universities.

P--...a large health industry; a large industrial base in terms of the automobile manufacturer in the eastern part of the area; plus the usual...

Ponitz

F--What are the major employers in this area? Gar Wood probably?

P--Well, General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler are large employers. The University is a large employer. The hospitals are large employers. Research lumped together is a large employer. When you have \$60 million, for example, spent annually by the University of Michigan in research you get a lot of spinoff.

If you read Time magazine this week you saw the KMS industry, which is a former...

F--You mean the laser fusion?

P--That's right. Here's a person who's a university professor, started Conduction, sold out to McDonald, and then came back with another company with which he's going to try to solve the energy problems of the world with fusion rather than fission process.

F--So there was a peculiar market here for trained technicians.

P--There's a market.

When we first came here I went down to MESC [Michigan Employment Security Commission] and said, "Tell me the needs of this area as you understand them." I got no help because essentially the guy told me every area is an unsaturated sponge.

Well, that's not true, but it was true at the time that there were just great needs for people with skills.

That was the first need that brought people in, that there indeed are jobs. Then, as people were educated the first couple of years over in the old Willow Village area that we talked about, we had industry saying to people, "Great, but if you want a promotion, or if you want to keep your job, you've got to go back and take this course."

We've had great pressure here from the contacts that we have with about 300 industries and businesses for sending people back (to college), they're encouraging it: "If you want to go to the next step, or if you want to get off the line and go into maintenance, you're going to have to take this course and Washtenaw Community College offers that course."

We've had those kinds of pressures.

Ponitz

F--Is that why you made the remark earlier that the community is so vital instead of the faculty?

P--I think both are, but they've got to work in concert.

May I say that early in this stage we had to be very careful about selecting faculty who weren't saying, "Gee, I'm coming to the University of Michigan to work on my doctorate and I'd like incidentally to teach at Washtenaw Community College."

We tried to hire none of those individuals because the kind of faculty member it takes here is a particular kind of person and we don't want someone who has as his major goal a stepping-stone to becoming a university professor. We think there's a difference in terms of the emphasis and the quality of what needs to be done.

F--How early did you build these industrial advisory groups to individual specific curricula? I was always struck by that as a very astute mechanism.

P--When I was in Illinois, as president of a community college, I remember getting a recommendation from the engineering school at the University of Illinois that we should start no more than three occupational programs in any one year. When I came here and looked at the situation, I said, "My gracious, if we start three a year it means that we aren't going to have the number of courses that we're going to need for the next ten years."

So the first year I pushed hard, along with one member of the board, Ralph Wenrich, who was exceptionally helpful because of his interest and skill and training in the area. The first year we had 27 occupational programs. Twenty-six of those programs went the first year. Willie Mays should have that kind of batting average.

We got a lot of people, top people, involved in those advisory committees from the start. There were persons who had the theoretical skill and people who had the practical skill. People in the community were there as lay citizens and looking, not from the theoretical point of view, but looking and saying, "All right, how do we use the mechanisms to get Blacks into that program? How do we use the mechanisms to get the poor white, who's never had an opportunity, into that program?"

Ponitz

How do we use that mechanism to go through the developmental programs and say to a person where there had never been a Black in that particular program, 'Here's an opportunity for you where there's good money and good security.' "

Those are the kinds of questions we looked at above and beyond the technical questions.

F--And here we're dealing with the community's opinion makers, too.

P--Absolutely, although this community, as opinion makers, is as diffuse as any I've worked with. I've been a superintendent in some areas where in a community of 35-40,000 if you got five people to agree it was a good idea, you pretty well had (the new idea) zapped down the line.

This community is not that way. I've seen the kind of person that would come in here within a month and say, "I understand the power structure of Washtenaw County." I know when I've heard that one that I've been talking with a fool.

You just can't understand the power structure of this community in a month. I'm not sure I understand it now.

F--It's awfully broad, isn't it?

P--It's broad and it's changing. It's quite different now than it was ten years ago. One of the reasons is that the eastern part of the county is growing very rapidly and feeling its political muscle vis-a-vis Ann Arbor, which once was the focal point. You're going to see some new changes.

F--And I gather, I was not able to observe this, but that's part of the problem that Eastern had. I was surprised ascertaining the fact that this county, which always looked to us like an Ann Arbor-base county, has Eastern energy too.

I was told just the other day, by way of an aside, that the county clerk had some observations about the fact that everybody on the other side of the county was a bunch of dingbats or some such. I don't mean to make a judgment about that, but it reflects a changing energy.

P--Absolutely, absolutely.

Ponitz

F--What were the policy objectives that underlay the expansion of higher education in the state?

P--I think nationally, during this period of time we're talking about, when you took a poll about higher education, people looked at higher education with great hopes and great dreams. We talked about the governor of North Carolina, as well as others, translating that at that time into action.

The old cliché, which was true at that time, was, "We're beginning one community college every week in the country." It will never be said again, obviously. I think that was one policy decision, the underlying feeling that you could make it if you were educated and we've got to provide for education.

Education was looked upon with some awe.

F--One of the things that strikes me is simply this, that for the first time in Michigan history, we come to locally supported, citizen-paid higher education through the mechanism of the millage. The citizen had a chance to vote for the dollars and did.

We built in this period from '58 to '70--I haven't checked the number and I must go back and do that--at least 15 new community colleges. So while we didn't build one every day, we built more schools in 12 years than we had built in the previous 100.

P--That's right. You said, "Gee, why did people spend their money and their local dollars?" The other response was fear. Let me give you a specific example, not in this state, but where I was before as superintendent of a K-14 district.

During that time there were great pressures that you couldn't get into college. The regional colleges in the State of Michigan said you had to have a B average or better. For the University of Michigan you had to be some intellectual giant to get in--in the minds of the broad spectrum of persons.

I remember talking with 21 separate school boards in Illinois, far from the University of Illinois and far away from Northern Illinois University. The greatest selling point was that if you start a community college with an open door enrollment for those individuals that are paying your taxes, we guarantee that there will be

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a place for your son or your daughter or your grand-child to attend college. That was by far, in my judgment, the strongest selling point. There was nothing theoretical about it.

F--That's a good point. I've talked to a lot of people about access but you're the first one that's made the point about fear of denial of access.

P--As I say, I talked to 21 school boards. I remember the first school board, a farm group, that I talked with. The question came, "Ok, Dave Ponitz, how many other school boards have you talked to about joining in a consolidated community college effort?"

I thought, "Oh-oh, here we go, I'm in trouble." So I maneuvered it round somewhat to the point, "Well, you're the first ones we've talked to because we think you're the most progressive in education and that's why we came to this board. Obviously we had to start someplace."

Instead of the normal conservative response that you'd expect from a rural kind of school board, one gentleman said, "Let's us be the first because I want a guarantee." He, an older gentleman, was saying, "I want a guarantee for my grandson that he's going to have an opportunity to make it."

I was much impressed by that comment on a hot summer night.

F--And that's part of the support that underlays this institution, too.

P--Absolutely.

F--People couldn't perceive that their children might be able to go to Michigan since the gulf for some was so huge.

P--We had, along with other institutions, racial problems and persons who wanted to burn down the Willow Run facilities--which wouldn't have been too hard to do with the way those buildings were built.

One of those lads graduated two years ago. He came across and pumped my hand and the response was a very interesting one. He said, "Hey man, you're for real." All he was saying was that "Somebody took the time and effort to get my head screwed on right, in terms of

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giving me an education and giving me a job."

I think that's the next step. These kids have a strong response here. If they're in the area, particularly the occupational area, they know "when I get out of here, I'm going to have a job." Even now, in many of the areas, we have employers waiting in line for the students.

F--Now that's something I think is important. I remember going through your industrial design shops and yours was the first community college in which I'd seen computer-managed tools. Everybody else was using all their junk from 1915.

I was struck then and as you talk now it brings it back to me. But really people had a belief, not skill, but the belief that they had a future. They didn't have that when they came. I suppose that's an immense social engine if you can begin to believe for the first time that you fit.

P--It's a social engine in two ways--and that's a good word that you used, Jerry--it's a social engine for the students saying, "Hey, I know there's a job." It's a social engine also for industry. Many times they will call and say, "Hey Dave, I've got a problem. Can you help me?"

The problems are kind of interesting problems; they are affirmative action problems, they're problems in terms of training women, and they're problems of production. Sometimes we will send out one of our instructors to a small plant that has a production problem and help them solve it.

F--Are you at the place now, because I wasn't struck that you were in the beginning, where frequently you will have more expertise about a particular technical problem than the plant itself?

P--Sometimes, yes.

F--They will then look at you as a community resource, as a consulting force, as well as an educational force.

P--To some extent that's true.

F--Well, to GM that's not possible, perhaps.



Ponitz

P--Well, let me give you an example. I guess I would prefer this not to be involved, but let me tell so you understand the coloration of this one.

We've been talking about affirmative action programs in the construction trades for some time. The response from the unions was, "Let's get started in the training and the affirmative action will come later." My response has been, "No, we aren't going to participate in any programs here unless that affirmative action program is well in place."

They came up with a proposal which quite frankly I thought I was going to get blown out of the water on. I told them, "Look, you can go to the board if you want to, but my recommendation is going to be negative until you have a specific affirmative action response in that program." We went through some rather difficult times and finally they acceded to my demands that we do it right. That's my perception, of course.

But the response was, "You don't have welders that can train our people, plumbers and pipe-fitters, to work on atomic power plants where the quality of the welding has to be a certified kind of welding so you don't have nuclear leakage." My response was very simple. "Why don't you try us? Forget the talk. It's the college professors that are supposed to be full of all the talk. I'm saying try us, you're doing the talking."

I knew that we had highly certified welders to do this. We've got 40 welders here that are getting upgrade training in that area. That's the general kind of response where we work together.

Some of the forces we have are very upsetting to our general studies faculty who say, "How come a guy who's a welder with less than one year of college could make as much as I can with a Ph.D.?" Which is true. We have a very different salary schedule here. The answer is because that individual got his skill and his training in one way and you got yours in another way.

Quite frankly, it's a hell of a lot harder to find a real qualified welder than it is a Ph.D. in history. I use that because that's your area and my area and we both squirm.

Ponitz

That's helped us to bring very high quality people on board who are working very, very carefully in a one-to-one relationship with students. Because of the numbers, there's more counseling goes on between the instructor and the student putting on a brakeshoe on an automobile than there is in a history class.

F--You've obviously made a deliberate policy on ratios, which has fiscal implications, to enhance the vocational training.

P--Yes. Probably one of the smartest decisions I ever made. I don't talk about this too much, but I'll talk about it to you.

I was very concerned when I came here by a statement made by Robert Maynard Hutchins<sup>3</sup> before the California Community College Association. Hutchins said community colleges have got more important things to do than to train people for work. That didn't surprise me, knowing Robert Maynard Hutchins and what he stands for. The thing that appalled me though was that in parentheses in this speech, it said "loud applause."

That got me to thinking in terms of this kind of community where the response is "the faculty is the institution." Some comments were made that "leave a faculty to its own responses for three to five years and you won't have any occupational programs. They'll vote them out of existence." I began to say to myself, "Hey, wait a minute. If you truly mean that you're going to be an occupational college, and emphasize that as well as the other, you better make darn sure there's a balance between the general studies faculty and the occupational studies faculty from the start." The occupational people aren't trained in articulation, verbal or written, many of them, but trained in hand-eye-coordination kinds of skills, or mathematical skills, or other sorts of skills.

One of the things that we have done, that's kept the balance here, is that when we started out we had half and half. Now, perhaps, I think we have even more occupational than general studies. That decision in the very early days has put us in very good stead in terms of where the priority for dollars should be.

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Robert M. Hutchins; President, University of Chicago, 1929-1951.

Ponitz

I would look upon that as perhaps the best policy judgment that we ever made in terms of saying what we were going to do.

There are a couple of other policy decisions we made. You simply can't talk about what you're going to do, you have to do it.

The traditional way to build a college is to build a library-classroom facility first. Right? In every institution around the country you've done it that way. My recommendation to the board was that we build the campus backwards. That's why you've got an exact science facility here, technical and industrial facility, but no permanent library. Because we felt, you know, we've got to say to the community, "We're dead serious about doing what you told us we were supposed to do."

The other thing we tried to do is tell people, "Keep the pressure on us."

Every year in our student newspaper persons in the general studies area lament the fact that, "Gosh, there's so much emphasis upon occupational programs in this institution." And that's all right. Those are students looking at life as they see it at that time. People who write newspapers are communications kinds of students and from their own perspective that's their understanding. I try to encourage them to go over and take a look at what an automotive technician does, or what a metallurgist does, because they don't know.

We try to mix faculty and we try to mix students. We have English classes, for example, over in the T and I Building--physics and chemistry, electronics are here. There's a lot of mingling of people, a lot of open laboratories where, if the metallurgists have a particularly interesting assignment going on in welding, other students leave their stations and walk over and see what's going on. Kind of a melding and mixing of students who, by and large, don't know what they want to do, that is, the very young ones that come here.

I think those were policy decisions. Some of them were welcomed, some of them were looked upon as really bad judgments. I really got hassled the first year by the North Central Association advisor on questions like these: "You really will accept students without a high school diploma?" My response was, "Yes." Let's assume

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that that student, without a high school diploma, comes here and completes the requirements for an associate degree. Without that high school diploma, would you give him the associate degree? My answer was, "Of course." Their response was, "Heresy."

That's ten years ago and that's pretty open now. I guess I would only share with you one of the very dramatic instances.

A young man came to us, a carpenter with tenth grade education, good mind, and great articulation. Tried to get into several four-year colleges, wouldn't take him. We took him. He came from the deep South and was very much involved in a variety of things--writing, equal opportunity.... He graduated from here; went to Michigan, graduated with honors with a bachelor's degree; later graduated with honors in urban planning with a master's degree; ran for the Ypsilanti Township Board of Supervisors, won; ran for the Legislature, won; is now chairman for the subcommittee on community colleges in the Appropriations Committee.

F--In Michigan?

P--In Michigan... Gary Owen.

That's a dramatic example, but don't tell me that there aren't literally hundreds of people who for some reason or other haven't gotten a high school diploma and who are now older and say, "Gee, I want to put it back together but in my own mature way," who should have that opportunity.

I know you aren't saying they should not. I'm talking rhetorically to the North Central group.

F--As a matter of fact, I happen to believe from my vantage point and experiences that opening up the ladder of opportunity was one of the key issues.

P--This guy was our advisor to tell us how to run a community college. You know what I had to do? I called North Central and asked him to be relieved because he was asking us to run a very traditional four-year type, two-year program.

F--He wanted you to run half of a baccalaureate institute.

P--That's right.

Ponitz

F--I want to know what were some of the key issues that resulted in partisan and parochial conflict in the attempts to obtain some of the above policy objectives?

Certainly one of them is the one you're talking about, which is the problem of the status and tradition model-- it still is with us--and how to create a ladder of opportunity.

There might have been also the fear that by adulterating the value of the degree by extending the number of holders it would cheapen its value to those few elite that had it.

P--Some take that position.

F--That was probably one of the fights. What were some of the other fights that you saw that had to be overcome in order to create a good public policy?

P--Great support for the community college by the presidents, vice-presidents, and deans at both the University of Michigan and Eastern Michigan.

F--Wasn't Hannah also vital in this way too?

P--Yes, very much so. He was a graduate of Grand Rapids Junior College.

F--That's a good point. I don't think many people know that John went to Grand Rapids Junior College.

P--John's a great politician in his own right. I don't know how many times I met with John Hannah with community college groups, but the first statement he would make was about his own experiences at Grand Rapids Junior College, which gave him his start, and how he was very impressed with what those colleges offered.

I think the conflict did not come there. I think part of the conflict came from persons who did not understand what a community college was all about in higher education. There were fears: the community college was the intruder, the community college had glamour, the community college people weren't sure what it was going to do, the community colleges were in the newspaper a lot. We had those kinds of conflicts, and probably still do to some extent.

Ponitz

F--And since you were the first institution to really move toward the implicit policy of low tuition, if any, you're asking people to pay for something that they weren't using. Whereas the Michigan appropriation came in a disguised way from Lansing so people didn't realize that they were really paying for it, equally as they paid for local institutions.

P--The other problem was one of not conflict, but one of apathy. I was impressed when we picked this site. It was a hard site to pick, politically. Once in a while you win. There was a sign by this land that said Ann Arbor three miles, Ypsilanti three miles. The sign is long rotted and gone but once in a while, politically, you pick right. People were very happy with the selection of the site, other than those in the western part of the county and there was a conflict there. They would have preferred that it be done on a geographical basis rather than a population basis.

F--But that's support that you can't complain about, because they weren't fighting the nature of the institution, they wanted more of it.

P--That's right.

The other problem was that people really didn't know what the institution was all about. I spoke to groups on an average of three to four times a week for the first two years just trying to help people understand what a community college was all about.

I remember when the site was picked, and I mention it because I want to make this point--big headlines in the two major newspapers with a picture of the site taking up most of the front page of the two newspapers. I remember, six weeks later, knowledgeable people in the community saying, "Well now, let's see, have you picked a site yet?" Apparently even with all that kind of publicity people still didn't have the information or understand what it was about.

The point that I would make is that you have to go out for a certain period of time until you reach what I call a critical mass. That critical mass is enough students who have taken courses here, and enough employers who have hired your people, to suddenly say, "Oh yeah, I know about the college."

Ponitz

Even now we have those difficulties about what the college is. You see me riding the pendulum pretty hard toward the occupational area, particularly during the first five years, probably too hard, but the reason I ride that side so hard is so that there would at least be a balance because of the kind of community that this is.

I remember getting a call from a cocktail party at one o'clock in the morning. It said, "Hey Dave, I got a bet with this guy. He's betting me from what you said that you don't have any general studies programs at all at the community college." That response, or the other response, a conflict of responses, is people saying, "I'm not going to vote for any millage for the community college because you don't have any occupational programs at all."

That critical mass response, although still there, has diminished very rapidly.

F--That's in a local way that you're talking about. I also want you to talk a little about the state, because you were one of the key leaders in this state.

P--At the state level there were some internal conflicts which I was not a part of because I was not here.

There were eight community colleges early in the game--perhaps it was nine, I'm not sure--who kind of got together in a gentleman's club and in a gentleman's fashion and determined how the capital outlay should be spent. I think that was probably before your time in the Legislature as well.

I hear those men, most are retired now, talk about that era with great fondness, that is, a gentleman's club. Well, all of a sudden the eight increased bang, bang, bang, bang, bang. Each couple of months you had a new face turn up.

F--They had 23 or 24 and it was hard to cut the pie, wasn't it?

P--It was hard to cut the pie, and the divergencies of the high-style operator coming on versus all the divergencies in terms of what the budget should be. For example, should the budget emphasize occupational programs?

I was one of two, I believe, in the early days that said there ought to be a differential for occupational programs.

Ponitz

If you remember the first year that we did it, it was \$50.

F--I was struck by that fight, but that's more of an internal fight.

When I came to Delta--I taught in the community college--they had a college of community services and a college of liberal arts and the two faculties proceeded to beat each other to death before the community services won. And it won, I think, because of the creation of the community services, amongst other services, that was available for the whole community.

What about Wayne County Community College? What about the push for more funding? What about the Dutch and urban Black and hillbilly and surburban and the like?

P--Let me move back to another point, for a moment, on conflict. It was a statewide situation in that I think there are some very specific differences between the two- and four-year colleges in how they attack problems.

About five years ago the boards of trustees--some of them very strong members, the Fred Mathews<sup>4</sup>, the George Potters<sup>5</sup>, and others--became very suspicious of the college presidents. Board members felt they were not a part of the action and "by gosh, if we're board members and are supposed to run these institutions, we aren't going to have presidents involved in that situation."

F--About 1969 that was.

P--So we amalgamated trustees and presidents into a group, with some great trepidation, by the way, presidents feeling that their power was being taken away in that kind of situation. That was a real conflict there. I served as the first president of that group, as you know, and have played the role of mediator on a number of occasions in getting groups to work together.

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<sup>4</sup>Fred Mathews; Chairman, Board of Trustees, Southwestern Michigan College, Dowagiac.

<sup>5</sup>George Potter; Chairman, Board of Trustees, Jackson Community College.



Ponitz

Now, were there small and large conflicts? Absolutely. Were there urban-rural conflicts? Absolutely.

One of the things that we have done, not 100 percent, but one of the things that we have done is said, "Look, we are 27 community colleges working together and we've got to submerge our individual differences for the greater good of all students in the State of Michigan." And there were a number of times when individuals said, "We are not going to act in the competitive, abrasive nature of the four-year institutions." That's been articulated, time and time again.

F--That's an important point.

P--Yes, it is.

F--One of the things that's happened in Michigan is that to some degree the regional strivings of the institutions have managed to enhance those institutions, but also to cut away some of the public base.

What I guess I'm asking is this: Did the community colleges think that the only way they could survive against the juggernauts of Wayne, Michigan, Michigan State, and the growing power of Eastern and Western, was to hang together or they'd hang separately? I mean, was there some fear that you certainly were not getting treated as fairly in the capital outlay procedure as the four-year schools?

P--Capital outlay. As I went before the JCOC Committee [Joint Capital Outlay Committee of House and Senate Appropriations Committees] a couple of weeks ago, they gave me the usual rough treatment--which I don't worry about after going through 25 of them--for \$750,000 of a \$10 million building. You know, you say, "Geez, is this worth the paper work to come up here?" I think that was part of it.

On the other hand, when you get 29 institutions--27 were in the group, but 29 now--I think there's a very strong feeling that some of the four-year institutions are telling community colleges "because we're bigger and because we're stronger we're going to beat you politically." No way is that going to happen.

Ponitz

F--But they have certain tools. They have alumni, they're older institutions, they have athletics, they had in Oakland County the tremendous academic and cultural force, you know, like the great concert pianist Vladimir Ashkenazy.

P--Those are minor tools. They forget the major one.

F--Ok, what is the major one?

P--The major one is that every senator and most every representative in this state has got one community college they've got to look out for.

F--You can see some statesmanlike activities where the powerful schools, Macomb, Oakland, Washtenaw, Grand Rapids, and Lansing, made the decision to buck up the reimbursement formula bottom. Of course, that's simple to do because it doesn't cost much money. Increasing the entitlement of a Roscommon by 100 percent only takes \$100,000 at the maximum out of the pool, whereas a place like Oakland can be counted on for \$6 million.

P--That's right. Let me give you one more example, just to make the point.

I represented the MCCA [Michigan Community College Association] at a health group where they were all four-year colleges.

I was kind of interested, sitting back, to hear people tell me nicely, in a very sophisticated manner, "Now, you represent just a community college," and "I'm from the University of Michigan Medical School representing so many persons, you know, great school." "I'm from Wayne." "I'm from Ferris." It was almost a very sophisticated putdown and suggesting "we really know our way around politically."

Finally, when the introductions came and I'd gotten this putdown enough, at least as I perceived it, I just indicated who I was and that I was representing--they had indicated the number of students they had in their programs--the 150,000 students in our program. It was kind of interesting to see the change in that group of health students.

That group was so naive, although they understood the health processes well, they were so naive. They wanted to have a major political appropriation and they

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approached me and said, "Can you help us with the protocol of how we get the appropriation through the State Board of Education."

F--They didn't know the process.

P--They didn't know the process and they were upset about the protocol. You know, "How do you approach the State Board?" Well, you know, you call them up.

What I'm saying to you is I think maybe you're right in your hanging analogy. Community colleges have hung pretty tough, you know, five years out. The average number of institutions attending our monthly meetings--where we're traveling all over the state--is generally the voting representatives from between 23 to 24 out of the 27 each month, which is phenomenal.

F--When I first met you and we were in certain kinds of conflict situations between the entrenched community colleges, what we saw as "new view," many saw as meddling. One of the things was that we deliberately attempted, and we had statesmanship people like you, was to enhance the disadvantaged schools at the bottom, helping one or two cut the whole movement away from its more traditional and rigid responses.

We also had the problem over the K-12, K-14, and the creation of the independent freestanding community college rather than as a department. I believe only Dearborn and maybe Grand Rapids...is Grand Rapids free now?

P--No.

F--Those, I think, are the only two left.

P--Henry Ford and Dearborn are voting the tenth of June, I think.

F--But that era of the 13th and 14th grades being a department in a school district is gone. We had that touchy issue. We were attempting to push people into lower tuition rather than having them ape the higher schools by cutting the market out, which was a very difficult thing. The community colleges are the only institutions in the state that have a mandated tuition by statute, which of course is a fractious story because we ran it through as a penalty.

Ponitz

When I think about these things, we were dealing with divisional issues and not public service issues. The Legislature as I perceived it wasn't saying community colleges were less useful, they were saying they were more useful than they were. What we were trying to do was hitting you where you were divided over things like districting, over the attainment of new territory, over the determination to make the 40 percent of the land of this state that didn't pay any tax, pay a tax. That frightened people out and brought the parochial interests of one institution against another.

You were pretty well insulated by that because you had a natural district. Oakland had a natural district. Maybe that's why they were powerful, I don't know, but the rural ones didn't and we couldn't see how they could survive.

But now we're past some of those points. We've past the point of districting and just ignore it. It was obviously an issue that divided people past the point of being able to perform what they were supposed to do.

We moved in the period from '64 through '70 by broadening the base of support because certainly that was one place where you were politically weak. You made the case very trenchantly, as I recollect, that the cost of your offering vocational programs was extremely costly with all that tremendous hardware. I used to be amused when I looked at your place to realize that the equipment in the building was worth ten times the building.

P--That's right. In that building the equipment is worth half the cost of the new building, to give you some idea.

F--Well, the point was, we were paying you \$300, \$350, or \$400 a kid. For a low-cost program at Eastern, 30 blocks away, we were paying them three times that.

You've been able to remedy that by union and strength, and yet I'm struck by the fact that you people do not exert the kind of political strength that you will later.

P--It's hard. You know, within our own group there's still a number of persons that don't understand the full impact of the political process.

There's been a change in presidents in those ten years. I would describe the change this way. One of the

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obvious conflicts has been collective negotiations. There's been conflict at the state level and local level. So much so that within a two-year period of time, 50 percent of the community college presidents in this state were censured by the faculty.

I've been one of them. I don't wear that as any badge of honor except to say that it suggests the signs of the times--of how you destroy the presidents and the board to handle the adversary relations of collective negotiations.

As a result of that process the kind of president, in my judgment, who presently exists is very different than the president of ten years ago.

F--How is he different?

P--Ten years ago a president perceived himself as an educational leader very concerned with curriculum, development, innovation, and those kinds of things. The kind of person that survives now must leave the educational leadership to other individuals and fall into the very specific category of educational manager and diplomat--an external source of working with the community.

F--So a man like Jack Tirrell<sup>6</sup>, who was very much the innovative type in pushing equipment, couldn't really come to the fore today.

P--Well, I don't know. I think you have to change. I came as an educational leader, but I said to myself, "If I want to remain a college president in this state, I have to change my style."

I have changed my style rather substantially. When you start an institution you spend 80 percent of your time on innovation and program and 20 percent on management. It's just the reverse of that now. This isn't to say we don't have new programs going, but I spend a tremendous amount of my time on program budgeting, management objectives, affirmative action, state relations, construction, and getting funds in terms of construction of buildings, millage campaigns, and those kinds of things.

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<sup>6</sup>John E. Tirrell; President, Oakland Community College, 1967-68.

Ponitz

Those are not curriculum items. By and large, the good people we have in curriculum are saying, "Hey, Dave, you get money and we'll guarantee a good institution."

The division of labor has changed. The guy involved has become mentally much tougher, by necessity, in terms of the collegial relationship which some are concerned about.

F--Probably something else has happened, too. It's my recollection that when I first looked at community colleges the majority of the subsidiary academic offices were of lower quality. The president was a paramount figure, internally, but I think now many of the deans, subprogram managers, and academic deans are much stronger in stature. Well, of course, they have more to do.

P--As I tell our people here, as I look at a new person on the staff, what I'm interested in is if the person is a quick study. Can he learn quickly? Which substantiates your point. If they can't learn quickly and stay up with the changes and the flow of things, they're going to be lost.

Every institution has had persons that were great people when they came in with that innovative approach but weren't able to change dramatically enough to be a manager. They have to say, "Well, gee. We appreciate your efforts but we think you'll be happier someplace outside the institution." Most of us have gone through that.

F--Obviously, then, to the question, "Did any of the policy goals for the enhancement of higher education have as their objective the destruction of class and culture barriers?", the answer is that community colleges wouldn't exist without that agenda. That's what you've really said.

P--Absolutely.

One of the other conflict areas--one which we thought we were battling, and we were to a certain extent--was the age-old saw of local control versus state control.

Local boards have been very insistent that they keep local control so they can have the flexibilities to meet local community needs. Community colleges have many similarities but they have many differences as well.

Ponitz

F--That was a conflict with us, but I always regarded it as a false issue.

P--Yes. I think it wasn't a one-to-one issue. Each of us had a different agenda and were fighting the agenda on the local control issue when really we each had an agenda other than the local control issue that we were involved with.

F--The proof is that the Legislature was comfortable to take away the superintendency of community colleges from the department--which had the bureaucracy to manage you--and turn you over to the Legislature which had neither the will nor the bureaucracy to manage you. In fact, we were telling you, you were on your own as long as.... It was when we came to the "as long as" that it was hard to stand it.

We wanted certain objectives accomplished. Now the institutions are doing them, and in very vital ways. I don't hear much of this argument, although the mechanisms are there. You're not busy fussing about how the state's taking you over.

P--No, I think that issue probably has paled. Well, it's not paled, it's gone into a new kind of response. The response is affirmative education to inform the Legislature as was the Tinkers to Evers to Chance legislative response. The response now is the fantastic amount of time on reporting without any benefit to the institutions.

F--Well, maybe not any benefit to them.

P--I don't know about that.

F--This isn't in the subject, but I would suspect from talks with the professional staff who receive the stuff that something like 85 percent of the data collected is unassimilated, unanalyzed, and unused. That comes to be the problem, because if you spend 1,000 hours to generate something that takes five minutes to review, you could invest those 1,000 hours better in some other way.

P--That's right, absolutely.

F--What about the role of popularism versus elitism? You obviously represent the sector of popularism, but do you think that was a fight?

Ponitz

P--It was a battle in this community, not on the policy level but on the interpersonal kind of level.

As I used to speak to university groups--most of them with master's or Ph.D. degrees--I would indicate that "there are two requirements to enter this community college and each of you, I think, would qualify for one of those requirements and could be accepted." They would kind of lean forward, these professorial types, and I indicated that "either you have to be a high school graduate or 18 years of age."

I would do that to try to put it, within humor, in terms of what people can do who haven't had the opportunity for the traditional kind of education that you and I had.

F--Fine. You may recollect that when I went out to the Focus Conference at Sidney [Michigan], I said, "Community colleges have the following two criteria: You have to breathe or be able to walk, but you can waive one or the other." But that's the same point.

P--The same point is made. I think the key point that I would make is to be more concerned with how the product performs than with the traditional guidelines.

F--John Hannah seems to have represented, in the public mind, the popularism. It looks like the regional institutions lined up behind John against Michigan.

P--It's no longer a debatable issue because many of the regional institutions have essentially the same open-door policies as the community college. It's done that way because admissions policies appear to be determined more on the number of empty dormitory spaces you have than on intellectual criteria.

F--I respond badly to that because somebody said that about State the other day. It may well be that we've come to accept that rather than talking about people meeting standards we'll enhance what they have. Therefore, every institution has got to do its part to improve our citizenry intellectually and skillwise.

P--I guess the response is that everybody should have a chance. There are all kinds of tests--ACT or College Boards--which show they can't succeed. And yet, given a chance, they do succeed. The thing that impresses me most is that we really don't know.



Ponitz

F--One of the things I'm going to talk about in the study is that we did not create the Ohio system. Ohio promised opportunity by saying every high school graduate can go to college but didn't create the chairs so they could and instead created a system of failure. It's much better, although it's been more difficult to create socially and politically, to have a system that gives a man a chance to succeed rather than a chance to fail.

P--Let me show how far ahead the Michigan system is. I had a letter yesterday from Max Lerner, who is Vice-Chancellor for Community Colleges in Ohio, saying, "I'd like to chat with you about putting a community college in Columbus." They're just now to the point of saying there is an opportunity for a community college in a city that has a major university. Well, Michigan passed that...

F--Twenty years ago.

P--Yes, exactly.

F--And it couldn't have been done without your help, although that's a story that probably never will get told.

P--A young man was here. I haven't seen the final dissertation yet, but the University of Michigan allowed him to do one very different from most dissertations.

He'd come from the East, from Newton Community College. Newton has gotten all kinds of raves for its K-12 program, but it has a very traditional, eastern, private-type community college approach with very little occupational education. There is very little apparent working with the needs of people other than the traditional middle-class kind of individual. He's a counselor there and he got disenchanted because there were so many people who needed help in the occupational areas and weren't getting it.

He was raising the question: "So many community colleges say they're going to emphasize occupational education and yet three years and five years down the road they really aren't. This institution said it was going to do it and it is doing it. What happened to have this institution continue to not only start that way but grow continually, exponentially, and reinforce that particular responsibility versus others who have said they're going to do it and then have not done it?"

Ponitz

I'm kind of interested in reading that dissertation when it finally comes.

F--I'm very curious about that.

P--I think I have some answers.

F--I want to talk to you about that for the reason that I'm personally of the opinion that the community colleges have, to some degree, while succeeding in many, many areas, failed in keeping the public agenda, the responsibility that was thrust upon them.

The proof of that that I've offered in discussion with others is the fact that the community colleges now are faced with a competitor, the area skill center. The area skill center is a statement, in my opinion, to the policy makers that the occupational agenda of training for the world of work isn't being done by people who should have been doing it.

P--I don't fully subscribe to that. For example, we've had three requests for an area skill center in this area. Each has been defeated. One of the reasons it's been defeated is because of people saying, "Hey, we've got a great community college which is doing that." This tends not to substantiate the point of view that you're making.

I would take the position, however, that a good area skill center can be built upon by an innovative community college to develop outstanding technical people, particularly in the interdisciplinary areas. And I'd make my point in a couple of areas. First, there appears to be, as I read the Department of Labor stuff, a substantial surplus of labor in certain areas which will now allow corporations that were saying, "We'd like to have you with a high school education," now to say, "We want you to have one year or two years of community college education before we'll take you." They'll be more selective.

And they'll require some kind of either jump-in-jump-out occupational education, or a one-year certificate.

The other thing: I think you see a lot of employers not wanting to hire high school students. High school students aren't mature, a high school student jumps around a lot, you just get the guy or gal trained and he moves. They want somebody one or two years more mature.

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So if it's handled correctly, I see it as a beautiful melding and marriage between getting technicians, or quasi-technicians, trained. Now, you've got to work it, you've got to work it every day of the year if it's going to happen. It's not going to happen, it's going to be made to happen.

F--Are the programs between skill centers somewhat different than community colleges? The reason I ask that is that when I was at Flint I was quite struck by the fact that they were teaching masonry and artisan kinds of programs rather than the more dependent kinds of things where you have to work for somebody. A mason is a traveling journeyman.

P--I think skill centers are probably doing more training and the community colleges are doing more education. That's a pretty broad statement, but skill centers, many times, are giving a person an overview of what you need to do to be a mason, for example. They may come to a community college to begin their apprenticeship work to actually become an indentured journeyman.

For example, we have plumbers here. We have journeyman plumbers in for upgrade training and very shortly we'll have persons moving into the apprenticeable kinds of skills.

F--What you're saying is that to some degree they are competitive in focus.

P--They can be competitive if there's not innovation and cooperation.

F--But they could also be enhancing to each other.

P--They could be greatly enhancing to one another. That's one of the reasons why I pushed hard for an area vocational center here. I think there are too many students that either psychologically or physically drop out of high schools who, given some hands-on experience, would progress much faster in their particular skill level.

F--What about the role of culture and the arts in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

P--Great, but first let me indicate that this institution has not been in the vanguard in that area.

F--Has any community college?

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P--Yes, I think so. I think there have been a number which for their own constituency have done some very fine things in that area. I think Oakland and Grand Rapids probably fall in that category. From its traditional junior college approach Grand Rapids did a number of those...

F--And Delta did when I was there.

P--Yes, Delta has.

Our response in this area, up till now, is that we have leaned on the community rather than bringing in concerts and those kinds of things.

Going back to the division of labor response, our responsibility is in other areas and this community does a fantastic job in those areas. "At least as we're getting started, let us lean on you."

F--Ok, let me move the question a little differently. This is probably the most culture-rich area in the whole state. The other 82 counties aren't within 50 miles of Washtenaw.

I guess what I was saying is, did the creation of community colleges with local support have as one of its agendas, hopefully, the enhancement of the culture and the arts for those areas? Would you suspect that was important in places like Roscommon, West Shore, Petoskey, Benton Harbor, and the like?

P--I suspect it was an articulated need which they said they were going to do something about. I suspect also that based upon the needs of the students and the community that it had a much lower level of interest and support than any other area.

One reason, of course, would be that in a number of areas some of those things would be 100 percent locally funded. Like anything else, unless you get those things started very, very early, you aren't going to do them at all.

So I see lots of opportunities for student culture in terms of various books and so on. I guess I come back to an earlier point. When I started here, I think 18 percent of the student head count--average of the state--were involved in occupational programs.

Three or four years ago I think that percentage had moved to around 33 percent and I suspect it's considerably

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higher now. The community college response has been a more pragmatic response, if you will, than the cultural response.

I may be saying negative things about it, but I think we probably ought to be doing better in that area.

F--You can do only so many things with so many dollars.

P--Yes. I find our students not overly interested in those kinds of things, maybe because they have been presented incorrectly. The number of students who have those kinds of concerns is not large.

Maybe it's part of this first generation response. I'm not sure that when you're trying to bootstrap yourself up to get a secure job so you can support your family you're going to put priorities on the quality of life. I think you maybe have to go through another generation.

F--Well, it may be something else too, although I agree with you. I'm not anthropologist enough to know what the right words are, but it strikes me that the presentation of formal culture in America is surrounded by all kinds of taboos and ceremonials that have to do with class level rather than appreciation.

P--Yes. Good point.

F--You think about the way art and concert music are presented. What it really says to the lower classes is that you are not welcome. It takes time for people to feel adequate to participate and that may be the second generation thing.

P--I think one of the big pushes in culture, frankly, has been in the minority areas. As a result of black student unions, black studies, and so on, their people have looked at their own culture because they have been denied a look up to now.

F--But after that straightens out it will come back to the same splits again.

P--Yes, I think that's true.

F--What has happened is that the black culture types were separated out from the white culture types, not based

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on a place, but based on a color, and once they get folded in it will still be the mass against the thin column.

What about the position of labor in regard to higher education?

P--I think labor originally was somewhat suspect of higher education. I think they were suspect in a rightful kind of way because higher education made little overture to labor. I see that changing substantially now.

F--Have you done a lot here in your local community?

P--We do quite a bit. We have a great number of social and work interchanges with labor in a number of areas.

F--And you think that they were suspicious because of the status ceremonials around the higher education process?

P--When they sent people to college for training they were concerned that college would have an antilabor background and that they might actually turn people off from the labor movement. That has been a strong response that I've seen statewide. I see that changing now from college to college after they've learned to accommodate to one another and know what one another's needs are.

I don't think higher education has done a particularly good job in recognizing the specific needs of labor, just as some of the other parts of our broader communities have not. I see that changing now. I see it changing in terms of so many people being involved in a unionized kind of activity.

F--It's particularly true in the academic world.

P--Absolutely.

F--What about the position of industry?

You've talked a good deal about that, and obviously your institution couldn't have been created without it. Do you think that's been one of the underpinnings of the local growth of community colleges?

P--Absolutely. Industry has been very interested in community colleges because it's helped them to be competitive. Although we talk about the philanthropic

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point of view of industry, which they have, I think the reason that industry continues to be involved with community college education is that it's to their self-interest.

F--It's a form of local taxpayer support, isn't it?

P--Absolutely.

F--I don't see, David, the same kind of dedication to baccalaureate institutions by industry. What do you feel about that?

P--I guess the most honest answer I can give you is I don't know.

I see it in research at U of M where great amounts of dollars have come to set up the Chrysler center, and also the numbers of dollars that they get on earmarked kinds of things.

In terms of the regional institutions I'm not sure. By and large, industry has been interested in hiring people who have a specific skill and can return whatever dollars they're paid plus more to industry.

F--Have you been able to get political and social support from industry statewide for higher education?

I'm really dealing with the fact that the share of the state appropriations for higher education is about 14 percent of the total. All state monies go to some valid purpose. Therefore, making the decision to spend in one area rather than another means that somebody has to be squeezed.

P--I guess I don't know. It seems to me that at the community college level, as they've dealt with the question, they have worked with the industry that they're serving, who in turn has supported them. But neither one of them has dealt with it in the abstract.

No community college has, for example, asked to have President Gerstenberg from General Motors come and support a community college effort. I would not hesitate a moment, however, to call up a vice-president in charge of hydramatics and say, "I've got a tough problem here. Come up to Lansing with me a week from tomorrow because I need your help to get that thing through." And they'd come.

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F--And have you ever done that?

P--Yes I have, and will continue to do it.

F--What is the position of commerce? Do you make a distinction between industry and commerce?

P--We very actively participate in Chambers of Commerce, not as an advocate of business but as a way of saying, "We're here to be supportive, to assist you in your kind of activities."

F--I guess what I'm thinking about is that there's an industrial role versus a labor role in society. I was wondering if you would make a distinction between industry and commerce? Did they have different objectives?

P--Yes, probably greater involvement in commerce and industry [than labor]. One of the reasons in commerce is that commerce is employing the graduates of this institution. We could have the best equipment, the best teachers, and the best facilities, but unless there are jobs at the other end of the rainbow you aren't going to have a program.

We had, for example, 20 personnel officers in here for a gourmet dinner the other night. Why? Because we like them? Well, yes, that's one reason, but our major purpose was to highlight the kinds and quality of people that we train here in saying, "We'd like to have you hire them." So that very active self-interest thrust, on the part of our students and on the part of the institution...

F--And only by understanding the nature of the marketplace can you get that support.

P--That's right. Much more involvement with industry and with commerce, a different kind of involvement with labor.

F--What about agriculture? I understand your view is essentially local but you've been active...

P--Yes. I think there's been substantial interest in agriculture in the rural areas. I would only suggest to you that several years ago, in one area, there were three veterinarians on a board who saw to it that they had rather substantial programming.



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F--I was curious about the following thing. There's been a tremendous migration out--in the period from '58 to '70 and earlier--from rural areas to the city. I wondered if people, as the farms were no longer viable as economic units to keep the families home and working, hadn't moved to create community colleges as a way of keeping their children at home.

P--Yes, yes, absolutely. More so in the more rural area where I was in Illinois than here. I think it depends upon the geography of the area.

F--I was much struck by the community of Roscommon, for instance.

P--Yes, absolutely.

F--At Kirtland Community College where the hope was, "Well, we'll get some subsidiary industry, we'll find jobs, we'll train the boys and create a labor pool and then go out and headhunt the industry."

P--There's strong feeling by some families that, "Ok, I now understand that women should go to college. But, if they're going to go to college I'd prefer it to be close to home to get another couple more years of home environment and home supervision rather than going to the colleges far away"--which are kind of sin cities as they would see them.

F--They'd be fearful of that?

P--Yes, absolutely.

F--What about the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy from the federal government, if any?

The nature of the question is this. In federal grants for social services, every dollar has an accompanying constraint. We're trying to inquire if the federal efforts in higher education brought constraints. We haven't been able to ascertain them, but we haven't concluded our work yet.

P--Strong constraints in a couple of ways. The first constraint is that with colleges growing so rapidly, a number of administrators, as we talked about before, were hired who jumped up the ladder too fast in terms of understanding administrative process. A number of

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administrators across the country have gotten into major problems with the federal government in terms of making too many decisions with their hearts and not enough with a combination of their heads and hearts.

I can give you some specific examples, particularly in the student-aid area. I guess I would prefer not to name names, but I can point out college presidents and other individuals who are long gone because they simply did not understand accounting processes or accountability practices.

F--Of course, there's a problem there. The funding and granting agency always encouraged people to dispense and there was no combination of the police audit function inside the granting agency. People would get encouraged one way and then the auditor exceptions would come and sometimes 10-20 percent of those funds would be excluded as not permissible.

P--Right. Two other problems as I see them. One has been the single purpose grant where you had to tailor-make the grant to get the money and yet that wasn't really what the needs were. The general purpose grant versus the specific purpose grant is one problem which we've had continually.

F--What you're saying is that that distorts the nature of an institution's service role from what it should be.

P--Absolutely. And the other area is that in states that have really done a great job in career, occupational, vocational education--call it what you will--by and large the number of federal dollars have been going down.

F--I find it hard to comprehend--in view of the federal government's support in times of national crisis to train manpower--the amounts of money that's thrown into research compared to the incredibly low level of support that occupational programs have received from the federal government.

I can't think of any program that you have here that receives any significant kind of investment from the federal government in the program way. Student aid, yes; higher education facilities, yes; a specific research grant, maybe a minority or an equal opportunity grant, yes; but a broad base curriculum to create more manpower for this or that, no.

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I can't think you ever got a buck for air conditioning or computers and that's where the service has to be. Am I wrong about that?

P--You're right. In the health areas you are as aware as I am that you got dollars one time and the next year you got zero.

F--As a matter of fact, I talked to the Appropriations Committee about it. For them, a buck is a buck. I tell them I don't even want those dollars because I can never plan them. They always have to go into disposable and consumable rather than program enhancement things.

We're talking to you in May. I was supposed to get my federal entitlement grant for capitation for medical students April 1. I haven't the vaguest idea what it is or what it's level will be. I can't hire anybody on money that doesn't exist.

P--The last federal pressure of significance that I would want to address myself to is the Title 9--permanent action areas in terms of roles of women. That's an interesting pressure.

The act was passed two years ago. Title 9, as you know, addresses itself to three questions: admissions, student aid, and athletics, particularly in the male-female response, to a lesser extent to a color ratio response.

The attempt of Congress, as I listen to and read Edith Green's status report<sup>7</sup>, is very different than the administrative intent in terms of how you approach the question. In the area that I mentioned, the act has been passed for two years, but there are still no federal guidelines. When that crunch comes, we will have additional bookkeeping work to show that the number of dollars proportioned to go to the women and men are equal and that the amount of athletics for men and women have some comparability.

Those pressures will become very strong. The pressure shat says you can hire the best-qualified person,

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<sup>7</sup>Edith Green; Democrat; U.S. Representative from Oregon, 1963- ; served on Committee on Education and Labor; author of Federal Role in Education (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

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versus the administrative rules that are saying maybe you can hire the best-qualified person, but only if you have a Supreme Court case documentation, will become very substantial for all higher education in this state.

F--And in the nation.

P--Oh yes, really tough.

F--What was the nature of the regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another? Do you have any insights about that?

P--I'm trying to think back to when all community colleges were forming. There was a strong local response that if you have the money or not, go ahead. People thought that the state would provide the lion's share of the financing and the local government would provide the small share. It was such a great idea that everybody would support it willingly. It really didn't cost that much.

I think some of the strongest pressures came from people who really wanted a new identity for their community. So-and-so has got a community college... For example, the western part of the state at one time didn't have any colleges to speak of, except Western and Grand Rapids Junior College.

There was a strong feeling that, "By gosh, a college indicates a civilized, intellectual, caring, and progressive people and therefore we're going to have one." The kind of work that Ray Young<sup>8</sup> did, that Max Smith<sup>9</sup> did, that Sigurd Rislov<sup>10</sup> did, and that Ferris Craford did in terms of working with the community and all those kinds of things was important.

You had to have the assessed valuation of, I forget what it was, 150 million?

F--I think it was 150, but they moved it up.

P--Yes, they moved it to 250.

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<sup>8</sup>Raymond J. Young; Professor of Higher Education, University of Michigan.

<sup>9</sup>Max Smith; Professor of Higher Education, Michigan State University.

<sup>10</sup>Sigurd Rislov; Chairman, Department of Education, Wayne State University.

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F--And the answer was that you couldn't do it in some cases.

P--That was my answer. I'm going to talk with a group in Livingston County in another week about the same issue: "Can we start our own community college?"

F--Part of the answer was, of course, that those rules didn't have to do with highway nets. They didn't have to do with the way people function, the way they lived, and the way the economies were. Probably in the north you needed much bigger areas and in the urban areas you needed smaller ones.

P--I've been involved in a number of studies nationwide, and everywhere, irrespective of who they were in the community, people felt compelled to say, "Yes, we want a community college," because this was the wave of the future.

F--It's like medicine. We say, "Everybody in favor of dying hold up your hand. Everybody in favor of being a Philistine or a barbarian so no to this program." That is the same thing you are saying.

P--Yes, good analysis. People really saw this, once again, as the brass-ring opportunity for themselves and particularly for their children. "There's a great opportunity."

F--I come back to what you said early in our conversation about the desire to guarantee access. I think that that is probably a very crucial issue.

What about the reasons for the failure of the branch campus system to develop in Michigan with Oakland, Flint, and Dearborn? I'm particularly curious if you have any observations why Dearborn and Flint, adjacent to community colleges, failed to be senior institutions.

P--I guess I don't see them as failing. I would only say that in this day and age--when the Pill has 18 years later taken its toll on college freshmen--that most any institution except the most prestigious will fail if they're going to sit tight on their present clientele.

I use this institution as an example. If this institution had the same clientele today as it had even three years ago, we'd be in a massive deficit situation.

F--What you're saying is the fact that these branch campuses had to create and identify a separate market. The

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community college couldn't be seen as a truncated institution, but had to create its own market. Those were the reasons it had to happen.

P--I guess I would use the analogy of after World War II when car salesmen simply sat in their offices and took orders. All of a sudden when that first rush of orders was met they really didn't know how to sell. All of a sudden people weren't buying cars from them any more because they didn't know what was under the hood, couldn't convince the wife about how this color was a great color, and so on and so forth.

All colleges have suffered to some extent.

F--That's a good point. I like that because what we're going to have to say to the students of higher education is that if in fact you're going to survive in a leaner marketplace you're going to have to learn how to develop new options for an institution.

P--They're going to have new options. I think there's going to have to be a new balance between sedately waiting for someone to apply and telling them what you can do.

F--I know the problem. It's a very tough line to walk between outright hucksterism and shy dignity. I don't know how you're going to do that, but it's going to have to be.

I was struck by your remark that you made the front page about the location of your campus and people still didn't know. I've got the problem in medicine that people don't know how big we are.

P--That's right.

F--We've got 500 medical school students at MSU and people think we've got 20. How do I tell them?

P--Well, that's right. As I talk with people I hear them saying, "Well, you know, in another two years when they get their building done they'll probably be ready to enter their first class." You've got the same problems that we have.

F--It's kind of discouraging because you beat your brains out. But it's normal. People are living, they've got work, children, occupations, and recreation. What's important to our lives may be peripheral to theirs.

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P--The critical mass problem.

F--That's right.

P--I wouldn't put them as failures, except to say that you've got to have your clientele and then you've got to restructure the teaching function so that it's both exciting and meaningful for students.

Students in this day and age, if they're turned off because, "I always wanted a teacher that smoked a pipe and you don't smoke a pipe," go over [where the teacher does smoke a pipe].

There's going to be competition that we've never had before.

F--Do you have any observations, Dave, why an institutional system for the coordination of higher education did not come about after 1964? Certainly for all the talk about community colleges I never discerned any desire for you people to be coordinated.

P--I think the coordination would have been done by the State Board. I think there was great hesitancy, great suspicion, and animosity toward the State Board. Individuals used that as a clarion focal point for local control.

I think the other thing that happened, it seems to me, is that an awful lot of control comes when you first establish a college program. I'll use North Carolina as an example. They said, "There will be a community college system. There are no campuses now, but in five years there will be 15 campuses and this is how it's going to be done."

F--We didn't do that in this state.

P--That's right. I think you got institutions started and they were all different. As each one came on board while the train started there was a very strong response that they were different and they were going to remain different.

F--I think that's a perceptive point and I'm trying to comprehend it. In some states they started the movement from the top down and that means control, perhaps.

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In this state we started from the bottom up. Maybe that means they stay local because they have more sustenance. The state didn't say there will be a Washtenaw. The Washtenaw people said there would be one. Therefore, if the state money ceased at this time, you'd still survive.

P--I think the other factors involved were the constitutional autonomy that University of Michigan had. It was extended to the big three, and then the regional institutions said after the court case, "Hey, maybe we have it too." There was a great leeriness (of state control).

F--But there was some sense that the community colleges, while they don't have it formally, have it in practice.

P--That's right. And local school boards take the same position about how important it is.

And the other thing, which simply might be used as a way to fight the political battle, is at least one study, and perhaps others, says that those states that are the most innovative in trying to meet the educational needs of its people are ones without strong state control.

F--Who, Dave, do you think were the strong opinion leaders in this state in the period from '58 to '70? Who were the key figures from your vantage point?

P--I think Bill Atkinson from Jackson. In community colleges you mean?

F--In the whole movement. With community colleges, Atkinson, certainly, at Jackson.

P--I think Bill Atkinson was, I think Bob Cahow was, and I think Phil Gannon<sup>11</sup> was. I think there were people at the state level, like Ferris Crawford, who fall in the area. Clair Taylor, the former superintendent of public instruction--I remember as a kid talking with him about the emerging concept of community colleges--falls into that category.

There were a number of individuals who saw the need and worked in it peripherally. Harlan Hatcher, for example, as you may or may not know was chairman of the fund

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<sup>11</sup>Philip J. Gannon; President, Lansing Community College; Member, State Higher Education Facilities Commission.



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drive to study where there should be a community college in this area.

F--I didn't know that.

P--Yes.

F--John Hannah certainly was one.

P--John Hannah certainly would fall in that category. We talked about Ray Young and Max Smith.

F--Sig Rislov at Wayne.

P--Yes, Sig was very influential in that period of time.

I suppose the new community college presidents themselves, who came in with a different vision of what a community college ought to be as it moved from the junior college to the community college concept, would fall in that category.

F--There were the political leaders too, obviously.

P--Yes, and the political leaders were very, very much involved with the situation. Obviously Gar and obviously Charlie...

F--Senator Lane and Senator Zollar.

P--Absolutely. They were very perceptive in terms of needs. I've gotten to know Gar better and I've watched him with interest in terms of his occupational interest with Ferris and other areas. Charlie, too, with his broader humanistic interests in those areas.

I guess I could name, if you went down the list, many others who were involved.

F--Well, there were people from the industrial, social, and labor sectors. We are just trying to identify some of these people.

P--Yes. I think the State Board was pushing hard. I think certainly the governor's response in terms of the community college board, and the constitutional convention committee who were involved in education. There were a number of rather exciting educators in there. Steve Nisbet, as an example, came from an educational background and his perspective was education.

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F--Well, thank you very much. It's certainly been true, I think, that it's been fun to work in this state. There's been a lot of the right pieces and the great men put it together. This has been a national state. Its industry, its labor, its great institutions, the political climate, and the energy of its people, build something that I hope this study will attempt to explain.

P--I'm pleased that you're doing it. The community colleges, particularly, were moving so fast that you never had an opportunity to look back.

I'll give you an example in passing. We had a group of four business students from the school of business who wanted to pert chart some things that they thought we ought to be doing as we were starting Washtenaw Community College. They were going to provide us a service by pert charting for the next six to eight months the kind of things we ought to be doing to get that institution off the ground. That was helpful. They agreed that they would do this and come back within a month of what we should be doing in the next six to eight months.

They came back with their pert chart and the various kinds of goals that we ought to be working on. The interesting thing was that what they had pert charted for us to do we had already completed.

F--I suspected that.

P--You know, you had to go rapidly to get the job done.

F--That's one of the reasons that I've extended the study to talk about the community colleges. It didn't come at state direction because at state direction the pace would have been slower. I came in '64 to teach at Delta and the energy was phenomenal.

P--I had 100 days to find buildings to get started--and get them in shape--which ended up with 1200 students.

The people said, "Well, fine, Dave. We're glad you're here. If you're really successful, when you reach your saturation point you'll probably have as many as 500 students." How do you deal with that kind of question, a very hard question?

F--The historian in the three of us--because Jay, my graduate research assistant, is a historian too--tells

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you that when the time is ripe, that's not the time to go slow, that's the time to move. When the crest of the wave passes, you're done.

P--Absolutely, absolutely. If we had tried to build this building or that building from day one, the hue and cry of this community would have been devastating. Because of the fact that we started and in the first three years doubled our enrollment each year there was great joy and glee. They were building these buildings large enough to really meet the needs of the students.

F--That may be. Chuck Sturz, of the bureau of the budget, says that there's a period in every social movement where you have a quantitative need to be met and only after this can you get to the qualitative. It may be that eventually, and we may be five years away from that, we'll start to address qualitative questions inside the movement. They didn't have that time. You haven't had the time here yet.

P--That's right. We're just really nicely into it.

F--You've got 5,000 kids here and you know in 1946 Michigan State, which was 100 years old, had 4,000. I think that's interesting.

Thank you very much.

P--Hey, it's been fun. I wish you well.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
ROBBEN FLEMING<sup>1</sup>

F--From 1958 on Michigan higher education grew quite prodigiously. It grew from \$80 million of general fund appropriation to some \$260 million. What in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan?

F1-Well, you'll have to remember I came on the scene in Michigan for the first time in 1967. Therefore, my knowledge of particular factors in Michigan prior to that time is essentially historical knowledge which I've picked up from other people.

Probably my own views of what caused that expansion are more nearly hinged to national factors than they are to anything that's particularly unique about Michigan. After 1967, as you know, universities have expanded some, but this university, in Ann Arbor--which is the big campus, of course--has been relatively stable. It's changed somewhat, but not by very large figures.

I think a principle factor was when the government decided at the end of World War II to provide the GI benefits with which to go to school. I think that decision was in part made because of the judgment that as the economy converted from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy there was likely to be substantial unemployment. I think that turned out not to be a good guess, but I believe that was the thinking behind it.

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<sup>1</sup>Robben W. Fleming; President, University of Michigan, 1968- ; Director, Industrial Relations Center University of Wisconsin, 1947-52; Director, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1952-58; Professor of Law, University of Illinois, 1958-64; Professor Law and Chancellor, University of Wisconsin, 1964-67. Interview conducted May 24, 1974.

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place but they created the opportunity to fail by not creating advanced standing places. In Michigan and in Wisconsin--which I know you are familiar with--they didn't do that. I guess that's one of the things I'm seeking an understanding of.

Do you have some observations about why they were willing, out of that social and economic force, to really fulfill what I call the Horatio Alger dream?

F1-Well, I think one of the things you have to remember about Ohio is that it has very large numbers of private schools, much more than Michigan does, and the private school concern about the growth of the public schools is a long-standing thing.

It's not a phenomenon of today, even though you hear it expressed a great deal today as "the dilemma of the private schools." That's not a new phenomenon, they've talked about that for a very long time.

I suspect, therefore, that the private schools in the State of Ohio had their own following. Probably there was less impetus there for the expansion of the public system than there's been in either Wisconsin or Michigan.

If you had to cite another factor in Michigan--and here I'm speculating because I don't really know--I would guess that given the concentration of the auto industry in the state and given the prominence and dominance of the UAW over the years here, with that union tending to be a forward-looking union interested in social welfare and improvement of the lot of its workers and their families, you'd probably find a good deal of UAW pressure to make opportunities for sons and daughters of their people available in public institutions.

F--I don't want to lead the questioning, but as you know I've talked to a great many people. One of the things that quite struck me were Speaker Ryan's and Neil Staebler's remarks about the creation for the first time of adequate disposable income in society so that choices were there beyond subsistence.

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Once you make it possible for large numbers to go to school financially, and you couple that with what I think was, and in many ways still is, the prevailing view in this country--that the way to upward social mobility is via the route of higher education--then you stimulate a great demand for higher education.

You go back to that period after World War II, you have a great many parents saying that they want their children to have the advantages they didn't have. You were beginning to get, by that time, the bulge of the population growth that had come up through the K-12 system.

So the factors for growth were there: The social milieu was right, the symbolism was right (with great respect for the cause of higher education), and the financing was there. And there it went.

F--I suppose one of the things was that it didn't have to happen all at once like it did in New York where they hadn't done it at all. If you take a look at the higher education funding, while it's gone up, the increment from any one year to the next has never really seriously created a political crisis where you had to bend people out of shape to do it.

F1-I think that's right, the growth of the economy was such in this state, and we'd been essentially a state of public education, of course.

The great growth has come in the public institutions and they were, as you indicated, already in place--large numbers of them. Community colleges weren't there as they are now, the old teachers' colleges weren't expanded, but they were in place and could be expanded.

F--That's what I meant when I talked about New York. In Michigan the system really was in place. In fact, by 1964 when the State Board and the new Constitution and the new Legislature came, there really wasn't much to give away. It had all been given away before that.

One of the things I was thinking about is that in some states [only] the rhetoric was there. I think about Ohio, where they promised every high school graduate a

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I know that you're an economist by training. I think that that must be a factor too.

F1-Well, I think it is.

Incidentally, I'm not really an economist. I'm, how would you say, a newspaper economist? I'm a lawyer and a political science undergraduate major, but because I've dealt a lot with the industrial scene I know at least some economics.

I think that's right. I think you could see changes in consumer habits, very substantial changes over those years, and one of the consumer items that people desired was education.

F--I, coming from Massachusetts--the private sector schools--where the private schools were strong enough to prevent the public schools from being meaningful at all in my time, always had great empathy about the price of tuition.

I can recollect going to a small community college and saying to a boy, "Is the tuition a heavy burden?" He said, "No, the tuition is less than my car insurance."

For the first time I was struck dramatically with how cheap, in fact, tuition is today. I think that had to be a deliberate public policy, too.

F1-Yes, I don't think there's any doubt about that.

That's a factor of some importance now, as you know. There's probably less support for the traditional low tuition policy than there's been in the past, maybe partly because economists in analyzing the problem--and with the increased affluence of the society--have tended to press harder the point of view that it is fair, given the lifetime earnings expectations of students, to impose a more significant share of the total cost on the student.

F--What do you think some of the policy objectives were in this expansion?

F1-I think, as is so often the case, that the policy objectives can be stated very broadly, but that they may not bear much relevance to what actually happened.

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That is: I believe most parents saw a college education as a route of upward social mobility and economic mobility for their children. They saw opportunities through education for them to change their life style, to get into white collar work, so to speak; to become doctors, lawyers, and so forth; to have an easier life than they had had in terms of work; to have more opportunity for travel and so forth.

I think that's what most parents saw and I think they analyzed it in quite simplistic terms, aided, I must say, by educators, in large part, who saw that the argument that it improves your lifetime earnings expectation was an appealing argument. Therefore, if you look back to those years, you'll remember how many times you heard the argument that if you go on to higher education it has a great payoff economically.

I believe that a great many parents were motivated by that without any very specific objective beyond that.

F--I tend to agree with you because in opening up a new world of the mind for the children, the children were leaving for a land that their folks had never lived in.

I'm the first member of my family to go to college. I read books and went to theater and cultural events that my folks had never imagined that they would consume, or had no desire to consume.

F1-But you know, you can draw an analogy right now that's sort of interesting.

I'm told by our dean of our liberal arts college that 50 percent of the incoming freshmen to this university are indicating a pre-med preference. Now that is a wholly unrealizable expectation. If that many of the incoming liberal arts students are really seriously thinking of a medical career, that is a wholly unrealizable ambition.

I'm frightened in part, but not as frightened as the figure would suggest. I believe there is a substantial part of that number which will find as it begins to take the preliminary pre-med work, that that's not really what they're interested in and will drift away from it for perfectly natural reasons.



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I do believe, however, that that will still leave a large number with hopes and expectations which cannot be fulfilled. And that troubles me greatly.

F--I'm troubled by that, and very much so.

I remember talking one time to one of the academic vice-presidents of one of Michigan's institutions. He said to me that one of the key differences in Michigan is that we have made a place for every student that we allowed into the freshman situation.

We gave people a chance to succeed. In many of the states that had the Ohio system of letting everybody come in and then flunk out, we've built in mid-America a tremendous sense of rejection, self-hatred, and antagonism and hostility to higher education.

The number of people who can come to medical schools is a very finite number. If we tell perfectly fine people that they are not adequate for medicine, what we're really saying is there aren't the number of places for them. I worry about the destruction of human value and of self-regard.

F1-Well, I do too. We know that in at least two fields now, law and medicine, there are nowhere near enough openings in this country, not just in the State of Michigan, but in this country to accommodate all of the good students, not poor students, all the good students who want to go into careers in those fields. That inevitably will build some frustrations.

F--I would suggest in my experience--only in one school--that in the final cut the half we turn away for that half we take are equally able and that the distinctions are minute.

I want to go on. We talked about the policy objectives, we've talked about the Horatio Alger dream, the higher aspiration dream, and part of the rhetoric.

I wondered too about the thought about delaying people's entry into the marketplace. That's a social investment.

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And I wonder about the desire for technology. Some have talked about the desire to expand Michigan as a resource to the state, the Russian technological lead at the time of Sputnik, and the fear in the post-Second World War period that the automobile industry may have reached the end of its tether and a one-industry state had best begin to broaden its base.

I wonder if you think some of those were agenda items?

F1-I think that for a long time economists who have looked at the economy of Michigan have felt that the economy of this state is too closely related to the automobile industry to be healthy on the long run. It's not just the primary manufacturers, it's the suppliers and so forth that are so closely tied to the auto industry. As far back as ten years ago or so when the Haber group wrote that book about the economy of Michigan,<sup>2</sup> one of the things they were pushing was a greater diversity in this state.

We've seen the impact of that lack of diversity just within this last year. When the oil boycott hit and ultimately was holding unemployment nationally around five percent, we were ten percent in the State of Michigan.

So I think we are vulnerable to the auto economy. I'm not as pessimistic as some people are that the auto industry is going to greatly decline. I think it's going to change. I'm not so sure that it's going to greatly decline. It may not grow in the way it has in the past, partly because if the population begins to level off, and you get more crowded highways and so forth, there is some point beyond which I'm not sure that it will grow a great deal. But I look for the auto industry to be a very healthy industry.

If you look at the question, "Should the institutions be oriented more towards the technology and needs of the state?" you can argue that both ways.

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<sup>2</sup>William Haber, W. Allen Spivey, and Martin R. Warshaw, eds., Michigan in the 1970's: An Economic Forecast, Michigan Business Studies, Vol. XVI (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1965).

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The trouble with orienting your program too closely to a given technology is that that changes--you get unforeseen swings. You get the sudden emphasis upon aerospace, for instance, and that goes madly ahead for a while but then it all of a sudden levels off. It's not easy to anticipate exactly what those developments are going to be.

Even totalitarian countries, like the Russians, where they try to allocate manpower scientifically and where they are able to do it with less regard for individual wishes than we are in our kind of society, I gather from reading about it that they don't solve their manpower problems that way. Nobody is wise enough, whether in a totalitarian or democratic society, to completely foresee what the manpower needs will be in various areas. Now you can try to allocate it as the Russians do and say we're going to produce so many engineers of such-and-such a type and that's what our economy will need, but you can't necessarily foresee it accurately enough to know that that's what you're going to do.

On the other hand, it is true, I believe, that if you look back historically to the development of the land grant institutions in this country they really were created to serve, as the language at that time said, the industrial arts and agriculture. And agriculture attained its great productivity in this country, to the point now where practically nobody farms anymore and still supports the food needs of the country.

F--They don't have to.

F1-But a lot of that development came as a result of both the scientific interest in universities and the engineering interests.

F--I talked to Governors Williams and Swainson and they had a lot to say about higher education as a mighty social investment, not an expenditure, and the value of placing public dollars, maybe not specifically for a solution or putting it hand-in-glove with one industry, but to generally prepare society more prudently.

Now I'm sensitive to what you say about "you can't predict the needs for certain industries." Who knows

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what kind of occupations you'll need 25 years from now? On the other hand, the caution of what happened in modern Egypt where they turned out a nation of lawyers who didn't want to work in a land that needed men to work, that's the other side of the coin.

But, I look at Michigan's sea grant programs. I look at Michigan's research in the automotive area. When the pollution problem came, the automobile industry was at step one and they had to come immediately to the institutions for step three and four. I look at the Phoenix project here, and also the investments in Willow Run, which became problems in the early part of your presidency, but it was still very forward-looking in terms of the sense of technology that the whole society is moving towards and will change geography and agriculture and the like.

I don't know that you could have made a judgment of their value as insturction. When you go to the Legislature it's always "What do you do for instruction?" I guess I have a sense here that there is societal investment although it's hidden in some way, perhaps to make it less a hostage of, I don't know how to put it delicately, less a hostage of the red-necks.

F1-You can take certain areas...you've picked one good one, water resources. It seems to me 100 percent predictable that the state and society will greatly benefit from an emphasis upon the studies of the various aspects of the water: the cleaning up of the lakes; the erosion of the shoreline as a result of the action of the waters; the whole question of the extent of food supplies one is going to want to rely on from sea products in the future; as a necessity for getting our sewage waste disposal and our industrial waste compatible with our water supplies, and so forth.

All of those things are clearly serious problems which relate to water resources, many of which call for scientific solutions and therefore towards which it is completely legitimate to marshall one's academic-scientific resources to help resolve. So, I think you have to say, yes, there are some areas.

Take the whole field of energy right now. Suppose that we want to place great emphasis, as we say we do, upon

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making ourselves independent of the Middle East in terms of oil. Then the potential for atomic energy becomes increasingly important--and the question then of waste and the question of breeder reaction and so forth--to us as a power resource in the days ahead.

So I don't have any doubts that a university is a place that needs to be sensitive to, and conscious of, the society needs and interrelate with them.

It's easier to see and more popular in the science areas, and so-called hard science areas, than it is in the social science areas or the humanities. But you can switch that around and say that's true if you are just concerned about immediate societal problems, many of which are amenable to hard science analysis. If you are concerned about life satisfaction or quality of life, then you have to be also looking increasingly at the role of education; not as a training device for people who want to go into a particular line of activity, but as a resource which makes life worth living for the person outside of those hours in which he's on an immediate job.

F--Well, let's talk very hard with each other. We talked earlier and you suggested, very obliquely that part of the growth came from the rhetoric of educators--and part of it in my opinion probably was specious--about the difference between a fourth grade education in monetary terms and a Ph.D.

The role and the influence of men like yourself, the 400 or 500 key educators in this nation, who have access to the media and the opinion makers of society, probably have to be placed in ways where it is less difficult to interpret. What I'm thinking of is the role of the institution not as a trainer of men but as a civilizing force. That probably can't come from the other sectors. It has to come from people like you.

I have the sense, you know, the questions are all related to a plan. I don't believe there is a plan. I can't find there's a plan where people use the California system and turn to page 9, paragraph 7. It looks to me that in Michigan it's been more of an artform where there was some general consensus about objectives, which you suggested, and then the style

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of their attainment came in a political way. Why an institution was here rather than there is a political and social accident, but as long as we fulfilled the overall purpose it didn't matter.

F1-I think you're right that education as a resource for self-fulfillment is going to be pointed out more by those of us in the world of education than it is by the public as such. Let me give you a couple of examples, however.

We have here a school of music, as you know. It has in it a great many students who aspire to professional music careers, some of them as performers, some of them as teachers, many of them will go out in the K-12 system as instructors, and so forth. As a part of that school of music we have a very good symphony orchestra.

It is also true, however, that we've got some absolutely first-rate musicians in the university among students who are not in the music school, who don't want to be in the music school in the sense of their career aspirations, but who immensely enjoy music.

One of the things we were discovering was that unless we do something about it there is no outlet. We knew, for instance, we could make up a second symphony of nonmusic students from talented young student musicians here in the university who are not in the school of music and who probably couldn't get in it, just in terms of numbers, but who didn't want to if they could. A lot of mathematicians, as you know, tend to be musical.

We decided that really one of the things that one ought to do in terms of self-fulfillment and the quality of one's life and so forth--because what they do as students is going to have some relevance to what they do later--was that we ought to have a second symphony. We would get a director from the music school, but a prerequisite for playing in that might be that you were not a student in music school.

We now in fact have a second symphony here. It is made up of 120 students or so who are not in the music school. They're not preparing for musical careers. I haven't heard them but I'm told by some of our music school people that it's a first-rate symphony even though it's made up of nonmusic students.

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Now I regard that as one of the responsibilities which those of us in the educational world have to give those students who do not want to focus on a musical career; the satisfaction, the experience, and the pleasure that music can bring to their lives. I believe that the balance of their careers, which will probably not be in music, will nevertheless be greatly enhanced if they can use that experience to find as an avocation and a pleasure in their lives, let's say music. I believe that is a perfectly legitimate objective.

F--I'm 100 percent in sympathy with what you say, but I'm very much discomforted by the fact that when I look over the previous historical period it was easy for people to look in 1958, and even in 1950, at the number of kids that were in the pipe--the kids were there in the 6th and 5th and 4th grades of the state.

Now as people look at the long road ahead of declining births, the previous position of institutions of higher education as just trainers of post-puberty youth... It seems to me that now's the time for institutions of higher education to address themselves to the quality-of-life question: mid-career retraining and avocational interests perhaps completely outside the structure of credit.

The value of a man for his soul, as you point out in music, is vital indeed for all of us. And yet I don't see that leadership beginning and I'm troubled by that.

F1-Well, it may be more there than you realize. Let me just give you a series of examples from around here.

There's the symphony example which I just gave you.

In deciding to separate art and architecture as we did just a week ago, that was only partly a decision that those two were really incompatible in a single school and had in fact been operating pretty much independently. It was in part a decision that if we separated the art school, and you will indeed find this in the general action, we wanted the art school to devote its major growth potential--which it has in the new building which will be ready for occupancy in the fall--to the training of nonmajors in art.

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We did that with the full approval of the art faculty and we did it for exactly the same reason that we created the second symphony. There are a lot of students who are not majors in art who nevertheless have a desire for their own self-satisfaction to take courses in art even though they have no illusions of becoming a great artist. They look upon this as simply a life satisfaction, so to speak.

We had also observed as we listened to students that there are a lot of students, as there always has been, who felt when they got all through with the liberal arts program that they didn't have anything "practical" that they could apply. We also knew, however, that we had among liberal arts students a lot of students who enjoyed things like crafts, pottery, woodwork, and sculpture welding. This is not a high-level interest in the sense of wanting to concentrate in that, it was a satisfaction kind of interest.

We said a great part of that is probably not something we ought to be engaged in; for instance, carpentry, cabinet-making, and so forth. But here we sit in the same town as Washtenaw Community College that is able to put on those things--probably do it better than we'd do it as a matter of fact. And here we sit with a bus system which connects our north campus and our main campus.

[The question was] why don't we work out a system with Washtenaw Community College in which we say to students here on the campus, "We'll make available our bus system free in the evenings, or Saturday mornings, to transport those of you who would be interested in going over to Washtenaw Community College to take a course in woodworking or pottery or something like this, but not in the direction of counting it immediately toward your degree."

We're open to consider that but we knew that would be a long drawn-out process of fighting it through. We wanted to get something going and we wanted to see how much interest there was.

[It was explained that]"We will make this bus system available. We'll try to facilitate all the administrative arrangements. You'll have to pay a fee over there



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for that course, but it's not a prohibitive fee by any means. You decide whether you'd like to take some of those things. You can take a whole variety of things, of course. You can take machine operation if you want to so you'll know something about that. You can take computer programming at the general level if you want to. Anything of that kind that you're interested in."

We don't know how well that's going to work out yet because we just started it. We think it will probably get its major test this fall.

Those are at least three areas in which we're increasingly saying that we ought to be interested in seeing that the students get some real satisfaction out of some of these things that are potentials for them, quite apart from their education.

F--Well, I'm very encouraged by that because I've always believed that in the end you have to define education in a much broader terminology. I think the public has to be won to it.

I guess what I was suggesting earlier is that I believe that much of the impetus for the growth of higher education in this state came from the leadership and rhetoric and skill and the love that the people had for their educational leaders.

There's been a lot of self-serving weeping about the difficulties of being a higher education administrator. I guess I can't find any institution in society that has more respect, regard, and credit across the length and breadth of the land, and more hope ascribed to it.

Now I know that may sound a trifle Pollyannaish when you've been besieged in this building, but generally I think the respect and love the people have for higher education is just an overwhelming resource for us to do a better job at it.

F1-I think there's a great deal of truth in what you say. I know I'm always struck, as I go round the state, by the respect which is held for the president of the University of Michigan.

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I think an individual can affect that some one way or the other, but it's not something that attaches just to an individual. It really attaches to the office.

F--Well, it's 150 years or so of contribution.

Bob, what were the partisan issues and parochial conflicts that occurred, in your opinion, in the attempts to create the above policy objectives?

I'm digging into things like the destruction of class and culture barriers, elitism versus popularism, and the like.

F1-The egalitarian approach versus the elitism approach has been there for a long time. In a sense it runs more sharply all the time, although it's very interesting to see.

Take something like our law school or our medical school, where we get so far more applications than we can possibly take. I have sometimes suggested to our people that in my view, grades and test scores above a certain level--which I haven't troubled to identify but which I think we could identify as suggesting genuine competence--are not meaningful.

Just take it on the grade side for a minute. I've always said to students, and I've said this many times in public speeches: "Don't spend all your time on the books. Books are only a part of your education and if in order to get very high grades you're spending all of your time with your books and getting nothing else, that's a mistake. I don't think you're going to emerge as a well-rounded individual."

So you apply to school. What happens is that with the exception of our programs in which we're trying to help the disadvantaged and so forth, that is pretty much a straight-out competition based upon grades and test scores. Now if I'm right that those are not meaningful above a certain level, then we ought to be searching for some better way to do it.

But it's at that point that a very interesting thing happens and that comes back to your original question. I have found that if we suggest that perhaps the thing

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to do above a certain level is to throw all the names in a hat and then, for instance, do something like a lottery in picking our people, that immediately gets vigorous opposition. And far more vigorous opposition than our system at present does which is allegedly based on objective criteria which show grades and test scores.

People seem to be much more upset by the idea that their son or daughter might or might not go to medical school or law school by the luck of a draw than they do if you say we're going to put it right on those test scores and grades.

F--I've learned a lot since you first knew me about some of the more practical human problems because of the terrible cruelty of watching a medical school apparatus. We weigh our applications about 50 percent for social criteria and intellectual growth beyond the grades because it's hard to make a determination of a person's grade level at 3.5 versus 3.6. But it (is explained by) the Horatio Alger dream, I think. The Horatio Alger dream believes that merit will succeed and the lottery goes against that.

Let me be more direct. Much of the talk in the history of Michigan's education is the conflict between Michigan State and Michigan: popularism versus elitism. People are very much of mixed minds about it. It was popular, it was show, it got the front page. The conflict of personalities is always easier to watch than the conflict of issues. And people were very dedicated, too, to the second chance.

I find it hard, really, to make a case, in spite of the record of excellence of the University of Michigan for generations, that this is truly an elite place. It's hard for me to comprehend how you can deal with an elite that's 40,000 wide. It seems to be really a mass-education program.

And also when one investigates something like the medical school grades--the easiest way to accept a class and not go through the agony is just take all the 4.0's--and find out that the average grade-point at Michigan for medical school is about 3.3 because other factors come to the fore. I'm not sure that we've really dealt with the kind of dichotomy that exists, that people talk about.

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I know that quality is important to you and I know it is important to your faculty and to your Regents and to the public, but I just don't have the sense that that's real. Not that the quality isn't real, but that you cast all your cards on the side of elitism and turned your back on places like Livonia and Big Rapids. It just doesn't look that way. There are 40,000 humans here, or probably more like 65,000 people and 40,000 FTE's.

F1-I think you're right. I would argue the same way.

So much of it though depends upon how you define elite. Let me give you an example.

I grew up in a little town in northern Illinois. I was a depression youngster. My father was very ill early in my life and died when I was about a sophomore in high school. My mother was left with two boys. As I look back and try to figure out what we lived on during that period, I really don't know to this day. I doubt if we had an annual income in cash of \$500.

Yet, the interesting thing to me as I look back is that we never thought of ourselves as poor. I remember we thought there were some poor people in town but we never thought of ourselves as poor.

Now, why? Well, I suppose as I look back we had a number of family around there. They were always people with books. We liked books, all of us liked to read, it didn't cost anything to read.

A small town life was a comfortable life. You could grow a garden and in your garden you could have a lot of the things you ate. We didn't eat steaks every week, and so forth.

The point I'm getting at is that there are enormous numbers of us of my age in these universities who were products of what I suppose would be called, if not poor, at least families of very modest financial means. When I went to college I knew that I couldn't go unless I worked. My mother had a little money from my father's insurance to help me get started the first year, but I knew that after that I would have to largely earn my way.

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I'm not unique in any sense. There were large numbers of [such] people. Now they are people who are often, because of the passage of years, in positions of authority in these educational institutions. The notion that we have completely forgotten our own origins and therefore bid only for an elite, so to speak, I think ignores the fact that such large numbers of us remember with enormous thankfulness the opportunity which those of us who didn't have any money had to go on to institutions and to go through them.

The point I'm really getting at is the question that you hear so much about today, about what really constitutes an elite. I didn't have any financial resources, my family didn't have any financial resources, but we always had lots of books around our house. My family always encouraged us to read. They saw that we got interested in cultural things and so forth. That was not, as they saw it, a function of money.

Now, the other part of that argument, today, in some of the studies like the Coleman study and so forth, tends to show this: There is an enormous amount in the motivational climate which the family provides for an education. I think that is a very key problem today.

There are large numbers of students today, like I was in my day, who don't have a lot of money. We've got a lot of them around here. We've got hundreds of students here who work very heavily to support themselves. They're not elite in the financial sense. They are, large numbers of them, products of families which encouraged a learning atmosphere.

And that, I think, tends to be the breaking point today between what's called elite and what isn't. We aren't spending enough of our time and resource, the argument goes, on that segment of society which didn't come out of that milieu.

F--Ok, I'm very struck by what you say because much of what you say about yourself is true for me and I sometimes am struck by wonder. I was a poor boy that didn't know it because everybody else was poor.

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F1-That's right, sure.

F--But I am sometimes struck by wonder that I know the governor, that I know the president of a great university, that I'm the first member of my family to go to college.

I imagine sometimes when you meet the president of a great institution or a great societal institution, or the president of the United States, northern Illinois comes back to you.

F1-Sure.

F--As you talked I thought that maybe we've dealt with the definition of elite in the wrong way. What we have in America, I think, is an elite of merit and an open elite.

I think back to England before the red brick institution. I think about France and Spain where these elites were closed, and self-perpetuating, and hereditary. That's a political and social problem of entirely a different nature than what we're dealing with.

I guess that I couldn't say, as you describe yourself, that you were a man that was born to the purple. And many of the colleagues, like Fidele [Fauri]--there's a man whom I've talked to and had great empathy for--who grew up in a small town in the Upper Peninsula. And Art Ross<sup>3</sup> was of a similar...

F1-Alan Smith grew up in Kearney, Nebraska, and went to a teacher's college as his first education.

F--Perhaps the definition of the question of elite versus popular really was different ways to create the same avenues because Michigan State has many members of the elite now, too, but they are men who worked their way in.

We have a ladder, though, in this state, don't we?

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<sup>3</sup> Arthur Ross; Vice President for State Relations and Planning, University of Michigan.

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F1-We have a ladder and I think the real question you get these days is whether that ladder is really open to all elements of society. More specifically, is it open to minority groups in the same way that it was to those of us who came out of the majority?

F--And what we're really doing with the Blacks, and the Chicanos, and the women, in a sense, is creating for them the opportunity to join that.

F1-That's what you ought to be creating and that's what we'd like to be creating. Part of the argument is, are we doing it as much as we should?

F--I don't know. I'm troubled by that, too, because we have to go through a generation of agony before those questions will be easy to answer.

But there are a lot of Blacks in Michigan public institutions in a way that they weren't in 1964, just ten years ago. It may be that we're not doing enough, but in terms of creating a homogeneous and extensive meritocracy, if I can use that term, I think we're on the way.

F1-Yes, yes.

F--The reason I'm troubled by that is that a lot of these factors are there. Politicians talk very directly about their sense of creating that access. I'm struck by the fact that the factory system created prosperity but it didn't create satisfaction.

F1-It's interesting how you can get acceptance. I was troubled recently when a son or daughter of a family that have been very major private givers to this university applied for one of our professional schools and was going to be turned down. Not because of a lack of capability because in fact the student could be identified as a pretty good one, but not good enough in the straight-out competition to be given entry. We did in fact deny admission.

I wrote to the family myself because of this particular situation and said that this was a very hard thing for us to do. They had been very generous to the university over a long period of time, but the fact was that we

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could not give that admission without violating in effect the rights of other students who had applied for admission and had somewhat better records.

I wasn't altogether sanguine about what kind of reply I'd get to that--and one doesn't always get the same kind of reply. I was enormously pleased about ten days later to get back a reply from the mother of this prospective student saying, in effect, "Thank you very much for your letter. I'm sorry our son cannot enter, but I understand this. I believe you've been fair about it and we thank you for your early reply to our inquiry."

Now, that's pretty gracious acceptance. I'd be the first to say that we wouldn't always get that, but I think the fact that we can get it at all...

F--I think that comes back to my earlier remark to you about the love and respect the institutions have beyond a parochial interest.

F1-I think that's right.

F--What about the vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education? Do you think they were important in the dialogue over its growth?

F1-Well, yes, but I think you have to be careful of how you define vocational. If here at this university you use the word vocational, you find that the academic community tends to think of that as courses in welding, auto mechanics, carpentry, and so forth. They would say, no, that really wasn't a part of the growth or interest in the institution. There is sometimes a fine line between what is vocational and what is professional.

If you use the word professional, however, then you're thinking of it in terms of the training of lawyers, engineers, nurses, pharmacists, and so forth. Those are all legitimate, "professional" objectives that I think did generate a lot of the support that comes to the institution.



Fleming

F--It's hard to write this and handle that question because what you cross is not vocational and occupational, you cross the status line.

F1-That's right. There are no longer any janitors, there are only building engineers. There are very interesting studies, as I am sure you know, that have been done on the use of titles. That's part of what you're talking about.

F--Yes, and I guess that's where higher education gets caught in that problem. But I'm not at all adverse to men having a greater sense of their own value.

That's why I'm sure that many of the thousands of degrees that have been granted by Michigan institutions, and institutions all over the nation, have given men the sense that they are worth more than they thought they were. Actualizing human potential is itself the value for the degree beyond any other. The fact that in thousands of homes your signature is plastered up on the wall, I think, may be one of the social energies that makes our society more productive, more useful.

Did the growth of culture and the arts have importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

I have the sense that where I come from, in the East, cultural institutions stood on their own, they had a public of their own and could be funded. Things like the Museum of Fine Arts, the symphony, the Atheneum in Boston.

I came here and didn't have that same sense and found that culture was, in my opinion, on a narrow and lean base and frequently was husbanded by institutions. Where it existed, it had the protection of institutions. For instance, in Lansing you bring in the Grand Ole Opry and you'll fill the local auditorium past the point of belief, whereas to bring in chamber music, you may have 35 people.

I wondered if you had the sense that public policy people had the hope that the institutions could nurture this?

Fleming

F1-I think they do have that hope, and I think to an extent they've been successful. I think your analysis of culture is right.

I think that by and large people throughout the Middle West did not see the university as the place where you went for an education largely in the arts. You might go there for music for the very practical reason of being trained to be a music teacher in a K-12 system somewhere. I don't think people saw this as a great energizing influence which was going to lift the cultural level of people.

On the other hand, I think internally, within universities, it has been seen in that way by large numbers. I suppose this university is a particularly good example of that given the long history, for instance, of the Musical Society in bringing in here for 100 years some of the best of the cultural events in the musical and the theatrical fields. It has made this immediate area, at least, considerably more conscious of the factor than it would otherwise have been.

F--Well, let me extend what I'm saying.

In Massachusetts I see a great public support for cultural institutions on their own. In a place like Boston University there is no real support for culture except intrinsic to the institution's need.

I haven't felt in the Legislature a great support or pressure on you to (nurture culture). It had to come out of "skimming the pot." But at the same time I take a look at Michigan and the Musical Society and the impact on the culture of the people of this state from Michigan, and then take a look at a place like Harvard. I would say that the impact of Michigan on the society of this state is maybe 20 times the impact culturally of Harvard on the society of Massachusetts.

F1-I think that may be so, at least I've heard other people from that part of the country who know it better than I do say the same thing.

A year ago we had a visiting faculty member from Harvard who said that he found the musical life of this community much richer than the life in Cambridge at the same time.

Fleming

F--Have you any observations on the position of labor in regard to higher education?

F1-Well, principally the one I made earlier. I do believe that laboring people, and laboring people as represented by unions, have seen the universities as a ladder for upward social mobility into the white collar fields, into the professions and so forth, and that they have strongly supported that.

You point out you were first of your family to have gone through college. It's still interesting at commencement how many times you will still see a family where this is the first time anybody in the family has gone on.

A while ago I was in a taxicab and the driver was all excited because his daughter was graduating from nursing school at a university and his son was graduating from law school. He just thought that was the greatest thing that ever happened to the family--to think that these two children of his were coming out of universities with degrees. He was just bursting with pride.

F--It makes your heart full, doesn't it?

F1-Yes, it does.

F--What I was thinking about is this: If you take the Marxist model of society they have the idea that the divisions are much couched in terms of conflict. Some of the labor orientation in Michigan history in the thirties was much that way.

And yet I'm struck by the fact that labor has supported institutions across the whole spectrum and that while Michigan State accrued labor support, Michigan did, the community colleges did, and the blue collar colleges like Eastern did. It seems to have come across the whole spectrum. You can call on labor support but they don't feel in any way traitorous to give it to other institutions, from Wayne County Community College to Black Lake--the Walter Reuther place. That strikes me as an unusual kind of asset for an institution.

Fleming

F1-I think that's right, although I think that you find this true in a lot of other states. You find that in Wisconsin, by and large, labor was supportive of higher education. They've seen it as an upward channel of mobility.

F--We didn't get to this question and I'm hoping to be able to address it some.

I'm struck that certain of the states have certain kinds of peculiarities about them. I'm always struck by the fact that Wisconsin and Michigan are much alike. I don't think that moving from Madison to Ann Arbor was really as much a cultural change as if you'd moved to Columbus. I've always been struck by the fact that Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois have been different from Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. I think those three northern states are much alike in the way their attitudes have been.

I don't know why, except that Ira Polley suggested that Michigan's migration came from the northern New England states--where there had been a tradition--through the Erie Canal and the other states got settled through the south and Pennsylvania.

I don't know how perceptive that is but there has to be something. For instance, the tradition of public service here and in Wisconsin and Minnesota is an honorable profession with really a minimum of corruption. When people talk about lobbying I'm always struck by the fact that for all of the rhetoric this is essentially a clean state.

I'm personally overjoyed about that, but I wonder why it happened. I don't know the answer.

F1-I don't either. I think there's a lot of truth in your observations. I think those three upper-tier northern states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan have had that tradition.

I suppose it may have something to do with the fact that the agricultural interests in states like Indiana, Illinois, Iowa--I'm not so sure this would apply in Ohio--have been heavily oriented towards universities, but [especially towards] the schools

Fleming

of agriculture, which they perceive as something different from the whole university because they've seen its immediate practical tie-in to the farm world. And in a sense they've seen themselves as more directly related to the control of it because they've always had the county agents sitting right there, working with them all the time and representing them.

Maybe their northern location, and the fact that they were not as rich an agricultural area as a state like Illinois, made a significant difference.

F--You may have got a different kind of people because the road west didn't come through any of the northern states.

What about the role of industry in regard to higher education?

F1-Well, I think industry has by and large supported higher education.

I think it's supported it for somewhat different reasons. Whereas labor people supported it because they saw it as a road for upward mobility for their students, industry people tended to support it more for the very practical reason of supply of trained manpower.

They have been very interested in engineering schools, in what they could provide in business schools, for what they could provide in the general education of liberal arts students, who would, they felt, perhaps have larger perspective on the problems of their industry than one would have otherwise.

F--The Gaber study refers to the trained manpower pool of this state as a definitive asset for the location of industry in the state.

I wonder, because of politics, when I look at the Blue Ribbon Commission and some of those early planning studies if I could make a distinction between industry and commerce. I think about the role of Seidman and Heavenrich. I'm not sure about that and I wonder if you have seen a difference?

Fleming

F1-Well, there is a difference between the industry people and the commerce people. I think, by and large, one can fairly quickly and readily identify, if you listen to them talk, for instance, which is which.

The commerce people have less interest, I found, in the engineering schools as such. They don't see their need being as great there. They are often more closely tied to the business schools and not as closely tied to engineering. They see themselves, in a sense, as related to liberal arts schools because that's where a great many people in commerce have come from.

F--I guess I've seen them in one additional way. I felt labor to be statewide, industry to be discipline-wide, and commerce to have a local orientation. Maybe because of the nature of their business, commerce in general occurred in one region or another and there hasn't been these monolithic commercial institutions throughout most of our history. But that's certainly changing now.

I look to the support of Dearborn and Flint, for instance, as having a strong commercial orientation that wasn't transferable, say, to Saginaw or Grand Rapids, or vice versa.

F1-I think that might be right.

F--What about the role of agriculture? Aside from their support of the co-op extension, the ag research station, and the college of agriculture--which interestingly enough only occurred here in one institution rather than the Illinois model where it was spread across many institutions. Did you feel the strength of agriculture for higher education?

F1-We don't see evidence of it nearly as much at this particular institution, simply, I think, because we don't have a school of agriculture. We don't have, therefore, nearly as much contact into the agricultural community.

When I go out and meet with alumni round the state or the country, I would say far fewer of them are identified with agriculture than when I was at

Fleming

Wisconsin or certainly at Michigan State. I believe that it's true that agriculture has been favorable to higher education for much the same reasons that labor has.

F--Now that's a perceptive point. Neil Staebler said it was easy to identify the common interest of the blue collar worker and the farmer--their conditions of deprivation were similar. I hadn't thought of that until I'd heard it, but it made good sense.

F1-Yes, I think that's right. Although we don't see much of agricultural interests here, I have never sensed nor seen any overt indication of hostility on their part towards this university.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government?

What I guess I'm asking is this: In my experience the federal contributions for social welfare have been accompanied by constraints and requirements that have much conditioned the way it acts in response to the public. I don't have the sense that federal requirements for education have been anywhere near as burdensome or difficult.

I'm curious about that because when I talked to Dave Ponitz yesterday he made the point about the requirements over women changing institutional requirements, not towards the legislators but towards the bureaucratic arms of government.

F1-I think that for a long time, up till very recent years, the federal government's impact upon education tended to be limited by the incentives and disincentives which came through the application of money. They had a capacity through the availability of money to attract faculty people into new fields, and students. And by withdrawal of money in a given area a capacity to cause that field to go down.

F--I think here about public health as a perfect example.

F1-Or aerospace versus, let's say, environmental factors.

Fleming

By their expression of interest, accompanied by dollars, they have a capacity to affect the way university people behave. The second thing they have done through the use of money is that they have created an entrepreneurship attitude in universities which in some ways eroded the loyalty of faculty members to their institutions. They saw their support as available through these funds and not really through the university.

F--That's a good point. When a man would leave an institution he would take his research too. They would frequently recruit him for the dollars he had rather than...

F1-Or simply that the man does not see himself as basically supported by the university. He sees himself as being able to pick up and go somewhere else.

A few years ago, when we lost our key physiological psychologist, he took with him four or five staff members and all of their grants. The whole shebang just moved out at once. So it's had that effect.

Recently, however, it's had a much more direct effect and it's very hard to see how this one's going to come out--and it's a very troublesome one. There is a much greater direct impact now in terms of the affirmative action programs in which they say, "These are the rules with respect to how you hire, the kinds of records you must keep."

We're spending, as is every major university in this country, large amounts of money for pure record-keeping purposes. It is said, for instance, and I've heard this from California people, that it's going to cost Berkeley \$300,000 just to compile the statistical data to comply with that latest HEW order.

Now, another thing, take an area like OSHA--Occupational Safety and Health Act. Through its requirements it is going to have an enormous impact upon universities.

F--I hadn't thought about this. You're on the board of a private college. Is it Knox?

F1-Beloit.



Fleming

F--I noticed that the NLRB says that they have the capacity to regulate private schools in terms of labor. Obviously we're entering a period where we don't know what the answers will be.

What about the private sector? In other states there's been a good deal more unseemliness and fighting pro and con. I haven't noticed that here. There's been statesmanship.

F1-I'm not sure there's as much statesmanship as there is lack of competition. You don't have in this state a Northwestern or Chicago as you do in Illinois. You don't have a MIT, or Stanford as you do in California. You don't have an Ivy League school. The biggest university we have in this state would be the Jesuit university, the U of Detroit. A good school, but not a school in the same category with Chicago, Stanford, or Northwestern and so forth.

So although there is an impact upon the private schools, it's not the same impact that it has on us--if you're talking about the small private schools.

Now it is true, however, that it is increasingly difficult to tell the difference between a private and public university. A school like Harvard will have more public money invested in it than most public universities in this country. A school like MIT, Cal Tech, Stanford, Chicago, and Northwestern will have very large amounts of public money invested in it.

F--So your point is that we can't really assess the competition between the public and the private in this state because we never had a major institution of the first rank, that had a wide public support, such as Stanford or Chicago.

F1-Right.

F--What in your opinion was the reason for the failure of the branch campus system that had begun to be developed in Michigan with Oakland, Flint, and Dearborn?

F1-Well, that's not a question that I'm a very qualified person to answer. By the time I came on the scene it was pretty much over and the only ones left were our own two.

Fleming

I think what's perfectly clear about them is that there is great local political pressure from the people, the faculty, plus the students in Flint and Dearborn to remain a part of the University of Michigan. I think that's what keeps them there, basically.

F--I guess when I said failure... I worried about your looking at that question. In Wisconsin you ended up with the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and so forth. I guess when I say failure, I mean I don't believe the time will ever come again that we'll have branch campuses of the University of Michigan at Port Huron or at other additional cities.

F1-I think that's right. I don't believe that will happen.

F--The concept of the branch system as part of a satellite farm system I think is gone. The same with local political energies that want the prestige of Michigan to husband their campus. It may sometime come when nationalism and political climates could be different and they may strike off on their own.

F1-Yes, and we have, in fact, made deliberate efforts now to operate them as independently as we can.

F--I was going to ask that. It's my observation that in your presidency you have taken direct efforts to make these schools more autonomous, more capable of their own management, and delegated many decisions to them that formerly stayed here in Ann Arbor.

F1-Yes, we've done that deliberately in order to make them as autonomous as possible. Therefore, if there ever comes a time when public policy directs that they be spun off, they could become independent quite easily.

F--Whereas when you came, the Michigan State capacity to do that with Oakland, which occurred right in your first year, was not a viable choice for you.

F1-That's right.

F--That could be so five years hence.

Fleming

F1-It wasn't viable in terms of either administration or politics. I would say it is viable now in terms of the administration. It is not viable in terms of politics. You'd see an enormous uproar from those localities.

F--I guess that the political climate is one that the institution, unless it has a deliberate policy, has to respond to rather than create. It looks to me that State might have been willing to keep Oakland if the climate hadn't been different. They had the managerial skill to go their own way.

F1-Yes, they wanted to do it and there was not the local political pressure, as I watched it at least, to keep it a part of Michigan State.

Any time you ever have any doubts about it and you want to take a little local test in one of these places, you'll discover that there's just enormous political pressure to keep those...

F--I guess I can't tell you I know Dearborn well because it was not the focus of acute legislative attention, but Flint was more direct in my attention.

Do you have some observations why an institutional system for the coordination of higher education did not come about after 1964?

F1-Well, I think it got less of an early start here than it did in some states. It has had the very vigorous opposition of the major universities. I think they do have a good deal of political clout in this state when they put it together.

I think that the initial Board of Education under the Constitution made a serious tactical mistake. There was that ambiguous language in the Constitution...

F--Deliberately put there.

F1-Deliberately put there, but ambiguous.

Now it seems to me in retrospect that what the State Board should have done was not to ever let itself take the universities on headlong. They should have tried to demonstrate to the universities what a

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substantial assistance they could be and built their cooperative strength. Now had they done that, it might over a period of time have evolved into a system. I think, because they chose to take on the universities and it became a show of political strength, that they never got any support again.

F--There's two other points. One is that there's a mighty fine line between control and coordination and they were leaning into the control rather than the coordination.

And in 1964 there were no Republicans on the Board. This state, no matter what you say, has a significant body of Republicans. If they had been on the Board, it might have been different.

Who were the major figures that you look at?

F1-You mean in terms of education in this state?

F--Yes. Who were the significant opinion leaders in higher education in Michigan? Who built the system on quite a good deal of subtlety and, in my opinion, created an enterprise which stayed healthy when other states did not?

F1-Well, I think that whoever is the president of the University of Michigan will always be an important figure in education in this state just because the University of Michigan is the University of Michigan.

F--I think the same is probably true of State.

F1-I think that is true. I think John Hannah, for instance, whatever one may argue about him--I came late in his career and John was always very kind to me personally and I have only affection for him in every respect--John was a very major figure in this state.

F--I have not talked to John yet but I suspect if you talked to him, he'd tell you, "Man, I loved and admired Michigan and I wished for that too."

F1-It may be. I think Cliff Wharton is a major figure in this state. I think that the president of Wayne

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is constrained by two things: One, its earlier history as a private institution gave it less roots for the public argument; and two, in recent years the terrible handicaps that it has by the nature of the community problem.

The state college presidents have significant influence, but more, as I watch it, as a group than as individuals.

F--Although I think you can identify a man who had earlier ties. I think about Jim Miller of Western Michigan University because of his ties as a comptroller. The community college people I find hard to identify in individual cases but their strong regional and local...

F1-Yes, yes they are. If you look ahead the community colleges as a political factor are going to be a very strong influence in this state.

F--Thank you, President Fleming.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
FRANK BEADLE<sup>1</sup>

F--Senator, what in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

In '58 the appropriations for higher education were about \$80 million and in 1970 they were something like \$250 million.

B--I don't know whether I can put my finger on it or not. Part of it, I think, was a feeling on the part of more parents that they wanted their kids to have a higher education. The Legislature decided we'd better provide it for them.

Of course, there was some reaction, from the engineering standpoint, from Russia sending Sputnik up. I don't remember whether that was '58 or later.

F--That's about the time of the Russian success in outer space.

B--I think that had a lot to do with the development of interest, not only in engineering but in all phases of education.

F--The Legislature in this time was more conservative than it is now. One thinks about the great difficulties that Governor Romney had in attempting to get taxes through, and the like.

Why were they willing to spend that money? It doesn't appear that they begrudged spending the money for that public purpose.

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<sup>1</sup>Frank D. Beadle; Republican, from St. Clair; State Senator, 1950-1968; Chairman, State Senate Appropriations Committee. Interview conducted June 13, 1974.

Beadle

B--Well, I think they figured there was a responsibility there to take care of these kids who did want higher education. That was my feeling, at least. There was a responsibility there we had to recognize.

F--Republicans could get Democratic votes for this. It didn't seem to be political about where the districts were or where the schools were located.

You think it was because of the fact that people across the whole state wanted their children to have a higher education?

B--I think probably that was the important factor. I don't think that the location of the school had too much to do with it, although in some cases there was some provincialism involved.

F--Senator, what were some of the social and economic factors that led to this significant growth?

I know that people were concerned about the automotive industry not being the industry to put your whole state's eggs in, so to speak. People were concerned about training people so that different kinds of industries could come about. The Legislature put money into research at Michigan to hopefully get some of the benefits for [the attraction of] new industry there.

B--Well, there was some consideration in that direction. There was some consideration in the direction of education for the social fields because of the increased demand in that area: trying to provide education for some of these folks so they wouldn't be on welfare.

F--That's what I was curious about. It strikes me that you've got only limited choices when you're making public policy. Either you keep the people in the social welfare system, which to my mind is a sort of prison system because they really can't get out, or you put money in to help them get out by education. By putting money into school aid, community colleges, vocational training, and the like, the people in Detroit and other areas--even the Upper Peninsula where the coal mining and the logging had left--have a chance.

Beadle

Do you think that was a clear-cut idea?

B--I don't think it was clear-cut, Jerry, but I think it was in the minds of some of us, at least.

I think that was part of the background for the amazing development of the community colleges: to bring education closer to these kids so that they could at least get a start and determine where they wanted to go after their first two years.

F--That's a good point you raise. In the time you served we built a state community college system--without master planning, without a lot of fancy talk--from just about nothing to a system that will, in a few years, take 57 percent of all the kids.

B--Unfortunately, when you say without planning, that's true. I think there were some community colleges established that shouldn't have been, but I suspect that's a mistake that you make in any area.

F--I know. Everybody points to places like Kirtland at Roscommon where there were no kids.

B--And no tax base.

F--And no tax base.

But even these marginal schools don't really end up costing a lot of money. I mean, in terms of the billions of dollars in the state treasury, Kirtland can cost \$200,000 a year. It's not an outrageous amount of money and maybe it could be the base of developing a future industry.

Although we didn't put one in Detroit where the people were.

B--That's their own fault. There was a definite understanding when the state took over Wayne University that Detroit would establish their own community college. They haven't done it.

F--They haven't done that to this day. The school was established by the state and they're the only ones that don't have a legally voted millage; it's a mandated millage by state statute.



Beadle

They never have done a local act to this day. I guess I'd say that.

B--That's something that's always irked me a little bit. I was in on the deal when we took over Wayne and that was definitely part of the deal.

F--Nobody seemed to remember that. Gar was not very [vocal] about it, but it was my understanding that as one of the conditions for the state taking over Wayne they were supposed to carry the burden for vocational and technical and community college education.

B--That's right.

F--They specifically agreed to that and then nothing ever happened.

B--Of course that's not unusual.

I always kidded Arnell Engstrom. I remember Arnell coming before our committee and saying, "Well, give us this money this time and we'll never be back again asking for any money for a community college." But it wasn't very long before he was.

F--Every year is a year forever, isn't it?

B--Yes.

F--When I talk about community colleges I think, well, the intention was to create schools where poor boys could go and wouldn't have the burden of living off-campus. The children of working-class people, who had never gone to college, would go to give them the first two years and some would go on to transfer to Michigan's baccalaureate institutions.

It was also my impression that people had the hope that they would also train people for trades.

B--I think that was a feeling of a lot of us: that community colleges should get more into the technical end of it than they were. Their argument always was that the equipment cost too much money.

Beadle

F--They don't seem to be doing it still today.

I think it may look different here in Port Huron because the community college here did go and build a technical building that was pretty sophisticated. But out of the thirty-odd community colleges, most have really not made much of an investment in that kind of a program.

B--I think that's true.

F--Do you have here an intermediate district vocational...

B--Yes.

F--As I recollect from the legislative sentiment, it used to be that intermediate districts were going to be non-operating districts--administrative groups. Gradually they're getting into a lot of education, obviously to pick up pieces.

B--Yes. I think that's true.

I'm not exactly sure how it does operate here. Of course, they have an interschool set-up down here, too. St. Clair, Marine City, and Algonac have developed certain technical programs which they operate among themselves with the members of the faculty who handle it.

F--So the policy objectives, Senator, were to broaden the base of technical education, make the first two years of schooling available to a lot of people who wouldn't have to go to major campuses, to try to do something so people wouldn't have the historical choice of only being on welfare or not using their potential.

I think that means, obviously, trying to reach minority populations and deprived white populations. Indians didn't seem to come much into this at all.

B--Not at that time. I think they're coming more into it now.

F--I have been told by some, like Jim Farnsworth, that there was an intention to limit the size of the schools so that they wouldn't get big like California.

Beadle

The legislators and other thoughtful people were concerned that the schools would become too big, hard to manage. You were on the capital committee...

B--That was true, to a degree, I think. There was some concern about the schools getting too big. I'm not sure how effective the controls were, and I don't know how effective the thinking is, but I think it did result in more schools. The fact that we put a limit on Central and Eastern, for instance, resulted in more thinking toward developing places like Grand Valley and Saginaw...

F--Well, Frank, that's what I'm talking about. We're taking a look at 1958. You take Grand Valley and you build it from scratch. It's the first time you really put a school in the southwest part of the state. You went for Saginaw, through all of the trouble you have there. You encourage the growth of Dearborn, encourage the growth of Flint, and encourage the growth of Oakland.

You rebuild Ferris from virtually the ground up. Because of the fire the place was just really nothing. Although part of that may not have happened without Vic Spathelf because he was a heck of a builder.

B--There's only one Vic Spathelf.

F--You took Tech, where, when I first saw it, you could still see the remains of the school that had been built in 1920; you took Ed Harden's place at Northern, which had 700 [students], and you built it up to 7,000; you built Lake Superior, which was the old Fort Brady that you got for a dollar; and you put a ton of money into Wayne. If you go down to Detroit today and take a look at Wayne, it's hard to believe the changes just in the last six years.

And then you built some 12 or 13 community colleges. Certainly some may have been in the wrong place, but many were in the right place. Any time you have a public policy that succeeds 85 percent, you've got to be right pleased.

B--That's right.

Beadle

I think one reason for the development of Ferris and the interest the Legislature showed in Ferris was because it did develop along the technical lines that we were hoping some of the community colleges would pick up.

And of course Senator Lane had a pretty strong interest in Ferris, which made a difference.

F--But one man, in spite of everything, can't really succeed. He's got to have other people agree.

B--Oh, that's right.

F--So you had that policy of building a lot of schools and spreading the money around.

Was that just political or was it a vision that you didn't want Michigan and Michigan State to be huge and the others to be...

B--That may have been part of it, although I think [another] part of it was to put these schools closer to where these kids could get to them.

F--For instance here, without Port Huron Junior College, there would have been no educational opportunity for thousands of square miles because you would have had [only] Delta and Flint. Macomb was just starting to grow north.

B--No. The big pull in the olden days here was Eastern and Central.

F--And you had a policy of limiting the size of those institutions. You were thinking, what, about 20,000?

B--As I recall, that was the figure.

F--Yes, I think that was the number.

What caused fights about these things? Obviously I think about Michigan's fighting the argument about quality, saying, "Don't thin out the pot."

B--I don't know that there were any really serious fights. Probably their major point of argument was, "Don't give it to that school because my school won't

Beadle

get any." There was a certain amount of provincialism involved.

Of course, from the time I went in, there was always a certain amount of rivalry between State and the University. I don't know that you could call it a fight but they always...

F--...were scrapping with each other.

B--In my early days, even then, it was a contest of trying to figure a base so that one would get more money than the other.

F--Yes, because in those days it worked by a formula. They were always fighting to change the formula mechanisms, weren't they?

B--As I recall, when I went over [to Lansing] there was no formula. It was more a...

F--Just a grab?

B--...grab, and some of us Ed [Hutchinson]<sup>2</sup>, Arnell [Engstrom], Gar [Lane] and some of the rest of us--tried one way or another to establish some formula that would be reasonable. I don't know that any of them were ever reasonable but they used to work for two or three years anyway.

F--Yes, I don't think that there will ever be a formula that can work.

B--Not and apply to all of them.

F--No, because the schools are so different. The thing they all care about, no matter what the words are, is the bottom line. That always gets to be difficult too.

B--Of course.

I used to throw this at some of the presidents every once in a while: "With all the expected knowledge you

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<sup>2</sup>Edward Hutchinson; Republican from Fennville; State Senator; Member, Senate Appropriations Committee.

Beadle

have in your institution, it seems to me you should have more management ability to use your money to better advantage.

One of the things that always bothered me was the duplication of programs in some of the institutions. Even within institutions there was a lot of duplication.

F--But John Hannah really had a skill of managing a dollar, didn't he?

B--Yes he did.

F--I would think that, looking back, the way he used the self-liquidating part of a program was really masterful because the dormitories got built with classrooms in them too. He set that pattern and that's enhanced the growth because they couldn't have built these schools if they hadn't given people a place to live.

B--No, that's right. Now I guess some of these schools have too many places to live, haven't they?

F--I think it's changed and I'll tell you why--you've always been interested in real estate.

I think it's the increased cost of money, the tremendous inflation that's happened in the last several years on the cost of food. As the mortgages for the institutional things are getting amortized the institutions don't have to raise the price as much. It's getting to be economical again to live on campus.

B--They can compete with the off-campus facilities.

F--As a matter of fact, they tried to keep the price within some kind of reasonable range, but they could lower the price--in my opinion 10 or 15 percent--and still be in clover.

I think this means that the housing on campuses will be in good shape. This will be the second year Michigan State doesn't have an empty bed.

B--That's a good situation.

Beadle

F--Yes, that's good for us.

When I look at the situation I see some of the fights. I, myself, when I started doing the [study], put a great store by the fight. You know, thinking about Hannah versus Hatcher.

B--That was no match.

F--I don't think it was.

That gets a lot of attention but it doesn't look too [severe]. I think back about Saginaw to where the locals started the fight with themselves, which made it tough for other legislators to resolve the thing.

But even then, Frank, I don't have the feeling that the fights were really very serious. They were getting around to the business of...

B--...putting on a show more than anything. They had to put on an act I guess you might say.

F--Well, when I think about it, I've seen a bitter fight inside the Legislature and it really can be very bloody. People get bent out of shape and talk to each other, they pull in their alumni, and industry comes in.

I can't find, really, that they got brutal about things. It doesn't look to me like there was much bad feeling left over. Any time you have a bad fight there is.

B--I think that's true.

F--I talked to Ryan about this. I said to him, "What about duplication? What about this competition?" As we talked he came across a point that made a lot of sense to me. He said in the beginning we couldn't get support for social programming; areas had always voted no to get their share of the budget. The minute you put a school in a place like Traverse City, in a place like Grand Valley, in a place like Saginaw, they needed stuff. They then got tied into the system of having to vote for other things, for mental health and the like. He said he thought that as long as you can keep that in control that was a useful mechanism.

Beadle

I've thought a lot more about the fights and thought to myself, well, maybe this was the way of keeping the whole system going.

B--That's possibly true.

F--Because you needed the votes for tax policy.

B--You know, actually, I've seen more bitter feelings over appropriations in mental health than in education. That's because there's more sentiment attached to the thing.

F--And maybe more pain.

B--Yes.

F--When I traveled with you and the [appropriations] committee, I used to say to the college presidents, "Don't feel sorry for yourself. The committee loves to go to colleges because everybody's happy there." I said, "You go to a mental institution and..." I thought always of Newberry.

B--That was an unfortunate situation.

F--...Always left me so sad. I mean, with the children and the neglect. Fort Custer was the same way.

B--They've closed Fort Custer, I think.

F--They have closed it but it was a frightening and horrible thing to see. Particularly if you weren't calloused from seeing a lot of it. You'd go home and look at your children and thank God that you didn't have that burden.

B--That's right.

F--I always thought that the committee was right pleased with the schools. No matter how badly they ran them people were happy with them. The mental health thing was always crushing.

What about breaking down class and culture barriers?



Beadle

B--I don't know that actually there was much attention given to that, at least up until the time I left. I think that's developed more since I left.

F--I think the decision at Wayne, for instance, had to be regarded to build that school. Maybe it worked because of some of the political pressure.

In New York State they built a New York City system (the City University of New York), then they built [a system] outstate (the State University of New York). That was different.

We didn't do that here. We made the decision to pick up Wayne and put a lot of money into it. They were right grateful. The first building that you put up they called State Hall.

I just don't see a way to get people to be productive and useful for themselves, and to cut down crime and mental illness and welfare, without the education.

B--I think that's true.

F--Maybe we expect too much of education. That can be a problem too.

I think about that, you know, like religion and schools. Maybe I'm wrong, but I sort of have the feeling that my burden is to train my children in the ethical and religious things and not expect the school to do that. And things like hygiene, I expect to do that. My boys are 10 and 6, Frank. With a boy of 10 I've got to do something about some kind of sex education. I still think that that's our responsibility and don't expect to turn that over to the school to do.

B--Unfortunately, you represent maybe too small a percentage of parents. Too many parents expect the schools to do a lot of these things.

F--That may be some of the reasons for people being a little disappointed in the schools.

B--I think that's true.

Beadle

F--When I was a boy the church and the family had a part of the burden. People may not want to do that. When I was a boy people didn't send their old family members to nursing homes, they stayed with the family. Nursing homes were really for people that needed constant care. That's not the way it is today, and that's state funded too.

B--Yes.

F--What about Michigan versus Michigan State? I'm thinking about popularism or mass education versus elitism.

I originally thought that Michigan stood for the highest quality for the lowest number and that Michigan State was different. I've changed since I've started this exercise.

The Michigan people always talk so arrogantly, in a way, but it's hard for me to think about an institution, as big as it is, that really is an elite. 40,000 kids is not a small group of people.

B--I think that feeling was more in existence earlier than it probably is now. I think there wasn't any question when I first went to the Legislature: Michigan was regarded as the institution of quality, and State was one of quantity. In fact there used to be a lot of jokes in that direction then, but the last few years I was there that changed completely. I think the whole tenor of State changed with the development of their programs.

F--You think in the last few years that as John Hannah started to take advantage and build strong science programs....

B--Well, they got new programs. They got away from the old agricultural background, even though the farming community didn't like that too well.

F--Did you get pressure from the farming community about that sort of thing?

B--A little bit, not very much.

Beadle

F--It was hard for some of them to understand the difference in State. In 1946 they'd had 4,000 kids and there were 40,000 by the time you left the Legislature.

B--Yes. The farmers resented that a little bit. Of course, there aren't as many farmers around now as there used to be.

F--No. As a matter of fact, it's interesting to realize that there is not one farmer in the Michigan Legislature today.

B--I didn't realize that.

F--Zollar is really a nursery man. When Edson Root<sup>3</sup> died, Root was, I think, the last man who made his living on the land.

B--I thought Cy Root<sup>4</sup>...

F--But Cy wasn't a farmer, was he?

B--Yes. He didn't work on it much the last few years. He still owns the farm but he lets it oug.

F--We've talked a little bit about how important vocational and occupational training objectives were.

I'm curious, in the creation of this tremendous institution of higher education in this state, what were the building blocks? You talked about the fact that parents wanted education and the fear about Russian technological advantages through the Sputnik.

There's been some conversation from Staebler--whom I talked to--about the fact that the state got wealthy. As the automotive workers got above the subsistence level and started to make money they had to invest it some place. Education was a good investment and they wanted that.

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<sup>3</sup>Edson V. Root, Jr.; Republican from Bangor; State Representative, 1952-68.

<sup>4</sup>Cyril H. Root; Republican from Kalamazoo; State Representative, 1950-70.

Beadle

I think we've talked a little bit about the need to develop vocational training, because not everybody is oriented toward books. I mean, there's a place in this society, isn't there, for carpenters and plumbers and masons?

B--At the price you have to pay for them, I'd say there is.

F--But you know, one of the things that you worry about if even though the wages that these men make--truck drivers make a fortune today--people still don't want to work those jobs anymore. Maybe they don't have enough status.

B--I think some of those skills are at a stage where they are rather restrictive. They were able to control the number that went into the trade and they made it possible for their labor to be harder to get so they were able to charge higher prices.

F--Although you have the example of the masons. I can remember when every building the state built was made of brick. You don't see one built today that way. They all come with these huge panels. The masons may be getting a higher price, but there'll be no work for them soon.

You think about the buildings you built at Michigan like the dental school. Gosh, I would like to have had that brick contract.

B--Yes. There's a young chap here who thinks I helped him get into dental school, although I didn't. He didn't need any help. He graduated from Notre Dame with high honors. I kid him about how that dental school started out to cost \$9 million and ended up costing \$16 million, I think.

F--And it took ten years to happen too.

B--Yes. The head of that dental school is a Port Huron man, by the way--[William R.] Mann.

F--Is Dr. Mann from Port Huron?

B--Yes, his dad was Alex Mann who headed Detroit Edison in Port Huron for years.

Beadle

F--That's interesting. I always look at him and think of him as having lived in Ann Arbor his whole life.

B--No. I didn't realize it until I was over there for the dedication of the building and learned that he was from Port Huron, and that his wife is from Port Huron.

F--Well, we talked about the importance of vocational and technical things.

What about the growth of culture and the arts? Did that have any importance?

B--It was gradually developing, I think, when I left. I think the Legislature, at least the appropriations committee--and I can recall Mrs. Romney trying to get money for the arts--sort of laughed it off. But I think that attitude had changed even before I left.

F--Well, you see what Woody did at Oakland. He built a tremendous support with that program.

Where I come from--Massachusetts--culture, arts, art museums, museums, and concerts can exist without public support because of the long tradition of philanthropy. I'm not struck, and maybe I'm wrong here, that there is a tradition of philanthropy. At Michigan State almost the whole thing was built by taxpayers. Except for Michigan, I can't think of any institutions that have really been able to get much in the way of any public...

B--Nothing substantial.

F--I think that Kellogg has put a few dollars in, but that's about it. It looks to me that any of the kind...

B--McGregor<sup>5</sup> of Detroit has done some.

F--Right--their student center. I didn't know what McGregor was. I thought it might be an [historical]

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<sup>5</sup>In reference to the Memorial Conference Center at Wayne State University. Tracy W. McGregor, President of Provident Loan & Savings Society, and his wife established the McGregor Fund in 1925.

Beadle

name or something. I didn't know that that was a philanthropy.

B--It's a philanthropic trust, I think. They have been interested in other fields, too, because they put up some money for a mental health study through John McLellan<sup>6</sup>.

F--Well, what I'm thinking about is this, Senator. At Ann Arbor, at Michigan State, at Western, at Wayne-- I'm thinking about art programs, theater and the like-- those programs had to exist with state support in a hidden way. I know the committee was never very much in favor of that, but it doesn't look like strong public support for art and culture was available.

B--But don't you think that's partly due to the industrial background of the state, Jerry? They've been basically interested in seeing industry develop in the state. Normally that sort of attitude doesn't lean toward art.

F--I think that's true. I think you're right. I think you have to have the food and the shelter taken care of before you worry about some of the other things.

We're still not to the point where our people are satisfied, that they've attained all of these things and don't have to worry about work so they can worry about the use of leisure time.

And the unions really haven't put any muscle in here either. Maybe it will be different now that it's "30 years and out." Retiring at 55 gives you 20 years to live. You've got to do something.

B--Just 20?

F--Well, the average age...

B--You put me at the top limit when you say 55 and out and 20 years to live.

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<sup>6</sup>John McLellan; President, Michigan Information and Research Service, Inc., Lansing, Michigan.

Beadle

F--I know that.

I'm thinking about the fact that probably people will live to 75 in good health before getting sickly. I think that's why a lot of people go on into second businesses and second trades and have second careers. When you were a boy people didn't think about two careers, they were worried about one.

B--That's right.

F--What was the position of labor in regard to higher education? I mean, when those guys want something.... In your time Democrats and labor came to be powerful.

B--I'm trying to recall whether I ever saw labor make any concerted effort to help education. Of course they always seemed to be interested in putting more money in all the programs, but specifically education... I don't recall them ever being especially interested.

F--What I'm thinking about is in attempting to understand the politics of this state, it's my impression--and we've done some analysis of this--that this state from the beginning until 1955 was essentially a Republican state. The Democrats to this day have only controlled the Senate twice...

B--Until next year.

F--Until next year, probably.

...in '32 and then '64. They've controlled the House only 12 years. There are districts in this state that have never elected a Democrat. There's only been four Democratic governors in the history of this state.

Is that the right number? Let me see if it is--there was Williams, Swainson, Ferris and Murphy.

B--Was Ferris a governor or a senator?

F--Ferris was a governor--Woodbridge Ferris. I've forgotten the man who was in '32.

B--Comstock.

Beadle

F--Comstock and then Murphy. So there's three, and Williams and Swainson, that's five governors.

Of course Williams served all those terms, but if you take a look at the elections since '32, in most circumstances the governorship hasn't been won by much.

People made a big thing about Milliken beating Sander Levin by 40,000, but they forget Romney didn't beat Swainson the first time round by much more than that.

B--No.

F--Williams won one election by 8,000 votes. It looks to me like the state's been pretty well divided. Back in the East you think about Michigan being a Labor-Democratic state. An important component of the Democratic strength has got to be labor, they put the money in and the like.

I'm curious about what labor wanted. It strikes me that the UAW was interested in issues beyond just the lunch pail.

B--Well, I don't recall them ever having put any real strong push on education.

F--What about industry?

B--Industry in certain fields.

F--What fields were you thinking about?

B--I'm thinking about the sciences, particularly.

F--Did you feel pressure from the automotive companies, for instance?

B--For research.

F--For research at U of M?

B--Yes.

F--Maybe computers?

B--Yes.



Beadle

F--Drug companies? I've always felt the strength from the computer and the automotive companies, but you think about Upjohn and Parke-Davis being in this state and I never felt any pressure from them.

B--No.

F--You wouldn't even know they were located in this state. Agriculture, very strong with agribusiness. It's a...

B--Agriculture was strong, but not in recent years.

F--Maybe not politically, but economically it is.

B--Oh, yes.

F--You think about the Saginaw Valley with the beans and the sugar, you think about all the fruit along the western side of the state, you think about all the beef cattle, you think about things like tomatoes. It sounds foolish, but it's been a tremendous dollar...

B--Of course when you talk about the various fields of agriculture, you never saw the agricultural group get together on any particular program in a really united front.

F--Now that you say that, I think there is probably some truth to that. I watched Senator Zollar, he only really spoke for the fruit guys. He couldn't have cared much about the beans or the others.

So they broke down into the subfields?

What about the position of commerce? The reason I ask that is this: You look at the Blue Ribbon Report that Romney did and you see people like Heavenrich--commerce guys. You think about Seidman who was an accountant.

I wondered if commerce had a different attitude. They were more locally related than the major industries. I wonder if they had a different attitude toward higher education?

B--Generally speaking, maybe they did. I think basically their principal muscle was opposed to any new taxes.

Beadle

F--I'm thinking about the Michigan Manufacturers Association and retail and chain stores [Michigan Retailers Association]. You didn't feel pressure there for education?

B--Not that I recall.

F--I can't find any either, but I figure that you're the man to ask because my impression of the Legislature is that the two watering holes where you see everybody are appropriations and taxation.

B--For some specific program perhaps once in a while, but generally speaking, no.

F--In the time I worked there, the only time I ever saw any pressure at all from any of these forces--I'm thinking specifically now about labor and industry--was over Wayne Community College. I never, ever saw anything before or since. And I think that was much taken by the destruction of Detroit, when they had the riots.

It gets to be the late end of the study, but I think people were astonished about that, and discomfited, frightened, and surprised, too. I talked to Staebler about that and he indicated that they had been surprised because the condition of Blacks in this state was much different. The Blacks had had legitimate political power.

It's hard for me, for instance, where I have watched Coleman Young in these years, to ever have regarded him as a black legislator. I regarded him more as a politician. He functioned not in the same way that...

B--He was more of a union legislator than anything else.

F--Yes, right. You wouldn't put him in the box of thinking about him as a purely black legislator.

We had Ed Brooke<sup>7</sup> on campus the other day. I've known Ed Brooke a long time and he's just a politician. He wasn't a man that ever got his votes from a black sector. He got them because people respected him and he was a skilled man.

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<sup>7</sup>Edward W. Brooke; Republican; U. S. Senator from Massachusetts.

Beadle

F--What about the pressures from the federal government in the determination of policy for education? Were they there?

B--I think it was there to the extent that they said, "We'll give you so much money for this program if you'll provide some money to go with it."

F--What programs are you thinking about? Did we have to put money into HEFA, for instance?

B--Well, I don't know whether I can think of any. I guess in many of these programs federally funded required state matching [dollars]. Maybe I'm exaggerating a little bit, maybe it just seems that way.

When I say that, I'm thinking particularly about vocational education, I guess.

F--The reason I raised the question is that when you take a look at the federal money that's come to the states for welfare and social legislation, every buck required a matching buck. But on top of that, every time you gave the money they set up rules and regulations about how you could pass it out. State options for policy making and social welfare have virtually disappeared.

I hear a lot of complaints all the time about the burdens that come from federal control. I don't really have the feeling that there was much in the way of federal control over education. The dollars came for specific project research but they didn't demand that you hire a certain number of people, or that you had to have admissions criteria, or one thing or another. It doesn't strike me that the burden was the same.

B--Well, that's possibly true.

F--Although you did put language into the boiler plate of the bill that said you couldn't take a gift anymore without approval of the Legislature. I assumed that that came from the period when Mrs. Wilson and the Fords gave those gifts to the state and then you had to come up with state-matching bucks fifty times as much.

Beadle

B--I think that was the reason for that language. The legislature didn't want to, because of a gift, get involved in a program that was going to cost them substantially more to operate.

F--[Programs] that you maybe didn't want or need.

I think there was a period of time there from '58 to '70 when the legislature began to have a jaundiced eye about grants from anybody, and not just the federal government.

B--That's right.

F--Although the Wilson and the Ford gifts were unusual. They weren't a common thing.

B--No, there's not too many of them.

F--At Saginaw Valley they had to raise the money essentially from a fund-raising drive. Wickes and Dow gave a few dollars, but...

B--Mott put some money at Flint.

F--Yes, within the city limits, essentially.

Have you got some thoughts about what were the reasons for the failure of the branch campus system?

In Wisconsin and California they built these systems where the mother school owned all of the branches. Like the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and the like.

We started that way here. There was talk about Michigan going to Port Huron and Michigan State going to Saginaw; Michigan going to Grand Rapids, Flint, and Dearborn. It sort of petered out.

Did the Legislature take a position to discourage that?

B--When you say failure, you're not marking Flint or Dearborn as failures?

F--I'm marking them as failures in the sense that the system didn't succeed to go along. I would personally suspect, very strongly, that one day Dearborn, when it

Beadle

reaches a certain critical mass now that it's well run, will become an independent school. I would think that Flint, when the community is ready, will be independent too.

B--Could be.

F--I don't think Michigan State will ever open a branch campus again, or Michigan, or Wayne.

B--I think there may have been some feeling in the Legislature, and in the committee particularly, about starting a branch in Grand Rapids or Port Huron. There may have been the feeling that they had all they could handle as they were. If they ran what they had efficiently, that was enough.

F--There was some talk that when a big institution ran a school in a small place, they always got last dips at the soup. It was harder for local people to support the institution because their destiny wasn't determined in the local area but in Ann Arbor or East Lansing. And further, the belief that the institutions didn't have the management skill to run these enterprises.

B--I don't know that that question was ever raised, as far as management skill was concerned. It may have been.

F--The Legislature didn't perceive the institutions as being well-run, did they? Or did they?

B--I think there was always the feeling that they could be run better than they were.

F--I suppose that's true about any institution. Maybe that's being a legislator. I never really have ever seen legislators pleased with the running of any institution.

B--I guess that's probably true.

F--Mental institutions: Either they were running well and you ignored them because they weren't a problem, or they were running right badly...

Beadle

B--And they raised Hell about it.

F--I mean, the agricultural department runs pretty well and Ball<sup>8</sup> comes in, they shake his hand, give him his money, and kick him out in five minutes. Nobody ever really gets into inquiring what his difficulties are.

B--I'm rather surprised at the way that's gone. Nobody was particularly pleased about Ball going in as head of that department.

F--Really? I think he's one of the really good guys.

B--I think he's come through in good shape. But I know when he went in there was a lot of...

F--Did he replace [George S.] McIntyre, the former head of the Cooperative Extension Service at MSU?

B--Yes.

F--He's retired now and is a consultant, an entomologist. Gordon Guyer is the head of it now.

But that obviously was part of Michigan State's strength too, wasn't it?

B--Oh yes.

F--The agricultural...

B--...Experimental station, that sort of thing.

F--That was obviously one of John Hannah's very strong suits, wasn't it?

B--Yes.

F--What about some of the regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another? Where were the pressures for schools at this time? Obviously Saginaw, Grand Rapids, Flint...

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<sup>8</sup>B. Dale Ball; Director, Michigan Department of Agriculture.

Beadle

B--...Oakland, I can't recall any real strong pressure anywhere.

F--Were there some places that wanted schools that didn't get them?

B--I don't recall any at the moment.

F--I always have heard that sort of hidden kind of feeling that the people in Traverse City wanted a four-year institution.

B--I never heard that. Could be.

F--It looks, though, that for the community colleges just about every community that really could put up any degree of initiative got one.

B--I think so.

F--The four-year schools really grew beyond their wildest dreams in a way. The old-timers who had been in and saw what came in the fifties and the sixties probably found it hard to believe that they could get that much. You built a flock of buildings at these schools and you gave them a lot of money, too.

The most incredible thing I've seen--it must have been 1964--you voted through an additional appropriation to improve teacher salaries. That's had to have been an unusual thing. I don't think it happened before or since. So there had to be public support for what you were doing.

B--Teachers have a pretty good lobby.

F--Teachers aren't doing badly in the state today.

B--They sure aren't.

F--I think we're the second highest paid state for K-12 school teachers in the country.

Why, Senator, did an institutional system for coordination not come about after '64? You had the Constitutional Convention and there was a lot of expectation that the State Board would be able to do some things. Why do you think it didn't happen?

Beadle

B--I think there are two reasons: I think one is the feeling that the State Board is a rather weak operation; number two, I think the individual institutions of higher education didn't like the idea of a coordinating board.

F--It's a hard thing to draw a line between coordination and control.

B--I think they were fearful that coordination meant control, at least an attempt to control.

F--Did legislative attitudes want some kind of coordination?

B--My feeling is they'd like to see some sort of coordination.

F--Although the schools have been pretty adeptly controlled by the executive and Legislature by the amount of money they've gotten. You can't say that the institutions have been arrogant. My impression is that they've paid close heed to the committees.

B--Some people, or a lot of people, probably won't agree with me on this one, but I think that the presidents' organization of the colleges has saved a lot of headaches for both them and the Legislature. I think they have ironed out some difficulties that might have developed.

F--I put a great store by, and I like, Ira Polley.

B--I do too.

F--Ira's a guy that's hard to know. When you saw him in confrontation kinds of things, he didn't do as well. I interviewed him and I was struck by the fact that there's a really brilliant mind with a tremendous insight into the whole system in the sense of all the pieces, not just the parochial interests for one piece rather than another.

B--I would agree.

F--It strikes me that maybe a lot of that credit goes to Ira because he was there in a key time when things could have gone differently. I don't think that the Council is as influential now as it was when Ira was there.



Beadle

B--Probably true.

F--When I was talking to Ira, I asked, "Do you think it might have been the fact that in 1964--when the Goldwater election catastrophe happened--that the whole political structure of the state got thrown into a cocked hat?"

You ended up with eight Democrats. I'm thinking about the fact that Bentley, who was a well-regarded man, and Briggs, didn't get elected. All of a sudden when the state went back to being 50-50, there were zero Republicans on the Board.

Well, Ira didn't think that, for the fact that he's a gentleman too. I would say that I think the State Board was weak in the quality of its total membership. Ira's too politic a man to throw stones. I would think that that had to be a significant problem.

B--I don't think there's any question about it.

F--And you didn't get the major figures in this state: the people that served in Con-Con and that Romney had gotten for the Blue Ribbon Committee. You take a look at the Blue Ribbon Committee. You saw men from industry, commerce, and labor and they were major figures. I think about Bluestone, Woodcock, and Adelaide Hart. You saw major figures.

You take a look at the State Board and it didn't reflect those kinds of major initiatives. I think that the fact that the State Board picked the fight over Flint was crucial. You don't pick a fight the first day out sometimes, because C. S. Mott was in Gar's corner.

B--That's right.

F--It looks to me like C. S. Mott cast 51 percent of the votes in Flint.

B--I attended a party for Gar over at Flint and C. S. Mott was there. He said that "anything that Gar Lane says is all right with me."

F--And that's the way it was, too, wasn't it?

B--Yes.

Beadle

F--And yet I don't think that C. S. Mott really tried to control that. I think he admired the man's prudence with the dollar.

B--I think, very definitely, that's true.

F--Gar always wanted a bang for a buck.

Do you think there's a possibility for any kind of coordination coming? The executive hasn't really wanted it either, has he?

B--No.

F--Romney had all the words but he didn't do anything. If there was a man that really wanted something, George would get it. I don't think that Milliken has that same kind of push.

B--Is there any kind of coordination coming?

F--It's outside of the study but Dick Beers, the staff director, and Bill Seidman, the chairman of the Governor's Higher Education Reform Commission, put out a study recommending the appointment of all the boards.

B--Yes, I knew that.

F--And a coordinating body, a state board for higher education.

The institutions wouldn't go one inch to support it. They went hopefully, trying not to make any enemies, but I don't see any energy for it to happen because I don't see the schools wanting it. I don't see the Legislature really wanting it because they think they've got the control.

I don't see Governor Milliken willing to go to the mat. If you don't have the votes, you can be the finest man in the world, but when the control is only 19-19...

B--18-18 now.

F--...It's very hard to lead with that. Milliken had two years when the House was in his hand. Really,

Beadle

with Waldron there, it was really so slim. I think it was one or two seats. That's really not control. So unless you have 10 or 15 votes in the House, and 6 or 7 in the Senate, you can't really gauge the strength of a governor.

You're the master of this, I'm just an observer, but it doesn't strike me that you can really fault the man if he doesn't have that kind of political strength.

B--No.

I quite shocked our vice-chairman of the Republican party when it looked like the Milliken-Levin race was close, the Senate was going Democrat, and the House was going Democrat. I said I hope Levin wins. I said I think it's a tragedy when you've got a governor in the front office in one party and the legislature in another.

F--And I figure that the people voted, "Let that guy take the rap. You can never deliver what you promised in the first place." So I don't really have that sense of it, and maybe I'm wrong.

I put good store by Fleming. I have a lot of admiration for some of the presidents, some of them are fine men. They haven't gone out of their way to affront people. I think Fleming is quite a different man than Hatcher by a long store.

B--A great improvement, I think. I didn't like him at first, but I've come to regard him better.

F--He comes through very well. Hatcher was a hard man to feel.

B--I'll tell you the man I like--Dr. Wharton.

F--He's a brilliant man, isn't he?

B--In many respects. I think he's done a marvelous job over there.

F--They don't understand him as well as they should because he's not a propagandist.

B--He's not a flamboyant type. He's not the type that John Hannah was.

Beadle

F--No. They all complained about how they didn't like John Hannah, but the minute John Hannah left they found they missed him.

But this is a brilliant man, really, but he isn't flamboyant. I think he's a solid, solid guy and I think that State's got to change. It's a different kind of place than it was 20 years ago. We're going to be a great institution if we work at it. But it takes quiet work.

B--And there aren't enough people willing to work at it.

F--Who in your opinion were the significant opinion-leaders in higher education in Michigan in the period from '58 to '70?

B--Well, certainly you can't leave John Hannah out.

F--I think you've got to start with him.

B--I give a lot of credit to Marvin Niehuss over at the University. Marv was always sort of a quiet operator but he was, in my opinion, a pretty sound man.

F--And you've spoken of Vic Spathelf.

B--Right, and Jim Miller.

F--A lot of people mention Harden.

B--I was just going to mention Harden.

F--I find it surprising that since Wayne was such a key institution in this period, nobody ever can seem to remember anybody at Wayne.

B--Well, Keast was down there.

F--There was Keast and there was Hilberry and there was Henry.

B--I think Woody Varner did quite a bit too.

F--They mentioned Woody. What was the difficulty with Woody?

Beadle

When I worked for you I had no history and it was a while before Charley McNeill started to fill me in. I was surprised in these interviews to find out what a tremendous store people put by Woody. I just looked at him as an Oakland personality, but now find that people like Swainson and Williams very vigorously had remembered Woody.

I understand there was some difficulty with Arnell where Arnell drove him out.

B--I didn't realize that. I didn't know there was.

I still have a very high regard for Woody. I think the last time I saw Woody he and I had a little difference of opinion in the Appropriations Committee--just the two of us--and he left feeling pretty down. But I still think Woody did a lot.

F--He sure did. He's gone to Nebraska and I gather quite well. Nebraska is a poor state but still he's done a job.

Were there others in other sectors besides education and the Legislature and the executive office and industry and commerce and labor that you would think about?

B--I would certainly put Stephen Nisbet in that category. Paul Goebel, Al Bentley.

F--I was going to say Bentley. It strikes me that Bentley was a very influential man. What about Romney?

B--Yes, I would put Romney in that category.

F--He seems to have cared about education in a very direct way.

B--I think both Williams and Swainson did. Of course, I'm probably biased. Swainson and I worked together when he was minority leader and I was majority leader, for two terms, I guess.

Beadle

F--I talked to Swainson in the first interview. I hadn't known him because he was gone from the scene. Jay, who comes from this area, told me--and I did not know--that Senator Swainson had come from this part of the state. It was a very delightful and exciting interview. He wasn't cynical, he wasn't sour, he came through as a warm, compassionate man. I was really very struck by his intellect and by his sense of concern. I came out with an immense admiration for him.

B--I've always regarded John very highly.

F--Well, when you talk to him you come out with a strong sense of admiration. We're very lucky in our state to have a lot of solid people.

What John Porter said struck me. He said, "Jerry, you've got to understand that we had some of the giants in the country here. We had great labor leaders, major industry, great and powerful institutions, and a good legislature, good governors." And you think about the fact that our governors were major public figures, like Williams and Romney. I don't know what will happen with Milliken, but he's starting to get notice too.

It's hard for a Republican these days to get any kind of decent...

B--It's hard for a Republican governor today to do much in the way of what he might think is a good program if it doesn't happen to fit in with the other party's platform.

F--That's why Ryan and Milliken have to live so closely. They can't do, one without the other.

Senator, who were the influential individuals whose insights were the greatest significance to you?

You talked about talking to people. It isn't always cut-and-dried when people want something. Sometimes you just want to talk to people and say, "Well, what's going on, what should we be doing?" Who were those kinds of people that would have talked to you, that you put a great deal of store in?

B--Well, certainly I hold Gar in very high regard because Gar and I used to talk a lot about a lot of these things. And Arnell[Engstrom].

Beadle

F--Any of the institutional people?

B--Jack Breslin<sup>9</sup>, Woody Smith of course. Woody and I used to work together quite a bit.

F--Well, I guess what I think about is that there are always people behind the scenes. C. J. McNeil and I had our troubles but I had tremendous admiration...

B--Mac is one in a million.

F--He did a lot for a lot of people over a long time.

B--Mac was so much a part of the operation that I didn't think of him. Certainly Mac and I had a lot of hours together.

F--Well, what I'm thinking is, for example, Sturtz. There was a bright young man who made a lot of contributions. And I think about McNeil. I think about Niehuss. He was a man that was never out there out front. I think that maybe Art Neef was...

B--I'm glad you mentioned Art because I was...

F--You know what I'm saying: useful people who have done a lot of stuff and just never were out front. I think of Ferris Crawford.

B--I can't think of his name now, the fellow that was head of the community college for a while. I used to spend some hours with him too.

F--You mean Cahow?

B--Yes.

F--We interviewed him.

What I think about is when I can look in Massachusetts, Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, Indiana--they don't have that same quality of public servant. This state's been pretty honest, Frank.

B--I think all that's been true. I get thoroughly disgusted, frankly, with some of the goings-on in the Legislature now. I guess we were just as crazy in our time.

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<sup>9</sup>Jack Breslin; Executive Vice President, Michigan State University.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
STEPHEN S. NISBET<sup>1</sup>

F--Could I begin by asking you to talk a little about your involvement in education in Michigan?

N--Well, I suppose my involvement in higher education started when I was named to the Board, and later Chairman of the Board, of Alma College--that's the Presbyterian institution in Michigan. I graduated there and my family have been there.

F--When was that?

N--It was '38 or '39 when I started. Then in '43 Frank Cody--who was Superintendent in Detroit and on the State Board of Education, retired and was elected to the City Council--could no longer serve on the State Board of Education so Governor Kelly appointed me. I suppose then I really got more involved in public higher education because, as you know, the old State Board of Education had...

F--...Four schools, didn't it?

N--...Supervision of four schools.

F--It had Central, Eastern, Western, and Northern. It did not have Tech, did it?

N--No, Tech had its own board.

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<sup>1</sup>Stephen S. Nisbet; Republican, from Fremont; Member, State Board of Education, 1943-1961; President, Michigan Education Association, 1942-43; President, Michigan Constitutional Convention, 1961-62; Member, Board of Trustees of Michigan State University, 1963-71. Interview conducted June 18, 1974.



Nisbet

Well, I was appointed, and then I was elected that spring. I was elected three times to the State Board of Education so I served almost twenty years.

F--A term was what, eight years?

N--I think I was Chairman of the Board longer than that, but it doesn't make any difference. In those days the last year of your term you were supposed to be chairman, but because of resignations I think I was chairman 12 or 14 years--I don't know which. Being chairman didn't make any special difference.

F--No. You had just one vote, didn't you?

N--Just one vote, yes.

So I became interested in higher education. At that time each member was assigned one school that you were directly responsible for. I was assigned Central because of the location and so forth. I think, because of Charlie Anspach and my friendship and relationship with him, I probably became more involved in that school than the other Board members became involved with their schools. We were together more, I attended more functions over there, and I think became a little more a part of the institution, probably, because of circumstances.

F--Then came the Constitutional Convention in 1961.

N--I had the feeling in the Constitutional Convention that the Education Committee was going to be one of our very important committees. I knew the feeling would be that Hannah or Anspach or Bonisteel or somebody like that who had been very closely connected with education would be the chairman.

I didn't think it ought to be that way. I thought that we ought to have a chairman who was a business man, who had respect for the public, was intelligent, and had a good background of not necessarily just business, but of public service. I went over that convention list trying to figure out who would be the chairman. And you know, a peculiar thing about the Constitutional Convention, half of the delegates were lawyers--almost half of them.

Nisbet

F--That's bad politically.

N--It didn't work out too badly, but basically it's not good.

F--I'll tell you why I say that. I'm from Massachusetts and in Massachusetts--because of the low pay of the Legislature and the fact that we didn't have a strong farming tradition anymore--most all the legislators were lawyers and there got to be conflicts, whereas in Michigan the number of lawyers, up until quite recently, was reasonably low.

N--Even now, I think, it's too many. I don't think any public service organization should be dominated by any profession. I think you need breadth.

Incidentally, during the Constitutional Convention your Governor of Massachusetts came out here... Peabody?

F--Yes.

N--We had a meeting--well, there were two Republicans and two Democrats at dinner with him one night--and he was very anxious to get a constitutional convention and have their constitution rewritten. I don't know whether he ever did or not.

F--No.

N--He never did?

F--No. Massachusetts is really still struck by some very archaic mechanisms.

N--When we got finally down to it, the only man I could see that I thought would do would be Al Bentley. The next morning I called Al in and I said, "Al, I've got a job for you." He said, "Steve, I told you I'd do anything I could for the Convention. I'll be glad to do it." "Well," [I said], "I want you to be Chairman of the Education Committee." He pretty near fell off his chair. He said, "I don't know anything about education." I said, "Well, maybe that's the reason I want you."

Nisbet

Well, you know, Al took hold of that job. He had some good strong education men on that committee, like Anspach, Hannah, Bonisteel, Don Lawrence, and a few others like that.

I think they did about the best job of any committee in the Constitutional Convention. They did a tremendous job. Al became quite an authority on education.

F--He really built his public career in this arena.

N--Yes he did. Later he was appointed Chairman of the Governor's Commission on Education....

F--...On the Blue Ribbon Committee?

N--Yes, the Blue Ribbon Committee. I've always felt that that was one of the good appointments I made.

F--One of the sad things, if he hadn't been shot....  
I always have believed that he never really recovered from being shot. When I met him he was always sickly looking. I guess the bullet must have hit him in the liver or something. He was a great man that died early.

N--That was a tragic thing, very, very tragic. Al became a Regent of the University of Michigan.

F--I want to talk to you about that later because I believe that one of the questions I raise about the ineffectiveness of the State Board in question 16 has to do with the failure of not electing people who were wise and represented Republican sentiment, too.

N--That was one of the real tragedies in connection with Con-Con. I thought we had a good strong educational article but the State Board that we got out of it was very ineffective for many reasons.

Nisbet

F--We'll come back to that. Certainly not having Bentley's advice and counsel--and Briggs and the like--hurt.

You were selected as the President. How did that happen? There was Romney and Hannah and...

N--I think everyone was suspicious of the Convention. It was only passed by a few votes, people were afraid of it. A lot of people are afraid of change. I think the conservatives wanted to be sure they had control of the Convention. The Romney group wanted to control the Convention.

F--The conservatives had more of an influence in that body than they have had ever since.

N--That's right.

F--And there was good old Eddie Hutchinson.

N--There were strong conservatives there. You take Ed Hutchinson, Hale Brake, Jim Farnsworth, and groups like that. They were pretty powerful individuals.

F--Hale Brake was a much more powerful man then than he later was. He was probably at the acme of his influence.

N--Hale's age, I think, made a difference. Hale has had quite an influence in Michigan government.

F--You had George pretty well isolated, in a sense.

N--When they came to nominate for the presidency they nominated Romney and Hutchinson. I kind of thought in the beginning that it would be between those two. But right away I think someone sensed the situation and nominated Hannah, and then somebody nominated Jim Pollock<sup>2</sup> [of the] University of Michigan. I

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<sup>2</sup>James Kerr Pollock; Republican from Ann Arbor; Murfin Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan.

Nisbet

always kind of felt Pollock's nomination was--and I like Jim very much--was Michigan State versus the University. The fellow who nominated Hannah was a Michigan State alumnus.

Anyway, it started out and they were fairly even in their ballots. We balloted for, I think, nine ballots that first day. It would be up and down but nobody got anywhere near a majority. I think the highest Hutchinson ever got was 45 and the highest Romney ever got was 39. They were consistently the leaders. Hannah and Pollock were behind them. We balloted Saturday afternoon and finally somebody said we'll go home and we'll come back Monday morning and start over again.

Well, you know, you couldn't help but think that the political leaders--and I wasn't a political leader and I wasn't involved in this thing at all--will get together over the weekend and this thing will be solved. We'll be back and the thing will work itself out Monday afternoon. By golly, we went back Monday afternoon and the first vote was almost identical with the last vote on Saturday. There was no change over the weekend at all. So they balloted five or six more times and there didn't seem to be any break anywhere.

Somebody came and asked me if I'd let my name be put in. I said, "Heavens, I don't want that job. I wasn't going to go to the Convention in the first place and I don't want it." Well, they said, "We're tied up here, we aren't getting anywhere." I said, "Well, ok, we'll put my name in...." thinking that maybe a new person in there would break it up enough so that the thing would be solved. It didn't work that way. The first ballot I think I had 29 votes. The second one I think I had 41 and on the third one I was elected. So it just came out that way.

F--I suspect your earlier observations were accurate. I had the sense that the Convention didn't want to get caught in reflecting some of the political....

N--I think that's probably true. You see, while I was a Republican, I always got along real well with the leading Democrats, like Gus Scholle and Walter Reuther

Nisbet

and Tom Downs<sup>3</sup>. I got to know a lot of these people in the United Fund and had worked with them in the United Fund. I think we both kind of had some kind of trust in each other.

F--One of the reasons for the Convention was that there'd been an awful lot of bad blood and foolishness over the conflicts in the Legislature. It really sort of destroyed Governor Williams.

N--The same thing was true in the Convention on one issue. That was the issue of reapportionment. Really, the Convention was almost unanimous on every issue except reapportionment. I finally wound up with the responsibility.

F--You had a difficult time with the Convention because you had the labor people, I think, distressed that they didn't have representation and strength. You had four conservatives quite eager to cement into concrete fiscal policy--and Hutchinsom was a tough man. And you had that background of Michigan versus Michigan State.

N--That was there. It had been fought through the Legislature over the change of Michigan Agricultural College to Michigan State University.

F--So you got selected, and then later you were on the Michigan State University Board.

N--That's right. Right at the end of the Convention somebody came and wanted to know if I would run for the University Board. I said no. I'd served on the State Board for twenty years, I had just retired from Gerbers, and I felt I'd served my time in Michigan. I'd been in a lot of activities.

I came home that night and told Dorcas about it. She said, "Well, maybe you ought to taper off instead of quitting all at once. Maybe you ought to take that

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<sup>3</sup>Tom Downs; Democrat from Detroit; delegate to Constitutional Convention.

Nisbet

job if you can get it and try to taper down that way." Which I guess was a good idea. So I went back the next morning and talked to John Hannah about it. I was nominated and elected to the Michigan State Board of Trustees.

F--You've had virtually 40 years of activity in Michigan public life, concerned with education essentially. One of the things that I'm hopeful to see happen as a result of the dissertation is a real good look at program politics. There's been too much attention to the stuff that gets to the newspaper and not enough to what we've really done in area programs.

N--Maybe even worse than that. We've become too much enamoured by television. It seems to me that what we're doing now is taking the man who has the most charm and suave and forgetting entirely what the fundamentals of the job are and what he ought to be able to do. I think you're right on that.

F--One of the things that is of great concern to me--I'm a historian by training and came to the Legislature as the first program analyst--is that issues of content don't get discussed. We live in a state--this is my personal opinion--with very bad newspapers.

N--No, I don't agree that our newspapers are bad. I think we have some very good papers in Michigan.

F--But hardly any public event that deserves serious study ever gets anything except the most cursory coverage. I don't think that people ever know what the issues are.

N--I would have to agree with you on that.

F--And TV. We have maybe one or two good local stations that handle any news. I think of channel 2 in Detroit and channel 8 in Grand Rapids. And they give 40 seconds. What can you talk about in 40 seconds that gives you any news?

N--That's right. I was on Willis Dunbar's "Face Michigan." Western Michigan had a program when he was living. He'd have some figure of the state come in and discuss various things. Well, you finally got some in-depth

Nisbet

thinking about a subject, but it only happened once a month.

F--And the audience was probably not very high. One of the things I think that should be done, and it's sort of a surprising thing, is that constitutional reform in the states has not occurred very frequently.

N--No. Very rarely.

F--I'm trying to recollect... I believe it's Maryland that recently ran a constitution through and got beat. For all of the strength you had in the selection of the committee in the Convention, winning it was a very near thing.

N--That's right. There were three problems: The first one was getting anybody to agree to have a constitutional convention; the second one was to produce a document that was good for the state; but the most important thing was to get the darn thing adopted. Many of them never got them adopted.

F--Well, we've got ten years, exactly, of operation of the Constitution. From my view Michigan government now runs pretty effectively. There are few real legacies that I can find, except for the fiscal policy of putting the rate into the Constitution itself, that people now have much unhappiness over. The streamlining of the government, and the like, people are happy with. Yet it was a near thing that the document was ever passed.

As you look through the Con-Con book and look at the pictures, virtually every major public figure--and this excluded legislators too, and that's a point I think people forget--came through that Convention. If you take a look at the senators, mayors, legislators, members of boards, commissions, something like 60 percent of those people went into government.

N--You know, that was a strange thing. It didn't start out that way, but I think a lot of people, after they went through the Convention, were rather enamoured by government and decided they wanted to get involved in government.



Nisbet

F--Even people like the elder Hood<sup>4</sup>. He didn't run again but his two sons became members of the Legislature. If you take a look at that, there's probably been no greater watershed, except perhaps for one man-one vote, on the impact of modern Michigan political history since the depression.

N--That's right.

F--And as I look through the literature I cannot find, Mr. Nisbet, one good history of that event. What frightens me is that many of these people are dying. We're losing some of the men of the greatest wit and insight. I'm afraid that 25 years from now somebody will want to write it, because it will stand in historical perspective, and there will be nothing on the record.

N--People won't be there to do it.

F--My experience with the Legislature is that virtually nothing is ever put on paper. Almost all the conversation, the deals getting worked out, the understandings, the give and take--that isn't the exchange of documents, that's the exchange of personalities. And Romney, when I was there, hardly ever put anything on paper. We made those contributions as men exchanged ideas. Milliken's the same way, although there's a different style.

N--A different style, yes. I think you're right.

F--Romney was much more central to each question, Milliken more of a negotiator.

N--They were more personal to Romney, or he made them more personal.

F--George cared very much about each event.

N--Yes, and he was very sincere about it.

F--I think he cared about education, too.

N--Yes, George Romney was on the Education Committee.

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<sup>4</sup>Morris W. Hood, Sr.; Democrat from Detroit; State Representative; delegate to Constitutional Convention.

Nisbet

F--So I guess that's one of the reasons that Con-Con is an important element. More so, I think, than the Blue Ribbon Committee because in a way the Blue Ribbon Committee took the consensuses that were available and moved them along.

N--I think that's right. That was the background for it, yes.

F--Then a wide discussion by influential people like Scholle, Reuther, Downs, Bentley, Glenn Allen, and the like. Everybody sort of understood what was going on. When the Blue Ribbon came, Romney did something very astute, I think. He built that Blue Ribbon Committee very wide--must have been 50 members of the stature of people like Heavenrich. When Milliken did the school reform, he got only five people on it. That was no good.

N--No. I think on a thing like that you've got to get breadth.

F--You've got to put Mr. Banker, Mr. Industrialist, Mr. School Teacher, and Mr. Laborer on.

N--That's right. If you're going to get acceptance you've got to have representation.

F--Look at what Con-Con did by bringing in people like Bluestone and Woodcock. They've not been tied into our educational issues again in the past five or six years. Don Stevens was another one that was brought in and brought importance.

N--I think that Con-Con did do that. I think they brought a great divergence of opinion into the Convention.

The only case I ever heard of where anybody felt left out was Joe Parisi<sup>5</sup>, and Joe, I think, had a personal axe to grind. In fact, I never heard of it until the

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<sup>5</sup>Joseph A. Parisi, Jr.; Executive Director, Michigan Townships Association.

Nisbet

Convention was over. I said, "Well, he's just left out of the Convention." It was his own fault.

But outside of that, I think there was a great gathering of opinions and thinking in this state which helped.

F--The other point that I think about, Mr. Nisbet, is this: After 1964 the Republicans truly became far, far less influential than they'd ever been since 1932. From 1964 on the Democrats controlled the House essentially. In the next ten years--all but four years--they controlled the Senate, too. They had legitimate majorities. They began to elect congressmen in sizeable proportions, and the like. And yet they've done almost nothing to retrench on the Constitution.

N--You come again to the State Board of Education. The first State Board of Education was, in my opinion, completely political.

In the first place, they were all members of one party. They were not necessarily people who were qualified for the broad range of education. You had some professionals on it, and you had some teachers on it, but they weren't people who had the vision that the Constitutional Convention had for education in Michigan.

In the second place, they immediately got in wrong with the Legislature. They got concerned with what their own salary and their own expense was going to be. They ran into conflict with the Legislature and for the first few years it was a constant battle. Maybe it still is, I don't know.

F--I taught at Delta College in Saginaw and I was the chapter treasurer of the AAUP [American Association of University Professors]. I had a conversation right when they were barnstorming the state to win support with Charles Morton. Morton said something to me that struck me--you probably would never recollect this. He said, "We never imagined we'd have such successful polls because it was atypical." In fact, there's only been two elections in Michigan history as landslide in proportion: the election of Nixon against McGovern and Goldwater versus Johnson.

N--Morton, I think, was one of the good members of the State Board.

Nisbet

F--Morton was. Morton said, "We never expected this, so we only put up four good guys and stuck in four bums." He didn't use the word "bums", he hardly...

N--I know.

F--...Four less able to balance the political problems of the political convention. They had hoped the top four Democrats and the top four Republicans would build a balanced...

N--...a balanced program.

F--Then you got people like Leon Fill who didn't have the credibility, the education, or expertise and all of a sudden we lost very astute people.

N--That has always been to me the one very disappointing thing about our Con-Con: the fact that we didn't get a State Board of Education that was strong enough, motivated enough, or ideal enough to envision the job that we had for them.

F--I talked to Ira Polley, John Porter, and Senator Lane. I lean to the view--which Senator Lane would concur with but Ira wouldn't--that the selecting of the fight over Flint was a foolish fight; to expend all of their resources and credibility so early on what was perhaps impossible. They were running against Mr. Mott rather than attempting to build that credibility of an efficient staff that was credible to the institutions.

It was a mistake that turned us away from the Constitutional Convention's aspiration. It could still come because the legal mechanisms are there. Whether it will in fact happen is hard to say.

N--Well, that's true. I hope, anyway, that we've had a different attitude in approaching it the last few years. I think we've had some changes on the State Board that have been good for it, but whether it can ever overcome its bad start, I don't know.

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F--One of the other elements is that I don't think that people who aren't very close to the situation understand the tremendous power that Michigan's institutions have: psychological power, the love that people have for the institutions. I'm not just talking about State or Michigan, I'm talking about places like Central and Ferris. The pharmacists of this state have tremendous admiration and love for Ferris. The strength that these schools have in people's minds, and the fantastic strength that John Hannah had...

N--I think John Hannah--and you ask people who were influential with policy--far and away was the leader of policy-making in that era. For all the criticism that people may have for John Hannah, he still was the education leader.

F--I'll tell you where I am. I happen to think that John Hannah was one of the giants of American history in education.

N--Those who were opposed to him accused him of being a brick-and-mortar man. That was the old expression, "John had brick and mortar."

I never thought that was true. Now, it was true that he did build, but he was building facilities for professors, facilities for students, and he built housing. How in the devil would Michigan State have taken care of the numbers of students that wanted to come if they hadn't had that kind of housing in the beginning?

F--They could never have done it.

N--They could never have done it.

F--And you can't have an academic program without physical facilities.

N--I always had the feeling that Hannah was very successful in his building program. There was no question about that. I could see why Gar Lane was upset with Hannah, but if Hannah hadn't had that vision and the ability to get it, State would never have...

F--I can understand Gar very much. I worked for him for

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four years. It comes down very simply for Gar--less so for others. Gar was pro-Michigan, blue to the socks. Michigan was important to Flint as no other institution was, Mr. Mott loved Michigan, and that was that.

N--That's right. That was that.

F--I think about your remark about Clair White<sup>6</sup>, who had a gift of saying very cruel things at times. Clair's remark when John Hannah left was, "The cement mixers ran for 20 days after he left, in memory." I think that Hannah was a great, great man. I have his picture hanging on my wall, and I'm not much for hero worship.

N--I think he's a great man too.

F--Thirty years of public work gets men beat up. Every time you're in a fight, well you know, you just can't...

N--I think John Hannah showed his greatness, too, when he stepped aside at Michigan State.

F--He didn't have to go.

N--No, he didn't have to go, he had his Board with him. He didn't have to leave Michigan State.

F--He had the votes, still.

N--You bet he had the votes.

F--I don't know whom I talked to, but I talked to somebody who told me how John used to encourage people to join the Board. While it's true that Huff was taking a chunk out of him, and Clair was, there weren't enough votes to get rid of him.

N--You know, I like Clair White very much, we're good

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<sup>6</sup> Clair White; Democrat from Bay City; Member, Michigan State University Board of Trustees, 1965-72; former member, Board of Governors, Wayne State University.

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personal friends. He could cut like the devil. He had a sharp tongue and was kind of clever with it. And Huff was the same way, from an entirely different angle, a different viewpoint, a different technique. They did a lot of talking but when it came down to votes they never had them.

F--No, and a guy like Huff knew that, too.

N--Oh, he knew it.

F--I don't think Clair might have, but Huff knew how to count the house.

As I look at that: The strength of the institutions, and what they'd done for the people, was such that the schools didn't trust the State Board. They were afraid that the difference between coordination and control was such a delicate line that the bureaucrats wouldn't honor the historical tradition.

I'm very conscious of those words "historical tradition" in our state. They fought it and there was no way without Republican support and the civic worthies of the community being tied into the State Board that they could be effective.

N--I think that's true. There were a lot of angles to it, of course.

F--Well, you take a look at the people you served with and then take a look at the spector of Michigan public life--they're everywhere. So it really brought up a tremendous upwelling of people. The rest of them sort of passed away from the Legislature and the old government structures.

Now, maybe this is a bias--I come from Massachusetts where the government is poor and corrupt--I'm very proud of this state. It's an honest state with very little corruption, almost none, at the state level, and it's well run. It's got a good agricultural department, a good highway department, a good department of natural resources, and good public schools. They put a lot of money into public schools, they've built one heck of an education system.

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N--Another thing that I think may be a little rarer here than in other states is that the Legislature has consistently backed education in Michigan.

F--That comes to the first question. In 1958 we spent \$80 million on higher education--that's community colleges and four-year institutions--in 1970 it was some \$260 million. That's quite a testament.

N--I can recall so many times in board meetings when they'd talk about this argument, this fight with the Legislature. Michigan State wanted \$70 million and they'd give them \$68 million, and the University would want \$85 million and they'd give them \$82 million. You had the feeling that there was a constant battle going on in the Legislature. In a way that was true, trying to get your total appropriations, which you never did and which you really never expected to get either. Although I don't think budgets were padded.

But in spite of all that, over the years I've always said that I felt that the schools of Michigan, higher, secondary, and elementary, were very well treated by the Legislature.

F--All you have to do is look at Ohio or Illinois or Montana to see the difference. I can remember numbers like \$70 million because I did the staff work. Part of that was rhetoric for the campus community. Everybody knows in every one of these president's offices how much money is available in the till, and they know that welfare and mental health have to get their share.

N--Have to get their share. That's right.

F--It wouldn't be good for one part of the government to prosper and the other to live in deep need.

N--No sir, the state couldn't live with that type of a thing, nor could education, very long.

F--No, because this state's not divided. That's probably an observation that we should explore because in 1950 and '52 it was divided, although education doesn't seem to have been part of that division. We've never fought with each other, the welfare people against the mental health, and the mental health against...



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N--No, I think that's true.

F--Everybody's sort of seen that the other parts had a component in the good life.

What do you think are the reasons for the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

N--I think we were ready for it, the finances were available, and people became more conscious of the need for higher, or more, education. I think that the situation was developing where there was the opportunity for education to step in and fill gaps that had not been filled before. I think we had good leaders in education in Michigan at that particular time. Again, I come back to the Hannahs, the Anspachs, Jim Miller over at Western, and Sponberg a little later at Eastern.

I think all those things were building up to a kind of a climax that was ready for acceptance if the money were available and if the Legislature would provide the money.

F--There's another side to that besides the money that was available in the general fund of the treasury--the prosperity that was available to the workers.

N--That's right. I think that was another thing--the prosperity of the people in general. More youngsters could go to school. I think there were more scholarship funds available in your universities.

F--John Porter said something that struck me as quite sensible. He said there were giants in the land here, not only in education but also in labor and industry.

N--Well, you take people in Michigan industry like Walker Cisler, or even our Dan Gerber here in Fremont in a small way.

F--Dow.

N--Bob Briggs of Consumers Power.

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F--Briggs was later in government as Commissioner of Banking.

N--Yes, but you know, there were a lot of people--the Uptons<sup>7</sup> in Benton Harbor and St. Joe--that you could name all over the state that were, as John Porter called them, giants. They were big men in their fields. I think they saw the need and they not only didn't attempt to block it, they furthered it.

F--I agree with you. We're skipping around some but that's fine.

One of the things is that labor, rather than just being concerned with lunch-pail issues, wanted the workers to have something to buy that was real.

N--You asked four questions on the position of labor, industry, commerce, and agriculture. I don't think there's any question that labor was very strong for education. They realized it for their own people. There were more of them, of course. That's why they were strong in the United Health and Welfare Fund. They said, "We have more people that receive the benefits of these organizations than any other, we've got to be for it." Well, the same thing was true for education. There were more people in labor to be educated, who would receive the benefit of it.

F--It's also my understanding that around this time--this is the time of the Russian Sputnik--people were concerned about being a one-industry state and wanted to broaden their technology. Industry was concerned about improving the education of the citizenry so they could have higher skills available to them.

What about agriculture? They didn't have as many voices. It seems in some ways that John Hannah spoke very strongly for agriculture.

N--I think John Hannah was a great voice of agriculture, but you did have men like [Walter W.] Wightman and Dan Reed of the Farm Bureau who were quite outspoken for education too.

Agriculture has been, as you well know, hampered, I think, to some extent in Michigan by having so many

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<sup>7</sup> The Upton Family founded the Upton (Frederick S.) Foundation, St. Joseph, Michigan.

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organizations. Now, this was 25 years ago. We recognized that and we tried at that time to organize the Ag Council. I think there were 76 farm organizations in Michigan at that time: bee keepers, dairy keepers, milk producers, honey folk--just all kinds.

F--I was talking to somebody just two days ago--I can't recollect who it was, maybe I was talking to Senator Beadle about this--and I was struck very much by the fact that when you think about big industry you think about a small, hard group. I'm struck by the fact that Michigan agriculture has never spoken with one voice.

N--No.

F--The dairy men have their own, the fruit growers another, and the cherry growers another.

N--We did get the Ag Council organized but it never became real effective as a complete voice of agriculture in Michigan. As you said, there was never any one group, like the Farm Bureau or the Farm Union, that spoke for Michigan agriculture, although they did have some pretty strong people.

F--But they never worked together like the unions did.

N--No, never.

F--One of the reasons I asked you the question is that it looks to me like, while you saw forces fighting appropriation levels, or while you saw them fighting taxation levels, there just never seemed to be any real displeasure about the amount of money spent for education.

N--No, never, That's very true.

F--And when you worked the articles in Con-Con, they were ideal elements because guys like Hutchinson knew how to do that sort of thing. You could have limited the spending level, could have mandated the tuition level, could have mandated the size, but they didn't do any of this.

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N--No, and it was good that they didn't because that was not constitutional material.

F--No, but there were plenty of things that happened. We used to say "the big print giveth and the small print taketh away." There was plenty of room for small print, because you had so many major issues.

N--Well, I think we find in general that Michigan has supported higher education in all of its facets to quite a marked degree.

F--During the Convention and during your time in public life, particularly in the period I'm interested in, what do you think the policy objectives were that underlay this expansion?

Certainly one, as you said, was to create opportunities for the working people to go to school.

N--Yes, I think so. I think the recognition by all the groups of the need for better higher education, of diversified higher education.... For instance, it used to be that we had the old academic mathematics, languages, science, and so forth. I think we've broken away from that tremendously.

You have put a question in here where you mention vocational education. I think education has come to recognize that you couldn't have the same educational level for all students. You had to have a variety of curricula to take care of the students of varying abilities, varying capacities, varying talents.

You mentioned Ferris Institute, for instance. At that particular time, Ferris Institute, before it was Ferris State College, was the only school in the state that had what we would call a vocational education philosophy to any extent at all.

F--And you didn't have to be a high school graduate to go.

N--No, you didn't have to be a high school graduate.

You mentioned the pharmacists in the state--there's no question Ferris has always had the outstanding pharmacy school in Michigan. In fact, about the only one outside of Wayne.

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He was Head of the Department of Education at the University of Chicago. I got to know him--he lives out here at the lake about seven or eight miles now--three years ago, I guess. We had a cottage out on the lake near him, and he would come up here on weekends at that time.

He was a great community college man. He has done a lot that people don't know anything about in creating the community college influence in Michigan. He's done the same thing in Florida. They built a tremendous community college program down there. Well, that's beside the point, I just wanted to draw his name into the picture.

I think a lot of people in these areas tried to provide something for their students that couldn't go anyplace else, or tried to provide a different curriculum for them that they wouldn't get in another institution.

F--Besides the object of creating educational opportunity and diversity of institutions so it wasn't all just liberal arts, did you also have the desire in the public policy field to limit the size of institutions? Jim Farnsworth talked about the distinct desire not to have the California-type institution with 160,000 people in it.

N--At one time, as you well know, that was quite important in the Legislature. They spoke of putting limits on schools. They never did it, but the feeling was there.

F--They did it, but without breaching the Constitution.

N--Yes, that's right.

F--What they did was make dollars available to small schools so they could compete in scholarships and faculty.

N--They did it in a backhand way. In other words, they encouraged the building up of the Centrals, Westerns, and Easterns who would take students that would normally go to Michigan or Michigan State.

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I think that people recognized that you needed a different type of higher education for different levels of talents, and for different levels of ability, because the A students and the C students were going to the same university.

F--And the A students and the C students both had to work.

N--Yes.

F--Would you say that that was one of the reasons for the encouragement of new institutions? Don't forget we built Saginaw Valley, and Grand Valley; we encouraged Dearborn, Flint, Oakland; and we built about 15 new community colleges.

N--I think a lot of it. I don't want to put Grand Valley in with the community college idea--except it started that way, didn't it?

F--I wasn't thinking of that just as a community college.

I think that we built institutions across the whole spectrum. You encouraged the growth of Tech, which was a hole in the wall--you built fantastically there. You encouraged the growth of normal schools--and I would say the four schools of the State Board--to become diversified, comprehensive institutions. Central is nothing like it was 20 years ago. It's a place where people go not just to become teachers.

N--It became a Michigan university then.

F--You built regional universities and you encouraged the growth of community colleges in a most fantastic way.

N--There's a man in this state--you've never heard of him, I'm sure--who's had a lot of influence on community college growth and that's a Dr. Leonard Koos<sup>8</sup>. He was a man that first started what was then called the junior college movement.

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<sup>8</sup>Leonard V. Koos; Director of Research, American Association of Junior and Community Colleges, 1946-62.

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F--From 1964 to 1970 I don't believe Michigan got one single building built with the general funds of the state.

N--I think you're probably right.

F--Whereas a place like Tech got five.

N--Yes. Look what they did to Ferris. I remember saying to Vic Spathelf one time, "Vic, you've been treated better by the Legislature than any Michigan institution. As long as you keep Ferris to the philosophy that it has now, you'll get that, but if you try to be another liberal arts college you're going to be treated just like everybody else."

F--They built the same thing at Lake Superior. Why, that was a hole. I don't know how to put it delicately. It was the most rat-trap place I ever saw in my life.

N--Well, that was desert for a while.

F--And they built five or six buildings there.

N--Yes, beautiful.

F--So I guess they did have that public policy, but there was consensus for it.

N--Yes, that's right. That was acceptable. People were satisfied with it.

F--I don't believe, myself, working there, that Michigan State has any real great desire to grow much bigger in terms of its size. In terms of its program complexity, that's a different story.

N--You're talking about Michigan State. Now, another man that I think has had a big influence is Dr. Wharton. He came late in that period you're talking about, but I think since he's been there he's had a pretty good influence on education in Michigan.

F--I talked to Fleming--he was interviewed earlier--and he said no matter what the talent of the man who was the president of Michigan or Michigan State, because of the tremendous value to the public of these institutions, any man would be bound to have a major influence.

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It looks to me like some of the statesmanship that's been exhibited between Michigan and Michigan State, for instance, has to be credited to Fleming and Wharton. They're men of skill.

N--As an example of where they've influenced--both of them talked to the Detroit Economic Club. The Detroit Economic Club is quite an organization down there, and they've talked to similar groups in various other cities (business groups and farm groups) where I think they've made quite an impression on the attitude of the people towards education.

F--Are there any other aspects of the policy, besides the diversity of education, creating the opportunity, and perhaps encouraging the growth of institutions, that you'd like to add to the public policy objectives?

Much of Con-Con was concerned with the government structure, the management structure of higher education which we really didn't hear about. What were some of the dialogues about that?

N--I think the government's standpoint, as you know, was that the various institutions ought to have their own boards. Which is understandable because when I first went on the State Board of Education--we'll say Mt. Pleasant was 3,500 students, Western 5,500, Eastern 4-5,000--one state board might have done fairly well in managing them, but as they got up to 15-16,000 students, it was impossible for one board to adequately supervise, pass judgment, and help on policies. Out of that came the desire for each school to have its own board. And that was the one thing that came out of the Constitution.

The second question was how that board should come into existence. Should it be an appointed board or an elected board? Well, the majority felt it should be an appointed board and I agreed with it.

I would prefer to have all education boards appointed. Now, some people say you're taking away from the public the right to vote, but this is kind of a special field. Just because a man can get votes doesn't necessarily make him a good officer of a university.



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F--Some people who would make fine board members just aren't cut out, personalitywise...

N--I was going to say that some of your [potentially] good board members would not submit to the elective process. They wouldn't want to go before a convention to have their name placed in nomination, they wouldn't want to conduct a campaign, but they would take an appointment. So I think you get a better board, and with less politics in it, too, when it's appointed.

F--You know, that's an interesting aside. I remember in 1970 when Michigan State was very volatile. Senator Zollar said to me, "I can't fathom this. Here we are a Senate Appropriations Committee that's elected politically." We had five Republicans and three Democrats then. He said, "We're less political about education than the board of control at Michigan State." And he also implied the same for the other two schools.

I often thought about that. When the politicians could afford to be nonpolitical about education, what the blazes were the elected board members being so political about?

N--I think the board at Michigan State was more political than any of the other boards.

F--I think that's true.

N--I think it came about between personalities on the board itself.

F--I think that's been a strong impetus for appointed boards.

N--Yes, I do too. I think that's very true. So out of that came the appointment of the four boards for the regional universities.

The second thing was, I think that both Hannah and Bonisteel--who kind of represented the University, or stood for the University in the Constitutional Convention--had a very strong feeling to keep the authority of the boards from being impinged upon.

F--Certainly that's one of the ambiguities of the Constitutional Convention. In one section the colleges

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are given autonomous power--and autonomy is a very powerful word--and in another section the State Board is responsible for coordination and planning.

N--You mentioned a little earlier that there was a very fine line there. Maybe the line was too fine. Maybe you couldn't have coordination and autonomy. Maybe it was impossible. I don't know, but it was to be. We recognized that it would be a very fine line and would require very close cooperation between the State Board of Education and the boards of the various universities.

I regret to say that that cooperation never was achieved. I think it was because of the fear that you couldn't reach it, but I don't think much of an attempt was made to reach it. I'm afraid I blame the State Board of Education a little more for this than I do the boards of the institutions because I think in the beginning they never made any attempt to attain that degree of cooperation between the various boards.

F--Was the dialogue concerned about duplication and competition? Was that one of the reasons you went for...

N--Yes. They were concerned with duplication, I think, more than competition, but...

F--Well, duplication and competition are the same.

N--I think the two would probably go together more than separate. Yes, I think that was one of the reasons. For instance, take the field of forestry. Michigan has a school of forestry and State has a school of forestry.

F--And Tech does.

N--Yes. Did we need those three? That was the question. Couldn't we take...

F--You know what we used to say about that? We used to say, Michigan has the money, State has the students, and Tech has the trees.

N--Well, I guess there's something to that.

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F--Let's talk about that because duplication is a political term. If you want institutions to be able to compete in the marketplace for status, really you made the first decision when you decided to permit schools to have their own boards and to let schools have the title of university so they wouldn't appear in the marketplace of the public's mind to be inferior. You had already made the decision to encourage duplication.

Now the other thing is that I find that--and it's going to be difficult to write about because duplication is like motherhood--you don't regard saying "no duplication" an acceptable way to lower the cost in the industrial sectors. You don't go to Ford and say, "You can't make stationwagons because GM is doing it." And Gerbers isn't saying to Beechnut, "Don't make beets because we'll do beets and you'll do cabbages."

In the American system, the lure of the marketplace is supposedly one of the things that you want. One of the things that keeps us different than the Soviet system is that we encourage competition. The minute you have competition you give the people a chance to vote with their feet. Enrollments tell you something.

Now I suppose the other thing that makes me think that duplication was a false issue--and still does--is that when you come to a community like this one, how many grocery stores have you got? Well, why not close up a couple? You see, that's not acceptable to you. What's the matter with having more than one medical school?

N--I think that was one feature. There was another side to it, though.

For instance, here's the picture in the South. No school in the South was large enough to have a school of veterinary medicine. So the schools down there got together and they said, "We'll put the school of medicine in Tennessee," for instance.

F--You're talking about the Southern Regional Education Board?

N--Yes. I think that was some of the thinking here, that things will come up for which no school is large

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enough to have a facility, so maybe we ought to have a facility in one school and refer our people there. I'm afraid that Michigan isn't in that situation, as they were in the South. I had to change my mind a little bit.

F--I think so, too. I looked at the Southern Regional Education Board and was quite impressed with it.

I tried to encourage, when I worked for the Legislature, the development of instate residential opportunities for Ohio residents to send their kids to our forestry schools (which Ohio doesn't have) in return for our sending our kids to optometry (which we don't have). And also making instate residential fees available from Wisconsin for Michigan residents, particularly those people who live in the western end of the UP and the Menominee Peninsula, in return for making 20 places available in the vet school.

I couldn't get that to happen because Michigan's Legislature, and its public executive, aren't willing to cooperate with any of the adjacent states because you get Canada, which is a foreign country, and then the fact is that Ohio and Indiana are noticeably negligent in what they spend for public services. And Illinois was too crooked.

You would think that there could be commonality, but for some reason, I don't know why, Michigan looked to New York and New York to Michigan and neither of us looked to Illinois.

N--Coming back to this veterinary medicine deal, you look for ideals and you try to supplement, but sometimes you can't make it. I think maybe that was one thing in Michigan.

There were other factors, like Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, where you would have thought they could have got together, for instance, in a school of journalism or something and made a really outstanding school, but it never seemed to work out.

F--Maybe it'll come in the future, but there doesn't seem to be a climate for it.

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N--No, that's right. There doesn't seem to be any demand for it at all.

F--Michigan's people, maybe because it's a peninsula surrounded by a foreign country on two sides, don't have much congress or relationship with other states.

N--Well, I think we feel quite self-sufficient on our own. I think we have felt we are able to finance.

We've done a pretty good job in Michigan on financing education, medicine, and highways. In financing the needs of our state we've done a pretty good job.

F--We've got national industry. It may be that an important element in discussing why some of these mechanisms for cooperation didn't come about is that Michigan's people really don't want to.

N--Yes, they probably aren't concerned.

F--You know, it's that sense of frontier. I'm from Massachusetts and I couldn't get over when I came, Mr. Nisbet, this weekly migration to the north to go shoot animals. That was a great shock to me. I think that every man wants to own a gun. I think that's a religious and psychiatric...

N--Michigan proves you can stir up more trouble over this gun deal than almost anything else. You find that certain associations will contraband and blackmail just because of it.

F--Over guns? Oh, yes. It's a form of public madness.

N--That's right.

F--What about the destruction of class and culture barriers?

N--I looked at that question and I wasn't able to do much with it, frankly, because I haven't been exposed to that too much. If I had come from the Detroit area I suppose I would. Isn't that pretty much a problem of southeastern Michigan? Have you run into it any place else?

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F--Wayne you think about in terms of the Blacks, and Eastern in terms of the hillbilly-whites because they were right in the middle of all those Appalachian whites who came up here.

N--Yes, who came up in the war.

F--I think about the community colleges reaching people who had never been able to go to college.

N--Well, that hasn't been in my experience, Mr. Faverman. I don't think I've been too aware of it, although I guess I knew it was there. I guess to some extent it never really hit me.

F--Ok, I understand that.

I don't know if you ever thought about this, but we've got some 9 million people living in this state. Did you ever think how few people in this state work? I'm not talking about idleness. We've got almost 3 million out of the 9 million in school, from kindergarten through graduate school. If you take those ages 0 to 5, the people in college and school, the retired people, and the people sick or institutionalized, you've got an immense chunk of the population not gainfully employed. And I think the decision to make those people who are paying the taxes carry the burden of increasing...

You think back when you started in education how few people really went to college, and today think about how few don't go on after high school. It's the rare experience to find somebody who's not taking some type of training. So that, I think, was what I was looking for because that really was the destruction of class and culture barriers.

N--Well, I think that's true. You've hit a different angle than I had thought of, but you're right. There are not many youngsters that don't go to some type of school, and when you take that out of the population you have rather a small group that's supporting the state.

F--In the end it all works out because you end up with people better qualified and the like--hopefully.

What about popularism versus elitism? I guess I've been trying to get at, you know, letting everybody go to school versus only accepting some.

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Some people saw Hatcher as a very distant and aloof man. They saw him as the personification of Michigan and they saw Hannah as the popularist. I'm not sure that that's an astute question. I've changed my mind as I've been talking to people.

N--I think what you've said was a little bit typical of Michigan at one time, and again with the [competition between] University of Michigan and Michigan State. I think they were typical of the two. People felt that way. I don't know that the institutions were that way, but I think people felt that way.

F--I had a long talk with Fleming. You know, a man is fortunate when he talks to people of the caliber I've talked to. You can learn from these people. They've lived the experiences and have spent their lives at them.

Well, Mr. Nisbet, one of the things that struck me very much was that elitism is a slogan. Back East the public schools weren't there and the private schools stayed small. Harvard has 1,000 undergraduates--we'd lose that number on Michigan State's campus. When you take a look at that, one of the things you're struck by is that Michigan had 40,000 FTE. That's probably 65,000 human beings. That's a pretty large group to be an elite.

It's begun to look to me like we were building a classless society by pulling the poor into the middle class--the rich were never an important factor here anyway. I think also about the difference between, say, Hatcher and Fleming. Fleming has moved a great deal more towards the middle grounds.

N--Oh, yes. I like Harlan, personally. I think that it may be more of a mannerism, too, than fact. He left that opinion.

F--I have a great admiration for Keast. I thought he was a brilliant man, but he came out of the private sector. He came from Cornell and he never could stand the rough-and-tumble of public life.

N--No, he never participated.

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F--I can recollect being told that when legislators came to Wayne he wouldn't bother to come out of his office. They thought that was arrogant. I often thought it was discomfort.

N--Well, he was entirely different than Hilberry. I don't know whether the board there felt they needed somebody different or not. You were right, he never attained the acceptance that...

F--I think the same is true between Hatcher and Fleming. If you told Hatcher to go to hell, he would probably go off and be hurt. If you told Fleming to go to hell, he'd say, "Well, that's a reasonable proposal. Let's split the cost."

N--"That's a long way to go, but let's look at it."

F--He'd split the cost and all of a sudden you were paying half of the freight. Well, that's an extremely astute mechanism, and I think that Michigan is less isolated today than it was.

N--Yes, I think you're right. I think it was at its height during Hatcher's and Hannah's terms. I think Hatcher was jealous of Hannah and the growth that Michigan State had under Hannah.

F--This is an aside, but it seems to me that some of the criticism that comes to Wharton, because he can't continue to succeed in certain ways the way Michigan State did formerly, is an unfair criticism for the reason it's not good for the state to have one institution become overly strong and another one become weak. Now you know, parochially, our people would like to win every day. They would like to end up with the score being 99 to 0. In terms of the state, that's not a good policy.

N--That's a natural feeling, but as you say, it isn't a good policy. I agree with you on that.

F--I want to ask you this: It appears to me that when Michigan State won the fight over changing its name, which occurred in the Legislature, afterwards a good deal of the steam went out of the conflict. They were pretty much, you know, just sort of racking up the chips for the effort invested. The degree of the



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fight has always seemed to me to be a good deal less real than talked about.

N--Yes, I think that's very true, that it was more a talk thing than it was a fact thing. It never seemed to me that it carried over into the operation of the institution.

F--It might have been alumni because I have never--and I was inside, Mr. Nisbet, I was there in the counting house when they were passing out the money and I realize this is a pretty sweeping statement--I have hardly ever heard any Michigan institution badmouth any other Michigan institution.

N--I think that's true. In all the board meetings I've ever attended I have never heard one institution vilify another one, criticize another one, or try and promote itself above another one. I think there has been very good feelings in the governing boards, too, between...

F--The governing boards got on with each other?

N--Yes.

F--I've heard that's true. I'm well aware of the high regard that a lot of our people at Michigan State had for people like Goebel at Michigan. And the converse was that they had regard for you and others.

N--I think Paul Goebel was one of the real leaders in bringing about a mutual feeling of respect and admiration between the institutions. I think Paul was a very strong individual.

F--Hannah never really said anything bad about Hatcher or Michigan.

N--Never in a board meeting did Hannah ever express himself...

F--I never heard Fleming say bad of Michigan State. I think that some of the fight was alumni, football, rah rah talking.

N--Oh, I think it was much more vocal, as a matter of fact.

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F--Well, what about Con-Con? I've been told that Bonisteel and Hannah had a regard for each other.

N--They were very friendly. Hannah and Bonisteel were very good friends and had a great respect for each other. And again, in Con-Con, I never saw any feeling of rivalry.

F--They weren't trying to hurt each other, were they? They really hung together, didn't they, for higher education?

N--They did all the way through. I think one of the powers of the Education Committee was that you had Hannah, you had Bonisteel, and you had Anspach of the regional universities and they all worked together there.

F--With regard for each other.

N--Yes, with high regard for each other.

F--So it may be a matter of personality. I've heard many legislators complain to me about Hatcher driving up in his chauffeur-driven car and being stiff. Gar Lane, who was pro-Michigan, referred to Hatcher as aloof. I think that's true.

N--Well, I think Hatcher was. For instance, they'd have a meeting of the presidents of the universities. They'd all be there except Hatcher. Sometimes he'd send somebody to say they were there, but he wouldn't come. Now I don't say every time, but enough to make it apparent that he felt he was a little bit above them.

F--The community college people told me that Hannah always told them he was a graduate of Grand Rapids Junior College. Well, there was that kind of a skill with people.

Staebler said that he thought the best politician in the state was probably John Hannah and that he worried that some day he was going to run against him and just wipe the board clean. But it was said with a great deal of regard for him, even though Staebler was from Ann Arbor.

N--Yes, I knew Staebler.

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F--What about occupational and vocational training objectives? You've already said they were important.

N--Oh yes, I think so. I would say it probably started early in the sixties, but maybe before that the ground-work was being laid. I think we've come a long way in Michigan in vocational training education, or whatever you want to call it. It's taking its place with very good effect. I think it's one of the fine things of our educational system.

It's very strong now, as you well know, in the secondary schools and community colleges. I don't know how strong it will become in the universities. I think many feel that it is a field that should be left to the community colleges and vocational schools. But as you say, we've got Ferris, we've got Michigan Tech, we've got Lake Superior. It's possible....

F--I'm comfortable with that for the reason that everybody can't do everything.

N--That's right.

F--It may be that vocational things won't fall on friendly soil in a place like Michigan, but it might at a place like Washtenaw Community College.

N--You'd have to develop an entirely different philosophy, particularly at Michigan. But I think in all the schools it might be better to keep them segregated.

F--What about the role of culture and the arts? You always think about somebody like Jack Faxon pushing for that, but it doesn't seem, to my mind, to have been an important element.

N--I don't think so. When I looked at that question I really didn't feel that that had a dominant place in the picture. I think it's there subconsciously, I think it's a part of people's thinking, but as to

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being a major factor in the development of higher education, I just don't think it is.

F--The problem I think is this: I've asked the question because you have to, you know, follow trails even when you're sure of the answer. Nobody wants to say, because of the love of learning and the respect we have for the arts, "No, people just don't care." So they are discomfited.

I frankly think that people just haven't cared. It's not been important to them. This is a state where you come to culture after you've come to education. Education comes first.

N--Yes, education comes first. I kind of think that's right.

F--And later that other thing will come.

N--You may have something, but as I say, I don't think it's a dominant factor or the factor.

F--We haven't put money into music and opera and the like in the manner we have back East. We have no real good museums.

N--I think there have been some efforts. I think Oakland University made some efforts with their Meadowbrook Festival and their theater.

F--Well, that was Woody Varner...

N--That was Woody, yes.

F--...being clever about tying in. He couldn't go the athletic way.

N--No. Woody was concerned, too, with the people of his area, Bloomfield Hills, and Birmingham, where he felt they were more that way.

F--And there was the Cranbrook clientele.

N--That's right. I don't say that the other schools haven't done some of that. I think Western did just in the last two years. I think Jim Miller has done

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a good deal in the dance, the theater, and the arts. But I think it hasn't been a major thrust.

F--There's not much public support for art, either. In Lansing, you know, President Wharton brings in something like the National Radio Orchestra of Japan and sixty people watch. If you brought the Grand Ole Opry and their rubber band there'd be 10,000 people.

N--They'd have taken the stadium for that!

F--We've already talked about the positions of labor, commerce, industry, and agriculture. Did you want to add anything to that, Mr. Nisbet?

N--No, I don't think so. I think they've all made a significant contribution.

F--I guess the answer was that they really weren't in opposition.

N--No, no. I think if there was any place where there was unanimity of thinking it was in education.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government?

N--I don't think any. To me, the big influence in the federal government was in the research field. The monies that they gave to the institutions was more for research. I never felt that they had any effect on the overall policy.

F--In the area of social welfare, every time we got a dollar from the federal government--with which you had to match a dollar--you had a host of requirements that required the control in spending the entire part; not just the federal share.

It appears to me that the federal requirements on education were few, if any. They were buying a service rather than attempting...

N--I never felt we were limited by the federal government. Now, I know that in some fields that's true.

F--In welfare it is.

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N--Yes, welfare is one of them. Highways is another, to an extent. But I never felt in education that the federal government put limiting factors on the schools.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy from the private sector?

N--Well, I again wouldn't feel that they were very concrete.

F--Let me tell you what I had in mind. Back in Massachusetts the private schools were very powerful in people's minds. Harvard, MIT, Simmons, and Boston University fought the coming of the publicly supported institutions into the metropolitan areas. Amherst was way back in the backwoods.

And in states out West, when there was talk about trying to save private schools that were beginning to decline, as they are, the public schools fought that.

I haven't noticed in this state that when the public schools grew, the private schools.... I think about places like Calvin, Albion, Alma, and the University of Detroit, all very important to their particular people. Like Hope is to the Dutch, for example. They didn't fight it. They cooperated.

Just this year, when Jim Farnsworth and the others put through a bill to give a grant following the New York plan--which Dr. Hannah served on--to the private schools for each degree, the public schools kept their mouths shut, even though they were losing some money out of the pot. I've wondered, you know, is this evidence of statesmanship real? As far as I can see, Mr. Nisbet, it is.

N--Well, I do too. I've been associated with both the private sector and the public sector. I've never felt that there was a rivalry there that did damage to either one. Although I think each made efforts to enroll students, and each made efforts for money in the private sector as well as the public sector.

I know Michigan came up one time and asked me if I thought that industry would be willing to give money to public schools, the tax-supported schools, for

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research, or things like that. I didn't think that there would be any problem there at all. I thought industry would support, whether it was tax-supported or whether it wasn't.

I guess I would say this: I think industry has been more liberal with the tax-supported schools than they have the nontax-supported schools.

F--Although, you know, one of the things is this: The private schools have a low profile, but their boards are full of the powerful people in industry--industrialists, philanthropists...

N--You bet they are.

F--The private schools have a tremendous hold on people's minds. They don't look that way, but I sure wouldn't want to see a combination of Hope, Calvin, Albion, Kalamazoo and the University of Detroit working against the public sector.

N--Yes, they'd have a lot of influence.

F--And they didn't use it, and I think...

N--I have a feeling that there's great respect between the private schools and the public schools. I don't think there's a rivalry there.

F--That again says something about the whole attitude. You see, when I write this history, I think one of the things I'm going to have to say is that for all of the hustle and bustle there's been a strong air of statesmanship between the institutions, the various sectors of government, and the private sectors.

N--I think you're right. I think there's been a feeling in Michigan that education is important whether it's public or private and that it needs the support of both sectors of the economy. We've had a very fine relationship in Michigan between them.

Now, we've been asked, and I know the Legislature looked at this at times, "Why is it that in Michigan 85 percent of our students go to the public schools and 15 percent to the private schools, when in Ohio it's probably 50-50?" I think maybe that is truer in Ohio than

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in other states, although it's true in other states too. But I have the feeling that we've still had quite a unanimity of support, even from the 85 percent towards the 15 percent.

F--Yes, I think that's true. I think that's part of the uniqueness of Michigan.

N--That's right. I think, by and large.

I knew John Lederle when he was out in Northern Massachusetts--you were mentioning the closeness of the Harvards and the Simmons--and I think Lederle made an attempt to break into that feeling in Massachusetts, didn't he?

F--I don't know. Lederle had come from Michigan and went there, and I was here already. He didn't succeed well. He seemed to have run into some kind of problems and crossed the Legislature.

N--I didn't know. I thought he'd done rather well out there. Of course, about all the conversation I had was with John, but his reports seemed to indicate a growth of the University.

F--Oh, the University improved. I'm not sure of this, but my feeling was that he broke the ground and then he got so marked up that they had to bring another guy in to bring home the bacon.

N--Well, that could be true, too. I've had the feeling that Michigan has been a little bit unique in its education program. Now you take your eastern schools. They don't have near the support that we do in Michigan, nor do they take the numbers of students that we have. For instance, some years ago we were talking of giving quotas to New Jersey and New York.

F--Right, and Illinois also, as I recollect.

N--New Jersey was particularly weak in its support of higher education.

F--And, boy, did Senator Lane used to beat me up about that. They had that list of those states--New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio--that were sending



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all their kids in and weren't taking any out. I think that's why that section is in the law, that says you can't take more than 20 percent out-of-state.

N--To me, though, it did point out the uniqueness and the leadership of Michigan in education. I think Michigan has given tremendous leadership.

F--I think it's got to have had economic benefits, though, too.

N--Oh yes.

F--And social benefits. This state is able to encourage inward migration because it stands for the good life.

N--Right.

F--What about the fights to locate schools in one area rather than another?

It looks to me, and I don't want to lead the question, that rather than saying, "If I get it you can't have it," they kind of built the classic position of log-rolling and said, "Look, if only one of us can get it this year, you help me and then next year I'll back you." So everybody who had that kind of steam got what he wanted.

There's hardly an area in this state that doesn't have a school that wants one. The only two places I think a school could come in the next generation is one at Traverse City and probably one in Macomb.

N--Of course Traverse City has got their own school now.

F--It's a two-year, though.

N--Yes. I think you're right about Macomb. I think Macomb, populationwise, could probably handle it.

I think Michigan is, I was going to say saturated, maybe that's not the right word, but as far as institutions I think they're pretty well taken care of. In Northern Michigan you've got Tech, you've got Marquette, you've got the Soo, you've got community colleges at Ironwood and Escanaba, I guess.

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F--They don't have one at Marquette, though.

N--No.

F--That's one of the failures of not having the State Board really succeed in state planning.

N--No, no. And I think territorywise, you're right. They have a community college at Alpena now. I don't think there's one in Petoskey, though.

F--Yes, there is.

N--Oh yes, sure there is. I spoke at their commencement one time.

F--Al Shankland.

N--Yes, Al Shankland, that's right. They've got a good school there.

F--It's a good one, and it's economical.

N--Yes, they've got a good school there.

F--He runs a tight ship.

N--That's right. They used to say that Central took care of the northern half of the Lower Peninsula, but I don't think that's true anymore.

F--Well, in community colleges you've got Roscommon, Clare, Gladwin, Traverse City, Alpena, Petoskey, and then you've got Sidney which is in the Ludington-Manistee area. That's six institutions.

N--They're pretty well taken care of, I think.

F--Jim Farnsworth said that one of the ambitions of the public policy was to have some kind of higher education within 30 miles of everybody in the state. It looks to me that almost 85 percent of the population...

N--We're pretty well there, I think.

F--Except in the Thumb--which is in a bad spot--and Macomb and Traverse City, I can't think of any other area.

Nisbet

N--It's pretty well covered, yes.

F--And the community colleges, unfortunately, in the central UP area.

N--Well, you've got to leave something for a little growth, you know.

F--Yes. I talked to Gerald Beckwith, who's the Governor's man on the Higher Education Reform Committee, and told him, "Look, you can't just build a structural system full of rules and regulations. That's the bureaucrat's way. You've got to put some stuff in it." So I gave them a list which they call the Faverman Christmas Tree List, but that was too pure. They didn't put any of that in, so that won't build any support.

I would have recommended a new institution at Macomb after feasibilities, and recommended some new programs, but they didn't have enough understanding of why the Blue Ribbon succeeded. I believe the Blue Ribbon succeeded because they took that solid work of John Dale Russell and Con-Con, found out where the communities of opinion were, got broad support, and then recommended some Christmas tree ornaments along with the other stuff.

N--You mentioned a thing that I find interesting. I was on John Dale Russell's committee, and you know, I'm not sure yet it ever got the publicity or the action that I think it deserves. But still, didn't it kind of make the foundation of development of Michigan over the years since then?

F--That's right. It set the dialogue, it set the limits, and almost all of it occurred. It took time, but people had to get ready for the ideas.

N--I think it was a far-reaching committee. It was innovative, it brought a lot of people together that hadn't known each other before.

F--It had legislative support, too.

N--And it had support, yes. I think that basically it's kind of formed a pattern for much of Michigan's education. Although, as I say, I don't think it ever got the recognition that it probably deserved.

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F--The other thing is: When you came across the state government in 1961, we had a government that had been going on since 1908, and before that. From what, 1830?

N--'57.

F--1857, ok. People said it's time to restructure, modernize. It looks to me like we have a higher education system in Michigan that can last a generation or two without significant modification.

N--I think that's right.

F--Any time you have a political structure that can last that long, or a social structure, you've got nothing to complain about.

N--You're lucky, that's right.

F--What in your opinion were the reasons for the failure of the branch-campus system that had begun to be developed in Michigan with Oakland, Flint, and Dearborn?

N--I don't know. I really don't know. I think you ran into the Mott Foundation, for one thing, in Flint.

F--I'm not saying that Flint, Oakland, or Dearborn were failures as institutions, but at this time there was the talk of following the Wisconsin model where you would have the University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh, University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee.... We were starting that with John Hannah moving towards Oakland and Michigan moving towards Flint.

N--I think the fact that once one institution started, the other institutions probably had to go too.

And I think they were thinking maybe we'd get more diversification and weakening of program. I wondered too if the idea of the community college coming in at this time didn't...

F--...cut the local base out. Another thing is that it doesn't appear there was any encouragement at Con-Con for the branch-campus system.

Nisbet

N--No, no. I think Con-Con was a little bit opposed to the whole idea.

F--And no matter what, I don't believe that Michigan or Michigan State would ever go for a branch campus again.

N--No, I don't think so.

F--Michigan State got out of Oakland, Michigan will let go of Dearborn, I believe, as soon as it's strong enough to fly, and only politics keeps it from learning to fly.

N--Is Stirton down there or has he retired?

F--Stirton's retired. They brought in a man named Goodall who's quite an astute man. A good man.

So it strikes me that it's not really a thing that will happen again. There may have been a political decision made someplace--Con-Con?

N--Well, I think part of it. I think they had no sympathy towards it. While there was not outspoken opposition, I think it was just understood.

F--Some people, for instance in Grand Rapids, where Michigan had a long position, wanted a branch there.

N--Yes, there was quite a pressure at one time for a branch in Grand Rapids. There was a question whether it would be Michigan State or Michigan. I just think it got too touchy.

F--Well, it was going to be a bad political fight. And then there were some who believed that the institutions didn't have the skill to manage outside of their own area because it got hard to run a decentralized school.

N--I think that's true.

F--We talked earlier about some of our observations about why the State Board of Education didn't succeed after '64. Do you have any other observations?

Nisbet

N--No, I don't think so.

In summary, I think it was too political in the beginning. It was all one party, which was unfortunate, and we had people who were not qualified. They were nominated at a political convention and I don't know that much thought was given to their qualifications as they were selected. I think they became embroiled in arguments with the Legislature in the beginning.

In fact, it never measured up to what we had anticipated it would be because I don't think we got the personnel that we had hoped to get.

F--You also didn't get good staff either. I suppose that's a measure. The institutions could attract-- because of their stature--better people.

N--They had trouble getting staff at all in the beginning. Then Polley came, didn't he?

F--Yes, but they had a fight there too.

N--Yes, they had a fight over Ira Polley. I've got a lot of respect for Ira. I think Ira's a pretty good man.

F--He's a good man, but they waited five or six months while Kloster was running it.

N--I think Porter has done a good job with it.

F--Right, but these men never really had the votes. John does, but that's because the Board has changed around.

N--Well, I think the Board had changed around, some.

F--I like Ira. We've had our troubles because I worked for the Legislature, but I like Ira and have a lot of admiration for him. But the poor man never had five votes for him.

N--No, he never had a chance down there.

F--If a man doesn't have five votes out of eight, he's dead.

N--You're not going anywhere.

Nisbet

F--Who in your opinion were the significant opinion leaders in higher education in Michigan in this period? You've already mentioned John Hannah...

N--Well, I would say Hannah was outstanding. I think Anspach was. I don't think Hatcher was. I think Fleming has been. I think Hilberry, Miller and Sponberg were. I think Al Bentley had a good deal to do with it. Again, I mention Walker Cisler. I think Reuther and Scholle were.

F--That's a pretty fine mix, isn't it?

N--I think that's right.

F--You've named those of labor, industry, and educational institutions. We haven't talked, but of course political leaders have made a difference.

N--Well, there were some political leaders. I think Frank Beadle was a very strong man. Arnell Engstrom was another one.

F--When you get that kind of mix, you're bound to succeed.

N--Yes. I used to never worry what happened in the Legislature because I knew that when it came down to the conference committees Arnell Engstrom and Frank Beadle would take care of any situations. And I think in a way that typifies the influence that this whole group had.

F--Well, I speak very particularly for the Legislature because I worked there. I found that when you got down to the six guys in the conference committee, very rarely was there parochial interest. It was always the public interest.

N--That's what I meant when I said Arnell Engstrom and Frank Beadle.

F--And even Gar came. I shouldn't say "even".

N--You know, when you come right down to the conference committee, that's going to be it, and the men quit fooling around--they get down to fundamentals. I think out of our conference committees has really come the good legislation of our state.

Nisbet

F--We're very lucky. I think that's why this historical inquiry, if I can succeed, will be of value in pointing out the harmonizing elements.

I want to thank you for giving us this time.

N--It's been a pleasure to visit with you. I've been recalling some very pleasant memories from over the years.

F--Thank you.



TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
VICTOR SPATHELF<sup>1</sup>

F--Vic, what in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on? In '58 the state appropriation for higher education was about \$80 million and in 1970 it was some \$260 million. That's a pretty sizeable increase.

S--Well, I don't think you can pin it on "from '58 on." This may have been the onset of increased appropriations and as you say, expansion, but expansion would be reflected in other than dollar amounts. I think you have to go back to see what some of the factors were prior to '58. If you want to put it this way, "came to fruition from about that time on."

My own feeling is that '58 is less than a significant date. I think you need to get a range of time rather than a specific year. In the first place, you have to recognize that for many, many years, as far as Michigan higher education is concerned, there was no institutional expansion.

F--It looks to me like from about 1920 to 1948 nothing happened.

S--That's right. You had a complete standstill in development at that point. Of course with the conclusion of World War II you got the onset of the veterans' enrollment--which was never really prepared for in terms of the numbers that were ultimately going to be served. The fact of the matter is that for the first several years the institutions were badly prepared to receive them in terms of facilities, volume, and even faculty. So you had this pressure developing.

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<sup>1</sup>Victor F. Spathelf; President, Ferris State College, 1952-70; Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Highland Park, 1938-41; Dean of Student Affairs and Counselor for Men, Wayne State University, 1941-52. Interview conducted June 17, 1974.

Spathelf

You had national factors, such as the emerging development of the community college movement. This had impact.

You had a change in the fiscal ability of the state as a result of tax and economic shifts. Higher education also became a focal point of political concern, probably in response to the veterans. But it is much more fundamental than this in that the public thinking about education had shifted dramatically, perhaps as a result of some of our experiences in World War II.

After all, you have to remember that in World War II we were confronted with such manpower shortages that we had to develop emergency training programs like never before. This had its impact upon the thinking of people as well. And you had the demand factor in higher education among the popularists that hadn't been there before.

You had, I think, in terms of institutional leadership an unusual collection of people who sensed this educational need and were pretty busy trying to translate it into institutional patterns of action. There's practically no institution in the state that didn't have this kind of stance in trying to meet educational need, which is not the case in some other states.

F--When I talked to John Porter he said, "You know, Jerry, we had the giants of the nation in this state." When I think about why Michigan is different, I think that men may have made a difference.

S--This could be, this could be.

F--Hilberry was an astute man and seems to have been well thought of. John Hannah stands heads and shoulders out of everybody on the block.

S--This is correct.

F--You built the community college movement, which is today of significant proportions. Ferris had a place in it, not in the prestige end but in the opportunity to try. Harden built an institution at Northern that became useful rather than marginal. He came with 700 people there, when he left ten years later there were 7,000. When you came to Ferris there was hardly a building there, was there?

Spathelf

S--We had 700 students, 3 buildings, and 18 acres of land. That's right.

F--That was nothing, really. In the period from '58 on you built at Oakland, Dearborn, Flint, Grand Valley, and Saginaw Valley. You built a ton of buildings at all of these institutions except Michigan, virtually. The enrollments increased fantastically and the public support was always there.

S--The public support developed. I think the political machinery was in the rear of public sentiment. Public sentiment was far, far ahead of the state response.

F--Well, you take a look at things like the GI Bill.

S--The GI Bill ties in with World War II...

F--If you were going to write a history instead of a dissertation you'd probably begin the modern history of this state in 1932. If you were going to write a history of education you'd probably begin in 1946 when the baby boom came and pressed itself on the schools.

S--Yes, but see, this is later. This came after the forties.

F--Oh yes, this came in about '58.

S--This is after your World War II deal. You had the convergence of the veterans bulge and the beginning of concern about the population boom which added force to the whole thing.

You had another factor that was operating too, and that was community interest, pride, and ambition. This was tied in at Grand Valley, Saginaw Valley, and at Oakland. So this is a different factor. Which came first, the hen or the egg? It's pretty hard to tell.

F--Yes, but I call that the Chamber-of-Commerce mentality--the belief that any community to be fully developed needed an institution. That became an important element too.

S--I think maybe the Chamber of Commerce boys picked that up subsequently and used it in their...

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F--They were willing for the first time, with community colleges, Vic, to support these institutions with local money.

S--Yes, but here again you better remember that this started from a base of junior colleges that were K-12 or school-district-oriented institutions. It was in this period of time that you developed the broader pattern which went into the suburban and outcounty areas.

This also ties in with several of the reports that you've mentioned in your [dissertation proposal] here that I think were more or less handles on an existing problem or an existing force. I don't think that John Dale Russell and S. V. Martorana--he used to work for me, you know--came up with anything new. I think they were astute in going in and sensing what the popular feeling was and then trying to give a pattern to the thing. In a sense they were using some of the national theorization and philosophic thinking about junior and community colleges and transplanting them here; taking some of the latent public support and fusing it into a document which gave them something to hold onto and at least provided the springboard for more public participation and acceptance of the idea.

It may very well be that in the historical analysis of it, it was a little bit overdone. This idea of a community college every 25 miles sounded good. It might have been a point of departure, at least to begin discussion, but that it would be accurately implemented in that fashion doesn't necessarily indicate soundness in the ultimate concept.

F--It's probably particularly true up here in the north where you put a lot of schools in that weren't viable but didn't put any in a place like Marquette or Detroit.

S--Yes. Detroit is badly underserviced in higher education. This has been the case for a long time but there has never been a real translation of this because of some existing institutions.

F--While you were at Wayne, didn't you feel the strength of labor--looking for a place to send their children and workers to school--as an additional support mechanism for higher education?

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S--Well, I don't think this was as articulate in the formative days as it was subsequently. I think that subsequently labor got on the bandwagon, but you have to remember that in the early days--you see I went to Wayne as an undergraduate and graduate student, then I went back as one of the four executive officers in the early forties--that went through the transition from a junior college, to a four-year college, to a collection of colleges, to a university. This is when it was a metropolitan-based institution prior to the time that it became a state institution.

There was a great deal of labor interest in improving the educational opportunity for adults rather than the children at that point. When Wayne did go into the communities, like the northern suburbs of Detroit, with extension programs, there was more support from labor as such. But I can't think that you can identify it singly as labor. I think you've got to identify it as general public support.

F--All right. So one of the reasons, then, for the growth of higher education was that the public was ready.

S--The public was not only ready, it was long past due.

F--And then the other forces in society moved in behind that, you're saying?

S--This is quite correct.

F--Labor, political structures...

S--We've gone through a revolution in the whole country on the concept of who is higher educational opportunity for? When I graduated from high school, less than 10 percent of the kids ever contemplated going to college. Now you've got a phenomenon where 50-80 percent of the youngsters in a given community have some kind of continued educational plan beyond the high school.

This is not a hen-and-egg proposition, in a sense, because the economic circumstance of people, by and large, did not permit them to send youngsters to college.

F--That's my experience. I'm the first member of my family to go to college. My father had trouble finishing high school because of economics. Until the GI Bill came, nobody from my social class ever dreamed it would be possible to go to school.

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S--The GI Bill was one factor, but in a lot of respects World War II was an economic revolution as well as a political, social revolution. High wages made it possible for many families--and young people who went out and got higher wages--to consider going to school. Before that it had been unthinkable.

F--Well, that's proof of your point though: that when for the first time people had a disposable income, they were willing, rather than buying certain kinds of consumer goods, to put it into that kind of capital investment.

S--I agree with this, but I'm also making a statement that the public was ready for higher education long before they even had the resources.

You see, they didn't suddenly get more plentiful resources and then become converted to the idea because you'd have gotten a time lag and this was pretty near automatic. It was quite dramatic that when the money was there they wanted this kind of thing. It goes to support the concept that the public wanted greater educational opportunity for the young people long before it was available.

F--Do you think the fact that the institutions were willing to gamble on the money coming and taking the kids--the statesmanship of the leaders--was part of it too? Because, in my experiences, if you wait until the money comes knocking on the door you may never get it.

S--You could write a dissertation on the strategy of leadership if you wanted. Certainly this is one of the things that you'd have to take into consideration.

But the fact of the matter is, leadership isn't that infallible. You had a situation where the kids were pounding at the door and they were not going to say no to them. At this point the legislative support caught up, they couldn't say no either. So you had a convergence of some forces here, not all of which were by design. Let's face that.

F--No, but I don't personally believe in planning as the only mechanism for change. I think that a lot of these things happen and then people try to draw them into neat packages. In my time in the government I've very rarely seen a neat plan that worked. I very rarely have even

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seen a plan.

S--Usually a plan is a point of departure. You can have a plan but you can't control all the factors so it becomes a concept and a point of departure that we adjust to.

F--What were the policy objectives that underlay this expansion?

S--Well, here again, it's hard to put it in terms of policy objectives. What you had was a great public need. If you want to put it in those terms, it was a policy to meet public need.

There were factors beyond this, however. When you talk about public need you could say economic need. For example, the whole country had been geared to a war economy. After that it was converted into peacetime pursuits and meeting the long-delayed needs and shortages of the country. At this point you had the need for trained manpower to meet diversified manufacturing, much of which had been delayed.

So you can say a part of the policy at this point was to provide business and industry with the trained manpower resources to get on with the job of peacetime living. If you want to call that a policy, that's one.

F--I sure do.

S--I don't think there was a great awareness of trying to eradicate social injustices and deprivation of educational opportunity. I don't think this was articulate at this point. I think this came subsequently.

F--No, I agree with you. I think that the eradication of lack of opportunity came after they had built the machine.

S--This is right.

You had another factor, whether you want to call it policy or not, which was the effort to increase the GNP of the state, or of the nation. This was in the forefront of the business and industrial thinking. Education at this point was essential to accomplish these objectives.

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F--I detect--and I don't know because again there was no plan or stated objectives--the desire to increase the trained manpower, based on their experiences that you can't be a great nation without trained manpower.

S--This was born out of the World War II experience.

F--I detect the desire to build a research base for the national solution of problems and the decision to go with institutions of higher education rather than building state and federal research institutions the way the Soviets or the Germans have done.

S--Well, this is largely out of institutional force, too. You have to remember that during the war years your great research institutions were loaded with contracts. Big universities were geared up for these during the war and it was a natural transition that they should move beyond this.

F--The other thing I detect was, in '58 with the Sputnik, the realization that the Russians could be superior. I regard that as somewhat of a slap to our pride and we had the desire to catch up technologically.

Another thing that I have detected is the belief that Michigan couldn't continue to be a one-industry state completely tied to the automobile. We had to broaden the base of industry in this state by different kinds of industry besides the car.

S--You had a national paranoia about Sputnik, which wasn't as real as it was a fortuitous handle to encourage further R and D development, further educational development, and so forth. The fact of the matter is that despite the fact that the Russians put up Sputnik, we were far ahead of them in many technical aspects that were contributory to that kind of thing. But it nonetheless was a good rallying point for many vested interests, including education.

As far as the diversification of industry within the State of Michigan is concerned, you have to recognize that World War II created a diversification by mobilizing industrial manufacturing resources into all kinds of enterprises which far transcended the automotive per se. So this was, again, a natural development.



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If you did a historical analysis of the development of the subcontracting industry in the State of Michigan, you would find that the tool and die and all types of fabrication plants just blossomed as a result of this effort and as part of the know-how that was available in the area. It far transcended automotive as such, even though we made tanks and trucks and all the rest of it.

F--Lots of small towns, if you take a look at where the industry has spread, with Whirlpool and ...

S--That's right. These were subsidiary developments, many of which were subcontractors for the war effort.

F--With these kind of policy objectives that were not really clearly stated but could be sensed, what were some of the conflicts over the growth of education in this period?

S--I think you have to say this a little bit more clearly, Jerry.

There was an inordinate amount of institutional desire for preeminence, recognition, and growth in enrollment and physical plant. That this existed cannot be denied by anyone who knows the facts of the situation. Now, when you relate it to the policies that we've been talking about, I don't see a direct relationship.

F--Well, I guess besides the institutional arrogance and competitiveness, which had its good features and its bad features, I also see the argument that some said, "Let's not broaden the number of degree-holders," as a status thing--the argument that came to be quality.

S--I don't think that's right. I think you've got the wrong handle on it. The fault of this was largely in the realm of higher education itself.

We had an elitism in higher education for many, many, many years that said, "We'll take only the upper 10 percent, we'll take only the people with the A and B averages." There are certain institutions in this state--if you wanted to do a historical rundown on their official statements--whose catalogs even prided themselves on taking just an elite grouping of people. This was a translation of the Ivy League concept of higher education, and much of the private school thinking and philosophy, on to certain segments of public education

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in the public universities. Consequently, the institutions that were so involved thought that this was an indication of quality that superseded any other consideration.

This broke down, really, through the whole process of vocational-technical training during the war years. The emergence of the community college movement that brought more and more people into extended educational opportunity, many of whom didn't have these classical academic credentials for selective admissions, and yet were performing as well or better than many of those who had the selective criteria, was a shock in educational circles.

There was a period of time, and I know this quite well since I was a party to it, that many of the more classically oriented people in higher education thought vocational-technical education, as we're running it today at Ferris, was something other than higher education. You had a real revolution in educational thinking.

F--And that's part of the conflict. A good deal of the antagonism of being nothing but a chicken farmer that John Hannah faced from liberal arts-trained people was over his willingness to go for...

S--Of course this is the land grant movement. If you want to get that historically you get the thread way back in, what, the 1840's or somewhere along there? You see the strain and thread of this and it becomes like an inverted pyramid, the base gets larger and larger and larger as you go from those original dates. John Hannah was merely implementing in creative fashion what the original concepts of land grant education forecast.

F--I don't fuss with you about that, and I don't disagree with it. But I am saying there was a peculiar kind of snobbery that said architecture, which to my mind is occupational, was legitimate whereas mobile homes, for instance, wasn't.

S--Oh, I understand that. This is a part of this elitism in the translation of the classical liberal arts into the higher educational pattern, the classical professions into the higher educational pattern, and then the actions of professional groups, in and of themselves, to create an elitism.

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You had not only the institutions operating in an elitist form, with either their presidents or their faculties calling the shots, but then their own products out in the community. If they're architects, "we're going to create certain professional and accreditation criteria." If they're doctors, the same thing. Later on it came to the nurses, the medical technicians, and all the rest. All of whom were trying to create their own little sphere of importance and economic scarcity at given points.

F--That's the kind of problem that leads to conflicts with public policy--the desire for status and the like.

S--This is correct, but now, you see, you're pitting educational policy against public policy in terms of educational opportunity. I agree that there was a period of time when your so-called classical or leader-type of institutions were not abreast of public desire and ambitions for higher education.

F--Well, Vic, I guess I come with a bias. I believe that public institutions have to serve the public.

S--This is right, but they didn't.

F--One of the great strains for these institutions was, as you say, that they served their own interests rather than the public interest. That's where some of the conflict came.

S--This is correct.

F--Some of the real aggravation and hardship that the presidents of the schools had with the Committee was because of the Committee's vision that the schools were serving parochial status and professional objectives rather than public objectives. Some of the strain came there. I don't think it was bad, either, because I think all the institutions were forced to change.

S--Of course you know that that change was not at all uniform and that it expressed itself in many ways. For example, an amusing thing, in the early years of vocational-technical education Temple University in Pennsylvania called itself "Temple University." And then in small letters "and Technical Institute" was tacked on. This wasn't part of the mainstream of the institution at all. They finally came to a recognition

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that there was a demand, but they weren't going to give it quite the same kind of aura of respectability that the university had and so they tacked it on.

I'm not so sure that this didn't happen closer to home.

F--I think about the legislative skill of the appropriations committees and the use of the invidious comparison.

S--Now you're moving into something else. I'm inclined to agree with you that when the history of higher education in Michigan is written it will be shown that chiefly through the hardheaded thinking of about half-a-dozen people in the legislative process there was a greater leveling of institutional activity to the end that the greater needs of the public could be served.

F--From 1964 until 1970, I didn't check the numbers, but it's my recollection that you got three or four buildings and Michigan didn't get one. Michigan was the powerful, international institution and the Committee said, "If you're not going to play ball, we'll starve you out." They never did it in any open way, but somebody back there knew how to count the till and they didn't get a thing.

S--Yes, but you're missing the other point.

The other point was that the legislative leadership at this point was keenly aware that the public--I'm talking about the general public, the total cross-section public--was saying, "We need educational institutions that provide educational opportunity for my son and daughter who may not want to go to four to seven years of higher education to become employed in a classical profession but want something else."

Actually, in the whole period of the sixties before the community college movement really began to get into high gear, there were not very many educational opportunities for the youngster who wanted to get training in specialized career skills. They just weren't there. The Legislature was smart enough to spot it and adept enough to provide the facilities for it. So, by contrast, this may add up to what you're commenting upon.

F--Well, that's what we were coming to earlier. I don't think there was a stated policy, I don't think there was a document you could point to, I don't think there

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was rhetoric you could state, but I think that when they saw what the Committee did, how it acted, and how the resources were channeled out, it came to be a public policy.

I think people like Senators Frank Beadle and Garland Lane and Representative Arnell Engstrom...

S--That's why I say we've had about a half-dozen towering forces in the Legislature who not only saw policy needs but helped articulate and translate them into action to make it meaningful. There were a lot of things talked about in higher education that never materialized, but they made it materialize and they did it by putting resources where the need was and where the goal was.

F--The other thing that doesn't get talked about frequently is that the public sees the conflict between the Legislature and the schools. I think the Legislature, once they found a school they could trust, really gave it blood and trust and went out of their way to help the president in all the behind-the-scenes ways.

S--I'm inclined to agree with you.

Now on the other point, however, part of this was the fault of some institutions who in their public relations and in their relationship with alumni deliberately tried to set up an adversary relationship between the institution and the Legislature to try to force legislative action. Where they may have succeeded at times on certain elements, what they also did was to create a negative impact.

F--I'm thinking particularly about Keast. I admired Keast for a lot of things, but one thing he didn't know how to do was deal with the public sector.

He was a private school man. In one or two years of Gullen's presidency he's gotten more than Keast got in the whole time he was president. George is going to get a \$60 million clinic building and Keast, because of his lack of skill in this important sector, got peanuts. Sixty million dollars is an amazing amount of money, still today in the time of cheap dollars.

S--Oh yes. On the other hand, needs change and economic resources change. I guess the \$60 million relates to the medical complex, doesn't it?

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F--Yes.

S--It's taken 20 years to put together but it's at the point where it pays off.

F--They've reached that critical mass.

S--But I do think that if there were an analytical study of the so-called public relations stances, efforts, and activities of institutions--as this relates both to the relationship with the public and with the Legislature--you would find some serious contradictions in what one would now, several years later, look back on as smart operation. There was a lot of expediency of the moment.

F--Well, people whom we've interviewed consistently give very high marks to John Hannah for his skill and working with the Legislature.

S--I agree with that.

F--They view the tremendous skill that Michigan State always had in working with the Legislature as one of the important elements in the growth of our institution at Michigan State, and certainly a cornerstone of its growth.

S--Well, there's no question about it. I think John will show up historically as one of the ablest educators that has ever appeared on the educational scene in Michigan. On the other hand, let's face it, he also had some unusual audiences and clientele with which to work that some of the other institutions didn't have.

Now admittedly you have to work with them carefully, but he had the agricultural community of this state as a very fertile field. This was carefully and skillfully done. As he branched out into some other areas this was also an expression of public need and was well done.

F--Do you have any opinions about the growth of higher education having as its objective the destruction of class and culture barriers?

S--No. I think this can't be properly put in this way. What you have is a picture of the general societal structure which had underprivileged people in all segments of society for different reasons. I don't think that in the majority of the period that you're talking about educational institutions themselves

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sought to extend educational opportunity to break down social and cultural barriers.

I think there was an increasing effort to extend educational opportunity to individuals, but this is something a little bit different than rather grandiose terms of breaking down social and cultural barriers.

F--But if you get around the issue of taking a look at where the rhetoric is today--women, Blacks and Chicanos--and just take a look at Michigan compared to Ohio; in Michigan a policy was made--public support was there, for lots of reasons--that virtually everybody could go to college.

S--All right, now that's something different. That wasn't educational institutions as such, you see.

F--No, that was a public policy.

S--It was a public policy. It was articulate in the rank and file of people. You take Governors Williams, Swainson, and Romney, all of these individuals gave articulation to the concept, but there were many other factors. You can't say, Jerry, that educational institutions were trying to structure to break down social and cultural barriers.

F--No, I wouldn't say that but what I would say is this: The decision to have post-high school education in trades, vocations, skills, professional schools, and baccalaureate programs so that you started to reach 50 and 60 percent of the population in Michigan--rather than the Ohio model where you were reaching 12 and 15 percent--is a social revolution in and of itself.

S--Well, yes. I've referred to this before and I agree with it, but this comes out of several different things. It comes out of the need for this kind of education to be absorbed by government, business, industry, and so forth; it comes out of the breakdown of this elitism that left education to the upper 10-15 percent; it came as a result of creating new programs and new institutions, including the community colleges, that provided the facility and the opportunity.

As a result of these several different forces, admittedly there were people of diverse economic, social, cultural,

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and ethnic backgrounds who were embraced in the broader pattern of educational opportunity.

Now, I think educational institutions at this point were resourceful in dealing with the larger, broader and more diversified student clientele, but I don't think they were using the institution as a social instrument to create a social and cultural revolution as such.

F--I go another step in this discussion with you. If you can take a look at the decision to make education available for the poor and the middle class, where it had only been available before for the rich, that probably reaches its fruition around 1970 when my study stops.

S--Yes, this is what I say, this is in the last two or three or four years of your study. This is correct.

F--After 1970, since to some great degree they'd already conquered that landscape, they began to go for specific markets that they hadn't been able to reach.

S--Oil the squeak in the wheel.

F--All right, the same thing. You're starting to reach the areas that were left out of the general flow, but you'd already created a social change of massive proportions.

S--Who had created?

F--Society.

S--All right, now you're talking. I'm trying to say this is a combination of social forces rather than the educational institution itself.

The fact of the matter is that when you look at higher education historically in this state, and in this country, it has always been behind need, it has always been behind social movement. This is the case here.

F--I went to Southern Illinois, the school that's having trouble down by St. Louis. I spoke there and I said something that was drawn from my experience. This is a school that is all confused, and I said to them, "If you don't meet the public demand and the public need, all that will happen is society will create another institution to serve them."



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I think the community colleges didn't have to develop in this state the way they did, as autonomous, locally based institutions that were really unrelated, in some ways competitive, to the established baccalaureate institutions--except that they didn't want to take them, they didn't feel any competitive pressure.

Maybe somebody will write a history 20 years from now and they will be sorry about that.

S--I think you are right to the degree that they weren't geared to take them, but there were some shifts. For example, prior to the modern community college development, the curricula was largely junior college classical; first two years of four-year work. Even today, after many years, many of them are in the same pattern. The fact of the matter is that Ferris was one of the only institutions that made a wide-scale effort at meeting these kind of needs.

But there was a funny thing that happened in the period of competition for institutional growth, which was largely reflected in concern for increased enrollments and building. People began to take a look, for example, and say, "What is Ferris doing? What are the community colleges doing that they're getting increased support? Maybe we ought to be doing this because we're not growing as fast as they are."

Consequently, if you look at the admission procedures and the enrollment targeting of many institutions, you'll find that they shifted their selective bases. They shifted their admissions policy and began to implement types of curricular offshoots that would get at this clientele.

F--I'm comfortable with that.

S--Yes.

F--I regard that as the Darwinian urge to survive.

S--Yes, I think that's true. I don't know whether it's survival or the...

F--If you didn't take kids they starved you out at the trough. Then you couldn't compete. You couldn't compete for salary and you could price yourself out

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of the market for tuition. If you didn't have that mission to the public...

The only school that ever really has been successful at raising any money in the philanthropic sector has been Michigan. I always say that the greatest single benefactor of Michigan State has been the taxpayers. We hardly got a dime from anybody else. Take a look at Wayne. What the hell did they get from anybody except the State? Virtually nothing. The same is true at almost every other school.

When I came here in '64 and used to counsel students they'd say, "Oh, that program is terminal." It always amused me. I do not believe that there was a single terminal program because every program that was terminal very quickly thereafter began to have a degree track that led to a baccalaureate degree at some other institution. Everybody would say, "Well, the program at Ferris is terminal, only two years." The next year or two I'd run into those kids who had been in a terminal program and they were getting a four-year degree at Michigan State. Terminal was a status and not a training mechanism, and you know that.

S--Sure.

F--So this terminal degree stuff was foolishness. As long as a man wants to grow there should be no reason to terminate that desire. That's the marketplace again. That's the pressure of society. I'm not trying to make the case here that the institutions led, I'm thinking that society led. The institutions, because of the subtleness of their leadership and the fact that Michigan had some very great men, put it all together in a way it didn't happen in Ohio.

S--I agree that there's some changes on that kind of a base, but I would still have to say it was after the fact rather than forerunner leadership.

F--I'm not trying to make the case, Vic, that there was a great master plan in the bottom drawer of John Hannah's desk and that he would say, "Ah ha, we're on Step 7." I think it was instinct. I put a great store by that, but it was there.

I think a president that closeted himself--didn't talk to the people, didn't keep his ear to the ground, and

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didn't press the flesh--didn't find out that the tidal wave was coming until he was 20 feet under water. I don't think you could have survived as a president if you hadn't spent a lot of time listening close to the ground. I would give very bad marks to presidents who don't listen.

Now that doesn't mean we don't have a few, but I think again the invidious comparison of seeing who's doing better puts pressure on them.

S--Yes. In a sense there is the essential competitiveness. There's the essential ego drive of institutions, I presume, also.

F--What about vocational and technical training objectives? Do you want to add anything to the importance of that for the development of higher education?

S--No, I don't want to add anything to it. I think the record stands as it is, which is probably more eloquent than I can put into words.

F--I personally have the feeling that not enough has been done. Although I have the belief that in many other areas we've satisfied the demand, I have the feeling that we haven't done enough in vocational-technical education.

S--So what else is new? This has been the fact for a long time. I have to agree that in higher education we are still confronted with too much of the attempt to put respectability or elitist values on certain kinds of education and depreciate the other.

I think that in a sense this is being modified, but it may be modified in a wrong way. There are too many institutions that sense this and want to become all things to all people, which is also self-defeating in terms of quality and integrity of effort.

F--We were talking today with Steve Nisbet and he spoke about their desire to create diversity in the educational marketplace. I observed to him that I didn't believe it was possible in many cases, and I suspect in most cases, for institutions to be all things to all men.

S--You just can't.

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F--It may be possible for a Michigan, but I doubt that vocational-technical can survive there with the specialized nature of the activity they want to do. You need diversified institutions, but one of the problems that makes higher education so damned difficult is the desire of all institutions to copy each other.

S--But this is in the area of competition, it's in the area of ego satisfaction, it's in the area of expediency and opportunism, whether it be to get more buildings or to get more enrollment. This has been a fundamental weakness in this state, but this is not confined to this state. It's a paranoia in higher education.

F--It's status.

S--That's right.

F--I know some people who would never have taken Ferris because Ferris was a blue-collar school. It didn't ever have the chance of succeeding to the top end of the market with Ph.D.'s. In terms of social utility, that's a different question.

I personally spent a lot of time with community colleges. I'm much disappointed that these institutions immediately tried to mimic Michigan in their course offerings and didn't...

S--I don't think that's quite fair because by nature of function they became dual track institutions, to provide the college parallel transfer programs--which was their original mission in the first place as junior colleges--and secondly, to provide vocational-technical education.

Now you can say that the college transfer program emphasis is in imitation of Michigan or somewhere else, and I hear what you say. But the fact of the matter is that in the years I was at Ferris there was a regular parade of junior college people coming up here wanting our assistance on how to get this kind of programming going.

The fact of the matter is that the classical institutions themselves contributed to the difficulty in initiating these kind of programs because they weren't training educational leaders with the expertise and know-how to develop this kind of program. But to the end that some of these more classical institutions are now training

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people who are specialists in vocational-technical education shows that in the real sense there is greater ease and greater mobility in curriculum development and broadening of scope of institutions.

F--Let me digress for a moment, Vic. I've always looked at the Michigan system with a great deal of pride and been pretty impressed with how it works real well--and we'll come to some discussion about the State Board and the paper you sent me--but have you any speculation why, since Ferris was so well regarded and so proudly loved by state officials, we never built one like it in Detroit?

S--Well, there was discussion concerning this. I suppose that in one sense, if you mean why wasn't there a branch of Ferris put into Detroit?--which was proposed in the legislative circles--the answer is I was totally against it.

I said: "If you want to develop that kind of programming, which I think you should, you should set up a separate state institution in the heart of the metropolitan area. I'll be glad to assist, but I don't want it as a branch of Ferris because I think this would be a dilution of institutional effort. Furthermore, I think the concept is wrong."

F--I don't believe in branches. I want to know...

S--This is clear.

F--But I want to know why we didn't set up a Detroit Institute.

S--I think in a sense this was for the lack of real determination on the part of the Legislature and state education leadership. It didn't insist that this be done.

F--It's a failure.

S--It's a void at the highest levels of legislative and educational thinking that this wasn't insisted upon, as some other things were insisted upon. It becomes a little bit difficult for an individual institutional president to insist upon it without compromising the situation.

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At the point where discussions were held with me as to whether there should be a branch of Ferris in Detroit, I knocked down the branch concept, but I certainly tried to give every encouragement to a resolution that this be done as a separate institution. But it was never picked up.

F--It may be that Detroit's legislative delegation just didn't have the strength to accomplish it.

S--Well, this could be, but there's another factor in it. This was about the time that the John Dale Russell report on community colleges was being implemented. At this point there was a concept that the community college was going to be the real instrumentality to meet these needs. I think this gave a little bit of peace and comfort to people that shouldn't have been so blessed.

And besides, it sounded like an economical way to do it. I told the people that it would cost a lot of money to develop this kind of an institution in Detroit. At that point there was also the concept of the Wayne County Community College, as you recall.

F--Wayne County wasn't created until '69, after a big fight.

S--This is right, but there was the concept of it. This got bandied around and the people who were the enthusiasts of this type of concept didn't want any part of a state institution as such.

F--It may be that Detroit's made more than its share of mistakes.

What about the growth of culture and the arts? Did that have any importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

S--This is one of these cliches, Jerry, that's awful hard to pin down in this way. If you put it in the sense that you are putting it, without further elaborating upon it, I would have to say no.

F--I'm comfortable with that answer.

S--Now we've had some social and economic changes resulting from shorter work weeks and all the rest of this that have increased leisure-time opportunity. To the degree that this has provided time and stimulated curiosity

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and interest, there has been some movement, but the way you have it, I'd say no.

F--No, and I put it that way. My speculation is that in the next ten years, because of having fulfilled so much of the basic desire for education, people may move on to cultural and aesthetic things. But I think that you don't look for aesthetic things until you've learned certain basic skills.

Except for Woody Varner--maybe a little bit with Jim Miller, I don't know how much of that was personal-- I can't see any institution that was grown or enhanced because of its interest in culture.

S--Well, this is right. I doubt very much that Oakland, or even what Jim Miller tried to do, enhanced the growth of the institution as such. That's why I say you've got it worded in a peculiar kind of way.

Now the fact of the matter is, for example, at Ferris we've had a tremendous emphasis upon the cultural arts. For a reason, and that is that we felt that with our very highly developed, specialized, and narrow skill-training, individuals' lives needed to be complimented by an emphasis upon the life-quality type of impacts.

Consequently, we probably did more as an institution to see to it that these youngsters had to take certain segments of the cultural arts and humanities in the internal curriculum. We placed a premium upon voluntary participation in making educational opportunity available.

F--I remember when I came to your institution remarking to myself about the encouragement that the institution placed on people taking history, literature, and the like, which was a surprise to me because I thought maybe you were going to be all trade school.

Neil Staebler said, "You know, this is a state that's just come out of the fender-bender stage." In Lansing, which is a rich community somewhat isolated from the economy because of MSU, the state government, and the service industry, if Michigan State brings a symphony in, maybe a couple of thousand will attend, but if you bring in the Grand Ole Opry, people will be beating their heads to get in.

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S--This last month we had the Detroit Symphony at Ferris and it was a standing-room-only crowd.

You know, there's an interesting historical thing. Years ago Big Rapids was a lumbering frontier. This is why they put Ferris Institute up here, to educate these poor jokers in the lumber mills and logging camps. Subsequently this town grew to about 10 or 12,000 people and was on the frontier of the considerable wealth coming from the lumbering industry. Big Rapids was a cultural center of northern Michigan.

F--I didn't know that.

S--The Chatauquas, the great lecturers, the great shows came up here. They had three opera buildings. When this lumbering frontier went out and moved into Grand Rapids and Muskegon, Big Rapids shrunk back from 10-12,000 to 4-5,000 people and all this went. But this was a part of the cultural impact of Ferris in those days upon the community.

F--Do you have some observations about the position of labor in regard to higher education?

S--Not particularly. Here again you get these umbrella phrases. I've got some good friends in the labor movement who have given me and the State of Michigan all kinds of assistance, but these have to be identified as individuals. When you talk about labor as a movement this sort of leaves me...

F--Well, let me sharpen what I said.

As I look at the history of the period, I am struck by the fact that you have tremendous energy against Williams and Swainson from industry opposing increased taxation. In the period from '54 to '70, some of the most brutal battles fought in the Legislature and the public sector were over taxes.

And yet, I have not been able to find that labor, industry, commerce, or agriculture fought higher education.

S--They didn't fight education. They didn't fight higher education except by the indirect concern with taxes, special levies, and so forth. Now this is like virtue,



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you know. Everybody is for it but a lot of people don't do anything about it.

I would have to say that Williams and Swainson, in particular, as far as higher education is concerned, articulated the desire of a large segment of the general public for greater higher educational opportunity. To the degree that this got caught in the traditional and ever-present warfare between the Republicans and Democrats, this became a football to be kicked around.

But my general reaction is that when you talk about what was labor's position, what was big business's position, and what was the commerce position, I get left cold. I'm very frank to say I don't think they ever had a position, and I don't think they've got one now.

As I say, you get spokesmen, individuals who are talking personally or out of deep conviction, and that's something else. But you cannot convince me that a position or a general policy stance has been apparent, articulated, or enacted by any of those classical segments.

F--Well, I'm comfortable with what you say. I'm coming at it a little differently.

S--Now, you'd better believe it, because I have gone to the so-called oracles and fountainheads of these different segments and tried to get them interested in higher education and some of its needs. You better believe this is like a great boxer: He can roll with more punches than you can shake a stick at.

F--I laugh about that because all of the time, Vic, that I worked in the Legislature I never but one time felt the slightest damn interest from industry or labor about education.

I began to wonder, because they were busy beating the taxation committee to death. I thought one day, "Who do I know? I know all the educational guys and I know lots of the people concerned about social issues, but I never met the guys who represent industry, in spite of the fact that I know they are there."

I guess I have to ask the question because we're trying to build the record, but my impression was that labor, because of the strength of personalities like Woodcock,

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Bluestone, Scholle, and Reuther, were positive about education without being positive about educational institutions. They wanted education so their workers could have a place to spend their new prosperity.

I never observed industry except in local civic kinds of things. GM puts energy into Flint, there was support from Seidman and the Old Kent Bank in Grand Rapids, I think. But again, it wasn't statewide, it wasn't policy, it was local.

Commerce, I ask about, because when I looked at Romney's Blue Ribbon Commission I noticed that Romney was pretty astute at putting together a lot of local types, particularly men like Heavenrich--merchants.

I wondered why you never heard anything about agriculture until somebody said, "Who needed agriculture? It didn't exist as one corporate body because the orchard guys spoke for themselves, the dairy guys for themselves and they didn't really cooperate." Another one said, "Why did agriculture need anyone when they had John Hannah?"

S--I go back to what I said. I don't think that labor, big business, or commerce as such had a position that was identifiable other than to say they were all for it. There were articulate, individual spokesmen who may have had a halo effect on creating an impression.

My experience has been that apart from a segment policy position, and apart from high echelon leadership stances, there were numerous examples where individual employers, individual businesses, or even small collections of businesses were supportive of education, but largely because it was in their own economic interest to do so. They were getting something in return.

F--Isn't that a little bit sweeping though, Vic? At your institution, I remember the pharmacists being ready to march for you.

S--This is correct, but this is a segment, you see.

F--Lots of small tool and die makers...

S--For example, the Auto Parts Dealers Association granted 75 scholarships up here at Ferris to train mechanics, hopefully that they could employ, you see. But here

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again that's apart from the automotive industry. When you talk about it in terms of large blocks of organization...

F--But didn't Ferris, for instance, have those kind of smaller blocks that came to be...

S--Oh yes, we went out and developed them. But you didn't ask that. You said, "What is the position of labor, what is the position of big business, what is the position of commerce?" You can't develop it that way.

F--You've got to go in smaller markets, you think?

S--They don't have a posture, other than as I say, being for virtue. They're all for virtue, but that's it. No, you've got to find the responsive cord in the fractionalization of it.

F--Well, that's what John Hannah did.

S--He did, yes.

F--What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any from the federal government?

S--I think here you're getting into a pretty wide range. I would have to say it is considerable.

The whole area of encouragement of R and D, science, vocational-technical development, you name it, there was underwriting, gifts, grants, and even national advertising by the federal government. HEW and all of these were conditioning factors upon public opinion.

This is what your question states on public policy. They created public policy and engaged in an activity which reinforced the public policy which they had created. It's been considerable.

F--Did you feel coercive pressure from the federal government?

S--Not as far as I'm concerned. The kind of participation that I was in was not the tail that wags the dog, as it was in some institutions. Ours was assisting and implementing more than anything else.

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F--What about the pressures from the private sector? I'm struck by the fact that we didn't have any dirty fights in this state between private schools and public schools. I wonder if you feel that's fair?

S--This has been cyclic and largely in the area of personalities. There was a period of time in Michigan higher education when there was a considerable amount of animosity between public and private institutions, some of it even bordering, in my judgment, on the extreme and even unprofessional. But I would attribute this largely to personalities.

I would also attribute it at various times to the ups and downs in economic position of some of the private institutions. It was also a matter of national policy among associations of private institutions to try to divert the expenditure of money in one manner or another to support private education. It was a part of a larger strategy throughout the country to slow down the development of public expenditure in higher education because they thought it was self-defeating of their interests.

F--It was, wasn't it?

S--Yes, in a great degree it was, depending on how you look at it. They couldn't do the job themselves, but in a sense there were some who tried to block the job from getting done at all.

We also had some statesmen among the private institutions in Michigan who had the broader vision and tried to ameliorate these kind of controversies and neutralize the antagonisms. They did a pretty good job. You haven't heard much of this in the last decade or two but part of that time it was pretty noisy.

F--What was the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another?

S--I think these were several. There is the inevitable local pride which asserts itself at times. There was the inevitable, what I call Chamber-of-Commerce syndrome, operating in certain towns where this would bring in large amounts of new money as students increased, where the building of capital plant would bring in new money, and where it would aid in industrial park development exploitation, and so on.

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You had some regional and local identification as a result of some objective studies, and I say that advisedly.

F--There weren't very many of those.

S--There weren't very many. I said, "I say this advisedly."

But then you had another factor, and let's not kid ourselves. As a part of this competitive deal some of the institutions deliberately went to certain geographic areas and tried to stimulate interest in having them move in a branch or take over one of the existing institutions. These are factors as I see them, and I think they're all real.

F--This naturally leads into the next question. What in your opinion were the reasons for the failure of the branch-campus system that had begun to be developed in Michigan with Oakland, Flint, and Dearborn?

I'm not saying that those institutions were failures, but there was a time when I thought we were moving towards the University of Wisconsin model at Oshkosh, Milwaukee, and the like; where Michigan was going to go to Grand Rapids, and State was going to go to Saginaw, et cetera. That came to a screeching halt.

S--Yes it did.

F--I doubt that we'll ever see these branch campuses ever come again.

S--I think this is correct.

F--Probably as soon as Dearborn reaches some kind of critical size where it's viable, it will be spun loose.

S--Well, this is in the recommendations of some of the advisory commissions that have looked at it in the past.

F--Flint will probably go as soon as the political pressure isn't there anymore.

S--I would think so. They will become independent agencies with independent boards and independent administrative entities. In my judgment they should.

F--They will pass out their own degrees rather than...

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S--Yes sir, yes sir.

F--Why do you think that movement failed? It succeeded in other states, and the prestige of the big schools was powerful.

S--I think there were a number of reasons for it. I think that historically, had this germinated in the late 1800's, there were both constitutional and legal precedence for developing such a thing. That was never done.

F--Although Michigan had the constitutional prerogative from the first.

S--It certainly did, and didn't do a single thing about it. Not a single thing about it--since 1836, was it?

F--No, it's earlier than that.

S--Is it earlier than that?

F--From the time Michigan was a territory the University had the right to locate the University in five locations.

S--Yes. The University of Michigan was first in Detroit and it moved out, subsequently. When was that? In 1836?

F--Something like that. They moved out to Ann Arbor and never went anyplace.

S--That's right. Well, as I say, this goes by default historically and practically.

F--In other words...

S--The State of Michigan set its own precedence by setting up different kinds of institutions.

F--That's diversity again.

S--This was an initial base of diversity and an initial base of autonomous institutions. There were modifications, of course. The four teachers' colleges were under one board instead of under separate boards as they are now, but these are elements of transition. It was not until the community college movement started to develop, and not until the numbers game and

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institutional spheres of influence competition came to the fore, that there was any real movement in the branch concept.

It's very interesting, you know, because we had all of these so-called coordinating boards of presidents, and even boards of trustees, that were to be voluntary cooperation bases. Suddenly, out of the blue, the University of Michigan gets a \$10 million gift from the Ford Motor Company for the Fairlane Estate to develop the Dearborn branch. And quite by accident, within the year, a \$10 million gift was given to Michigan State out of the Dodge Estate for the Oakland branch.

This is not a considered judgment of branches. This is the higher strategy politics of...

F--Politics of imperialism.

S--All right. Call it what you will, but this is it. The fact of the matter is that the branches at Dearborn, Oakland, and Flint didn't go anywhere. They didn't go anywhere because they weren't meeting people's needs, they were expensive, and they didn't have their own autonomy and institutional identity. They were warts on the pickle. It was a part of the power play strategy and everybody, including the public, knew it.

The next step, as I say, was to try to get the power play extended upon existing institutions that had local bases of support and build them into the concept, "You join us and you'll have the great aura of the big institution."

Some of us saw this, saw that it was self-defeating of higher education, and bucked it. And I include myself in it as probably as active and as articulate an individual as there was on the front.

F--Why do you think, Vic, the coordination of higher education through the State Board failed in '64?

S--Because the vested interests of the institutions were such that this was never deemed to be or agreed upon. And there was nobody to enforce it.

F--Do you think anybody wanted it?

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S--I would be hard put to name the individuals and institutions that did.

F--Do you think there's a need for it?

S--To a degree, yes.

F--Lyman Glenny<sup>2</sup> came in from California to analyze the state and was very much tied in with the State Board. He's very much a believer in institutional structures and he came back and said, "Well, Michigan has a coordinating body--the Appropriations Committee."

S--Well, this is something else. Look, Lyman Glenny was over in the State of Illinois. You can get the whole chapter, history, and verse on that and know exactly what he thinks and believes.

F--Yes, I know.

S--He's no longer in Illinois.

F--There were mixed opinions about his effectiveness.

S--But the answer is that I think the Legislature acted in a coordinating sense when all other activity failed.

I don't think that the Legislature would have taken as active a part in so-called coordination had there been a more sincere, deliberate, and persistent effort of voluntary coordination--if this is possible and I sometimes believe it isn't quite. I think that this resulted from knocking heads together because that was the only way it was going to get done.

F--Even today some of the competition has a tendency to look awfully stupid. Like the competition by three schools for one law school.

S--That's part of the same ball game.

F--Same thing exactly.

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<sup>2</sup>Lyman Glenny; Executive Director for State Board of Higher Education, Springfield, Illinois.



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S--And it goes into the most unbelievable pattern. For example, Ferris in 1895 was one of the forerunner institutions having pharmacy. Subsequently it was one of three schools of pharmacy and the largest. In fact, it's always been in the top ten or fifteen in the United States in size and influence.

There was an appropriation finally made for a pharmacy building. There were some ambitious characters at Michigan State who were interested in the medical- and health-related fields that actually conducted an intensive program through the state pharmacists, state pharmacy associations, and the Legislature, to try to get the pharmacy building diverted from the Ferris campus to the Michigan State campus. Now, this is within the last five years or six years.

F--I didn't know that.

S--This is correct, and there's a lot of documentation on it. But as I said, this was not an institutional stance, I don't think. It was the stance of some ambitious people that were given a lot of rein.

I can cite you many illustrations of this kind that have occurred over the years. They have been real facts of life that have created animosities and created stand-offs, and that also have legislated against coordination, if you want to put it this way.

F--Well, I lean to the belief, Vic, that if the schools don't control themselves they'll get coordination over this kind of foolishness.

S--This is why you asked me the question, "Do I think that they can do it without coordination?" My judgment is that some type of coordination will ultimately be needed. We seem to be going through reoccurring cycles of competition and chicanery which is not in the common interest. Somebody's got to knock some heads together.

I am not of the belief that the quality and interest of the Legislature will always be of such a nature that they could be effective harmonizers of some of these conflicts. As I say, I think we've had a half-dozen unusual legislative leaders who have brought this to pass at a critical time. But you don't have this all the time, any more than I think you have a collection

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of administrators who may have unusually adept leadership qualities in a given situation, which I think has occurred at times.

F--Vic, in the last twenty years or so, who would you say were the major figures?

S--In higher education?

F--And in the whole area. I think about legislators, executive-office people...

S--I think in the higher education pattern you can't ignore Dave Henry in Detroit, who was a giant; you can't ignore John Hannah, who was a giant; you can't ignore Charlie Anspach, who was a distinguished leader. These individuals, in their own way, were unique at a given point. In the legislative process you can't ignore Arnell Engstrom, Frank Beadle, Gar Lane, Charlie Zollar, and you can't ignore Elmer Porter in his peculiar sort of way. These were people at key spots, largely in the appropriation area.

F--Anybody in the executive structure?

S--Well, of course I think that heads and shoulders above all in encouraging education on the executive level was Soapy Williams. At a critical point I think John Swainson continued with Soapy's stance in this regard, but this was at a critical period. I don't think either Romney or Milliken has been as catalytic in the area of higher education as Williams and Swainson were. But Romney's contribution to higher education, along with Steve Nisbet, during the Constitutional Convention was a significant and a substantial one.

F--Were there any other people in industry or labor that you would think of as being immensely helpful?

S--It's hard to begin to name names there for the simple reason that there's so many of them and they have unique facets of one-time contributions.

F--But the people you have mentioned were there for all seasons.

S--This is right. Now you had members of governing boards, including Steve Nisbet that you've just seen today. Steve was a powerhouse in lay thinking on educational matters. Of course here was a guy that was a high school

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principal, a coach, a school superintendent--came up that way--and was highly respected. He went into all kinds of lay boards and government commissions and served on boards of trustees. But there are very few of these individuals that are standouts over a long period of time. Steve Nisbet would have to be one of them.

You go back a little bit. Alexander Grant Ruthven was a great agent for higher education beyond the interest of his own institution and right up to his death served in a great many advisory capacities. In fact, he was the chairman of the governor's Committee of Seventeen that considered whether Ferris should be made a state institution.

There were singular individuals of this kind. I think you'll find individual people who at a given time were standouts for their own institutions. But I'm not referring to this. I'm talking about the people who made an impact upon the pattern of higher education.

F--That's right. Many institutions had great men, and some didn't, and that's why they were there.

S--Yes. I take it you're not interested in those kind of comments.

We have people in the government bureaucracy that were particularly helpful to higher education during critical points. But again, you're talking about the long-range perspective of higher education during this period and people who molded a change in course of events or pattern of activities. There aren't many. There aren't many.

F--No, but it seems to me that we were lucky in this state to have had some major figures at the right time.

S--We had an echelon of quality that could not be duplicated by many states. I think I'm a little bit better than a casual observer because I worked with the North Central Association on consultation, examination, and accreditation and came in contact with a lot of people in other states.

I would say that there was a period of time in the fifties and sixties where the general quality of

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educational leadership in higher education in the state was very high compared to many states. It had an evenness of quality.

F--I suppose, Vic, that's why we live in such a time of prosperity compared to Indiana and the like. We had those people at the right time.

S--Well, I think this is right to the degree that such people can help mold public opinion and rally support.

On the other hand, you have to realize that the State of Michigan has been economically blessed as compared with an agricultural state, a state that is not growing, or a state with little metropolitan population density.

F--Sure, I understand all of that, but somewhere along the line you've got to have somebody with the guts to go into the fire.

S--Oh yes. This is part of leadership.

F--I look at Arnell, Beadle, Zollar, and Lane, all of whom I knew, with tremendous affection.

S--As I say, these were powerful influences in higher education by filling a void.

F--They could have turned their backs on it and never been punished.

S--That's correct.

F--But they didn't do it.

S--That's correct.

F--And when they supported a place like Ferris, it was to zero political advantage.

S--It was of no political purpose to them, really. I have often been impressed by their own philosophic thinking about education.

For example, Arnell is gone, but he had a powerful philosophic view on what he thought higher education should be doing. Frank Beadle did, Gar Lane certainly has, and so does Charlie Zollar. This ought to be

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recorded, really, in a conversational piece so that it would bleed through to provide an appraisal of their philosophic thinking, because they had it.

There was remarkably little politics except as the institutions themselves generated politics, and I can't emphasize this enough. You talk about politics in higher education and I don't believe that higher education should be in politics. It is going to be brushed pretty heavily with it because it's a public entity, but the political crises of higher education in Michigan have largely been generated by some of the institutions themselves.

F--I agree with that. It's hard to say, but I don't suspect that Engstrom got five votes for doing what he thought was right for you.

S--Oh not at all. This wasn't in the picture.

F--And I can recollect Zollar saying to me--when I worked for him in the Appropriations Committee which was split 5-3, Republican-Democrat--"We're less political about Michigan State than the Michigan State Board is."

S--That's exactly the point I made.

F--Zollar was most disappointed about that because we made decisions about the schools without that kind of mask or view-through. He was always shaking his head about that because he had a higher vision of the value of higher education sometimes than the boards and the schools themselves presented.

The other thing is that the institutions managed to fight in very unseemly ways. There was sadness because they expected better of them.

S--I agree, yes. I think at this point you lose the stature and the integrity that is expected. It leads to a lot of double-talk and sometimes it leads to impossible opposing positions within the institutions.

F--Well, I think something else--and I've made this point before--and that is: When one school does bad competitively, it doesn't help the others. It hurts them all because if a school is going to...

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S--You get lumped collectively. I think over the years, and I was in it nearly twenty years, I sometimes had difficulty extracating myself from inter-institutional fights because I was collectively tied into it. Although I presume that I was able to act a lot more independently than some institutions, largely because the institution had a totally different orientation.

F--And you were an independent cuss and you know it.

S--Well, I've been told this. (Laughter)

F--Thank you so much. It's been a pleasure to talk with you.

S--Well, I'm delighted. I hope some of this is helpful.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
LEONARD WOODCOCK<sup>1</sup>

F--Mr. Woodcock, what in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

W--Well, I think there was a growing public awareness of the interrelationship of economic development and the educational factor.

I think the forward momentum that had come out of World War II, the accent on upward social mobility, and the desire to try and make Michigan less dependent upon the automobile industry, all of these forces came together to create the awareness that made it possible to generate the support that was needed.

F--Was there a conscious program, in your opinion, on the part of labor to expand educational opportunities for its members?

W--It was so on our part. I know that I went to many of our own meetings and outside meetings, very frankly, courting the example of California's progress. These were the immediate post-Sputnik days and there was also that element of concern for the interrelationship of our society and the world with regard to the Soviet Union.

F--Two very telling points have been made to me as we've conducted these interviews. One was that for the first time in the post-war period prosperity came to the workers. They had enough disposable income so that survival alone wasn't the only question.

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<sup>1</sup>Leonard Woodcock; President, United Auto Workers, 1970- ; member Board of Governors, Wayne State University, 1959-70. Interview conducted June 19, 1974.

Woodcock

The point has also been made that labor became concerned that there be legitimate and useful ways to expend that additional money that would be helpful to their members. Hence they saw that education was one of those--I hate to use the word--but capital investments, social capital.

W--Oh, yes. You know the natural desire of parents--and many, many of our members were parents--to have an ambition for their children "to do better than I have done" sort of thing.

F--My dad's a printer, and I'm the first member of my family to go to college. Much in his mind was the desire that I not have to work at the press.

I have the feeling from some of the rhetoric that many of the members, while appreciative of the benefits of the industrial process, didn't see that as something they aspired to for their children and thought that education would increase their skills and opportunities.

Was that a strong feeling?

W--Oh yes, most definitely. As a matter of fact, I think to some degree it became overplayed in that period. There was a social snobbery that came in, you know, that everybody had to go to a four-year school. As time went by, I personally put a great deal of emphasis on the necessity to develop the community college system in this state.

F--We're still much tied, I suppose, with education for status rather than education for use. Those are hard words, I know, but I'm thinking about the fact that baccalaureate programs and Ph.D. programs are more socially valued in terms of the stature and status rather than training in skills.

I recollect that in this city of Detroit it was not until we had established 29 other community colleges that we put together the political and social energy to bring a school to the area of the greatest need.

W--I was chairman of the study group that led to the first community college campaign in Wayne County,



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and then I was chairman of the campaign organization that tried to get the necessary millage passed. That was in 1966. To our great disappointment, although we put a lot of effort into it, that millage campaign failed.

Of course we were then on the threshold of the increasing resistance to millage. I don't think the people are against education. You know, the only things voters vote on directly are schools and sewers, which is kind of assinine.

F--That's right, there's no other place...

W--This is the only place they can lash back at what they think is essentially an unfair tax system. I think we were the victim of that.

F--And I think also, politically speaking, the people who can, who have the strength, put their particular taxes in mechanisms that are safe from public review so that they do not get blocked.

W--That's true.

F--What were the social and economic factors that led to this growth? We've talked of some of them--the prosperity and the upward mobility.

W--Yes. The American people at all stages of our development have had the traditional commitment to education. The post-war prosperity opened up that possibility in the eye of the average working-class family so that all of these things came together. Fortunately, we had responsive people in high governmental places who were willing to take advantage of that strong feeling.

F--I've also heard, in a very muted way, that after the war there was disquiet that Michigan was a one-industry state. There was disquiet that the preponderance of energy that we placed on the automobile might not be useful.

People like Haber at Michigan began to encourage studies of building a diversified economy in this state that wasn't just dependent on the automobile.

Woodcock

It seems to have gone into a period of quiet during the sixties and now it seems to be with us again.

Was that a factor, too, in the encouragement of...

W--Oh, a very big factor, no question about it. It was certainly a big factor in my own personal reaction. Of course, over time, our economy has not become that much diversified, unfortunately.

F--No. It was an objective of the educational system and of planners, such as they were.

W--Yes, I think without question.

F--I say that because it's not my impression that we've ever had a government mechanism that really truly planned for events--that really has been a responsive kind of government. Even in areas like educational policy it was the dreams and aspirations of individual men, and occasionally a citizens committee and the like. There has really be no master plan.

It strikes me that Michigan has fortuitously wandered into some of the right answers.

W--We've been pretty lucky. On the other hand, California, which did have a master plan--I think you made the observation before we began--had a relatively rigid bureaucratic system that had none of the flexibility that I think the Michigan system has. It was achieved by luck more than by design.

F--Right. I don't know what the answer is, and there are a lot of imponderables, but one of the things that I give a lot of credit to is that, for all of the allegations of status, our institutions were very broad-ranging.

For instance, one always makes the charge quite easily that the University of Michigan, because of its high reputation, was a place for the elite. And yet it's hard to believe that when you have 50 or 60,000 human beings going to a school, that it really is a narrow elite. It looks to me like there were plenty of poor people going.

Woodcock

The construction of Wayne, which comes very definitely in the period of this study, into an institution of sizeable enrollment and significant graduate programs of high quality, again makes our system somewhat more subtle, I think, than the California system was.

W--I think so. Of course, in a relative sense Michigan tends to be elitist. Except that in recent years there's been a conscious effort to bring in those with poorer status.

F--That's one of the things I want to talk about. In fact, I think institutions in the state have changed. I think there's change because of the pressure of the public rather than the pressure of the institutions on the public.

I don't know if you think that's a fair statement, but it looks to me like the leadership came from the public sector rather than the institutions trying to lead the public.

W--Yes. I remember my first daughter went to Michigan in the Fall of 1959. In that entering class there were only 32 Blacks, 24 of them were there--I think the number was 24--on athletic scholarships.

F--That tells you a great deal, doesn't it?

W--Yes. They were screened out by the process of choice.

F--What were the policy objectives that underlaid this expansion?

W--Well, of course, I can only really speak to my own involvement. I ran for the first elected Wayne Board in 1959 and my motivation was my interest in higher education. My further motivation was the high percentage of children from UAW families who were students at Wayne.

I did not want to see Wayne as a competitive organization to Michigan because Michigan, I think, had to be kept in what was then its preeminent role. But I saw a unique role for Wayne, in the heartland of the metropolitan area, as an urban university. I had

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hoped that--the developments couldn't be uniformly excellent, there's just not enough money to do that--the emphasis would be put in the areas where they had a unique contribution to make.

As a matter of fact, at one point we were considering the possibility of a merger between Michigan and Wayne State but the faculties in both institutions were absolutely opposed and it never got much beyond the discussion stage.

I think Wayne has developed remarkably over the 15 intervening years.

F--Just as an aside, I first saw Wayne in '64. When I went by the other day I was astonished at how attractive the school was, how different it was, and how much it had prospered.

W--We had limited land availability so that there had to be maximum land utilization. I think the plan that was projected in those early years has worked remarkably well.

I might say in this regard that the man who's been the provost at Wayne, a man by the name of Arthur Neef--I don't know whether you've seen him--you should see him.

F--I knew Neef. I knew him casually. He was in the last period of his time when I came.

W--I was warned against him. He was an archconservative Republican, I was told; he was bad for Wayne; he is this; he is that. So I was a little wary about him. But that man, along with Clarence Hilberry, did more for the early development of Wayne. He and I became close friends.

F--It's interesting, isn't it, how labels don't seem to fit circumstances?

W--That's for sure.

F--I asked you about the policy objectives. I have the sense that we had made the decision, in some inarticulate sort of way, that we would create places for everybody who wanted to go to school, to the contrary

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of Ohio which said there was an opening but then ran the system of flunking people out by creating immense numbers of freshman places and few sophomore, junior, and senior places.

I had the sense that we had the desire to encourage a significant proportion of our population--we're at something like 60 percent now--having some kind of post-high school experience. I have the sense that we believed that we could build--maybe this sounds odd to you, but I've come to it over the period of this investigation--the concept of a classless society by building the middle so huge that it was the whole.

If you take a look at what people perceive themselves as, they perceive themselves as middle class. It strikes me that the entry into a harmonizing cooperativeness was education as a useful social energy. I grant you that we came to recognize the minorities far too slowly, but now that they're starting to come--in all too few a proportion of their needed numbers--they're accepted on campuses. They don't seem to be isolated or segregated.

It looks to me like this may, as one of the few institutions that people can cohere around, be a social mechanism to broaden the whole societal base. I don't know if that's too...

W--No, I think that's a very valid proposition. As I understand it, I'm not directly connected anymore, but the Blacks in particular are not segregating themselves to the degree that they were just a few years ago, which I think was a protective mechanism. I think the concept we talked about--to make the middle so big it becomes the whole--has a great deal of validity.

F--I started out with the old Marxist and English social labor view of the world divided into three classes, and those three classes divided into three subcomponents so you had nine classes. For that reason I asked the question, "Did we have policy goals for the enhancement of higher education, for the destruction of class and culture barriers?" The question was framed some months ago.

Woodcock

But as I've looked at the thing and talked to people, I've come to the idea that it was an inclusive and an enveloping sort of thing.

The concept of sticking colleges all over the land: It's hard to go any place in the state of Michigan and not be near one. Even in Black Lake you're within miles of three community colleges. It's hard to believe the change from the vista that you started with in 1959.

W--That's very true. Of course the average American doesn't think of himself in the class sense. It's true that one member thinks of himself as a worker, but belonging to the working class doesn't have the connotations for him that it does for a German.

F--That's occupational and not social.

W--Right. Socially he thinks of himself as "by God, I'm just as good as anybody else."

F--And for some reason in this state--I don't know why because we've had some great wealth here, first from natural industries like lumber, and chemicals like salt that built the Dows, and then we've had these tremendously huge fortunes that came out of the Fords and the like--the rich haven't had a great social impact here the way they did in Massachusetts where I'm from.

W--I think that's true.

F--I don't know why that is. The papers are not full of their doings, people just probably don't care. They don't have the leadership role where they can. I think about a large community like Flint where the influence of Mr. Mott was fantastically overwhelming. You're hard pressed to pick rich people in Michigan where their influence was that paramount.

W--Of course that could be said in a critical sense too. They have not made their just contribution to the total society in this state.

F--As a matter of fact, I think about it being good in the fact that they didn't wield political influence.

Woodcock

Money and political influence are closely tied.

I think about it in a bad sense. You're hard pressed at Wayne or Michigan or Western or Eastern to find any buildings or programs that were endowed by the super-rich. If you exclude Kresge and Kellogg and Mott, we're back virtually to zero.

Coming from Massachusetts and the East where there was a strong tradition of public philanthropy, I've always said of Michigan institutions that the greatest philanthropy they ever had was the taxpayer.

W--At Wayne we had a building that was endowed by the Shapiro family, and the Joy dormitories, but that was relatively small.

F--And they weren't super-rich anyway.

W--No.

F--What about the issue of popularism in higher education versus elitism? Do you think that was an issue?

There was a lot of rhetoric about Michigan, Michigan State, Ferris, and second-chance schools.

W--Yes. In the public debates I used to sometimes find myself on the defensive because I would defend Michigan and its unique role that it had to play. This was not to the exclusion, obviously, of Michigan State which had a tremendous development in an academic sense. On the Wayne Board I was always advocating a non-competitive relationship, that we had to be concerned about the total structure.

You look at the unrest of the sixties. I had two daughters at the Michigan campus at that time and they were in the thick of it. I once said to them, "You ever wonder why you have so much fun at Michigan and we have almost none at Wayne?" "Well," they replied, "it's because they're kind of backward." I said, "No, it's because they're 'on the make'." They want to get someplace. You have too many at Michigan who come from families that have it made." You know, at Wayne 75 percent of them are working, many of them full-time.

Woodcock

F--As a matter of fact, Wayne has the largest number of people who work and go part-time of any school in the state.

W--I'm sure of that.

F--George Gullen<sup>2</sup> was telling me--I can't recollect the exact number--something like 100,000 people are on the rolls that work, come back a semester, take one course, take off two semesters, and come back for one more.

W--It used to be that on the average it was five years plus to get the undergraduate degree.

F--So you think that that was one of the issues--the popularism, the belief to do that--because Michigan has changed its stance over the last years, has it not?

W--Oh yes. The impact of external circumstances and Bob Fleming. A very conscious effort has been made.

F--I saw Fleming come in from the first. I have a great admiration for him personally but I think you can't change the character of an institution because that's bred in its history. You can change the leadership in ways to indicate a greater subtleness and desire to accommodate yourself to that interest.

It may be that Hatcher was less easy in dealing in the public sector.

W--I think that's a fair statement. I knew Dr. Hatcher quite well because he was president during the years that I was on the Wayne Board. His public relationship was reserved, almost shy. It was uneasy.

F--I personally had a great admiration for Keast. The man's skill at rhetoric and the advocacy of the academic model was fantastic, but he certainly would have to be categorized as one of the those uneasy in meeting the public and doing particularly poorly with legislative clientele.

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<sup>2</sup>George E. Gullen, Jr.; President, Wayne State University.



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W--He was a very eloquent man, as you have stated. He came, of course, from a Cornell background, and the University of Chicago.

F--And unfamiliar with the public...

W--...and unfamiliar with the aspects of dealing with the Legislature and so on. I think in the latter period of his incumbency he became bored with the job, for whatever reasons.

F--In my opinion Wayne is still an institution unfulfilled in its potential. It hasn't reached it.

W--I'd agree with that.

F--It doesn't serve the heartland yet and I think it can and will. If we use the concept of an institution of higher education as a social engine, it's not doing what's needed yet.

W--I agree with that.

F--How you fashion it into new models that will become traditional in the future, I don't know.

You used the term "the urban institution," and yet I'm not sure we have many urban institutions out of the some 2,000 colleges in America.

W--Mere location doesn't make it an urban institution.

F--No. No.

W--What I mean by urban institution is what I'm sure you mean, it would have to be a conscious effort.

F--Location doesn't mean anything to me. I'm thinking about what it does and how it does it. The barriers to getting a degree in our society are still significant with all the hoops you have to jump through.

I taught in a community college and I was always impressed with the fear that people who had never been to college had of going through the first time. It's quite a frightening thing if you doubt your own confidence or haven't built this kind of skill.

Woodcock

I talked to somebody who made a point that may be important to your view. They said you develop certain kinds of skills in our society to be verbal, which are useful in education. In the world of work, frequently, you develop skills that are tactile, manipulative, and adaptive. They are not the same kind of skills and we place a higher value on one rather than the other. So if a man is very skilled as a machinist, he may not do well in school, although his intellect and his brain and his contribution to society are equally as high.

W--That's true. A lot of this business about dehumanizing work is a product of this attitude because work is not necessarily dehumanizing. Because it is repetitive, dull, and demanding does not mean it's dehumanizing.

F--No, but the historian in me suspects that people are getting a little bit tired of, not work, but of the machine process. If you take a look throughout the state, in every church basement and every YMCA people are taking all of these courses to attain an avocational skill to make pots and the like.

W--Which is fine.

F--Which is work, but it's work that is pleasurable. I think it comes from a sense of achievement.

W--That's individual too...

F--That's right.

W--...rather than the collective which is much of the world's work.

F--How important were vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education?

W--Particularly important with regard to the proliferation of the community college. I was strongly attracted to that movement because it served two purposes: the transfer system for the late-bloomer, and there are such, as I know from personal experience; and also for the one who had no interest in the pursuit of, let's call it academic things, but wanted to learn a skill.

Woodcock

We should devote the years through the high school to educate that human being for a living and then give at least two more years beyond that so that individual can be trained to make a living. If you're going to have a democratic society, the educational system has got to train people for living and not just to make a living.

F--That really means an institutional engine.

For instance, the UAW has massive effects on our society in the state. The fact that you are now moving towards "30 and out" may effectively become of significant impact in maybe ten years when significant numbers of your work force, who are probably in their forties, will reach their optimum opportunity to retire.

Institutions currently are really pre-puberty institutions, in a sense. They are going to have to create some kind of mechanism to retrain people for future occupations. People aren't dying at 55 or 60 anymore. It looks to me like there's a possibility of useful life to 70.

That means that 20 years of your workers' lives, or our citizens' lives, have to be spent in something useful. A man is too energetic to sit for 20 years by the water and look at it. So the institutions will have to become mechanisms for something beyond just credit.

W--I think that's true. Of course that's going to be influenced to some degree by the demographic pattern. If the birth rate keeps falling, then society isn't going to be able to afford the normal retirement age of, say, 55, which is the direction in which we're now moving. Their work becomes so automatic that you need only, say, twenty hours a week or whatever. Work-life is going to begin to expand itself, I think, say, 10 to 20 years from now.

F--Let me push you on that. As a historian it appears to me that up until quite recent times societies like China have needed 85 to 90 percent of their population to allow any kind of urban experience for the other ten percent. In this country, 10 percent or less maybe if you

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include part of the agribusiness complex, support the other 90 percent.

W--It's more like 5 and 95.

F--It's that high?

W--Yes.

F--You take a look at the tremendous profits that come out of the industrialized, automated sector. It begins to appear to me that many jobs that were formerly non-economic are becoming possible for our society to afford. For instance, the tremendous growth of social industries which couldn't have been afforded when we were young are now regarded as perfectly suitable and paid for out of the public sector.

I guess what I'm thinking about is that I suspect--I have to go over these numbers, and I'm ashamed not to have them--something like 40 percent of the population of Michigan is in a nonworking capacity. There's about three million people in school, you take the people in prison, retired, in hospitals, and people 0 to 5, you start to come to a big chunk of that nine million. It looks to me, and you've got to be far more astute about this than I, that less and less work is going to be necessary to carry the economy at its current rate.

So two things can happen. One, we can afford the wealth to retrain people for an additional skill which would go back into societal GNP. Jobs that formerly were non-economic like social workers, health aides, all kinds of avocational training for society and decentralized mental health--which is much more costly but may be much more humane--would be able to be afforded.

W--Which they do now in Sweden.

F--And I think Sweden has been, for a small, small country, immensely well industrialized.

W--Yes.

Woodcock

F--Well, is there some possibility that that will become one of the aspects that will give us the wealth to afford this?

W--Oh, I think so. We've gotten a bit off the track. There isn't any question that the educational system, which is essentially geared still to the prework life period, has got to be geared increasingly to the needs of those still in the work process and those who've retired. It's not a question of going back to work, it's a question of having a useful, pleasurable use of one's time.

F--Ok, I guess that's what I'm thinking about.

Two separate programs: the program of the College of Lifelong Learning at Wayne and President Wharton's desire and attempt to build a program of lifelong learning, are part of that facet and the beginning of the change, ceasing to regard higher education only as manpower training.

I was in Kentucky and saw the program there where anybody who's retired, a senior citizen, could go to college free. I attended a graduation and a woman 85 years old got her degree. Now, you can't make the argument that she was going into the work force. The value of that person for herself, for a sense of usefulness, pride, achievement, and general mental health, I think, is probably going to become a social value that your organization and many others will fight for.

Maybe we're a generation away from that.

W--I think we're closer to it than we think.

We had one experiment where we took our people who did not have high school degrees. They would not involve themselves with others because they didn't want to show inferiority, they lacked confidence. But when we had those sessions in the local union hall where they were with their peers, they would come, they would respond. Out of that they got the confidence.

F--That's the same thing when I talk about people being afraid to go to college.

Woodcock

W--Right.

F--Even for an avocational course.

What about the role, Mr. Woodcock, of culture and the arts? Do you think it's had importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education? Did people say, well, higher education will be the institution that can perhaps encourage culture and the arts and we'll put money into higher education?

W--I think in terms of the average person you would say yes. But it's not really very conscious. I'm not saying this is a good thing.

We were just talking about Sweden. When I was in Gothenberg last year the trade union headquarters had original paintings. The Swedish labor movement was the chief patron of their own artists.

That's foreign to American concepts, yet the American strain is made up of all of the cultures where a high premium is placed upon this. One of the unforgivable things about our society has been that up until recent years, and thankfully it's changing, we pushed everybody into the so-called American mold. You were taught to be ashamed if you were Polish or Italian or whatever. You wanted to become an American, whatever that was.

F--You had to become homogenized.

W--Now we're realizing the great social and cultural loss we've had. I think we've turned the corner on that. I would think increasingly there is a pride in one's origins and that can be linked directly...in higher education.

F--Two things probably have to happen. One is that social institutions like the government, labor unions, and educational institutions have to put a greater premium on it and encourage it and reward it in some way.

W--Right.

Woodcock

F--The second thing is--I harken back to your remarks about Michigan--it's hard to think about culture when you're involved with survival. It may be that now that we've begun to reach the level of broad-based education, we can begin to have the base for that. We certainly have had no philanthropy involved in the culture and the arts, where you have in other states back east.

W--Certainly not to that degree.

F--We don't have opera or theater programs that are really husbanded or encouraged except through schools. I think about Oakland and Michigan.

W--Hilberry.

F--Hilberry Theater ran some superb programs but it didn't have a conscious programmatic objective. It was sort of inarticulate, without significant fiscal support.

For example, let's take Hilberry Theater and the whole theater program of Wayne. I don't think that if the institution hadn't wanted to do it, there'd have been any pressure from the Legislature or government to make it occur.

W--No. When I was chairman of the Board--I was chairman five terms, five of the original six--when we'd go up to the Legislature to beg, frequently that would be pointed to as a waste of money, not needed. Thankfully we stuck to it.

F--It had to have a lot of institutional determination. You didn't get rewarded the way you get rewarded for football.

W--Exactly, exactly.

F--It's my sense that for all of the talk about democracy this state's still run by a small elite.

It's a larger elite, I think, than I originally thought of. Mr. Staebler said this may be 20,000 wide and a lot of it local, decentralized, not all at the centralized capitol.

Woodcock

It's hard to deal with elites because they're hard to put your hands on, they don't come out.

I'm trying to get a handle on where some of the major social energies of our society were for higher education. Where was labor?

W--Labor, traditionally, going back to its earliest beginnings in this country, has had a dedication and a support for free and public education. It's perfectly understandable because it was the aspiration of the members to have their families become something else. Internally there was never any difficulty in getting commitments to support it. There's never been a millage campaign, for example, anyplace where we have members where we have not supported it. Now, our members did not always follow the lead.

F--Did you get beat up inside the local democratic structure of the unions--I mean at locals and through the councils up to the international--for your support of education?

W--No, never.

F--You didn't suffer at that at all.

It's obvious [however] that in some of the areas where you were attempting to make social advances people didn't understand and you had a large education...

W--Like gun control.

F--Labor has political clout. You've worked hard to develop it because this was a Republican state up until, oh, I hazard a guess, until '48.

W--What happened from the New Deal period until '48. We normally elect a Democratic governor in the presidential year and then the Republicans would take it back in the off-year. Williams, of course, was the first who broke that and was reelected six times. And in the process built a Democratic Party because until that time there was a strong Democratic enclave in the metropolitan areas but there was no Democratic Party organization.



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F--I've studied the election statistics and until 1946 the Democrats had controlled the Michigan Senate two years and controlled the Michigan House, I believe, four years in its whole history. You'd had three Democratic governors: Ferris, I believe Comstock, but I'm not sure of that...

W--Bill Comstock in 1934, and then Murphy in 1936-37.

F--And that was it until Soapy.

W--No, there was a Democrat in '41-'42. What was his name?

F--VanWagoner.

W--Right.

F--When you thought about Michigan from Massachusetts, you thought of it as a labor state with a lot of rhetoric that it was run by the union. But when you took a look at the Legislature in '46, there was something like four or five members in the Senate and 18 or so in the House and they were all from Detroit.

Then from '48 on, as you won those six elections, you began to build a statewide organization. You began to have a great deal of political power and you began to curtail the power of the automobile dealers and the companies themselves, which were quite active in the Republican Party.

When you did that you obviously had people that were sympathetic to labor interests in the Legislature. Did you consciously encourage them to be pro higher education?

W--I was a director in outstate Michigan in Grand Rapids, Muskegon, Saginaw, Bay City, and the North. I came down here in '55. In that period, no, I couldn't claim that.

F--My suspicions are that that's exactly the case for a different kind of a reason. The reason was that education had such broad societal support, across a lot of the divisive factors of ethnic and economic

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and geographical interest, that people could support it and it didn't become partisan. It doesn't look to me like education really was a partisan issue.

W--I think that's true. Of course, in the immediate post-war period the facilities available were swamped by those taking advantage of the GI Bill. No, it was not partisan.

F--And hence one didn't have to go through the mechanism of...

W--Partisanship wouldn't show up until "who's going to pay the bill?" Then it would be, "where is the money coming from?" that would be partisan, not "who gets it?"

F--Not "who gets it?"

W--Right.

F--There's more today. For instance, you take a look at the welfare issues about even giving them the money. They fight about the appropriations level. It's a good political issue. No matter what the questions of validity and social justice are, it's a demagogic issue. It doesn't seem to have been that way in the case of education.

W--That's true.

F--It looks to me like you found it easy to cooperate with industry and other sectors of society on these goals. People served on boards, served on blue ribbon commissions. In spite of antagonisms you might have had to Republican governors, you cooperated fully in this area.

W--That's correct. For example, my running-mate when I first ran for the Wayne Board in 1959 was Mike Ference, who was then the Vice-President of Ford Motor Company in charge of research and engineering. We had the ready consent of the top management there that he would go into this kind of activity.

F--And Bluestone went to serve on the Grand Valley Board.

Woodcock

W--Ken Robinson serves on the Grand Valley Board. Does Irving too?

F--I guess I thought Mr. Bluestone did.

W--He is on the advisory group to the Dearborn Center of the University of Michigan, I know, and he served on many boards.

F--I'm sure that Bluestone was on the board, I'm not sure if he is today. But again that was a significant use of labor talent and leadership.

W--Ken Robinson is our director, he's on that board. When you take school boards and other boards, a lot of our people in this state...

F--...served throughout the whole structure.

W--Right.

F--What was the position of industry in regard to higher education?

W--Well, they were very supportive in general terms, but when you get into the taxing area, then there might have been questions raised.

F--It strikes me that industry had more enthusiasm when it came to local identification: Grand Rapids with Grand Valley, Saginaw with GM, and Dearborn with the Ford people. And Oakland with the automotive people that Woody was able to skillfully pull together.

W--I think over the years they became more supportive of the effort at Wayne than they were in the earliest years.

F--One didn't sense that at Wayne in the beginning.

W--No, it wasn't there.

F--Was that the flight from the city, to some extent? Or was it just a lack of institutional skill at knowing how to reach these people?

W--I think there was a little bit of both.

Woodcock

F--Can you make a distinction between industry and commerce? I don't know that it's valid, but I was curious about that.

W--I don't think so, not for sure anyway. My impression was that industry was more supportive of the higher education role than commerce would be. They would be much more localized.

F--What about the role of agriculture? It's had to feel it.

W--I'm not aware. I just had no contacts to know about it.

F--The union didn't become interested in the agricultural sector until the United Farm Workers, really.

W--Well, the UAW as such had an involvement with the Farmers Union, and subsequently with the National Farmers Organization, but neither of those is very strongly placed in Michigan so that there has not been that much of a cooperative development.

F--We never really were a state that had major farms, were we? We were still small farmers.

W--Right.

F--Small capitalists rather than major corporate entities such as in California.

W--Yes. Most of the organizations were Farm Bureau with which we had a distant relationship.

F--What about the pressure of the federal government in the determination of educational policy? Did you notice any?

W--Well, of course, it had a tremendous role in the grants in the various areas. It wouldn't have been possible without those grants. But I was never aware of any policy...

F--In social policy, Mr. Woodcock, one comes across the fact that for every dollar there's a requirement, a condition, a constraint. In social policy for welfare, and for health, there are many barriers for every

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dollar. Many times it appears the direct object is to cut down entitlement. It doesn't appear to me to have been the case in education.

W--No. I think that's a fair statement, certainly. While I was active, I was never aware of any demand that went along with the grant.

F--For instance, there was never any public policy to discourage the taking of certain minorities and the like.

W--On the contrary, it was to make it happen.

F--What about the role of the private sector?

I'm quite impressed with its power because of the way the boards are, the hold that some of these institutions like Hope and Calvin and U of D have on certain segments of our population. And yet I haven't been able to observe that they fought the growth of higher education, or that public higher education fought entitlements or opportunities for enhancement of private education.

Do you think that's a fair statement?

W--I think so. My own experience was in the relationship between Wayne State and the University of Detroit and that was always very friendly and fully cooperative.

F--And very statesmanlike. I wonder if because that's more a matter of personality than anything else, because in other states that's not always been the case.

W--It could have been. Father Steiner was the president.

F--And now Father Carron.

W--And now Father Carron. Both of them very forward-looking men, very much interested in the public sector.

F--Do you have any ideas about the reasons for the failure of the branch campus system that had begun to be developed in Michigan with Oakland, Flint, and Dearborn?

Woodcock

What I'm thinking about is: In Wisconsin you had the University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, at Green Bay; and in California, the University of California system.

We didn't do that. Somehow there was some kind of conscious decision to turn away from the University...

W--There was a lot of feeling in the Legislature against what they called imperialism, or whatever you want to name it.

I know Wayne had opposition as an institution to that concept. I don't know what the position of Michigan State was, what with spinning off Oakland. I don't know quite how that came into being either.

F--Well, I've been watching this human services bill. There's a lot of energy for and a lot of opposition against this super-agency concept. I'm quite struck, as I watch this effort at government restructuring fail, that in Michigan localism and the fear of centralized government is a very strong psychological aspect of our public makeup. I wondered if that might have been it.

W--I think it probably was.

F--If you take a look at the Dutch, they are afraid of big government, they're suspicious of it.

It always strikes me as somewhat amusing that people who work in government are bureaucrats and people who work in industry are management. The term bureaucrat is highly criticized, management is highly respected. Yet they do the same exact thing.

W--Right, that's true.

F--What in your opinion were the reasons that an institutional system for the coordination of higher education didn't come about in '64?

That was when the State Board was created, you had the Constitution go into operation, and yet no kind of voluntary cooperative coordination ever did really come about.

Woodcock

W--My own spoken feeling and position at that time was to the concept of having a State Board which had responsibility for the total system. To be a volunteer board was just a contradiction in terms. I know the demand on my time as a volunteer on the Wayne Board...

F--It was severe, wasn't it?

W--It was as much as one could hope--to have some understanding of that complex an institution. To have a volunteer board that had the responsibility for the whole, it just couldn't work.

F--No, and I suppose it still can't work.

W--I don't think so.

F--And there was a suspicion, I suspect. There is a very delicate line between coordination and control, isn't there?

W--That's very true.

F--And it takes men of great skill to walk it. There may have been suspicion that they couldn't do it.

W--And the competitive factor, you know. The big three, Michigan State, Michigan, and Wayne State would have to "Ok, well, we'll get our budgets relatively in balance but..."

F--They didn't want it either, did they?

W--Of course not. We were always looking over our shoulders at the others.

F--The other thing I'm struck by is that in 1964 the state went through a massive flip-flop with the Goldwater election and 8 Democrats got elected [to the Board]. This state still had a significant, and still has a significant, Republican vote. People like Bentley and Briggs, some of those people didn't get elected. The Legislature wasn't preponderantly the Democratic Party. You may have had men who had the tag Democrat, but you still needed Republican votes to pass anything.

Woodcock

W--That's correct.

But in higher education there were many responsive people on the Republican side. I know of my own knowledge, going up to Lansing so many times.

F--They didn't have representation so that may have weakened the Board and strengthened the institutions.

W--I think so, yes.

F--The Wayne Board, for instance, only put up two members in '64, whereas the State Board ran eight. So you had Republican people on the Board. I think of Stockmeyer for one.

Who in your opinion were the significant opinion leaders that helped fashion public policy in this time? Who did you look to as the leaders, men of great stature?

W--The men who themselves were heading up the institutions. John Hannah, I think, had a tremendous impact statewide in this area. I think Clarence Hilberry had a great impact too.

In a different kind of way Harlan Hatcher had considerable impact.

The members of the Legislature in both the House and the Senate were sympathetic to the aims of higher education. Again, until you got into the area of "where is the money coming from?"

I know at one time--I think it was in '61-'62, around in that period--we went to the Legislature from Wayne with a proposal that we be allowed to charge the full cost of the education to the individual. The difference between what was supplied by public money and what you would be paying you would pay over a long period of years at very low interest rates. We would set up a revolving fund to which we asked a commitment from the Legislature to make this possible. We would grow over a few years to a point where we were collecting the total cost.



Woodcock

We got a lot of attention to that proposition by the members of the Legislature but other institutions were not very receptive. In these days of ever increasing tuitions we're beginning again to create an economic barrier to access to higher education.

F--I suppose the loan program frightens people because it could set up a tremendously long-term debt.

W--Yes.

F--And that would have the nature of discouraging the poor from going.

W--But conversely, it could also make it possible for them to go. It would not blot out scholarship aid so it's a reverse social security.

F--Right, that's true.

And there were people in labor like yourself, Bluestone, you mentioned Ken Robinson, Reuther was interested, Scholle was interested.

People mention Walker Cisler.

W--Yes. In fact, Ken Morris, who is another of our metropolitan area directors, is on the Oakland Board and very much involved with Oakland affairs. Most of our top leadership in one way or another has a personal involvement.

F--So it was a broad-based thing. You talked about Hannah and Hilberry and Hatcher.

John Porter, for whom I have a great deal of regard, said, "Jerry, you have to understand that in Michigan in this period there were giants on-line, men who had national stature, who were great men."

Henry went on to Illinois and built a great reputation after he left Wayne. Hilberry was highly regarded. Hannah, of course, is just a fantastic man.

W--Yes.

Woodcock

F--Maybe it was the strength of the institutions and the strength of the society, too. I'm not one to believe that education has ill-served the people or is in dreadful trouble.

W--No, I don't think so. I'm happy that you're making this effort because it's a story well worth telling.

F--Thank you so very much for your time. I very much appreciate it.

W--Thank you.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
MILTON E. MUELDER<sup>1</sup>

F--What in your opinion, Dr. Muelder, were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on?

And two subsidiary questions: What were the social and economic factors that led to this significant growth? What were the policy objectives that underlay this expansion?

M--The response to this question lies in national developments of which Michigan is a very important part.

The date 1958, to me, would not be a meaningful date. A more meaningful date would be from World War II to the present. The reason for this is that certain dynamics were released as a result of World War II which carried right through 1958 and, essentially, with little interruption, until about 1968. From that time there has been some tapering off, some retrenchment at the federal level, which has affected importantly developments within the state.

But nonetheless, even with the retrenchment that is currently under way, the relative plateau at which the total support of higher education nationally has occurred is high. There is no comparison at all between higher education in the United States from the World War II date up until the present.

What occurred during World War II, and then took on very special meaning, was that higher education became a

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<sup>1</sup>Milton E. Muelder; Dean of Graduate School and Vice President for Research and Development, Michigan State University, 1959- ; Dean, College of Arts and Science, Michigan State University, 1952-59; member, Michigan State Civil Service Commission, 1951-57, chairman, 1955-57. Interview conducted June 14, 1974.

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partner with the federal government in the achievement of certain national goals and ends. The legal basis for such participation was prepared very neatly and importantly by the relationship between the federal government and the land grant institutions. This dated back first to the Morrill Act, then to the Hatch Act of 1887, wherein instruments were found whereby it was possible for the federal government to give support to universities without at the same time controlling the universities.

This was the intensive debate and argument that existed immediately before 1887 and which was resolved in the mechanisms that were then established. In other words, it was recognized that federal dollars can flow to the universities without at the same time having control by the federal government.

In World War II the universities represented an indispensable resource in aiding the federal government in the prosecution of the war. Large laboratories were run directly by universities. So successful was this endeavor that President Roosevelt engaged in correspondence with some of the leading scientists to inquire whether it would not be possible and desirable, somehow or other, to turn this relationship to worthwhile objectives during a peace period.

This led directly, after some correspondence, for example, to the establishment of the National Science Foundation. Other federal agencies took up the cudgels-- National Institutes of Health, the Atomic Energy Commission, in addition to agencies of the Department of Defense that were already involved. The largest single change that has occurred is that whereas the Department of Defense represented the giant share of research support to the universities in the early period, this has dwindled to the point where the Department of Defense now represents one of the minor sources, relatively, to at least basic research at the universities.

F--That's not really bad though, is it?

M--No, it is not bad as long as the universities themselves are clear concerning their own objectives and policies so that the universities do not go after dollars merely because dollars are present, but hold to a program and policy whereby federal dollars, regardless of what the

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agencies are, are used to enhance the basic education and research objectives of the respective departments in the colleges.

Certain universities have gotten themselves into deep difficulty because they have not been clear concerning their own objectives in the acquisition of foreign dollars. Others have coupled this with getting involved in the hiring of large staff on so-called soft money. The traumatic experiences involved in the change to a solid position of hiring on hard money has generally taken place throughout the United States so that these large adjustments, essentially, have taken place.

Fortunately for Michigan State University, we, from the very first, indicated in our basic policies that we would go after dollars only to the extent to which these were consistent and consonant with our own research and teaching aspirations and programs.

F--For example, Stanford. That would be the other side of the coin.

M--Stanford would be the other side of the coin. They eventually set up the Stanford Research Institute in order to become involved with types of work that would not be appropriate for the university to undertake. There was confusion, however, at times, what was what. This became so difficult for Stanford University that there is now a complete separation between Stanford Research and Stanford University. Other universities have gone through a similar type of experience, such as at Cornell and the Cornell Aeronautical Lab. There are at least six or seven other major types of institutions...

F--We were not in Michigan, Dr. Muelder, one of the recipients of the immense dollars such as went to MIT, Stanford, and Chicago. Maybe we were lucky that way, not to have been so oriented to just one aspect of the program.

M--Right. I think we're on the long-run fortunate not to have become overinvolved.

The major involvement occurred with our Willow Run Laboratory. That is, "we", meaning the University of Michigan. However, there was much basic and significant research involved in Willow Run, the most dramatic and important being that of infrared sensory sensing, which

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has not only a military application, but it also has an important peace application.

The University of Michigan, smarting under the attacks that it was involved in classified research that was too closely associated with the military, following the steps of some of the other universities, has likewise separated itself from Willow Run--which has now been set up as ERIM, meaning the Environmental Research in Michigan. It is involved in both classified as well as in nonclassified research. Its interests and objectives, however, are primarily a peace-research-end objective.

The social and economic factors that led to this growth are not only national, as indicated, they are also state factors. But here is something that is very peculiar to the American system of university administration and needs to be underscored; namely, much of the drive that we have in higher education in the United States must be associated directly with our system of decentralization to the universities, as opposed to masterminding and control at the center, whether at the state level or at the federal level. Also following an extremely important historical development is the fact that the universities have become the home of science, for the greater part, rather than having a wide array of national laboratories in which most of the significant research is done.

An example of the latter is Germany where you had the Kaiser-Wilhelm Gesellschaft, which has been renamed as the Max Planck Gesellschaft. These administer a variety of important laboratories that are disassociated with the universities. In other words, they are somewhat more like an industrial research organization in the sense that they are independent of your universities. You do not have degree-granting programs involved with them. There's a certain sterility as far as the carrying of the torch is concerned in the training of new and important personnel.

In America, here at Michigan State University, as at the University of Michigan, we have the training of graduate students that are a part of our major research effort, including those dollars that come from either the state, industry, or the federal government.

Muelder

F--To amplify your point about Germany, I think about England being very much the same way. And in Russia, with the Academy of Science institutions spread across the land, they are very product-oriented. They are very market-oriented and there may be a market for basic research in physics but there may not be any market for basic research in some other area such as biology or social science. So that in the end these institutions come out, I think, somewhat weaker in their social values.

M--Right. They come out weaker in terms of the long-range development of research, per se, and without a basic expansion of the fundamental research. We do not have, then, the base for the applied and developmental research which has the real economic and social benefits associated with it.

Another thing to emphasize is the autonomy and the management system that we have in the American university. Many of the research programs in which we are involved--social and economic as well as academic--are determined internally within the university.

For example, the large water management research demonstration project now under way at Michigan State University was not initiated at the state level and was not initiated at the federal level, it was initiated on the basis of imaginative thinking on the part of faculty who were very socially and economically conscious of the implications of the need to do something about waste water.

I think that's all.

F--Ok, let's summarize. You would make the position, as I understand what you say, that the growth of higher education as an enterprise in itself is a national effort that results from our experiences from the war and the development of science in an institutional way. I don't mean that in a bureaucratic way, but in an institutional way. Placing it in higher education institutions rather than the Edison tradition of the handy tinkerer, or, in other words, the free-standing institute, is a deliberate public policy.

M--I would have to emphasize that it was a deliberate public policy to enlist the support and the resources of the university to accomplish two large goals. One is to deliver significant and important research inasmuch as we are increasingly a knowledge-base society. And number

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two, only at the university can one achieve the training of skilled manpower. These two elements, new knowledge and the training of skilled manpower, are functions that can only be provided at the university.

However, there has never been, nor does there exist now, a total plan at the federal level for the use of the universities. This has both its drawbacks and its advantages. Nor does this exist in detail at the state level, despite all the coordinating actions and efforts that exist.

F--I think there's another element, too. You made the point in your discussion about the fact that this is not a centralized land. I think, as a political scientist--as you are, as I am--you're much struck by the fact that the basic political fabric of this country is decentralized and regional. As much as people talk about the power of the center in America, the power of the center is a good deal more dissipated and weak than it appears to be.

It strikes me that one of the strengths for higher education which you didn't mention is the GI Bill, which created the fiscal entitlement for a mass of the population to participate in the advantages of higher education, not only for skilled manpower, which I would suspect probably was the number one criterion, but also for the value of improving people's self-image and value of themselves. So I guess that's not a federal sense of decision. It seems to be a marketplace decision by society which changes Michigan State, for instance, from 4,000 to 40,000. Are you comfortable...

M--Very comfortable with that, emphasizing that the federal government provided the financial resources to make the GI Bill available. However, it was the decentralized universities and colleges responding to their own sense of a social, economic value that translated this into actions both at the sophisticated university level as well as in vocational and other meaningful ways.

F--Coming to 1946, there was a certain sentiment that you couldn't recover from the terribly brutal experiences of 1929 to 1941. They thought that the depression was going to come back again. People who had looked at economic institutions thought they were going right back into the funk. People said there will be no prosperity.



Muelder

You had the attitude that some higher education institutions had no sense of how they would be of use because the concept of a mass market for manpower was something America had not really approached before. It was still very much agricultural, mechanical, and blue-collar oriented. And the knowledge industry, while it was there as a result of the war, hadn't reached into the psyche of people.

Now, when that comes about--this strong attitude that there's a desperate sort of doomsday climate--how do you explain this tremendous change and turnabout in the society to enhance the role of the institutions? How do you explain how the institutions were ready to do it?

It didn't occur equally because of the decentralization at the same level all over the country. In the East it occurred much slower and in the South it didn't occur anywhere near as rapidly as it did in the Midwest and in the West. It seems to me there had to be something about the populist tradition and the like. I don't know the answer to that.

M--I don't know the answer to that either. It's a very fascinating question. I don't know the answer to that.

F--And men make institutions, too.

M--Men make institutions. And again, if one looks at the Michigan picture, Michigan can be, I think, extremely proud of the fact that it has taken education as an important institution as it has, looking over the long expanse of history, whether from the early normal schools at Ypsilanti and these other institutions, plus having institutions such as the University of Michigan, Michigan State, and Wayne State.

F--Well, that's the core of my question. Let me develop it a little bit.

I'm from Massachusetts, as you know, and the tradition of public education has always been weak there. I come to Michigan and I find a state that is equally as rich as Ohio and Illinois. I find a state that has the same kind of social, economic, and population mixes. Yet I find that in Michigan--the seventh richest state in the land--we had a long, long tradition of public education, where the state had developed the first tradition of the

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high school with the Kalamazoo Case. We built a community college system of an amazing extensiveness. We turned our backs on one of the models of the Morrill Land Grant Act, which was that each state would have an agricultural, mechanical school and a literary school, so to speak, with the status going to the literary and the agricultural and mechanical one not having the status. We were one of the very first states in the Union, particularly in the Midwest, to work on the concept of perhaps two or three major universities that were comprehensive--perhaps Michigan State had a little less in the hard science and Michigan had a little less in the applied areas--but still so much like each other.

M--But even there, one has to remember that it was Michigan State College, the old Michigan Agricultural College, that was preeminent in science as it emerged. It was the old Michigan Agricultural College that was so deeply affected by the work of Liebig and decided that it was in the scientific realm, primarily, in which it had to grow.

It was probably unfortunate for Michigan Agricultural College that for a period it lost some of its emphasis on the sciences that it had in the initial period. If you look at the curriculum of Michigan Agricultural College as it was instituted, as opposed to a number of eastern schools, originally, you'd find in place of the Latin and the Greek, the hard sciences.

F--Yes, but in the history of American education, one of the curiosities to me, and one of the amusing things, is that the majority of American education was built out of the theology schools, and their rejection of science was quite severe. I can recollect that Yale turned back science in the nineteenth century. It was only after Johns Hopkins and the German universities set the model for the prestige that people found they were able to say that hard sciences, which had the element of being dirty or perhaps blue-collar, could be accepted.

But let me conclude the point. If you take a look at Michigan--much like Ohio, much like Illinois--you find that this state, besides the community colleges and the high schools, and Ypsilanti (the first teacher-training institution west of the Alleghenies) you find Michigan, you find Michigan State. It's an amazing enterprise and I think widely reputed that before the Second World

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War we probably ran the first--or second or third--very best educational system in the country.

The dollars we've committed to education and the commitment to research, which has not ever been something that could be popular in a sense of popular support the way athletics is almost a religion. We did an extraordinary job. And other states have copied us. We didn't copy a federal initiative and I wonder...

M--I can only counter your inquiry by still another inquiry. You come from Massachusetts. The same question has been asked of me by one of my friends from the State of Washington who is with the American University Field Staff, Albert Ravenholt. Some years ago he asked me what there is about Michigan that provides it with a peculiar type of leadership so that it does things somewhat differently than other states and that exercises a certain dynamic drive in the accomplishment of certain goals in education and in other matters. The question was asked, "Well, is there something peculiar about the type of talent that got attracted to Michigan by some accident, and that is growing to some extent, that explains Michigan as such a unique state?" Again, I don't know the answer, but others notice it.

F--If we were to take the time and do a sociological analysis we could name thousands of men who came from Michigan who head state institutions in Utah, Oregon, California, and Texas. I think of Steve Spurr who was your opposite number at Michigan. I think no other state has had that degree of leadership.

I think there's something in the environment, the history, and the culture. I don't know what it is, but I think it's a study worthy of analysis.

M--It may even be associated with our climate.

F--As a matter of fact that's interesting, because Dr. Fleming and I talked about the differences that occur, in my opinion and in his, in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota in the traditions and the style, versus the southern part of the Midwest. I think there's something in that. I think, you know, the old New England stuff about the frontier and the hardness of the climate and the hard way to make a living. I think the fact that the land was not as good as that of Iowa and Illinois.

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I don't know, but the point is this: We are a great state, we have great educational institutions, and we have received the love of the people in a way beyond the measure of many other states. In another state they would have driven a John Hannah out. They didn't do that here, they supported him. They stood for educational diversities, too, because the presidents were different and the schools were different. In a time of bureaucratic centralism, which I think was 1946 to the present, bureaucratic centralism has not succeeded and hasn't been sought.

Well, I think a historical analysis of what we are must face some of these questions. One reason I'm talking to you is that I'm trying to discern from your great interest in political science, and encouraging the research enterprise at the institutions--which is an applied form of public policy of the best sort--and your close observation of the MSU successes in the enterprise over this last generation, if you could help to give some insight as to why you think it happened?

M--I just keep wondering about it myself.

F--I think one of the values of the study will be not that the answers will come, because I don't think that's one work, but I think it may be the broadening of the dialogue past the process question.

I'm much taken by the fact that much of the curriculum in the study of education is process and not as much about ends and means as it should be. I'm hoping to broaden the base of the public policy dialogues so people will understand what we've done and what are the real questions.

M--Again, I can only add the comment of another American, now from another part of the United States, namely, Steven Bailey. He is the Vice President of the American Education Council for International Programs, comes from Syracuse, and is familiar with the eastern seaboard. After my recent presentation in Germany--at which he was present--his comment at the luncheon was, "I can never quite fathom and get over the dynamics of Michigan and Michigan State University."

People sense that there's something about the institution and its representatives, and I'm not speaking about myself.

Muelder

I think you and the others just naturally reflect a certain dynamics that is something unique when you get a group of people together talking about education and problems of education.

F--What do you think were some of the social and political objectives? You just don't create any instrument in any government at any time in history that doesn't have an end.

I have recognized, as you have so implied, that America is not a land of planning. We haven't as yet followed the Soviet model where it's all chiseled in granite, but in 1958 the state appropriations in higher education was \$80 million. In 1970 it's \$250 million. What were the objectives?

Some have talked about second chance. I've raised the question here--in questions 5 and 6 and 4--indirectly. Was it the attempt to break class and culture barriers? Was it elitism versus popularism? What were the partisan and parochial conflicts in the attempt to attain the objectives?

M--My own long association with Michigan State would prompt me to say the following, at least about this institution: This institution, in general, has transcended the question of class. It has been proud of the fact that it has attracted so many students who were the first of their families ever to enter an institution of higher learning.

Now, what is the source of pride? What is the social and even the economic objective? These were not defined so much as broad social and economic objectives as they were an obligation on the part of the institution to be concerned about people and to use the individual as a point of departure, to see what it can do for the individual to make him a more useful citizen in the society in which he lives.

What are the hopes and aspirations of the individual in the accomplishment of this in an increasingly complex society? One has to provide a whole variety of services that are needed.

F--I'm smiling as you talk because something of great amusement struck me.

I started this exercise of trying to draw on my experiences and reading some two months ago. As you talk to

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the many fine and insightful people, your experience is broadening and you begin to get beyond the questions to some of the more basic social forces.

When I moved into the questions I was much struck by the rhetoric. For instance, Susan Jacoby's article in Saturday Review about MSU being a popularist institution.<sup>2</sup> I was struck by that. It's a form of political rhetoric that is much in favor. I was much struck by the Marxian models about a classless society which have controlled our thought for the last 75 years, and the work of the sociologists like the Muncie, Indiana people--whose author leaves my mind now--who talked about a lower, middle and upper class, and then they broke them down into the lower middle and lower lower. So you built a 9-tiered society. One of the things that struck me is that when you build some surveys you find 95 percent of the population perceive themselves as being middle class.

I am struck by the fact that an institution as wide as Michigan State, which moved to excellence, was not based on birth but on what I'd call a meritocracy in Michigan. I was quite critical of this in the beginning but I've come to believe that you can't have a 40,000 elite. It really is, again, the meritocracy.

We're probably building--taking that 95 percent of people perceiving themselves in the middle class--the classless society of Marx from a completely different vantage point. I'm struck by the fact that while the rhetoric of many people is still very much in the Marxian, socialist, anarchist modes, we have done something that people may not have known that they've done: We're building the first classless society through the mechanism of the education enterprise.

M--If it is feasible, I would suggest that you try to interview Tom Cowden, who was the long-time Dean of Agriculture. Dean Cowden often made the observation and comment that in America we have never had a peasant class.

It's an extremely important observation. Not only have we not had it as a class in terms of the bundle of feudal rights and responsibilities that describe the constraints

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<sup>2</sup>Susan Jacoby, "Power of the Word," Saturday Review World 1 (January 1974): 40-43.

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that existed in terms of a citizen's personal life, but we've never had the mentality of a peasant class as well. So that when you say most of the people consider themselves of the middle class, this represents an extremely important observation.

In part it goes back to how people perceive themselves, which is one of the most powerful forces which we have. People did not perceive themselves as of a lower class necessarily, and always looked to the mobility that was ahead, responsive to certain skills and talents that were obtainable through, again, the education system.

F--I don't know if you've thought about this but there's some nine million people in the State of Michigan and virtually a third of them are in education.

If you think about it, the institutions didn't break down the way the Weimar-German Republic institutions did with the dueling societies and the like. The institutions are themselves not crossed or striated by class lines. If you take a look at a place like Michigan State the elites are of interest and not of social position. People are interested in agriculture and they congregate in these social groupings. I think that's proof of...

M--It is proof. When I was a graduate student in Germany in '30 and '31, I was asked once by some of my acquaintances at the university what was the most impressionable fact that I had of German student life. I replied, much to their chagrin and to their displeasure, that I was impressed by the fact that the German students themselves reflected such a strong class consciousness. Even to the extent, as I associated with all kinds of students, where one student would tell me, "I like you very much, I'd like to continue our association, but I cannot meet with you and the other chap since he comes from another class and I don't care to associate with him."

F--Well, Michigan institutions, and all American institutions virtually, that I know of, even a place like Harvard, are essentially classless. I'm struck much about how our total society of which the institutions are just a tool, had as their objective the building of a classless society.

The other think I am struck with: In a period here, we had some great trouble. You have mentioned the watershed

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years of 1967 and '68 and the national agony over the war. I think also because of the assassinations of beloved leaders--which happened in Germany and Japan in the thirties--one can see what that can do, and did, in those two countries.

I'm struck by the fact that we made a deliberate policy to bring in the minorities who were still isolated from the mainstream. They came to the campuses and after all the rhetoric and nonsense was done with, were accepted. You walk around this campus--and at Michigan and at Wayne--and you see hundreds of women that you didn't see before, you see Blacks, and you see Chicanos. In the social ways of welcome that exist--you mentioned in Germany the exclusion--I noticed inclusion.

Do you regard as one of the key issues of this period, 1958 to 1970, popularism in higher education versus elitism?

M--I think we can approach this from two points of view: a certain attitude within the universities themselves, and then attitudes outside of the universities. Both, of course, are important as one comes to grips with what is transpiring in higher education.

Within higher education itself, particularly on the part of the researchers and scholars that were given opportunities to engage in exciting research of their own interest in ways that they had never anticipated before, their interest tended more and more towards elitism in the sense that a number of them wanted to engage in pure research quite independent of the relationship of higher education to society as such.

This was a problem that concerned former President Hannah, who was not opposed to basic research, not at all, but felt that the long-range interest, not only in higher education but likewise the long-range support of society, required that the elitist approach be avoided and that the tag of elitism not be attached to the universities, particularly not Michigan State University. This was so much on his mind that he made a speech on elitism, or one might say against elitism, in Chicago. I've forgotten the exact date--it would go back seven or eight years and fall cleanly within this period.

This speech was attacked nationally by those who felt that the land grant universities were taking the



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gasoline service station approach towards society and that this was despicable, it demeaned the role of education. I can remember very well meeting with the president of Brown University, who served with me as a member of the Board of Trustees of the American University Field Staff. Shortly after this speech, and certain attacks that appeared in the New York Times, he joined in the attacks on President Hannah. It was my pleasure to come back extremely vigorously in defense of the approach that President Hannah had taken.

In other words, elitism versus popularism was a real problem and issue. Now, as we come closer to 1970, as we pass this watershed of '67 and '68 which we mentioned, when the universities began to realize that they could not assume an unending increase of dollars for research such as they had been accustomed, a new realism began to dawn on some that perhaps it was in their own enlightened interest to take a broader approach to both the role of the university in higher education as well as the relationship to society.

I don't think that in a university, particularly in a state public university, one will ever arrive at anything like a complete consensus as to what the role of the university and its relation to society should be. I think that one can, however, say that at this particular moment the pendulum has swung more towards the identification of the university with the needs and role of society as a service component to society. Obviously some balance is extremely important.

From this point of view, I do not think it's bad that this issue exists. I do not think it's bad that differences of opinion exist, but I think it is extremely important that the issues remain open and that there be strong representation of both as the university would not be serviced if it merely became a service institution. The university would not enjoy a secure future if it became alienated and if too large a dichotomy existed between the university and the people that support it.

F--That's an interesting point. What you're really suggesting is that the university--and I have to make a distinction between a university and a baccalaureate college or a community college, and add that not all of the sectors of higher education have the same mission--has to remain autonomous in society and has to fulfill diverse needs. Filling just one set ends up not really filling the best interests of society.

Muelder

What about occupational and technical training? Did you feel that they were of help in enhancing the position of higher education?

M--Obviously the needs of vocational and occupational training are real. In Michigan I think we were extremely fortunate to have had the type of leadership that we had in higher education--again including President Hannah, who was in the forefront of those that espoused the cause of the community college--to the extent to which the community college was able to help take over the role, not only of providing some basic training for people that would then aspire to go on to the university, but fulfilling an important role in vocational and occupational training.

We see the results of this at Michigan State University itself. There are a whole variety of courses that formerly were taught here, but had some difficulty of survival in the development of the university and were transferred to the community college. The community college could do a better job of certain vocational and occupational types of training than could the university. One can refer to such things as typing, lower grades of accounting, and draftsmanship, which at one time was an integral part of the engineering training. It, again, was done because there was no other unit existing to take on these types of work.

But there are not only these types of trades, there are a whole variety of other occupational and vocational trades for which the university was not, in the twentieth century, certainly in the middle of the twentieth century, the best home. The development of the community college has served a very important role.

F--But again this is a mixed problem, for several reasons. Certain kinds of vocational programs, in spite of the fact that they may logically fit in another echelon, have to occur in universities because they are derivative of more technical programs.

For instance, we have a truly vocational program for agricultural technicians. In view of the fact that here at Michigan State our investment in equipment and land and just capital for farming--I don't know, could be 100-200 million dollars--no other enterprise could replicate that. Secondly, I think about the medical schools being hosts for medical technicians, x-ray

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technicians, and the like. Those people have to, in the end, live in an environment where they have the technical and...

M--Right. And there will be these types of rather sophisticated vocational and occupational training which the university should continue to perform.

F--The other part of the problem is the problem of status. Status frequently gets in the way of service and academic integrity. For instance, much has been made in a very jocular fashion about the fact that we at Michigan State had a curriculum in mobile homes, whereas nobody ever shook their heads about architecture. It looks to me like the mission of both architecture and mobile homes was housing. I'm not sure that it was fair to be deprecatory about the one and thirst for the other.

M--I don't think that it would be fair either. I think that if that issue were raised today, as opposed to coming at the peak of the availability of large amounts of federal research dollars that enabled a number of faculty to take the stance that the university should be concerned with pure research as a fundamental thing, I would question as to whether the mobile home and other related programs would fall under this same type of severe criticism.

F--And institutions are different. I think one of the hallmarks of our institution here is its skill with application-oriented research rather than pure research... The social utility of the water quality situation is amazingly high. I'm not sure I would call that pure research. I'd call it research that has a very definite social product that is understandable to nonspecialists. I guess that's the distinction I'd make between pure research and applied. I don't see that being criticized. I don't see our having a desire to turn our backs on it.

M--I think in the matter of the research concerning water we have an interesting mix. Here we do have some basic research and we do have much applied. It is fascinating because it combines basic research, applied research, and then a type of an extension service in that it will provide a demonstration for communities not only in Michigan but throughout the country as well.

F--I think about my conversations in previous years with Jeffrey Norman at Michigan, who was your opposite number, and the work they were doing in airborne sensing. This

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is again that kind of felicitous mixture of the applied and the pure.

What about the role and the importance of the growth of culture and the arts in the dialogue over higher education?

M--I have written a little bit on this; namely, that in the period since World War II we have seen in the United States a tremendous advance in the sciences, primarily the physical and biological sciences, including mathematics, and also to some extent the social science. The one large gap was that of humanities.

I have referred to the humanities, which of course includes the arts, as representing the stepchild of the federal government in this period. It redounds to the integrity, the education, and the insights of the sciences that they are among those that were most aware of this deficiency. The creation of the National Endowment of the Arts and the Humanities that subsequently occurred, which is now just a few years old, in part, in great part as a matter of fact, rests on the support of the scientist. A fact that the humanists themselves do not wish to acknowledge or may be unaware of.

It's the National Science Foundation representatives, along with representatives of the humanities throughout the country, that are responsible for the creation of the National Endowment of the Arts and the Humanities. To be sure, the amounts of money involved are still relatively small but these are increasing every year and percentage-wise are increasing faster than any of the other federal agencies that are supporting education and research at the various universities. While the amount is still small, this again, administratively, is not bad. While there is never enough dollars for any program in the sense that the claims for dollars always exceed the dollars that are available, it is a fair axiom to state that while dollars are difficult to come by, it is still even more difficult to spend dollars wisely.

Hence, as you launch upon a new program, whether at the state level or at the federal level--and if you can anticipate development--it is best to move in stages and phases rather than to, more or less like a shot out of a cannon, make enormous sums available which then may not be spent wisely.

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It takes time to set up a competent administrative staff and it takes time to set up programming. It takes time to have a little bit of testing as you go along to see what works, what does not work, both in terms of the quality of people that you can bring in as well as types of programs--which still have to be acceptable to Congress. And you still have to evolve a whole variety of fronts as you move ahead. This one is now there, but it has lagged woefully behind.

F--What you're saying is that, while it may now be coming into its recognition, at the beginning of the period from '58 to '70 neither on the federal or state level was it an important element.

M--Right.

F--What in your opinion was the position of labor and industry and commerce and agriculture in regard to higher education?

M--My contact with labor is limited. I did have one or two interesting exchanges of conversation with Walter Reuther.

I think labor was extremely fortunate in Michigan to have a person of Reuther's stature who was university-oriented, and who saw in the development of higher education a real source of strength for labor. But also having in mind the mobility that he wanted to retain in America for people to move upward from the ranks of labor into the higher ranks. The universities worked for Reuther--one of the bridges for its fulfillment of both personal as well as economic gain.

F--That relates to some of the earlier questions about class and social mobility and the university as a social engine.

M--Right. Here at Michigan State we were one of the first, at least among the first, to establish (first in continuing education, then as a separate school) the labor and industrial relations program. This was oriented primarily towards the needs of labor, to some extent management, but labor received and continues to receive, I think, the major service from this unit.

F--That's an interesting point. I hadn't thought about this in my questioning and discussions with other people. Your remarks just have brought this thought to my mind.

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The curriculums really have broken down in many ways across societal-force lines so that the college of business related to one sector, colleges of industrial relations to another, colleges of agriculture to another, and the like. So in a sense, the university and its subprograms served it.

And that may mean, and lead to one of the comments that I've often heard, that the university in itself doesn't have the support that the totality of its programs has. Those who are for labor may not be for libraries, and those who are for music may not be for labor--schools, not the enterprise. Therefore, the strength of the university frequently is greater than it appears.

M--Right. Concerning industry: Ordinarily when we think about getting appropriations or dollars, whether from the state or from the federal government, we proceed pretty independent of industry. Of course we have the school of business and that interface, but in terms of research maybe from 5-8 percent of our total research will be industry-based.

F--There's not really a large tradition in this state compared to Massachusetts and the East for philanthropic support for public institutions, is there?

M--Not from industry.

There's another aspect in that respect. First, a basic and very necessary limitation. Industry is profit-oriented. Industry must of necessity be concerned with a variety of proprietary rights and interests--both information that it has--that's needed to provide for its survival. There are trade secrets and there are patent secrets that they have to protect, so that developing that interface with industry in the field of research will not proceed as neatly or as fast as with both government and foundations.

However, we have worked out with industry arrangements of research whereby we honor those things that are rightfully of industry. We have no wish to be identified with the proprietary interest of research that has already been conducted in industry. The only thing that we hold to is that new researches that can clearly be identified with ideas and activities of our own researchers be the property of the university.

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F--And in that sense, the property of the public.

M--And eventually of the public and of the public interest. Increasingly we have worked out arrangements with some of the very large industries for workable, viable relationships.

But the amount of dollars that flow from industry to the university in the research area is not very large. But industry is in a way very beholden to higher education, not only within the state but also nationally. Industry could not continue to perform at the high level it does without the trained manpower that it gets from the university.

This will vary with the size of the industry, but Du Pont, for example, could not exist without the flow of highly trained manpower. Dow Chemical could not exist without the flow of highly trained manpower. Some have insisted, as special articles in the Wall Street Journal have emphasized from time to time, that industry is not doing its share in support of universities, given the highly trained manpower that the universities make available. Beyond the technical skills, whether in chemistry, physics, biophysics, or in biochemistry, one of the greatest assets provided by the university is in the whole management field.

The training of people in business administration and management is a tremendous asset that flows to industry from the universities. Probably in the field of management no country can equal the know-how and the skills which we produce. Frequently foreign countries, above all, are not so much interested in that technician, which they likewise can produce--the physicist, the chemist--but in the management field. We, somehow or other, due to a variety of circumstances, produce geniuses in this field.

F--What about the role of commerce? Do you think you can segregate it from industry, or would you sort of include it together?

M--I would include it more or less together.

Sporadic attempts have been made in Michigan in the commerce area, particularly the Bureau of Economic Expansion that was inaugurated during the incumbency

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of Governor Romney. Specifically, Mr. Conboy<sup>3</sup> was brought into the state government to see what he could do in utilizing the expertise of the universities to increase the diversity of the economy of Michigan and tap the resources of the university.

The idea is sound but the execution was extremely faulty. It's to be regretted that an idea that was as sound as the basic concept did not have the continuing support of the Legislature. Nor did it have the administrative skill needed in order to bring it to fruition. There has not been in the past, nor does there exist today, the continuing commitment that is needed in order to bring such a program to fruition.

F--I agree with you. There were some federal programs that tried through the department of commerce...

M--Yes, the State Technical Services Act.

F--The State Technical Services Act. I kind of lean to the belief that some day we will have to create a replication of the agricultural extension service directly related to the transmission of knowledge. One of the things that happened in the 1880's was the understanding of the tremendous technical knowledge that was changing agriculture.

I don't believe that small industry, or even major industry, which has much more resource, can really survive without developing some kind of dissemination and demonstration service. I think it probably could be done quite cheaply, \$20 million perhaps.

M--This can be done. The interesting attempt at the federal level occurred when they brought Holliman from, as I recall, General Electric to head such a program nationally.

President John Kennedy included reference to a vast new national program in extension for business and commerce as a major thrust of one of his speeches to Congress. He developed a sizeable sum of money in his budget to launch the very thing that you're talking about: the counterpart to the ag experiment station, an extension to the field of commerce and of industry.

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<sup>3</sup>B. M. Conboy; Director, Bureau of Economic Expansion.



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The interesting thing is that this thing got killed. It got defeated by large industry. Specifically, the Du Ponts and others saw in this a competitor to themselves. If the universities, in other words, would begin to fulfill the role of providing research and technical transfer to other industries, this would flow then to, let's say, the competitors of Du Pont. I'm not saying that they're right in that, I'm merely pointing out a type of problem that existed at the federal level that helped kill this program.

The State Technical Services was all that remained of that initial effort. It too was reasonably successful, but it was very interesting that in the Technical Services Act they strictly forbade the support of research, per se. They only supported the educational aspect, namely, the transfer of technical knowledge which is still very important. It was interesting that the program essentially was killed before they completed the evaluation studies.

F--One of the things I'm struck with as you talk is that one of the public policies that this nation has through the Clayton and Sherman Antitrust Acts is the discouraging of monopoly. I'm not sure that's really true, but that's part of the rhetoric of the American political scene.

One of the real ways, instead of using the political and legal and administrative methods to bring down the size and cost of competition would be to go the other way and enhance the smaller organizations. Currently one of the reasons, in my opinion, for the success of large organizations in the marketplace, and the reason for their continuing growth, is their capacity to have the wealth to derive and gather the technology of our culture which the small company cannot do.

So you could build quite a strong, significant, and competitive model, I think, by doing that. The scale or size doesn't necessarily have to work across the whole spectrum of the industrial sector.

What about agriculture? I'm thinking specifically of its long historical support for Michigan State, but also its role in the desire to enhance higher education.

M--Agriculture, because of the historical development of the land grant institutions and the role of the Department of Agriculture in this development, and its own role, has traditionally been a friend of higher

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education. This despite problems and issues that have arisen from time to time.

This, however, does not necessarily connote continuing strong political support. In great part this is related to what has happened in agriculture itself. Namely, the fact that our society, which was at one time 95 percent agriculture, now is something closer to 5 percent agriculture. Roughly, the whole thing is reversed. The success of education and agriculture has transformed completely our society from the agricultural base, in terms of people located physically on the farms, to the urban society. Politically this means that no longer is there the strong agricultural block to express itself.

F--As a matter of fact I believe, and I'm virtually positive of this, that Michigan's Legislature of 148 members no longer has a single farmer in it. If you exclude Senator Zollar, who's an orchardist and a nursery grower, I would think that there aren't any farmers. And 25 years ago there was a significant number of men who made their living and economic interest from agriculture.

M--Yes, and on our Board of Trustees we have only one.

F--Yes, and probably few other institutions have even one. I can't think of any of the other institutions that have a man who makes his living from agriculture.

What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government?

What I'm thinking about is: I'm very conscious of federal programs for research, construction, scholarships, and the encouragement of certain kinds of specific curriculums. In the social welfare area, every time you receive a dollar from the federal government there come constraints as to how it can be applied, how it can be used, and it significantly inhibits the autonomy of states and local government. I'm trying to see if there's any sense that federal support for higher education involves these kind of constraints.

M--Let's take the welfare area and relate it with the disadvantaged. If you adhere strictly to the dates that you have of 1958 to 1970, I would say that the heaviest of the constraints and restraints that we feel have developed subsequent to the 1970 period--the whole

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affirmative action area and civil rights.

There are roots that go back earlier for these actions but the firm guidelines that exist, and that are made now essentially the law of the land for the universities, have broken out somewhat more recently. A university that has something over \$2,500 of federal contracts falls under the aegis of being a federal employer, and as an employer utilizing federal funds must be beholden to the guidelines that are expressed.

These guidelines now are very severe as far as the university is concerned. The university has no choice. All protestations that the university is a unique institution that should not fall under the same type of guidelines as other units in the country, meet one answer: "You are an employer and you will comply."

F--That's true. I suppose you could also cite the Occupational Health and Safety Act as another act, but these really have come from another milieu, from the social ferment of the country and didn't really exist in the period '58 to '70.

The occupational health and safety, the affirmative action, and the civil rights requirements have really not come in a way that was specifically aimed at universities in a punitive way. They were aimed as sort of a cannon toward the whole society, were they not?

M--Yes, and I do not wish to indicate in my remarks a feeling of irritation about this. The irritation, if it exists, for the university is primarily that there have come with the new federal legislation constraints involving expenditures by the university that are not provided from either the state or the federal government. Hence the university must thereby weaken its own resources in order to comply.

It's unfortunate that as yet neither the state government nor the federal government has put in a corresponding financial resource in order to adequately meet the requirements that are demanded by them. For example, this university, as it should, should open up its doors in a maximum way to the disadvantaged people. At the same time, it is inhuman as well as unintelligent to bring people into such a large, complex, and demanding institution and not make it possible for them to then be successful.

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F--So what you are saying, really--it's very subtle of course--is that simply the decision to create an opportunity without the reason or capacity to succeed is not public policy. It's really more like propaganda because the universities can't perform this public-policy role without the resource to accomplish it.

M--And hence there are supports and aids that the university itself must supply. Our whole office that is headed by Dr. Hamilton of the Provost's office<sup>4</sup>, is one that would never have existed if it weren't for the current programs and legislation.

But without it we don't really do the just thing to the disadvantaged person that comes in. He needs supportive services. We know from experience that a number of these people with help can be made extremely productive members of the university and eventually will take up the important roles in our society which we want them to. But there is a cost factor.

F--And there's a morality factor.

M--There's a very serious morality factor.

F--In a way it's extremely dishonest to tell a man you can come and then you don't give him a chance to survive.

M--Yes, that's right.

F--What about the pressure of the private sector on higher education?

I've been struck by the fact that I haven't noticed any unseemliness or real conflict between the two to prevent the growth of the one or the other.

M--The private sector has this in common with the public sector (I'm looking at this now from a point of view first of all of the federal government): The federal government from the earliest days has never been under the constraint of channeling its programs through the private or the public sector. It could choose.

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<sup>4</sup>James B. Hamilton; Assistant Provost, Special Programs, Michigan State University.

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Thus, the first land grant college in Connecticut was Yale University. This is a very interesting phenomenon and it's related directly to the development of that time. It was at Yale University in 1876 where the first ag experiment station was created, well in advance of the Hatch Act of 1887. But the significant thing here is that the support went to a private university. This is precedent-setting in many ways.

Subsequently, based upon this and other precedents, when World War II came along and the federal government found it desirable and necessary to utilize the resources and talent that existed in our universities, it did not ask, "Are you a private university or public university?" It went equally one to the other. Hence the dollars that went in support of research and even administration of some of the large national laboratories might go to a private or to a public university.

Quite rightly the observation has been made that the private schools are as much in the position of abject dependence upon the federal government as a public institution. To some extent even more so, at least as far as general research since they do not have the support from the state government for the continuing operating budgets.

F--I personally lean to the attitude that there is no such thing as a private school in America. I lean to the belief that there are publicly supported public schools and publicly supported private schools. Because of the tax shelters that they receive, because of the large broad-ranging scholarship programs that they receive, neither sector could continue long without public money.

M--That's true, particularly because of the tax shelter if for no other factor. In terms of other support, I think that there are possibly a few religious-type schools that exist fairly independent but they still do enjoy the tax shelter.

Very soon now we are having the case tried in our courts as to whether a private school can discriminate on the basis of race.

F--You're talking about Bob Jones University?

M--This is one of them, yes.

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F--Right. Probably the answer is no, unless they're willing to pay taxes.

M--But it does underscore the point that you're making about the tax shelter representing an indispensable part of the financing of the school.

F--I would take your caveat about the smaller religious schools, but I was thinking about Stanford, MIT, the University of Chicago...

M--Johns Hopkins...

F--...Johns Hopkins, and that roster of great institutions.

M--I think it speaks well for the statesmanship of both the private and the public schools that they have not tried to talk each other down when they are appealing either to private or public sources. You always have individual differences, individuals that will embarrass you, but for the greater part they have supported each other in the struggle.

F--I'm struck by the statesmanship of both sides. It probably has been that they realize their objectives are the same in the enhancement of society. And who can quibble with that? Maybe one school put a greater emphasis on worldly things and another put a greater emphasis on religious things, but their objective was the same.

M--The cost of higher education has become so horrendous. This is not only caused by the need for highly qualified professors, even more highly trained than in times past, but the sheer cost of scientific equipment alone. It's such a forbidding thing for universities that it represents a real nightmare to provide the minimum necessary financing in order to conduct a modern university.

The recent requirements that are related to the social revolution is another circumstance that has increased the cost. For example, in legislation such as the Title Four of the National Defense Education Act. Not only were fellowships granted to the universities to then distribute among certain graduate students, but there was a cost-of-education allowance. Thus, for the student that would be getting \$2,500 for, let's say a year, the university was given a similar amount of money because it was recognized that there was a cost to the university in taking these students.

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F--That's passed by, though.

M--This unfortunately has passed by. This is one of the basic things, for example, that President Wharton was alluding to when he referred to the fact that if there had been an institutional allowance made that would correspond to the financial aid to the students it would not have been necessary to have increased the tuition. This applies to both the private and the public sectors. Both now have this terrifying thing of constantly increasing the tuition in order to keep up with the inflation and the costs of higher education.

F--I'm troubled by something that you said. It's been pretty clear that the cost of equipment has gradually precluded the private schools, except for a very, very few of immense endowments, from maintaining graduate programs and some undergraduate programs in the hard sciences.

One of the things that's beginning to be noticed as a trend is the beginning of high cost for the liberal arts programs, with computers and all of the audiovisual equipment. I'm afraid that that cost squeeze is going to attack the social sciences and the humanities as it has not done for the present. I fear for the viability of many institutions because of that.

M--Yes, there are computer programs that affect the social sciences and the humanities. The general cost for labs is not so high there, but this is offset by the great cost involved in maintaining the modern library which the humanist needs above all.

F--The economies of scale really don't work, do they?

M--No, they don't.

F--I don't know why, but it's true. It doesn't cost you lots less to run a library with two million volumes than one million. I wonder why?

What about the nature of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another?

Our institution and Michigan courted the communities of Saginaw, Port Huron, Grand Rapids, and the like.

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M--This has existed in the past in Michigan, less so now than at the previous time. As always, you have the role and interest of individuals that intrude themselves, as well as possibly a larger societal interest.

First of all, let's look at the reasons. Having a college or a university is a great boon for any community. This is from time immemorial. In the Middle Ages, with all the other problems that existed then, town and gown quarreled. The city may be Bologna, Florence, Heidelberg, Paris, Cambridge, or wherever, they all had their town and gown problems and some of these broke out into riots of all sorts. But cities still wanted the university.

Why? There's a prestige factor, but beyond the prestige factor there's the real financial advantage that accrues when you start bringing in these students from all over the state or the country; the professors that come into the area; and then other things that are attracted to the area because of the presence of a college or a university. You have this as a kind of a given.

If you combine this with certain politics that a university might start engaging in, such as we had when President Hatcher announced publicly that the University of Michigan "will be glad to associate itself with any group that wants to get established as a school out there." You then are setting up two things: the ambition of the university plus the natural inclination of a geographical unit to have such a school. And I think the University of Michigan in turn was engaging in this as they saw Michigan State as a threat in terms of its expanding extension programs and its expanding enrollment.

Well, somehow or other, this thing had to be dispelled. It got dispelled in an interesting way in Michigan--by the countermove of Michigan State to set up the school that's now Oakland University, and in the establishment by the Legislature (that got a little bit into the act) not only of a system of community colleges but of the axiom that no community college was to become a four-year college. If justification existed for a four-year college, this would be deliberated and acted upon in its own right so that you would not have every community college trying to convert itself into a four-year school.

Essentially, as you know, this is where we are now.



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F--Two things were there: The Legislature saw the value of diversity of institutions rather than similarity; and the period from '58 to probably '66 was involved much in what I call civic energy, regional energy, and the politics of imperialism. I think that's true. And Michigan State practiced that too.

And that leads to the next question. What were the reasons for the failure of the branch-campus system?

I'm not saying that Oakland, Flint, or Dearborn are failures, but I doubt we'll ever have branches again. I doubt we'll ever go the California or Wisconsin way. I don't look for the day that there'll be a Michigan State at Muskegon or a University of Michigan at Gaylord.

Why do you think that failed?

M--You've commented that these efforts are not necessarily failures. I can only reflect upon Michigan State's relationship with Oakland--which was first known as MSU-Oakland and then merely Oakland University. It was born out of the sense of competition with the University of Michigan. It was born clearly and strategically to demonstrate that if the University of Michigan went the route of setting up satellites, Michigan State University would not only go that route but perform this role even more effectively than the University of Michigan. I think there was faith in our superiority in management and administrative skill and drive that if it came down to this route, this was a game that we could play as successfully as the others.

In other words, this whole venture was not born out of a desire to solve an educational problem of the State of Michigan. It was born for entirely other reasons. You can call it imperialism, or protectionism, whatever it is. At the same time, once given the circumstance, I think it is only fair to say that Michigan State University went about this problem as intelligently and with the greatest rationality that it possibly could.

One of the real exciting periods here at Michigan State was the call nationally to outstanding leaders, as far as these could be identified, to come and engage in a series of seminars--which they did over a period of a year--to decide if you could start from scratch, as they could here, what type of an institution should be

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established. What are some of the really exciting new ideas that could be tried in a new environment where one is not beholden to a tradition, to a past? While Oakland University was not born out of an educational need, once its existence was legally established and financially made viable, the process then began of making it educationally as exciting and as fruitful as possible.

So far so good, but that's not the end of the story. The end of the story is that these things, as far as Michigan State is concerned, need to have a continuity that was not provided administratively. Here we come to maybe the business of the "failure." There are essentially two directions that Michigan State could have gone. They could have gone in the direction of making Oakland completely in a line relationship to the university.

F--As they did at Flint and Dearborn.

M--As they did at Flint and Dearborn. Or they could go the other direction of making it autonomous, giving it a life of its own. The chancellor that was appointed there, even though you had responsibility to the same board via the president, was allowed maximum autonomy. He was given de facto autonomy, not de jure, but de facto. He was given complete independence.

F--He was really a sovereign man.

M--This I can illustrate in a number of ways that I had to deal with directly because I was asked to review several of their graduate programs.

It became very clear in reviewing these graduate programs that our Board of Trustees did not want to have their emerging graduate programs under any type of outside scrutiny, even that of Michigan State University. The president did not want to take this on as a burden, even though technically and legally he was responsible for the administration. The chancellor was his pro-consul at Oakland. It was very clear that the president did not want to take on the burden of Oakland in addition to Michigan State University and the other things that he wanted to concentrate upon doing, so that de facto you had complete independence that really became recognized later on.

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F--That's a very good point because the deliberate policy of encouraging the autonomy at Oakland can be taken and looked at today when you see Michigan moving exactly that way now at Dearborn and at Flint. Today, for instance, on the Council of State College Presidents, both of those Michigan pro consuls served on that president's board. It begins to appear that they're copying the Michigan State model.

If you take a look at the place--since Dearborn and Flint are of the same age as Oakland, relatively speaking, within a year or two of each other--Oakland's done fabulously well compared to a far more lethargic and sporadic growth at Flint or Dearborn. The test of success has to always be resolved. I suppose that success may have undercut the last discussion about the inferior role. Probably the other part is the wide-ranging cutting off of civic energy by creating twenty additional community colleges, or some number like that.

Do you have any observations about why the system of coordination failed after 1964 when we had the new Constitution?

M--I am an outsider here and my comment should be treated as that of an outsider. What I have to say, I don't know whether it's justified or not, and I do not put it forth as an advocacy at all.

My first impression, and I think it's still the impression I have today, is that it failed not necessarily because it was bad, but as so often happens in organization administration, because it didn't have the right people either on the board or giving it direction. Having served on the planning group for several years developing the plan of higher education, I was confirmed in that impression.

During that period it could have functioned infinitely better than it did, even given the restraints that it had. It could even today, from my point of view, with other personnel, other direction, both on the board and on the staff, be fulfilling a far more interesting and exciting role than it currently is.

F--I'm completely comfortable with what you say.

I regard myself as an outsider. I came to the State Board and worked for John Porter where I first met you

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when you served on the Advisory Committee for the state plan. I was one of the higher education consultants.

My observations about the State Board are very simple. One, because they didn't end up politically balanced--there were no Republican representatives on the State Board--and not the most qualified people got selected, the Board was uneven in its quality. Secondly, for reasons perhaps of status and stature and life, we were not able to recruit the kinds of academic men who had the credibility to pass on programs.

I can recollect in 1966 receiving a program from Michigan or Michigan State asking for State Board approval on a program of astrophysics. There wasn't a man in that agency who had the slightest knowledge of what astrophysics was, what its implications were, or what its value was. So therefore, how could they have a credible stance toward the institutions? They could not.

And further, it seems to me that the institutions really didn't respect the agency and really didn't want it.

M--Yes, and I don't fault the coordinating group on that ground because it was bound to run into some flak on this. Nobody likes to be coordinated, and yet some coordination in their own self-interest is desirable.

But let me give a personal example. The State Board presumed to have the right to pass on all new Ph.D. programs. This was disputed by us, but at the same time, if they asked for information, what new programs did we envisage, we were glad to submit information because I think every public institution should be open in the submission of information. I can remember very well a few years back submitting information on types of programs that were under discussion in our own graduate council.

Now here's a strange phenomenon, and again we get back to the competency of the organization and of the personnel in charge of the group. Michigan State University received word from this coordinating body approving these Ph.D. programs even before we completed the decision-making process within our own university. Well, this is really unhappy. It's unprofessional.

This is another reason that I have to keep asking myself, well, was the idea that bad or did it simply lack the professional competence that it should have had.

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F--I lean to the attitude that execution was poor. I believe the institutions could have been persuaded that there was some value. But it takes tremendous political acumen of the more skilled men to walk the line between coordination and control.

M--Exactly. There are so many people that are unable to walk that line, that feel unless they have all power immediately in their own grasp, that somehow or other they can't help coordinate and can't develop a consensus. Well, nonsense.

F--The other side of it is the kind of frivolous nonsense about the competition for a law school. There are three schools requesting: Grand Valley, Western, and Michigan State, competing without any kind of sense about what was proper or fit for the state's interest. Coming back to the imperial thing will lead us all to some degree of forced coordination unless we exercise a greater degree of statesmanship. I'm distressed about that.

M--I am too.

F--I fault the institutions for that. They may yet lead themselves into some quandries that they do not want to face unless they have a greater degree of what I call academic honesty. Just as you talked about having programs approved before your own evaluation procedure went to the fore, I think an institution seeking a law school, when they can't run a credible degree-granting program in the social sciences at the graduate level, should not be seeking a professional school in that area.

Now that's harsh talk, I know that. But it's indeed possible, I think, with the right kind of people, with the right kind of technical expertise, to build a coordinating body that might be of use to all of higher education. But maybe the times weren't right. They may come yet again.

M--They may come. Also, it could happen that if the membership of the coordinating board is appointive rather than elective we can bring in the spread of talent and identification of expertise and dedication that it needs. It needs a dedication to the ultimate purpose. We have an opportunity here in Michigan, given our performance that we've accomplished through

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even halfway voluntary cooperation, that is really commendable if you look at the country as a whole.

F--I also lean to the belief that we probably would have to start picking astute people. I have to lean toward the National Institute of Health mechanisms, the program of unusual panels of scholars, rather than professional bureaucrats.

Because of the rapidity of the change of knowledge, any one man could never, ever stay in an environment where, if he wasn't tied to research and instruction and growth, he could ever really for a long period of time be very credible.

M--This in many ways is one of the important recommendations that we have expressed through the graduate commission that John Porter did establish. That is: It's improper, for example, for institutions such as Michigan State or any other institution to stand in judgment upon another college or university. I don't think that should even be allowed.

However, a place such as Michigan State or University of Michigan can establish criteria that are desirable and necessary for Ph.D. programs. However, on the judgment as to whether another institution should carry these out, this should be based on external review as well as internal review so that we bring in both the independence of people that are not beholden to any institution in Michigan, plus the expertise that's needed.

F--Who do you think were the major figures in this period from '58 to '70 that made higher education and the enterprise itself so successful?

M--Beginning with the so-called four-year institutions--as they used to be known--I think Steve Nisbet played a very constructive, helpful role as we look at that longer development that these schools had prior to the constitutional change.

F--You're talking about Eastern, Western, Central, and Northern.

M--That's right. Stephen Nisbet, because it was his board, played a rather constructive role in helping these institutions develop as they did into universities.

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Their role, which is a very important and significant one, was of real import. The presidents of some of these institutions conducted themselves very commendably. I think we've been fortunate here at Michigan State in having John Hannah, who stood out not only as an important leader in the State of Michigan, but nationally as well. Michigan State has been on the lips and the thoughts of many people throughout the country in this period, in great part because of the tremendous growth that occurred.

The University of Michigan has had outstanding presidents as well, despite any competitive situation that has existed. Alexander Ruthven enjoyed enormous respect as a scholar.

F--And as a public figure, too.

M--And as a public figure. And as I recall it was the staff studies that grew out of his commission that changed Wayne from a municipal university to a state university.

F--And also Ferris.

M--And Ferris.

Keep in mind this is from a university president such as the University of Michigan. He didn't ask how is this going to affect the long-range interest of the University of Michigan as far as state appropriations is concerned. He was able to look at some of these problems in a very detached manner. The Michigan Council of State Universities and College Presidents likewise emanated with Alexander Ruthven. This was created by him, as I recall, in 1947 and still furnishes at least the base from which further cooperation can evolve.

F--Well, then, we had Nisbet, we had Hannah, we had Ruthven. The head of Michigan, no matter what his personal style is, that's such an important institution, so you'd have to say Hatcher.

M--Hatcher definitely, no question there. Now Fleming, of course, who is highly respected not only within the family of the University of Michigan but is highly sought after for very important commissions.

I can refer, for example, just by way of illustration to one of these: namely, the State of New York which carried

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out the major review of higher education, both the public as well as the private sector. He served importantly on that commission that led to one of the significant aids to private education by that state.

F--I thought that was John Hannah.

M--Hannah, likewise, in an earlier study.

F--What about other people? Were there others that you would cite?

M--There are none that come so prominently to mind because these combine both the political roles as well as the education roles.

F--You mentioned earlier, Reuther, of course.

M--Reuther in the labor field, as well as his brother Victor who headed the education program for his union.

F--It's always difficult to mention some people because by that very act you skip others who are worthy of notice.

We had some very key legislators, too, who stood heads and shoulders above legislators in other states. And we had governors who cared about the process, and we had industrialists who spoke out, and labor leaders. It seems to me they've been an extremely felicitous bunch.

M--And also keep in mind that in this period we had G. Mennen Williams as the governor for twelve years. While he will always be a controversial figure politically, there was nothing equivocal at all about his stand on higher education, and he did this rising above any personal loyalties that he might have felt to one institution.

F--Yes, we interviewed him and that came through very clearly. But Romney was one of the other party that came through. I'm impressed with Swainson and Milliken too. We've been lucky with these men.

M--Very fortunate. I will always remember with enormous gratitude the tremendous support and help that we got from Milliken at the critical period at which we were negotiating the final stages of our water management facility. We desperately needed to have a certain



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type of decision come out of EPA in Washington. He intervened in our behalf directly with the White House.

F--I'm very pleased with that because I'm struck, having worked inside the political structure, that they do these things for, in many cases, nonpolitical reasons. I don't believe that that kind of activity delivers five votes to the man.

M--No, as a matter of fact there were four of us that were involved in these negotiations--there are only four votes. Other than ourselves, nobody even knows about the role that he played or that the then Representative Ford, Senator Hart, and Representative Chamberlain played. They all played very critical roles and there's been no publicity to this.

We haven't gone to the newspapers and upheld this, because if we did, we would have to reveal so many of the weaknesses and the shortcomings of our form of government and of the personalities that were obstructing what we were after. If you reveal the good, you're also going to be forced to somewhat reveal the unsavory side, which we don't do if we can avoid it.

F--It strikes me then, in summary, that we've been fortunate in this state. Because of the peculiar mix of men and institutions, higher education has indeed served the people and been well served by its representatives.

Thank you very much.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
GEORGE ROMNEY<sup>1</sup>

F--Governor, from 1958 to 1970--which is the period I'm dealing with--Michigan higher education went through a fantastic expansion. New institutions were created. We increased the budget base from some \$60 million to some \$260 million.

I'm curious. What were the reasons, do you think, for this expansion of higher education in Michigan?

F--Well, I think because during the crisis that developed in the fifties, there was a growing realization that there was a need to strengthen our educational institutions in the state.

As a matter of fact, one of the things that led to my becoming involved in public affairs was my recognition that we needed to improve our educational structure. Among the things that government does, nothing is more important than what it does in the field of education. My concerns resulted in my heading up the study of Detroit's school needs before I became involved in the elective process.

My concern there resulted in my getting involved on a state basis. If you go back to the late fifties and the early sixties, we were having difficulty supporting our educational institutions. The result was that we were losing outstanding educational personalities to other

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<sup>1</sup>George Romney; Governor of Michigan, 1963-69; President, American Motors Corporation, 1954-62; Chairman, Detroit Citizens Advisory Committee on School Needs, 1957-58; Delegate, Constitutional Convention, 1961-62; Chairman, Citizens for Michigan, 1961-62; Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, 1969-73. Interview conducted July 25, 1974.

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states. I was shocked at the fact that we were losing Nobel Prize winners to California and other states simply because the higher educational institutions didn't have the financial means to make it attractive for them to stay in Michigan.

This was one of the things that led to my becoming involved at the state level following my heading the Detroit school study. It was one of the things that motivated the establishment of Citizens for Michigan, and the Citizens for Michigan effort led to two fundamental reforms.

One was constitutional reform and that constitutional reform focused to some extent on the constitutional aspects of higher education. And then number two, it led to tax reform, and one of the principal reasons for tax reform was to develop a more productive and equitable tax structure that would enable us to make adequate provision for our educational institutions.

So I think that the development was an outgrowth of the broad public concerns that developed in the fifties and the early sixties.

F--There are several themes that I want to try to explore with you and get your insights on.

I'm not a native of Michigan, I'm from Massachusetts. This is an adopted state for me, as it is for you.

I'm struck by the fact that throughout the state there is a real rich tradition and pride in the public sector in the quality of our higher educational institutions. We were the first state in the Union to have an agricultural-mechanical college (at Michigan State), University of Michigan is older than the State of Michigan itself, and Eastern Michigan University was the first teacher-training institution west of the Alleghenies.

R--As a matter of fact, the University of Michigan was the first public university that established high academic standing: academic standing comparable to that of some of the private colleges in the East. Furthermore, Michigan was one of the first states to

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establish a department of education in the state government.

You are quite correct that this interest in public support for education goes well back into the history of the state.

F--You were talking about the concern about people leaving. There is always an element, I suspect, of civic pride in our educational institutions. Rather than just regarding them as manpower-training institutions, they were regarded as important to the way of life we've built in this state.

R--I think that's right. I think there was public recognition that the welfare of the state was linked importantly to the quality of our educational institutions. The result is that they had built up through the years a degree of public support and public interest that I think is not duplicated in many of the states. I think that played a big part.

As people saw what they considered to be a very important aspect of state life being adversely affected, there was a response to leadership efforts to do something about it.

F--Around 1958 came the Russian experience with Sputnik. And, there was some concern about the future of the automotive industry--some of which you adequately led by your concern for compact cars, your testimony before the Keefauver Commission, and the like.

There was some talk when I spoke with Woodcock and Staebler that perhaps Michigan's dependence on the one industry was a dangerous kind of a problem and they [state leaders] were hopeful that an investment in higher education would create support for industry to broaden its base.

R--I think there's a point to that. I don't think there's any question but that there was great concern about the dependence upon the one major industry and the need to diversify: to provide the training necessary to enable the state to become a source of research, a source of management, a source of innovation, that would lead to a broader economic base.

Romney

Sputnik played a part in jolting people in Michigan, as it did in the nation. However, in the case of the city of Detroit, the effort to do something about strengthening public support for the Detroit school system preceded Sputnik by a full year and was in-process when Sputnik came along.

But I don't think there's any question that Sputnik and the concern that the Communists might be out-distancing us in the scientific field, the technological field, played a part in Michigan, as it did elsewhere.

F--Some of the social and economic factors that some have talked about in previous discussions had to do with the population boom in this state--one of the fastest growing states in the nation was Michigan--and the large number of people who believed that they could go to college based on the GI Bill entitlement.

Do you have some insights about what some of the social and economic forces were for the growth of higher education?

R--I think, again, that the people in the state have always viewed education as a very important aspect of our social and cultural life and fundamental to our economic strength. The result is that they were inclined to give support and to be concerned about opening up educational opportunity on a broad basis, particularly for people who had not been able to secure education in areas in which they had lived before coming to Michigan.

I think this played a part not only in connection with higher education, I think it played a part with respect to education across the state. I think it led to the elementary and junior high school educational efforts in Flint. Charles Mott initiated a community school program which has become a very constructive approach to a more adequate utilization of our school facilities and personnel.

But also, it's very important from the social standpoint. One of its basic objectives is to help overcome the deficiencies in family life of those who have come to the state without any educational

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background; recognition that if children are raised in homes where they never see a person read or never see their parents read or do anything involving the use of education, they don't have the motivation necessary to seek an education for themselves.

So, yes, I think there's been a recognition of the importance of it from a cultural standpoint, from a social standpoint, and also from an economic standpoint.

F--I learned an interesting lesson when I first came to work with the Legislature. Your administration was pushing through the open-housing bill. All the aggravation and blood there struck me, as I watched that. Education, health, and housing are not really divisive issues. Those are the kind of social and political issues that pull people together because people want more of all three.

Your remarks about filling in the voids in other sectors of the industrial-urban life we have with the role of the schools is, I think, an instructive one. I'm impressed with that. Many people talk about secondary causes and don't mention the primary ones.

R--As a matter of fact, when you take a look at it, the one area of activity where people come together on the basis of common interest, without division with respect to partisan considerations, or economic differences, and so on, is in the field of education.

In the field of religion people have differences, in the field of economics people have differences, in the field of politics people have differences, but the school is really a place where people can be brought together for the common purpose of helping everyone to improve themselves.

F--The Flint example, which you talked about, is a good example.

R--Sure, sure.

F--In 1962 you became the Governor.

R--I actually took office January 1, 1963. I was elected in '62, but I took office January 1, 1963.

Romney

F--For much of the previous six years you'd been involved in civic activities in Michigan. You had been with the Citizens for Michigan, you'd been with the Constitutional Convention, you'd been involved in the Detroit School Study in 1958.

What were the policy objectives you had in mind in your administration that underlay this expansion? What did you want to accomplish?

R--Basically I felt that the educational structure of the state had been deprived of the resources necessary to maintain its quality and to maintain the broad availability that had characterized our efforts in earlier years. Consequently, one of my basic objectives was to make it possible to provide greater support for our educational institutions and thus benefit the state.

I was convinced that one reason why Michigan had excelled economically, and had been outstanding in a social and cultural way, was that Michigan had excelled in education. That goes way back. I felt that the future of the state was linked importantly with maintaining that general pattern of leadership in the field of public education.

F--For all of the fact that you were a Republican governor in a state that was becoming increasingly Democratic--you were the first Republican governor since 1948 and the Democrats increasingly had greater membership in the House and the Senate--you always had the capacity to get bipartisan support for much of your program.

I'm curious if you had as the objective in higher education the breaking down of class and culture barriers? For instance, by your programs to enhance Wayne so that their programs could serve urban areas; by the programs to encourage the growth of community colleges throughout the state. In your administration there was a prodigious growth of these institutions.

R--Yes, that was part of the objective. You take a look at the overall effort during that period; a great deal of it was directed at eliminating the obstacles that had prevented people, because of race or other considerations, from educational opportunity.

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I've always felt that one of the distinctive aspects of American life was the adoption of the concept of universal educational opportunity, the recognition that if people were going to exercise ultimate power in our society, they had to be informed. And number two, that to the extent that we could achieve it, there ought to be equal educational opportunity.

To make that possible I felt it was necessary to strengthen organizations. Not only in the urban areas, but also we did something to strengthen our institutions across the state, [most] importantly in the Upper Peninsula. If you would take a look at what was done with respect to Tech and Northern and also Lake Superior College...which made it easier for young people in that area as well as in the urban areas.

And of course the community college program...

F--Grand Valley was established.

R--Grand Valley came in, and then the one up near Saginaw...

F--Saginaw Valley College.

R--Saginaw Valley, and of course Oakland was strengthened a great deal.

F--You had Dearborn and you had Flint.

R--...and Dearborn and Flint, and so on.

One of the problems during that period was to permit this broadening without losing the quality of the higher education program. I think one of the difficult aspects of the situation was to enable the University of Michigan to maintain its high standard and high level of activity.

A state can't really support many institutions of the character that the University of Michigan had achieved. There was a broadening effort as well as an improvement in the quality generally. One of the objectives was not to do all that at the expense of sacrificing the University of Michigan's academic standards.



Romney

F--You've just said something that I'm curious about. You said a state can't afford to do all of those things.

R--It can't afford to make all of its institutions as outstanding as the University of Michigan. That's what I meant by that.

F--Well, in most of the Midwest you have one land grant school and one university. In places like Indiana and Ohio you have one good school and then more workman-like schools. In Michigan, in your time, a conscious policy, maybe not a conscious policy, but we began to build two and start on three great institutions.

R--Yes, that's right.

F--You built Wayne into a school with very prodigious and excellent graduate programs. You built Michigan State into a school close to the quality of Michigan.

R--We didn't want to sacrifice the University of Michigan's...

F--No. I understand that.

R--But we moved the other up. That's right.

F--In most of the states one of the definitions of quality would be singularity. We didn't do that here. We moved for a collegueship, and you began to move towards enhancing Western too. That's quite a different policy than occurred in other states: Take a look at Ohio and Indiana.

I wonder if that was just sort of the energy of the people or a deliberate policy, or both, or neither.

R--I think it was. As far as I was concerned, I felt that it was desirable to have good institutions around the state as accessible as possible to the young people so it would be easier for them to get the benefit of higher education.

F--When all these schools were setting up--we had Grand Valley, Saginaw Valley, Dearborn, and Flint--there was a lot of hustle and bustle and pushing and shoving, and beating up back and forth.

Romney

What were some of the reasons for this partisan and parochial conflict that occurred?

R--Well, just good competitive effort between the institutions to make their institutions outstanding. The desire to have good colleges.

F--You weren't disturbed by that.

R--Oh no, that's a good quality.

F--You liked that civic energy.

R--Competition is the life blood of progress when you get right down to it. No one would ever run a mile in four minutes if they hadn't any competition. Competition between educational institutions is a healthy thing.

F--The technocrats like to develop a plan where everything fits into a nice little niche and they rid themselves of conflict. It's been one of my thoughts that perhaps the conflict wasn't bad at all.

I talked to Bill Ryan and he said, "Well, it's not so bad to have them compete because then they had to also participate in other aspects of the budget system. Before, these places weren't ever getting anything so they didn't care about broadening the revenue base."

R--Yes. Tension and drive and so on are very important aspects of progress.

F--What about popularism versus elitism?

There's always been a certain kind of talk--and I'm less comfortable with it now that I've had 25 interviews than I was in the beginning--about Michigan being elite, aristocratic, and snobbish.

R--You mean the University of Michigan?

F--Right, University of Michigan... and Michigan State being second-chance, opportunity, and popularist. But there are terms like popularist versus elite.

I wondered if you saw part of the energy in this period from '58 to '70 as popularism versus elitism.

Romney

R--Oh, I never viewed it that way. I simply viewed it as a part of what had developed here in the state. After all, in our earlier history I don't think the state could have financially supported more than one institution that had the status of the University of Michigan.

As a matter of fact, the University of Michigan, as I've pointed out, already was the first state university to achieve really outstanding academic status. I don't think there's much question but that that was the result of the type of leadership the institution had and the support it received. Consequently, I viewed that as a very desirable thing. It was helpful to have an institution that was as well recognized from an academic standpoint as the University of Michigan.

Now at the same time as the population in the state had grown, and as the needs of the people had grown, it was a good thing to see leadership come into Michigan State University that was capable of building that into a stronger institution, one that had better standing and was capable of providing educational opportunity for a far larger number of students.

I never viewed it as popularism versus elitism. I viewed it as a part of the background of the development of our educational institutions. We were very fortunate that the one had developed status in the academic world that made it very preeminent among the state universities.

I think, as in the case of other fields of endeavor, that when you have one institution that's outstanding, it tends to lift all the others. It encourages the others to emulate and to do as much of that as they can. I think that has been beneficial to the whole educational structure of the state.

F--That's one of the reasons I started this dissertation effort. I became somewhat disenchanted with people complaining about how tough things were. I felt we'd done a fine job in this state and could be proud of it, particularly compared to what I'd seen in other

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states and my home state of Massachusetts. I thought there was a record that had to be put [straight] here.

R--In the automobile retailing field, for example, if you have a metropolitan area where your dealers aren't doing very well, the best way to lift the level of performance of the dealers of that whole area is to get one good, hard-hitting, able dealer in there. Getting one good, hard-hitting, able dealer who can really do a job will stimulate all the others and lift them too.

I think that analogy applies to our higher educational institutions in this state. I think they have benefited from the fact that the University of Michigan became a very outstanding public state university. Other institutions in the state all aspired, you see, to lift themselves to the level of the University of Michigan.

It made it kind of tough for the Governor and the Legislature and the appropriation process because they all wanted to use the financial support of the University of Michigan as the yardstick for their financial support. At the time when there was a need to increase the opportunity for more students to get an education and expand the educational system as rapidly as we were doing, it put real pressures on the financing aspect.

F--And you obviously had some objective of keeping the tuition reasonably low too.

R--That's right, and make it as cheap as possible.

F--And that was a policy?

R--That's right, that's right.

F--There was only so much you could afford to take out of the general fund.

R--That's right. I go back to my conviction that there's nothing the government does that is more important than what it does in the field of education: that of the services rendered by government to people, what it does in the field of education is absolutely fundamental.

Romney

F--You were in the Constitutional Convention and there some very important things happened that relate to higher education.

First, all of the normal schools were given the conceptual right to become universities in title. That caused some of that upwelling to broaden them just from teacher-training institutions. Their autonomy was guaranteed. In a rather cloudy and hard-to-understand article the State Board was given the right to plan for autonomous institutions that were constitutional.

Have you some observations about what some of the energy was there? It came out with a rather mixed bag, indeed.

R--Well, I think it could have been a better bag. As a matter of fact, I think the state would have been better off if the new Constitution had provided for a gubernatorial-appointed State Board of Education subject to Senate approval. I'm convinced that it would be possible to get abler leadership on the State Board of Education if it were the result of an appointive process rather than an elective process. So I was disappointed in that.

I also felt that the major universities would have been a lot better off with appointed boards, too. I think it's exceedingly difficult for people to run on a statewide ticket for election to a board of control for a university when there's so many people on the ballot at the same time. It means basically that the people who are elected to the boards of control of the three universities are pretty much elected as a result of partisan selection as candidates rather than as outstanding...

F--Well, in an indirect way. What occurs is that nobody ever gives any scrutiny to the members of the boards of control from the three major institutions and whichever man wins for governor pulls in the others.

R--Pulls in the others. That's exactly right.

F--It's a form of indirect gubernatorial appointment.

R--Yes, but at the same time it...

Romney

F--It's not a good process.

R--...it doesn't result in the type of membership on those boards that I think it would be possible to get if it were a result of the appointive process rather than the elective process.

F--That's one of the later questions so I'll just skip to it for a second.

I've asked some people why they thought coordination didn't come about after 1964. One of the questions I raised with them was the tremendous political upheaval that occurred when Goldwater ran. We elected eight members to the State Board who were Democrats. People like Alvin Bentley and Briggs and the like were not represented. From that moment on, the Board just didn't have the quality and the balance it needed.

R--It was a disappointment that the Board didn't have the status and influence that it was anticipated it would have. Those who were advocating the elective board with the broad responsibilities that were given to the Board of Education anticipated a board of such a status that it would attract outstanding people throughout the state to run for the State Board.

Well, that didn't really prove to be the case. As a matter of fact, the early Board did take kind of a partisan approach and made it difficult to develop a coordinated effort between the Board, the governor's office, the budget bureau, and so on.

F--Your office and your administration took away part of their power to coordinate the community college movement.

R--Yes, yes.

F--As I recollect, because of distress that they couldn't come across with the needed data and recommendations in time for you to put your own administrative processes to bed. But that's not the Board, that must be a defect in the professional staff.

Romney

R--I think there was a lack of recognition of the importance of that on the part of the professional staff.

As a matter of fact, as I think back to that period in my recollection, there was a good deal of, oh, I don't know whether you call it conflict, but there were several disagreements between the two. Instead of composing the situation and developing a unified approach, it tended to create more conflict and confusion than existed earlier. The objective was the opposite, you see.

F--Many of the solutions of these things came through executive and legislative action...

R--That's exactly right. That's exactly right.

F--...where perhaps the knowledge level wasn't as high but the instincts were there.

R--Yes.

F--What about vocational-technical objectives? Were they important?

R--Yes, they were a very important part of it. I've always been convinced that one of the things we need to do is to strengthen the programs that enable people to develop skills.

I think we have tended to reduce the importance of that in our thinking. I think we've tended to over-emphasize the purely academic side and the professional pursuits as compared to the crafts and the mechanical skills and so on.

F--It has a sense though--you had paper technology and aircraft at Western, for instance, and the building of Ferris--that you had the intention of creating a different tier of institutions to do that. Michigan is probably not a good place to do vocational-technical training. Whereas perhaps Wayne, but Wayne didn't work out, hence the creation of Wayne Community College.

Did you have that as a direct policy agenda or did these things just sort of...

Romney

R--That was part of the objectives. I assume you've taken a good look at the higher educational commission that I appointed and their recommendations on it. They played quite an important part in this little picture, you know.

F--I was quite amused about that because it strikes me that one of the hidden jobs that people never understand that the executive has to do is to find the right people for the right place. It's always very tough to find that.

As I looked over the people you picked, like Heavenrich from Saginaw, and Bluestone from the UAW, and a man from Besser Industries up in Alpena, I was struck by the very clever and astute mixture of industry, labor, there was a doctor on it. Geographically, Muskegon, Grand Rapids, Flint, Saginaw, Detroit were represented. It was a very careful, skilled mix.

R--Well, the objective was to get capable people and to balance, and a recognition that the state was facing a new era in the field of higher education because of the Constitution and also because of the economic situation of the state. The need to broaden the educational opportunities related to the future of the state.

F--One other thing that struck me, and I want to chat with you about it, is that one of the mechanisms that Mennen Williams used to create the public opinion to create legislation--since he had so few votes inside the Legislature--was the civic commission.

The civic commission has in a rather subtle way been the force frequently to create the initiative and the pressure on more recalcitrant members of our government structure to move. You used that with the Citizens for Michigan. Your membership on the Detroit school thing was another mechanism to go outside of the government structure.

The comparison between the Blue Ribbon Commission that you selected and the latest one where the Governor has set up this higher education reform commission are instructive. I suspect--and I'm



Romney

asking this directly after that long preamble, if you'll excuse me--the very act of picking these kind of people as a civic balance thing made the event happen. The latest one with Governor Milliken wasn't well-balanced, wasn't broad, it was small, only 5 to 10, and you had about 50. That Blue Ribbon Report that occurred in your administration was the most effective thing that's occurred in this state in 30 years.

R--For such a commission, in my opinion, to be fully effective, it has to be not only outstanding in terms of the membership and balance, but it also has to be composed of people who can have influence on public thinking and the media and so on, so that you create public support which in turn translates itself into political support.

Sure there was a good deal of concern about structuring the Commission so that it would have impact on the state and the people in the state.

F--I'm sure of that. I think what I was thinking about is that from 1948 to the present, when you wanted to get beyond governmental, bureaucratic, or narrow policies, and you wanted to go for broad-base policies, you have to really go outside of the power of the governor's office in dealing with the Legislature and the executive and create a public force, don't you?

R--One of the things that I think we have failed to recognize adequately in our process of dealing with basic problems is the limitation of the political process. The political process has certain inherent limitations in it. One of the inherent limitations is that it's difficult to get those who depend upon the elective process to take positions that aren't well supported by the public. After all, their basic function is to identify the possible and to get it done. The possible is what this public will support basically, or what can be presented in a way to secure public support, so that they will give the political support necessary to make the necessary changes. You can't have progress without change.

Romney

Now, Richard Goodwin, who was John F. Kennedy's speech writer, then he was Johnson's speech writer--I was reading it in this book here, The American Condition--talks about the congenital incapacity of the political process. He's talking about the same thing I'm talking about: the inherent limitations of the political process.

Where you have a society where ultimate power is vested in the people and the people exercise that ultimate power at the ballot box, if you're going to get support of those who depend upon the results of the ballot box, they've got to be reasonably convinced that if they give support it won't hurt them at the ballot box. Consequently you have to pursue a process that will create public support or make it evident that there is public support.

F--And that's what I guess I'm deriving from what you did and now what you say. A governor not only has to lead, and the politicians not only have to discern what is the public mood, but you have to create the impetus to educate the public, to create the additional public understanding, to create the need and the demand and the consensus.

R--That's right.

F--Now the commission is a good and subtle way to do that, isn't it?

R--That's one way to do it.

F--The governor has to get out there on the stick talking to people and really moving around. He can't just stay in.

R--That's right.

F--On education issues, though, you didn't have much trouble, did you?

R--No, because there'd been, as I have indicated, a good deal of ground work done in the process of my becoming governor. After all, the concerns that developed in the late fifties and the sixties and the public discussion that was occurring, the media coverage that was occurring, all created a good deal of public support for needed action.

Romney

F--It was quite large, wasn't it?

R--Yes.

F--Was there any agenda in the growth of higher education for the growth of culture and the arts? I don't have the sense of it except at Oakland.

R--No, not that I know of.

F--At Oakland, I thought that Woody Varner was just amazingly astute. Where John Hannah was selling football players, Woody Varner was selling ballet dancers.

R--Well, after all, I think what happens at the individual institutions depends a good deal upon the leadership of the institutions.

F--And the public that lives around them, too.

R--I don't think John Hannah would have built as big an institution if he had focused it around the arts and so on. I think he was out to build a big institution.

F--That's true. But you've also lived in Lansing and you know that it's not a town where an orchestra that plays classical music can pull 50 people.

R--That's right.

F--If they brought in the Grand Ole Opry you wouldn't be able to get within 50 blocks.

R--If it were the Beatles, you'd be swamped.

F--What about the role of labor in the growth of higher education?

R--Well, I always felt I had their support in what I was trying to do. After all, Woodcock and Conway<sup>2</sup> and Bluestone and others were involved. I never had any indication that they weren't supportive.

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<sup>2</sup>Jack Conway; Assistant to Walter Reuther.

Romney

F--Had you had relationships with them over a long time at American Motors that made the dialogue easier to begin?

R--Oh sure.

F--They certainly had large numbers of votes that they could deliver from certain areas that you couldn't deliver.

R--Well, I've had relationships with them going all the way back to the time I came to Michigan.

I think another thing. You know, I never tried to figure out what to do from a political standpoint primarily. I tried to figure out what needed to be done and what was the right thing to do and then I went out to do it. I never worried much about trying to determine just what the reaction to different individuals would be.

And furthermore, I never got into bargaining with the legislators. I never told any legislator, all the time I was Governor, that I would do a specific thing if he would vote for something I wanted. I had some of them come in and want to do that, and I said: "Look, I don't operate that way. Either this is the right thing to do or it's the wrong thing to do. Now if you think it's the wrong thing to do, you vote against it. If you think it's the right thing to do, why, you vote for it. But I'm not going to get into a bargaining situation and try to buy your vote."

I think that worked out, and I think I was able to identify things that needed to be done, that were right, and they received support. Some things I had battles on with some individuals, some legislators, and so on.

But as far as the unions and education are concerned, I never had any sense of opposition on their part to what I was trying to do.

F--I wondered about that.

R--I think there was some partisan effort in connection with the boards of control of these institutions. I think there was quite a battle with respect to the

Romney

Board of Control at Michigan State University--as between the Democrats and the Republicans and so on. I think that aspect was not too sharp, but...

F--I don't think that's a labor problem. I think that comes back to an issue that's perhaps embarrassing: that higher education was more political on some of these boards in the state than it was in the Legislature and in the executive...

R--Well, that's right. I think it was probably quite political at Michigan State University during the period I was there.

F--It may have been personalities.

R--I think that played a part, yes.

As I say, I never had any feeling that the unions weren't basically supportive of what was being done in the field of education.

F--What about the role of industry? It's a little less easy to feel that support.

In terms of local areas you had Seidman in Grand Rapids, you had Mr. Mott in Flint, you had Matilda Wilson at Oakland. You had people who had become rich through working in industry, who saw the value of higher education, and had a deep dedication to it, as you alluded to earlier. But there's been a long history of Michigan industry fighting increased appropriations.

R--Well, I think the most difficult thing that had to be done in connection with making it possible to do what was done with higher education and education in general, was to secure tax reform. After all, there'd been long opposition to an income tax in this state.

The business community, I think, naturally views changes in the basic tax program as something that might affect them to a very substantial degree. Consequently, such business concern that was related to what was done in the field of education tended to relate to tax reform rather than to what was done with respect to the various institutions and the appropriation process after tax reform was secured.

Romney

It would have been impossible to do what was done if we hadn't been able to secure a state income tax, and if we hadn't been able to broaden the tax base and develop a more productive and equitable tax structure.

F--It was easier for you because of those things and because also of the prosperity of the state when you were Governor. The revenue base was significantly enhanced and you had for the first time the opportunity to do a great, great many things that had not been possible before.

R--But of course that was a part of the preparation that I made before I became Governor. The Citizens for Michigan effort decided that two things were essential: One was the new Constitution and the other was tax reform. And there was a broad educational effort in the state.

F--And had been conducted for a long time, too.

R--Sure, it had been conducted for a long time and I'd been very active in that, as many others had been.

In any event, it enabled us to do what is seldom done in this state. You know, usually when a governor gets tax reform and gets an income tax, he gets licked. That's what happened to [Richard B.] Ogilvie in the last election in Illinois. It happened with [Russell W.] Peterson in Delaware.

The most dramatic example is what happened to [Richard B.] Chafee in Rhode Island. In 1964, in the face of the Johnson landslide, he got 82 percent of the vote in Rhode Island. He got licked at the next election because he indicated that the state might need a state income tax. He didn't go after one, he just said they might need one. He got defeated. That's how big this thing can be.

Now, in my case, I was able to get the state income tax, and get a broader tax base, and in the following election, even though they tried to use it against me, I got the biggest plurality in the history of the state. That was because the people of the state had an appreciation of the relationship of that to the things that they thought needed to be done. And there's support for education, you see.

Romney

F--That comes back to your observations about the need to educate the electorate as well as to lead it.

R--I don't think we have an adequate process for doing that, as a normal thing. It happens occasionally as a result of some special effort of some character such as was made in this state.

F--That's why I have a great deal of admiration for your efforts with the volunteerism. I think it can develop into another useful aspect in institutions in our society.

R--I happen to think that we have to supplement the present political process. The people expect the parties and the candidates to educate the public with respect to these highly controversial issues. But they really can't do that without jeopardizing victory at the polls. It conflicts with their basic responsibility.

The basic responsibility of the political process and the political candidates is to compete for responsibility to govern, and to win on that they have to win the most votes. And to win the most votes, they can't discuss problems people don't yet understand, or that are highly controversial. They stay away from them, you see, and we drift.

That's what's happening in the state. That's what's happening in the nation at the present time. You take Nixon's talk on inflation last night. He kisses off the thing that none of the politicians in the Western world want to deal with in an effective way. That's what happens in the wage-price area. They talk about fiscal policy and monetary policy and all those things, but they don't want to deal with what needs to be done in the wage-price area. The result is that cost-push inflation keeps upsetting what they try to do with demand-pull inflation. Even last night he said, "Well, we hope that labor and management will voluntarily pursue the right policies in the wage-price area."

Well, that's a long story but I simply cite that as an example of the extent to which those in public office, and even those aspiring to elective office, tend to stay away from the most highly controversial

Romney

issues that really are the most pressing at times.

Now in Michigan we dealt with those, you see. We developed a broad base of public effort, before I ever took office, through Citizens for Michigan and through the Constitutional Convention. There was a process of public education that went on during that period and it was unusual.

F--You had the League of Women Voters there, too.

R--Oh sure. As a matter of fact, I think they are the most experienced organization nationally in this process of education. I've been delighted to see them eliminate their membership restriction because I think they can be more effective than they are as a strictly women's organization. I hope they will become fully effective.

I think you're quite right. And I think one of the problems that we're going to have to face again as we come to new thresholds in higher education, is to create mechanisms to explain them to the public. And we aren't doing it. No question about it, no question about it.

F--Do you have any observations about why the branch campus system failed? They were starting in Dearborn, in Flint, in Oakland.

R--No, I don't know too much about that.

F--...and it failed. And it probably failed at Con-Con. Now, I'm not saying that Oakland was a failure. I'm saying that the California model, with one imperial campus with colonies all over, didn't happen here.

R--Well, there just wasn't an acceptance of that concept here, as I think back.

F--Jim Farnsworth and I talked. I have a lot of regard for Jim.

R--Yes. Jim's an astute fellow.



Romney

F--And Jim said, "This state's suspicious of big institutions. It's suspicious of big government, it's suspicious of big colleges and universities." He said, "At Con-Con we didn't want colleges to get up to the size of California where..."

R--Well, I think that's right. I think there was resistance to the idea of a super educational institution that would dominate the whole scene. I think that's quite true.

F--The other point that Jim made is that our people wanted schools to belong to them, to be part of their own community.

R--I think that's right.

F--You talked earlier in our conversation about civic energy. You said they wanted them to be home ruled and not run from Ann Arbor or East Lansing.

R--I think that's right.

F--He thought that those were some of the reasons that it failed.

R--I think that's right.

F--Do you think that there's credit to that?

R--Yes.

F--Why was there no state coordination after 1964?

We've talked already about the quality of the Board itself. Some have said, well, John Hannah and the big institutions just didn't want it. Do you think that's correct?

R--I think there was resistance to it, plus the fact that I don't think the Board itself pursued policies that helped to bring it about.

F--Flint was a perfect example of that, wasn't it?

R--Yes.

Romney

F--They picked the fight over the Flint campus right off. I wonder if that might have sealed their doom. Some say yes, some say no. But that was early and you were right in the middle of that, weren't you?

R--As I think back, they never pursued an approach that resulted in establishing a good working relationship, even in my office. Maybe that was my fault, I don't know.

Ira Polley-- my recollection is that that wasn't too happy a selection.

F--There was a split, and there was a period of time when they didn't select anybody. Kloster<sup>3</sup> was acting superintendent for a while.

R--As a matter of fact I think that was a disappointment to the institutions and a lot of people in the Constitutional Convention. They had visualized attracting an outstanding educator and leader and so on, and they didn't. I think there was a feeling that Polley was not a man that measured up to what they expected.

F--Well, I do know that in the beginning of the State Board, the first meeting or two you attended, and then one of your key aides, Orlebeke<sup>4</sup>, attended for a while. Then gradually it just ceased.

R--As a matter of fact, he might be able to give you more background on that than I can.

F--But it was not in your view an effective coordination between this executive agency...

R--It did not develop, no.

F--Who were the key opinion leaders in this period in your opinion? Who were the major figures in education

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<sup>3</sup>Alexander J. Kloster; Deputy Superintendent of Public Instruction.

<sup>4</sup>Charles J. Orlebeke; Administrative Assistant to Governor Romney.

Romney

in this state that had to do with the growth of higher education?

Not just in education, but throughout the society. Certainly some of the people that you selected to the Blue Ribbon Committee obviously...

R--They played a big part in it. Those individuals stand out in my mind, together with the members of the State Legislature who had to be convinced, and so on. They played a key role in it.

F--Were any of the big three presidents close to you?

R--I don't at this moment recall others who were pursuing it actively. The Blue Ribbon Commission, the members of the Legislature, people in the field of education, and so on.

F--Bentley certainly was a very key...

R--He was chairman of that Commission, wasn't he?

F--Karn was...

R--That's right. Karn was chairman, but Bentley was on the Commission.

F--And most influential.

R--He played a big part, there isn't any question about that. Against his background, politically, he was able to swing a lot of people who would have normally opposed programs.

F--Cushman was there as vice-chairman.

R--Yes, Cushman was there. As I say, that Blue Ribbon Commission was really the source of a good deal of...

F--It included a lot of people.

Were there other people inside the schools themselves that you looked to?

Romney

R--I used to meet with the university presidents and so on, but no, I don't recall others in the schools themselves.

F--Were those meetings with the university presidents fruitful or were they...

R--Oh sure. I learned from them and I used to meet with them regularly. It gave me an insight into their view of their needs and I used to discuss things broadly with them. I don't recall other people, particularly, that I spent a lot of time with.

But I was working pretty closely with the Blue Ribbon Commission, the Legislature, the university people themselves, and people in the field of education.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH  
JOHN A. HANNAH<sup>1</sup>

F--Dr. Hannah, what in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on? In 1958 the appropriations from the state for higher education were some \$80 million but had reached the level of some \$280 million by 1970.

H--Well, there were several factors. The great upward push in higher education came immediately after the war with the return of the veterans and the GI Bill.

Michigan State, and all the other institutions in this state, went through the war period when they had women, a few returned veterans, people who couldn't meet the physical standards of military service, or were [in military] training. Michigan State's campus became a military camp. We had ASTP units<sup>2</sup> and a very large air force unit which took over all the dormitories, the Union, and other places.

At the end of the war education became available to 12 million men who came out of the military forces and a large number of them took advantage of the opportunity.

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<sup>1</sup>John A. Hannah; President, Michigan State University, 1941-1967; Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, 1953-1954; U.S. Chairman, Permanent Joint Board for Defense U.S.A. and Canada, 1953-1964; Chairman, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1957-1969; Delegate, Michigan Constitutional Convention, 1961-1962; Administrator, Agency for International Development, 1969-1973; Deputy Secretary General, World Food Conference, 1974. Interview conducted October 28, 1974.

<sup>2</sup>Army Specialized Training Program.

Hannah

The GI Bill really was the consummation of what started a hundred years earlier with the Morrill Act. It was based on the theory that there ought to be an opportunity for every youngster that wanted an education to get it, but really it wasn't achievable. With the GI Bill it was.

There was a great increase in births and these kids were enrolling in the public schools. It was also clear that we had a new pattern in this country--a much larger fraction of people were going to go on to colleges and universities.

Colleges and universities were being looked to not only to provide educational opportunities for the young people, but they were being looked to by government and industry to answer all sorts of questions. The utilization of the research potential of universities was beginning to be seen.

All of those factors played a part. It was clear that as the public schools were gearing up to take care of the enrollment then in kindergarten, down the road a piece they were going to be coming to the universities.

Education was probably better appreciated, at least in the Middle West and West, than it ever had been before. Well, I'd say better appreciated in the whole country. Of course the eastern United States always had sort of an aristocratic idea of education. They never got the notion that it was the role of the public to make available educational opportunities, not only through primary and secondary schools, but through colleges and universities for kids who would make use of it.

Your question is a little limited. You say what are the reasons? Well, there were many, but these were the basic reasons. It was a response to a demand which was pretty powerful.

F--I want to digress a moment. I'm a historian by training. I'm from Boston, Massachusetts. I came out here and was really quite struck by the long tradition and sense of the value of public higher education that existed in this state, by the excellence of its public service, and its public life. It was quite in contrast to other midwestern states. Michigan built the first land grant school, built a great public university (to the contrary when most of the great universities in America were

Hannah

private at the beginning), built a community college system without a great deal of fanfare, and had the first normal school west of the Appalachians at Ypsilanti.

Do you have some sense why this occurred here in the north Midwest--I think about Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota--when it didn't seem to take such fallow ground in the rest of the Midwest?

H--The State of Michigan was sort of a cul-de-sac so far as the western migrations were concerned. The routes for the people moving from the East, to the Middle West, to the West, were all south of us. The State of Michigan in the early days was regarded as a swampy, mosquito-, malaria-ridden place--not the kind of a place that you really wanted to go to live. They came here for other reasons: They came here for the timber and eventually for the farm land.

But you move down into Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana; during the western migration movements they established their privately supported colleges and universities at almost every crossroads. There were very few in Michigan. The University of Michigan came into being, legally, many years before it actually was an institution--from about the time Michigan became a state.

F--It was a Territory...

H--The institution it claims to have grown out of, the Catholopistemiad<sup>3</sup>, was in the Territory.

So you had in Michigan not people that were for the most part moving on, but people that had come to stay, this was going to be their home. As in all this country in the early days, it was largely agricultural, almost everybody lived on farms. If they didn't live on farms, they were concerned with making what farm people needed, or taking what they produced and processing it into something else, to be shipped somewhere else. That played a role in it.

The University of Michigan was the first of the really high-quality state universities, the first one that

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<sup>3</sup>Floyd R. Dain, Education in the Wilderness (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1968), p. 119.

Hannah

compared with the Ivy League schools as an educational institution. Later, California, Minnesota, and the rest of them caught up. The first of the agricultural colleges was here, and that's an interesting story we don't need to get into today. The teachers' college at Ypsilanti you mentioned. You might have mentioned something else: The Kalamazoo Case was the landmark case that made it possible for high schools beyond primary schools to be supported by...

F--...Public funds.

H--All of those played a role. The point I want to make is that there was no scheme to develop from what we were to something else. There was a great need and it was a state that had always been generous to education.

In the very early days they had given the University of Michigan constitutional status to keep it free from political influences. At an early date they had extended the same independence to the Agricultural College--it later became Michigan State University. There is some interesting history about those conversations and conflicts in the early days. Michigan had a good school system and a legislature and state government that, at least all during my early experience, kept their institutions out of politics.

The old practice of having the elections in the spring for the judges and the school board members was theoretically good. It worked well when it was primarily a one-party state, at least you got away from the hassles within the party. When it became strongly a two-party state, again it was influenced in part by the fact that the UAW played a very important role in the Democratic Party, it never really focused on the role of colleges and universities.

They didn't intend to, I'm sure, but [board elections] were towards the bottom of the ballot when they finally came to putting them all on the same ballot. And unfortunately too often, when they had to balance the ballot to have representation of certain racial groups, or geographic groups, or religious groups, or whatever, they did it by using the educational boards. Which was unfortunate so far as this institution was concerned.



Hannah

F--Well, there's an advantage to this. I recognize some of the disadvantages (and there's some talk about going back to off-year elections for State Boards) but in Michigan, generally, election to the State Board or to one of the three university boards wasn't a pathway to higher political office. Men served for the social prestige rather than, as in Massachusetts, running for an educational post in order to run later for governor, senator, and the like.

H--It really wasn't for social prestige. Most of them ran because they were interested in education, they were interested in the basic objective. We were very fortunate at this institution in the early days, and in my early experience, in having exceedingly able and competent people from both parties.

Parties never made any difference--they came to the Board via the party route, but once on the Board, party didn't mean anything.

F--This is part of what I'm going to try to explain in the ambience of Michigan, because that's not been the case in other states. The parties really haven't, over most of the history, significantly intervened.

You've talked a little bit about the climate. Do you want to say more about what the social and economic factors were that led to this significant growth?

H--First of all is the desire on the part of all parents to provide education for their youngsters. It is recognized generally that that's the way you provide mobility in society. That's the way people who are born at the bottom can fit themselves for roles at the top.

It was an important source of strength in this country that the new immigrants, that didn't speak the language, and lived down near the gashouse, or were the section hands on the railroad, could say to their youngsters, "You go on to school and in your lifetime you won't have to be section hands, you won't have to be peasant-types. Maybe you can become a president of a bank, maybe you can become governor, maybe you can become the president of a university." And they could always single someone out. "Look at Joe, who was raised in this community just like you, he did just what you're doing, he worked on the farm, he peddled milk, now he is in a very important role."

Hannah

Now this is one of the factors that...

F--It really has come through, hasn't it.

H--It made America what it is.

F--It's been very true in Michigan. By and large, people who are in positions of influence and who make great contributions--their origins weren't from the very rich and the very powerful. This is what I've called the incentive to the Horatio Alger dream--it did come true.

President Fleming made that very clear when he said, "You know, my father died when I was a young man and I worked my way through college. We haven't forgotten our origins." It strikes me a lot of people haven't. That's one of the strengths of the willingness to invest in the public sector of schools.

H--Well, of course, I can say the same thing. My father was a market gardener, didn't have any money, and [we] kids were raised in a family where it was a hand-to-mouth operation (of course we didn't know it), but there was an understanding that the kids would go to school.

When I got through high school I was very fortunate that one of the first junior colleges in this country was in Grand Rapids--Grand Rapids Junior College. It was on the top floor of the Central High School. I went to South High in the south end of town and I walked or rode a bicycle several miles every day. So there was a way to get the first two years of college at home at low cost.

I would have been perfectly happy to have been a farmer but my people convinced me that one ought to have higher aspirations. And so I was admitted from the Grand Rapids Junior College directly to the law school at the University of Michigan. But financing it was something else, so I borrowed some money from Dudley Waters, who was a banker in town--the market garden business wasn't very good financially, then.

I went through the first year of law school and watched my colleagues in the law school and those that were going out into the world to practice law--that was back in the early twenties. The average young lawyer went out and hung up his shingle and became a practicing lawyer. They didn't go through the big law firms as they do now. If

Hannah

you happened to have an uncle who was Newton Baker<sup>4</sup> in Cleveland or something like that, of course you could start off pretty well.

I had to make this decision because the head of the poultry department here at Michigan Agricultural College came down to Ann Arbor and suggested that I come to MAC and get my degree in agriculture. He would give me a job at \$2500 a year, which was a stupendous sum to me then. It wasn't an avocation because long before I went to college I had been in the poultry business and Secretary of the State Poultry Association, in charge of the poultry department in the State Fair at Detroit, and so on.

So I had to face up to whether I wanted to go on to finish law school. To make a long story short, I owed Mr. Waters a good deal of money--it seemed like a colossal sum, a couple thousand dollars--I would be a long time paying him back and I would owe him a good deal more.

So I came up to MAC and talked to the Dean of Agriculture, Dean Robert S. Shaw (later President of MSU), and Elton Hill<sup>5</sup> to see what would be required for me to get this first degree in agriculture. I found they would give me full credit so far as hours were concerned but I would have to take all the required courses, basic courses in chemistry and other sciences, farm crops, soils, and all the rest. But, if you could satisfy the professors that you knew enough about them and could pass an examination in the subject matter, you could waive them. So I came up and in one year took all the required courses (or waived them) in the College of Agriculture, got a degree in agriculture, and went to work in the extension program.

[I spent] ten years in agricultural extension. I was unmarried and I averaged 200 days a year away from East Lansing. I got to know well the geography of this state, and held farmers' meetings in every county. There was no town or community in Michigan where I didn't

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<sup>4</sup>Newton Baker; Member law firm of Baker, Hostetler, Sidlo and Patterson, Cleveland, Ohio; City Solicitor of Cleveland, 1902-1912; Mayor, 1912-1914; Secretary of War under President Wilson.

<sup>5</sup>Elton B. Hill of the Department of Farm Management.

Hannah

know people, and that's when I became imbued with the idea that the potential role of higher education was very great.

But I don't want to get carried away with this biographical discussion...

F--No, but you have to face the fact--I know you're not an egotistical man--that you were a key figure at a key time. Certain things did happen in this state that other states in the nation can look to with pride and to emulate. Some of the social agendas were satisfied--I don't know that they were planned, but they occurred.

Now I asked the question, "What were the policy objectives that underlay the expansion?" When I think about objectives, I think about equal opportunity, I think about creating the opportunity for people to bust out of social classes, to create a middle class, to create a professional class rather than a blue-collar class. I think about the concept of turning our backs on the elite education [as distinguished] from mass education.

I don't know that there was a strong ideological agenda that people understood was point one, point two, point three, but it seems that the events moved that way, that they did happen. I wonder what your thoughts are about that.

H--I don't disagree with anything that you've said. I always believed with conviction that it was education that unlocked the doors for people that had the basic intelligence to make use of it; that God gave them between their ears something that made it possible for them to acquire this ethereal thing we call education. It's a combination of knowledge, experience, aspirations, and basic intelligence. It widened the horizons, opened the opportunities for people.

I believe, with conviction, in that basic commitment that resulted in the old Peoples' University Movement--out of which the land grant colleges came. It was always clear to me that a public university like this one provides an opportunity to affect the lives of more people for good than any other institution in society. It was clear to me, very early, that money or position is relatively meaningless. What really is meaningful is the basic philosophy that people are not necessarily born equal

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but that they should have an equal opportunity to develop their God-given potential so that the maximum number can develop their talents and competencies in order to enable them to contribute to the society of which they are a part, and in return live satisfying lives. This was widely held, this was something that you could convince legislators and others who were important...

F--Something happened here, Dr. Hannah, that was interesting. In most of the midwestern states they had a very rigid idea of the higher education structure that history had brought them from the Morrill Land Grant Act, which was one university for the arts and an agricultural and mechanical-technical university for the artisans.

In this state we created three universities. Certainly Michigan State has that strong position with agriculture, but they also permitted it to build strong scientific and humanities programs to make it comprehensive. We didn't have a franchise only for the University of Michigan. It worked that way with Wayne and it appears that Western is on that threshold--perhaps thirty years back.

How do you account for that?

H--The Land Grant Act, as you know, provided for institutions where they were to be concerned with programs in agriculture and the mechanic arts that are now called engineering. But, including in the Act itself such additional subjects as were authorized as "are from time to time deemed desirable for the educational improvement of the industrial classes in the various professions and pursuits of life." That's the language in the Land Grant Act as it originally passed the Congress, before it was vetoed by President Buchanan. Mr. Lincoln revived it in the second year of his administration and added "and including military tactics" because he was having difficulty officering the Union Army. And so military tactics was to be offered, not compulsorily, necessarily, but as it developed, it was ultimately made compulsory.

When I came here in 1922 it was primarily an agricultural college, but it was clear that you couldn't train good agriculturalists, good engineers, good home economists, or good veterinary medicine people unless they had a good basic grounding in the sciences, unless they had some understanding of the history of our society, unless they had some competence in language, unless they had some

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perspective of history. If you were going to do a good job and train people in agriculture and these other fields, you had to undergird it with a strong liberal education.

F--I understand that...

H--This was recognized very early here because we had real competition with the University of Michigan who thought otherwise in the early days.

F--If we go to other states, if we talk about Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota--those universities were predominant and no competition ever really developed across the full range the way Michigan State has. Michigan State is not only an agricultural and mechanical institution, it's a full-range, complex university.

H--And a very good university.

F--Indeed. But that happened in this period from 1940 to the present--in the last generation-and-a-half. That was to the contrary of other states. Have you some thoughts about why that occurred?

H--Well, it was a fertile ground here. There was some courage and leadership on the part of the people that were involved in the administration of the university. And the old State Board of Agriculture was composed of very strong, able people.

My first role, as I saw it, when I became involved in the central administration of the university--this was back in 1934 or '34--[was] not to look at Ann Arbor or at Harvard, but to put the emphasis on trying to figure out what was the appropriate role for this institution if it was going to serve the people of Michigan.

We always had a definition of "people" as "all people," not rural people, city people, poor people, or black people. We were interested in providing on-campus education for those that wanted to earn degrees, but we were also interested in providing the kind of education that might make it possible for people that never expected to attend college at all to do a better job. We would design a course or a program in extension or continuing education, in the early days, for any substantial group on any subject. If it had nothing to do with their living, if it was only a program that

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might make life more interesting or satisfying, we would do that. We had a very broad definition of education.

This became the comprehensive pattern of this institution. That meant you did the on-campus program just as well as you could, and you did off campus whatever would be useful or advantageous to people. You didn't have any fences that you couldn't get over.

F--And in that way, probably, came the identification with newly arriving aspirational classes who then had a place to look to the higher education enterprise. One of the strengths of this institution came to be that arriving middle classes were looking to Michigan and Michigan State, but particularly Michigan State, as a ladder.

H--We always felt, even before there was organized labor, that the people that did the work for hire, that they, too, were people.

You see, I have the conviction, that I have never lost and I carry it very proudly in the present international role, that only people are important.

F--I'm comfortable with that. When I had a discussion with Senator Lane he made the case that Ohio's costs were cheaper and Michigan's were expensive. He and I had a very sharp exchange. I pointed out to him that in the end, the best investment that you can ever make is society's people, and that one that is cost-effective and failure-oriented toward the values of men is not a successful system.

What about the partisan and parochial conflict? These things just didn't happen easily.

H--Well, first of all, there were never partisan conflicts. Of course there are always Republicans and Democrats and minor parties in this state--people have to participate in one of the parties if they are going to be elected to office. But there was always the recognition that education was just as important to Republicans as Democrats or Socialists or Farmer Labor or whatever they were. And there was never a partisan development in the Legislature--it didn't make any difference whether the governor happened to be a Democrat or a Republican, or who had control of the Legislature--it didn't make any difference in their attitude toward education. Higher education never got lost in this way.

Hannah

Now, about parochial conflicts--you had in the public schools, of course, a different attitude. You had in some of the private schools in the state a good deal of resentment of the public schools that were financed with tax money. Communication between private and public colleges and understanding that both roles were important took a lot of doing in the early years. I remember spending much time at it. It was like pulling teeth in the early days--to get the private schools to even meet with us.

It was a fault on both sides. They had the notion that we made it very difficult for them to get students because of our low tuition rates. Some of our people were inclined to look down on the quality of what some of them were doing, and all this sort of thing. But we developed some organizations that encompassed not only the tax-supported institutions but the whole educational fraternity.

I don't think that parochialism was much of a problem. There were individuals in the church-related schools or in the private colleges that were difficult at times, but they eventually became supporters and recognized that...

F--I suppose parochial was a euphemism for the disabilities between the major public institutions. Institutions, it is my impression, sometimes are more concerned about how their rivals do than what their own agenda is. It has been my observation that frequently schools that seek programmatic support really don't care for the programmatic support as much as invidious comparison to their rival. Part of the difficulty, for instance, when Michigan made a really significant fight over changing the name of MSC to MSU, seems to have been some lack of statesmanship on their part.

H--Well, it hurt them, of course.

F--It hurt them because they lost.

H--This institution had been a university for a long time, for decades, and the idea that they were going to keep it from being known as a university because it was going to somehow derogate or diminish the U of M role was silly.

F--When you came to the Constitutional Convention that was an issue that didn't have much entity because you had



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already won it in the Legislature for yourself.

H--Well, that's true. The rivalry between MAC and the University of Michigan started very early--and I'm not going into that history at all. They repeatedly, and for several years, tried to take over the institution in the Legislature by having the agricultural school transferred to Ann Arbor.

When I came to the presidency, Alexander Ruthven was the President of the University of Michigan. They were arrogant, as they always had been, but Mr. Ruthven was a fine man. We sat down together, first in his office and later in mine, and talked this all through and made it very clear that we were going to ride in the same boat. There wasn't any way that you could change that. Michigan and Michigan State were going to ride in the same boat, so far as public support was concerned, and we needed to find a way that we could fulfill our roles.

The only thing that I asked of him was that we deal face-to-face and co-equal: I to sit on one side of the table and he to sit on the other. If there was anything we were doing he didn't like, or that they were doing that I didn't like, "let's talk things over." And Alexander Ruthven, in all the years that he was president, from that time on, so far as I know, never said or did anything that made it more difficult for us; and never, in all of the years that he was president, and long after he was president, did we ever derogate the University of Michigan.

F--You've made a rather subtle point and I'm going to try to pull it out.

It strikes me from my observation working on the appropriations committees that much is frequently made of the tactics of individual institutions striving for a trifle more. A lot of attention is spent on the differences rather than understanding that the whole higher education enterprise is in the same boat and that they should work together to widen the pool rather than fighting over the same size or diminishing pool. It strikes me that one institution can't really, for the long haul--maybe one year you can do better--do well when the others suffer.

H--I agree with you entirely. Of course there is another facet to it and that is that there is a limit to the number of universities that there needs to be in a single system; there has to be a delineation of roles for the different institutions.

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You mentioned a while ago that you have a complete institution at the University of Michigan, a very complete university here (and a very good one), and Wayne is a pretty good university, but they have a potential beyond what they've realized. Western Michigan, because of the population in southwestern Michigan and the geography of the state, is increasingly, at least in some areas, a graduate institution. It, too, is a very good university.

But you have seen happening in Michigan what you have seen all over the United States. I have always said if you try to out-Harvard Harvard, you can't. When you get all through, they'll still be Harvard and you'll be something else. If you don't watch yourself, you will have forsaken your good role for which you could get support. Somebody else will take that one over and your institution will be out in the cold looking in.

This has been one of the great disservices to higher education: this aspiration of every little crossroads university to have graduate programs across the board, every little college to have all the trimmings of the university, a football team, a band, and all the rest of it. And they're relatively unimportant.

F--Maybe that's partially your fault in the sense that I think about your remarks in relation to Oakland and Eastern. We don't have the time to go into them, but Oakland started one way and realities forced it to become a different kind of place, and Eastern lost its constituency and will have to find it again. While you have been away in the last few years some of these things have happened.

But you were so successful at building an institution up that people sometimes paid more attention to the trivial traffic--the football, the bands, the relationships in the community--and didn't understand that you had to have a sense of your own institution and where it fit in as a contribution to society. People often have gone for the traffic rather than the sense of what the institution should be.

H--Well, I think that's possible. Of course a university first of all has to be a high-quality educational institution. You know, "Madison Avenue" doesn't work for very long. You can succeed for a little while, pretending to be something that you aren't, but long-range you'll do well, however good you are, if you are recognized [to be] as good as you are.

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If you're going to build a university, you have to build a university and it has to be high quality across the board. You have to have competent, able people and provide them with a climate where they can work and widen their horizons. Football and all the rest of that-- that's just window-dressing.

F--But it takes a very subtle kind of understanding for some of that.

You speak and sound as if you believed in some of this cooperation, yet at the Constitutional Convention George Romney had this sense of coordination run by the State Board, and you and Roscoe Bonisteel and some others had a sense of the autonomy of the institutions. That came through in a very mixed way. The State Board ended up with constitutional language but no real prerogative because the institutions came out with a sense of their historical importance as institutions with legal power.

H--I think you're mixing up two things. Every time the State Constitution has been rewritten, since the University of Michigan was given constitutional independence, this matter has come up. You say Bonisteel, myself, and maybe some others insisted that we not lose our relative independence from the Legislature, from having our internal affairs managed by political forces. It provided no problem, really, to extend this to the whole system. There was a recognition that there had to be a coordination. There had been various limping movements before and it was perfectly clear that sooner or later it was going to be.

I was on the Education Committee, as was Bonisteel, though that wasn't my primary role in the State Constitutional Convention. The mistake we made, looking back on it, was in providing for the election of the State Board of Education. No one could foresee that that first slate of candidates for the Board would be picked by people that didn't seriously regard what they were doing.

If half of the first Board had known something about the role and purpose of public education, it would have been one situation, but by and large, they didn't have that understanding. There weren't even any strong members that could educate them and they went off in all directions.

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F--Without getting involved in personalities, because that's a delicacy, I have the sense--and I've said this in some of the other interviews--that nobody expected eight members of one party to win. It happened in '32, but the rest of the time things had been balanced.

We ended up without strong representation from people like Bentley and Briggs and the like. We ended up with a Board that wasn't of high quality. The election process frightened out some of the people who weren't politicians but were men of civic responsibility.

H--They would not go through the process of being nominated and elected. I think now, I didn't at the time, that all of the educational boards would, by and large, be better off if they served long terms, were selected by appointment by the governor, maybe with approval of the Senate, for the good reason that you mention. There are very few people who wouldn't gladly serve on these boards, but very few of them will go the election route. They just won't go through that requirement of nomination by a political party and required campaigning all over the state.

F--Therefore, you lose from the boards a certain talent stream in society that the institutions and society need.

H--What you really need is some management skill and competence and understanding. You need the point of view of people in the middle categories of society, you need agriculture to be represented, you need labor to be represented, you need all of these points of view working towards the common objective of the kind of an institution that will serve the purposes of all of them.

F--Did you regard one of the key issues of this period as popularism in higher education versus elitism?

H--Oh yes, I've always thought that--if we have the same definition of elitism.

F--Well, I'll tell you what mine is. It seems to me that admitting an elite and then graduating them was different than admitting a mass and making them competent and then graduating an elite. It struck me that schools that selected from the very best and then just processed them through weren't fulfilling a social purpose. It strikes

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me now that Michigan is more like Michigan State and Michigan State is more like Michigan. Some of the differences have been blurred.

H--Maybe for the wrong reasons.

F--For the wrong reasons, perhaps, but twenty years ago some of these attitudes of status were strongly held and still to be beaten.

H--Yes, that's right. I come back to my concept that I mentioned earlier, that only people are important. There is not much correlation between the potential of a youngster to make a substantial social contribution and where he happens to be born. The banker's children may have wider horizons, they may understand the society they are a part of, and so on, but there are people down on the very bottom that have it too. The trick is to give them the opportunity to grow, because in a free society you have to harness the competence of the largest possible percentage of your people. You've got to develop their potential so they can make a contribution to society.

F--As your experiences in the international sector point out, when you don't have that relief valve, those people move into revolution.

H--That's right.

F--They have the wit and the brains and the energy and if there's no mobility...

H--I believe this with conviction. I spent twelve years as Chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, which dealt with this very problem. The system we had was pretty intolerable and it wasn't going to be very easy to correct it.

F--What about the destruction of class and culture barriers as one of the objectives that higher education is supposed to have?

H--Well, I hope it did have. I used to use this as an argument in favor of compulsory military training on a land grant campus. The head of an automotive corporation in Detroit sent his son out here to school with more money to spend than was good for him, and somebody else came down from what used to be the cutover areas

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of northern Michigan or the gashouse area of any city. The first thing we did was to require both of them to wear what we called "monkey suits." We put them in uniform and put them out on the drill field. They looked just alike.

It was a very useful factor in making it clear that the university really wasn't interested in the wealth or the social position of a person's parents. You could come from the bottom or you could come from the top and all we were really interested in was what was in you, what you had in your head, what you had in your attitude, what you were willing to try to make out of yourself.

Now a youngster comes up with a big convertible and more money than anybody ought to spend and it's pretty easy for him to get into all kinds of difficulties and have the wrong notion entirely. I don't worry so much about him because he'll get his edges knocked off, but what is much more difficult is the fellow that comes out of nothing and feels inferior--he's lost. How do you give him the notion that, "Fella, your limitations are your own. What are you going to do with you? Don't worry about these other people."

You talk about elitism and social barriers. In public education--the role and purpose from the kindergarten through the graduate school should be to develop the potential of people.

F--When I started with the Appropriations Committee, I was green as grass. I didn't have the training about some of these things to understand the political process, but I had some sense of the history of it all. Having myself been the first member of my family ever to go to college, I had that sense that these institutions were social engines that could make it work.

When I came to write the dissertation, I was much struck and offended by the prattle of how tough things were, how bad it was for higher education. Some of this capacity for self-pity I regard as a great weakness in the higher education system.

My personal view was that higher education had done right well, that people had done right well by it because it had done right well by them as an effective social institution, and that that regard that exists in society for institutions like Michigan and Michigan State, and the

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local strength that junior colleges had at Grand Rapids and other communities as they developed, was part of that success of making the world better.

Now, maybe higher education isn't perfect and I won't say it is. You have to look about. What are better institutions to do the things you have to do? There aren't any.

H--Well, they are not perfect, but they have performed the role pretty well.

This has nothing to do with your dissertation, but they have in them something that troubles me a good deal. I used to say it simply: that education is too important to be left to educators. It deals with all people, the course and the pattern of their lives, and it shouldn't be left exclusively to the professionals.

We've built up an educational system--primary, secondary, and particularly at the university level--where too large a fraction of the pros have forgotten the role and purpose. We've come up with a machine geared primarily to serve their own convenience. All of the emphasis on tenure, and perquisites, which are important, but...

F--Now I agree with that.

H--...they are not willing to recognize, whether it's osteopathic medicine, Michigan State University in total, or Podunk Junior College, that society has put the faculty in a place to perform a social purpose. They are inclined to forget it, and they forget it at all levels from the very bottom to the top.

The teacher doesn't remember that when she's teaching Johnny to read, it isn't the reading that's important, it's Johnny. The objectives are these human beings that are going through the mill and how you help them to grow.

F--That's what I call the "licensing syndrome." I thought President Ford's remarks at Ohio State when he talked at the Commencement probably a month ago were much in this line that you're making now.

H--I read his talk.

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F--It strikes me that that's one of the future stresses on the institutions, not to become such a licensing agent, asking, for instance, not what do you know, what can you contribute, but what is your degree? The world of knowledge isn't divided by degrees. That's men that do that. It's possible that somebody that has a major in engineering can make a contribution to art.

H--Of course, and you can put it another way. One of the problems has been that we have been inclined to equate education with schools. For those of us that are lazy the easiest way to get an education is through the schools, but there are very-well-educated people who have had precious little schooling and there are many people with doctor's degrees that have little...

F--...Have little knowledge.

How important were the occupational-vocational training objectives in this state?

H--They were pretty important. Now, you're talking about the whole educational system.

F--You were an experimenter, you went for packaging (which was a highly criticized enterprise), you went for mobile homes...

H--Hotel management and various other things. Of course Bob Hutchins tried to make a monkey out of us on some of those courses. But he failed in this, he failed to understand that this does not downgrade the basic university program. You're doing something that fits people to something with which they can earn a living.

F--That was curriculum elitism again. I went to a Jesuit school, Boston College, and they wouldn't give a man a bachelor's degree in the arts unless he took Greek, Latin--a lot of language. Their attitude was that there were things of the mind that were useful and there were other things that were beneath recognition.

Whereas my experience has been that all things have a discipline of their own and a value of their own. The



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hotel management just struck their sense of--I don't know how to put it but it brought out everything that was bad in them about elitism.

H--I never worried about that.

F--Why?

H--Well, because I don't think that's important. I think that that's the role of education, the role of this university. If we could do something to make better men and women out of boys and girls, that fitted them for a job, and gave them a little inspiration that might cause them to want to continue to grow, that's fine. If they never earned a degree, that was all right too--if they had benefitted from their MSU experience we should be satisfied.

F--I had another part of the question, too. It struck me that the willingness to invest in engineering programs, other direct job-related programs, the building of Ferris, the building of community colleges, the encouragement of vocational education in the K-12 sector, the enhancing of those programs in the colleges of education, and also the support of research at Michigan and Michigan State. Both the Willow Run and the Phoenix Projects<sup>6</sup> at the University of Michigan were attempts to invest in two factors: one, to create an intellectual structure to bring in different kinds of industry rather than just automotive; and two, to create a more skilled work-force that aspired to better than being "fender-benders."

H--Well, beyond that, Jerry, one of the great misfortunes was that it became the universal desire to get everybody through this machine and get a bachelor's degree--graduate from college. When you're putting vocational emphasis in the junior colleges, or in these other institutions, you help deemphasize the importance of a degree. It has nothing whatever to do with people either making money or living lives that are interesting and satisfying to them.

F--That comes back again to elitism. We said that the world of sweat, and blue-collar, and labor didn't have as much

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<sup>6</sup>The Willow Run laboratories were used for many research projects in engineering. The Phoenix Project was a program of research on the beneficent uses of atomic power.

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value. Then we begin to worry that we will come to be a nation like Egypt where we turn out all these college graduates who are lawyers and have no place to work in a contribution to society.

H--That's happened many places. If we had followed the route that this country was following, in a few years that's where we would have ended up.

It's very encouraging to me to see that many sensible people are now beginning to recognize that it's not essential that every boy and every girl graduate from Michigan State, the University of Michigan, or, as you say, Boston-Harvard. There are many other experiences that can fit them to live interesting and satisfying lives.

F--But that's coming back to--you don't use the term "lifelong education"--the extended university. It's important that every man have a sense of his own value.

H--That's right.

F--I think of my dad who was self-taught--he's a printer. He's a very wise man, I admire him a great deal, but he has that sense that anybody who has a college degree is better than he. He couldn't attain it because of the economics of the world. I regard my dad as a very wise man, and I don't want to see people waste their potential. You were talking about that earlier.

H--I think it was about 25 years ago that we began talking about continuing education. I remember very well when I first presented the Kellogg Foundation with the request that they provide a facility and some funding that would make it possible for me to get on without taking the money out of the university appropriations because Elmer Porter, former State Senator from Lenawee County and long-time Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and people of his stripe wouldn't tolerate that.

I was writing proposals and going down to see--in<sup>7</sup> the beginning--old Mr. W. K. Kellogg and Emory Morris<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup>Emory W. Morris; President and General Director of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

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This was a far-out idea, but they really had the notion then that as long as we were in the extension business in the rural areas, there wasn't any reason why we shouldn't offer the same kind of service to people in cities or wherever they were.

F--Did you have the sense, Dr. Hannah, that culture and the arts had importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

H--I think they have an important role, certainly. In the educational business you need to have substantial emphasis on the arts. There should be some awareness of the contribution they can make to interesting lives.

F--I guess I don't have the sense that state support in the encouragement of culture and the arts was part of the agenda.

H--Now, you ask the question again, because I was going to get around another way. The training of artists, musicians, and so on, as such? Or are we talking about putting in the program an appreciation of the arts for what they can give to the meaning of life?

F--I guess I'm taking it in a third way. In Massachusetts, where I come from, there is a large body of private support for cultural institutions. They don't have to exist through the higher education mechanism.

In Michigan, it struck me that theater, music, art, and dance, didn't have wide support. When you went to the Legislature to seek support there was not what one could perceive as a great deal of enthusiasm.

H--It was practically impossible. Michigan perhaps got some public support; we got none. What we did in art, originally in music, was funded from outside. After Lewis Richards established the School of Music we included it as part of the College of Liberal Arts.

F--It strikes me that the culture that exists at Western, Michigan, and at State, exists on some precarious...

H--Jim Miller did pretty well. That fine arts building he built in Kalamazoo is superb. He got to Gar Lane and your people to approve it--of course I've always been a great supporter of Jim Miller, I think he's a great chap. It was great for Western Michigan and it was good for the whole area.

Hannah

F--It was a feat of fantastic legerdemain because it actually turned out to be paid for by state funds when you went through the whole self-liquidating game--it's too complex to explain--and I wish we had it.

H--No way to do it here.

F--But maybe he hit the thing at the right time. I don't know.

H--It's a feature that this institution could use.

F--It also piggy-backed in small theaters and demonstration rooms. Even Michigan doesn't have anything as good.

But I think about that because why didn't they do that? An academic man wants to say, "Oh yes, they supported civilization and the arts." I don't think that was the way.

H--You had art and you had music, but you justified it when you were training music teachers for the public schools, you were training art teachers for the public schools. Whatever you did in dramatics or music or art was justified because you were training teachers for the public schools.

F--And not a conservatory or...

H--That's right.

F--What about the role of labor in regard to higher education?

H--Labor, like agriculture, always supported it. The laboring man always wanted an educational opportunity for his youngster, just as the farmer did. The group that you could always count on--or that I could always count on in the many years that I was dealing with the Legislature--was labor.

F--How did you make the accommodation between labor and this university? Governor Williams said that he urged very strongly that Dr. Hatcher make an accommodation with labor because that's the way the world was going to be. He said he could never understand why they didn't. And then they look around and one day you had accomplished it.

H--Well, I never thought of it as a particularly noble thing. They played a very important role in our society and our

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society wouldn't be where it is if it hadn't been for organized labor.

Sometimes I have been irritated by some of their attitudes, but we have always recognized the important role they played in society. It was important that they have a role on university campuses, that they had a place where they would bring their people for educational experiences. We welcomed them.

F--I know you did.

H--It wasn't done for public support but because we thought that was part of the public service.

F--Woodcock said something to me that I found very interesting. He said it was foolish to win more dollars for wages without having a legitimate place for it to be spent so that the workers can enhance themselves.

H--That's a good statement.

F--That kind of broad view had not necessarily been the view of specific interests in other states. It struck me that perhaps Gus Scholle and Reuther were extraordinary men.

H--The Reuthers were, and Gus was too. You know, Gus was a pretty broad-gauge guy. Many people never understood him.

F--There was no advantage to being for it except that they perceived it as being right.

H--Right, and good for their people. It made life interesting for their people.

F--What about the role of industry in regard to higher education?

H--You were never able to harness them because they were always inclined to equate it with tax cost. One of the problems in the early days was--Soapy would remember--the difficulty financing with the state and various industrial groups questioning the costs of education at the university.

I remember going round the state with him in a series of meetings, talking to these people, and finally getting under them that, after all, "How are you going to get your people to run your corporations?" General Motors

Hannah

and Ford could see that but the middle level were inclined to resist. It was always a continuing struggle. We didn't stop it. They didn't just automatically say...

F--I guess my perception was that labor supported higher education across the whole program's scope and industry supported it in specific areas for their own interest: regional colleges and specific programs like highway traffic safety...

H--...Engineering.

F--...engineering, but not across the spectrum that an industrial base can't succeed without.

H--Our attitude toward agriculture may be biased because of the role that this institution always played in agriculture. Agriculture always gave us complete support, and as far as I can figure, it was across the board.

F--In other areas, Dr. Hannah, you could point to people--in industry and in labor--and say, "These were the spokesmen." I looked in agriculture and I couldn't think who were the men. Agriculture is really a vital underpinning of our prosperity in this state, even though people think this is an automotive state. Somebody said, "Well, there was really no need to have a spokesman because John Hannah spoke so well for that in the institution--Michigan State--through the ag extension service and the like."

H--That might be part true, but there were some early leaders. Clark Brody, who was the Secretary-Treasurer and General Manager of the State Farm Bureau, and on our Board of Trustees for a great many years, was greatly respected in this state as a spokesman for agriculture.

Win Armstrong, the Master of the State Grange for a long, long time, was on our Board of Trustees and highly regarded. Originally I think he was a rural mail carrier, or something like that. Of course, the Grange was always part social. We never had a strong Farmers Union in this state, but had there been one...

Agriculture, through the 4-H Club programs, the Extension Service, and the research backup for agriculture, has been pretty well tied to the land grant colleges.

Hannah

F--Did they support other areas, the regional college?

H--I think they did.

F--Community colleges and the like?

H--There was support for all of education--the public schools, the rural-area public schools.

F--I have wondered, though I haven't been able to find it, if as the farm changed and the acreage was no longer able to support the larger family, they were interested in education as a way to find occupations for their children.

H--Oh sure.

F--They couldn't farm the 40 acres and keep five boys alive on it.

H--They didn't even keep one on the farm in most cases.

F--Therefore they had to support local institutions and the like, but people don't seem to have that sense of it.

H--It's a different kettle of fish nowadays. There's no farm audience anymore. More people live in rural areas and work in Detroit or Grand Rapids or Lansing.

F--As a matter of fact, it's interesting to observe that there is not one man in the Legislature today who claims his occupation as farming--out of 148.

H--I think it would be a good thing if at least one member of the Board of Trustees understood agriculture, because there is a continuing role of supporting agriculture that is just part of a land grant university. There is only one now, and that's Frank Merriman. If he is defeated this time round, there will be no dirt farmer on the MSU Board of Trustees. There ought to always be somebody on the Board of this university that understands agriculture from the point of view of the farmer.

F--What about the role of commerce?

H--What's your definition of commerce?

F--Professor Hooker and I talked about that. We usually talk about industry, but I thought about big industry

Hannah

and then I thought about the fact that in the Constitutional Convention, and then Romney's Blue Ribbon Committee, there were people like Heavenrich and the like, who were retailers.

And I think about the role of the banks--Seidman of Grand Rapids and the Old Kent Bank--in building some of these schools, if commerce had a different position than industry. I'm not sure about that. It's an experimental question.

H--I think you would have to define what you mean by commerce. There are people out of that area that have been very active, and interested, and helpful.

F--You don't see that there was a difference in the way they acted? In the Legislature one can see the retail store merchants and the like having a different interest and...

H--...different lobbyists.

F--...different lobbyists.

H--I'm not surprised at that. Education is pervasive, it's across the board.

F--What about the role of the federal government in the determination of public policy?

In the area of welfare, for every dollar you got, you had some kind of requirement for that dollar. It didn't strike me that the federal government's requirements in education were that restrictive. I wondered what you thought about that.

H--Until recently, the federal government didn't play much of a role. The funding that came to the land grant institutions came in block grants and there was never more than cursory inquiry as to how that money was spent, excepting that the agricultural extension or the agricultural research allocations had to be used for those designated purposes.

F--The land grant interest was peanuts in terms of running this place.

H--Yes.

F--It was \$300,000 or some such...



Hannah

H--It used to be about \$180,000.

F--Well, whatever it was, you couldn't keep the place going a day on it.

H--And they never dabbled. Then when the federal government got into sizeable grants, veterans' education and so on, they had all sorts of restrictions. By and large, in those early days when you were getting used to the federal government, you learned early that you might as well do it their way because you're going to have to in the end if you're going to get your money. I get the feeling, though this is not based on my personal experience since big HEW grants to this university have come only in recent years, that HEW, if you let them, are going to determine every aspect of university internal operation.

F--Up until 1970 is one thing. For instance, in our medical program we get \$20,000 per pupil from the state, which is a sizeable amount of money compared to the university average of about \$1,800. The federal government is giving us \$2,000. For the \$2,000 they expect to hold us hostage for the entire \$22,000. That's the kind of thing that wasn't true before, I think. Maybe it will become to be more so.

H--I'm afraid, unless there's an effort expended...

F--What about the role of regional and local pressures to expand higher education in one location rather than another?

H--Here you're talking about statewide institutions. You're not talking about junior colleges because generally, from the very beginning, there was a feeling--and of course I helped to lead the procession--that there ought to be a publicly supported junior college within driving distance of every youngster in the state. And that's partly because of my background. I never would have gone beyond high school were it not for Grand Rapids Junior College.

If you think now that geographic support plays a role--of course this institution was always statewide. We were always much more statewide than the University of Michigan. Because of agriculture we had students from every county and every community. This, plus the common touch that goes with agricultural and extension services, helped greatly with the Legislature. U of M had the doctors

Hannah

and the lawyers, which were regular backers, and in the early days that was a great advantage for the University of Michigan.

Wayne, I said a little while ago, has never quite grown up to its potential. If they had ever really used intelligently the political oomph that they have, they could have made Wayne a much better institution than it has been. They have had a series of naive administrators down there that never understood what it's all about.

F--The potential is immense because they're tied into the greatest conduit, because the city and the suburban area around Wayne has the majority of the people of Michigan there.

H--They control the Legislature--those three or four counties.

F--Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb. It would be hard to get around that. But they haven't used it...

H--They haven't known how to use it.

F--No. That doesn't mean it couldn't be done.

H--It could. I've always thought, you know, that if they ever got themselves harnessed, they could give Michigan and Michigan State fits. But they never did and they've waited too long.

F--Because the transportation networks have changed.

H--They've changed. But geographic influence is still important.

F--I guess what I'm going to ask you is this. I was struck by the logrolling that went on between Grand Valley and Saginaw Valley; Michigan went to Flint, we went to Oakland, they went to Dearborn; there was talk about Michigan State going to Saginaw; they thought about going to Saginaw. And all of a sudden this state turned its back on a branch-campus model, which in Wisconsin they built and in a sense they built in California. I wondered why that didn't come about.

H--I don't know as I can answer you very well. Of course, Michigan pioneered it when they went both to Flint and Dearborn, and then they began talking about the possibility of a branch in Grand Rapids and Benton Harbor.

Hannah

That's when the decision was made here. You see, we had to compete with Michigan, we had to keep them boxed somewhat--or we thought we did at that time.

This was a part of the initiative that resulted in the establishment of Oakland, because we figured we could cut off Michigan moving into Oakland County. They could be in Dearborn, they could be in Flint, but we would have the high-toned bedroom of Detroit districts that they were really striving for.

F--So in a sense you were looking for a standoff.

H--That's right. Of course Mrs. Wilson had been on our Board, she'd been interested in agriculture, and I'd known her and her husband very well for many years. They knew they were going to die someday and they were talking about the possibility of using their Meadowbrook Estate for some kind of an institution. I went down and talked to them and found this is what they wanted to do. They wanted it--whatever it was--to be affiliated with Michigan State. I remember this very well. The Fords had provided the Dearborn site and some money for buildings and equipment.

I said we're interested but we've got to have enough money to build the first building and that meant not less than \$2 million.

F--Mrs. Wilson, I think, was always happy with Oakland University.

H--Always. She had a great interest. She used to come and visit the boys and girls in their dormitories and entertain them in Meadowbrook and in the home she lived in. It meant much to her life in her later years.

There had always been some Oakland feeling down there that it ought to be an independent institution. I don't think, if I'd stayed here, that I would have moved as fast as our Board did in releasing it. I have no objection to it being independent, but...

F--I don't know what happened, but somewhere, right about the time it spun free, it ran into trouble and they're not out of it yet.

H--There were various kinds of trouble.

F--But the point was that perhaps...

Hannah

H--It's some personnel problems. They didn't have the right kind of people.

F--But that institution is far ahead of Flint or Dearborn.

H--Well, we gave them the full prestige of MSU. Michigan never gave the University of Michigan prestige to either Dearborn or Flint. Every department in Ann Arbor controls the department out there. From the beginning we made it clear that it was an independent institution. It was not required to copy anything at MSU. It was free to do its own pioneering.

F--Was that a deliberate policy, a Board decision?

H--A Board decision, and when we were talking about the person to go over there to head it up, we were looking for a vigorous, independent leader and that's why Woody Varner was chosen. We brought in people from all over the country seeking their advice and counsel. It was a laborious process, but it would be independent, it did not have to be in the MSU pattern.

F--And in fact that became the model in a way. Because President Fleming, except for political factors, doubts that Dearborn and Flint will be part of the University a decade from now.

H--I don't think they should.

F--I don't think they do either.

H--The other side of it was that they began to see here that Oakland was going to cost much money. When it was a part of the Michigan State budget, there was a feeling in some timid souls that it should be separated because it was going to be damaging here. And that was one of the reasons they let it go.

F--But then this institution didn't have to pick. It had its own constituency at Oakland so therefore you weren't competitive.

H--Oakland built its own constituency from the beginning. It grew locally, out of citizen support.

F--Do you have any observations, Dr. Hannah, why an institutional system for the coordination of higher education

Hannah

did not come about after '64? We talked about a Board that lacked stature.

H--I don't know why. I've always thought it would, I assume it still will. I think higher education costs so much, the probabilities are that eventually the politicians will insist on some kind of coordination. You know better than I.

F--Well I guess what I think about is--this is beyond this study, but--what I regard as the astonishing, flagrant competition for a law school by the three institutions...

H--Oh, that's stupid.

F--It's stupid and in a way diminishes the public regard for education.

H--You know that's the fault of this institution. Three or four years ago when the Legislature didn't turn their request down, all they had to do was to get on with it. The Legislature did not say "no", MSU could have started the law school and put the controversy with others to sleep. They never did. Now they've got themselves boxed. Having gone to the Legislature twice, they're going to have to get legislative approval before they proceed with it.

F--I know that one doesn't want to get involved in critical remarks about the management, but the lesson of how the medical school was established... I came in '68 quite late-on to the Senate and did the Legislature's first staff study of medicine.

It was a report that was not entirely satisfactory to them. They wanted me to say that one should continue the two-year program and not go to four. I said to the committee, based on the curriculum and academic style--just the facts--one had to either abolish the program or go to four years, two years wasn't viable. They didn't like that.

But for seven years you ran it out of your own money, you didn't get a dime of money. While today we have not one medical school, but two. You wouldn't be cognizant of the facts, but Michigan gets some \$11 million in state money for their medical school, Wayne gets about \$9.5 million, and we're up around \$8 million--and that's \$8 million in five years.

Hannah

H--You people have done well. You know the institution would never have gotten off the ground if we had waited for absolute assurance. If you wait to be approved by everybody--you never move. When the Legislature did not disapprove it, that battle was won. All MSU had to do was go on with the law school, but they didn't.

F--Optometry became another example where I believe the institutions are setting themselves up to lose some of the autonomy that they have had in this ten years, because I think that autonomy comes with responsibility too.

H--What's happened to optometry?

F--Well, Wayne asked for it first and then backed away. Michigan State said they didn't want it but if they got a law school, they'd take it.

H--You know they started that movement years ago. I wouldn't become enthusiastic about optometry because I figured then we'd never get the medical school. I wasn't going to trade and take optometry in exchange for the eventual medical center.

F--Now it's at Ferris, but they're starving it out without money.

Nobody has a law school. Western started to build that political structure in the west that's unfulfilled yet.

I have two last questions. They're really one.

Who in your opinion were the significant opinion leaders in higher education in Michigan; and who were the influential individuals whose insights were of greatest significance to you, Dr. Hannah?

H--Now, we're talking about '58 to '70 and we're talking across the board.

F--Right.

H--Was Ruthven gone by '58?

F--I think Hatcher was in, but Ruthven had done the Ferris study a little earlier. I guess Ruthven wasn't there.

Hannah

H--I think he had retired. Steve Nisbet, certainly, on the State Board of Education, and at Alma College, and in the public school business, an ex-professional educator.

Lee Thurston, had he gone by '58?

F--I think Bartlett was there.

H--Lee Thurston, who had been State Superintendent of Public Instruction, made some significant contributions.

A couple of people on this campus that came rather late played a very substantial role. One was Floyd Reeves--I guess he's still alive. The other gentleman, who was ex-president at Montana and Dean at Northwestern, is still here. His name is Dr. Ernest Melby. They had very broad horizons.

I mentioned Floyd Reeves. Floyd Reeves was a very distinguished leader of the advanced thought and the right connotations in education. He was raised in a sod hut out in South Dakota and became Head of the Education Department of the University of Chicago. I brought him up here on a consultancy basis and then convinced him that he ought to give up the professorship and the head of the department at Chicago and come up here, at no more money than he was getting, and take his chances on retirement. He brought the questions which this institution had to face up to. As much as any person, he made it possible for Michigan State internally to move. Back in the New Deal days he had staffed the TVA in its beginning. He had a great capacity to ask the right questions and persist with them until he got the right answers.

F--I took a course from him. It was an exciting thing.

H--Dr. Melby is still on the staff. He was well into his eighties, but he never grew old. He was one of these people who could make people think, in the public schools and within the higher institutions.

F--Do you think about other institutional presidents, other sections of society, political and social leaders?

H--In various ways. Of course, to really answer this question intelligently, you'd have to sit down and think the thing through.

Hannah

No governor had a great interest in education. They were supportive, none of them were destructive, but this wasn't of high priority. The teachers' college presidents--Charlie Anspach and Gene Elliott<sup>8</sup>, and Sangren. Jim Miller was different. He did a great job at Western Michigan. He was very useful at this institution. He's a Grade A guy.

F--Well, the purpose of the question is this. It's always bad form to ask, "For the record's sake can you remember?" Then you'll slip on somebody. What we're really trying to do is not to get a long, long list. Every man's vista is partial. No one interviewer ever sees the whole picture.

H--Sure.

F--You were standing at one place, another man at another, and he sees some part of the landscape better.

H--And I've been away from it for almost six years. That makes a lot of difference.

F--And we were saying, "Are these people alive that we should talk to that we don't want to miss?" Well, many of these people we will talk to but some have passed on.

When we talked to Governor Williams he couldn't remember Dr. Haber's name, and I said one second after...

H--Bill?

F--Yes, and I said one second after I walk out the door, you'll remember. I understand that you brought him to this state.

H--Bill Haber was on this campus and he was ahead of his time. That was before I was involved in the administration of the institution. He headed up the state WPA and that was a little much for President Shaw to take so he went to the University of Michigan and had a great career there, a distinguished Dean and a great guy. I have often told him that he made a mistake when he moved from East Lansing to Ann Arbor.

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<sup>8</sup>Eugene B. Elliott; President, Eastern Michigan University, 1948-1964.



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Hannah

F--An intellectual and contributing man.

Thank you very much.

TRANSCRIPT--INTERVIEW WITH

HARLAN H. HATCHER<sup>1</sup>

F--Dr. Hatcher, you have a good vista over much of the time of our concern. As you know, the study is interested in what happened in Michigan from 1958 to 1970. You were one of the key participants as the President of the University of Michigan.

What in your opinion were the reasons that led to the expansion of higher education in Michigan from 1958 on? Enrollments went up, fiscal support, which had been some \$80 million, by 1970 was some \$250 million.

H--Well, let me reach back for just a second, for two or three observations.

In '51 when I arrived we were just seeing the last wave of the GI bulge graduating. In this particular university the enrollment, which had reached somewhere in the neighborhood of 24 to 25,000, slipped back down to approximately 17,500 to 18,000.

So that the first breathing space that universities had had in many years began to be visible. They had suffered through the long depression when nothing whatever could be done, they just had to hold it together--no building. Then we went right into the war with all of its strictures and before anything further could be done, we added the GI's.

So we had one, two, three long crises periods which had practically arrested the growth or expansion of the physical plant.

F--It had about 20 years, in fact, of time when an institution never could follow any kind of plan.

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<sup>1</sup>Harlan H. Hatcher; President, University of Michigan, 1951-67; Vice-President, Ohio State University, 1948-51, and Dean, College of Arts and Science, 1944-48. Interview conducted January 17, 1975.

Hatcher

H--None whatever. It was subject to whatever happened.

It was then obvious through population studies that we had only a limited amount of time to get ready for another bulge and the question before me--before all of us here at Michigan--was: "Can we get together the right plans and the right support so that when we move into the next big enrollment pressures, we will be in a reasonable shape to guide it and direct it instead of being buffeted by it."

So the expansion which you pick up in '58...

F--...is the second pulse.

H--That's right. It is the wave that goes on.

In framing the question you mentioned the budget. It's worth noting, particularly in your study--and I take this institution again, but it applies to the others in proportion--that the Legislature in the spring of '51, shortly after my election as president, passed the largest budget in the history of the State of Michigan, the largest appropriation for the University of Michigan. It was a little under \$15 million.

F--It's worthwhile to observe that right today in 1974 it's probably close to \$117 million.

H--Yes, somewhere in that general vicinity.

But the interesting thing about that was that it was the biggest budget ever. But then, as we moved into the early fifties, we ran into the very severe financial pinch.

I discovered when I first went up to Lansing to talk with Governor Williams and the legislative leadership that I felt no animosity, not even an adversary spirit, but one of reasonable effort to try to understand what the problem was and then meet it. But they were faced with the very severe problems of income and tax, so "we can't give you anything but love" was their attitude.

Now there's a very interesting point here, a turning point, I think. When the Legislature was unable the following year to come anywhere near meeting the needs that the state felt, the federal government revised its income tax, and that very year when the Legislature had said

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that we had no money in Michigan to support higher education, the federal government took an additional \$2 billion out of the state in federal income tax.

It was at that point that I had a personal conference with Governor Williams, and Governor Williams decided to set up in various parts of the state a series of what I would call seminars. The leadership in the various communities--Detroit, Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo--came together. We had a pie chart of the budget, a picture of what the needs were including higher education, and I spoke to several of these groups on the higher education aspect of the budget.

Following that came the new tax program that added the business tax and other things that gave us the first leeway to break out of the constriction and started the upward wave of appropriations that preceded your 1958 date, to which I will be glad to come. But I think it's important to get the feel of these early fifties from the point of view of leadership in order to understand the expansion.

F--I'm comfortable with that because there are several other points that your talk has brought to my mind. Probably, and truly not until 1962, had the revenue machine really been cranked to the point where there were ample resources. So for most of the period under study the recognition of legitimate need and fundable need will probably always be significantly at variance.

H--Yes. I think that's correct.

F--It's probably only in the latter part of your tenure as president that there really was significant money, because you had the recessionary period nationally in '59 that cut in.

I was also curious about your remarks about the pie chart and the seminars, because we have talked to Governor Williams and it's an interesting mechanism that he developed that has fascinated me.

He never had the control of the Legislature in any meaningful way. He was the first Democratic governor who really built the first Democratic machine in the state in its history. And he built the citizen commissions as a mechanism, not for fact-finding, but

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really as a way to reach beyond the Legislature to the opinion elites of the public to create some sense of value and support.

Does this statement agree with your feeling?

H--Yes, that's exactly right.

One of the first things we did here in the state as a group of college presidents was to have a study made on population projection. That was the first one that any of the educational groups had done anywhere in the nation and it was printed and widely circulated. It simply indicated what the Legislature and the state would have to expect as the new birth rate came through the system.

Our basic point was that they were already responding on the elementary level--I spent a lot of time dedicating [elementary] schools and then the high schools in those days. So we wanted a little lead-time here to get ready on the college side.

That was coupled, of course, with the population increase and, as you are perfectly familiar with, the increasing percentage of that population wishing to go on to post-high school education. This became a very significant increase in addition to the population.

F--Did institutions, Dr. Hatcher, have something to do with that? It's not all that difficult when you had Thaden<sup>2</sup> and Goldberg<sup>3</sup> on the campuses to do the population studies to know virtually with a certainty 12 years before a freshman appears on the college level, who's enrolled in the kindergartens of the state. So you're dealing with a finite rather than a propaganda number.

The thing that always struck me was that in states like Ohio, and many other states with the land grant tradition, they said that every student could go to college who was a graduate of a high school. They didn't have

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<sup>2</sup>John F. Thaden; Professor Sociology, Michigan State University.

<sup>3</sup>David E. Goldberg; Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan.

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the admission procedure where they wouldn't accept a student unless they had a place for him for four years. And in places like Ohio the size of the freshman class is three, four, five times as large as the sophomore class, creating, I think, a large amount of anti-intellectualism in America because of the sense of the lack of worth in the individual--the failure mechanism.

It's simply done because in Ohio and other midwestern states public policy decisions were not to create the number of places but to keep the percentage of those who had the choice to go to college at a constant.

Now, not only did the decision get made here that there was that second bulge, as you put it, coming, but the percentage of Michigan citizenry who went to college was increasing.

How did the acceptance of that ideological, important public policy point come about?

H--Well, I think that leads into some of the questions you ask later on. The results of the GI experience led a whole new group of people who had previously not been oriented toward college to see the value of it and anticipate that as the way they wanted for their children, so that the post-GI generation became the added increment there.

But there are two other very significant points. One of them is indicated by the date that you have taken. I don't think enough stress has been laid on the impact of the Sputnik of '57. That was a bombshell in American education, nothing short of it.

I saw it from all sides because I happened to have a son and a daughter, both of whom were finishing eighth grade going into high school at that point. Although no pressure was put on them from our household, it was perfectly obvious what was happening over in the school as the drive for intensive application, particularly in the fields of the sciences, came on.

The result was that we turned out, after '57, a group of high school graduates who were far beyond anything we had imagined, motivated to carry forward in higher education.

Hatcher

F--I'm comfortable with that. We've talked to a lot of people and you have just recapitulated some of that sense.

The general impression I have received was that there were multifaceted causes. One, of course, was the increase in population that was observable. Secondly was the increase in social aspiration by people who believed that they could participate in higher education, and that it wasn't exclusionary but was inclusionary. There was also a rising level of expectation of the ability based on increased wages to be able to purchase this product. And the last was the shock to the system of the Sputnik challenge to the American sense of its competitive position.

Now, some say that that was a national thing. I think there are national aspects to it, but I think there are some peculiar Michigan aspects too. My sense of it--and maybe it's parochial, I may be historically biased--is that Michigan put a really significant chunk of its public dollars behind higher education, went for a large expansionary program of new institutions, enhanced old institutions, and built a public higher education system that, to my mind, is probably the first in the nation.

And you say to me, "Well, what about California?" I think the California system wasn't built with enough suppleness to stand the political strain. Although we had our political crises in the state in '68, and they also had occurred earlier in the communist-McCarthy, anti-intellectual period, the mechanism didn't break and was able to dissipate the heat and the strain.

So I think we built the best system. I know somebody else will think that's parochial.

H--Well, let me footnote that for you for just a moment with two points. First, the California educational system for higher education was taken over lock, stock, and barrel, and word for word, from the Michigan Constitution.

F--I did not know that.

H--That's right, absolutely lock, stock, and barrel, even to the separation of Berkeley from Davis, and the provision for branch campuses.

In our state here, we very early gave up two parts which are still in the California system. California kept the

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single unit with branch campuses and it kept political officers on its board. Michigan removed the governor and other state officials from its boards of control and made them autonomous--gave the institutions their autonomy.

F--That's an extremely vital thing.

H--Surely. In fact, I have somewhere in my files still one of the copies of their alumni magazine in which they were celebrating their centennial, and the central fold is a tribute to Michigan for its basic contribution to the University of California's system.

This state was able to carry on in a much more flexible fashion but with a kind of general plan. It was a far better plan than people realized, much more planned than they thought when the strain first came upon it.

As it was originally conceived before population pressures came on, you had our world-renowned teachers' colleges, particularly Ypsilanti and Western, and you had the world-famous Michigan State at Lansing, basically the Purdue and the Cornell of the system, and you had the University of Michigan which was basically professional. Around that kind of division of labors, Michigan was able to take care of most of the needs that had come prior to the great population pressure.

The other thing that is often overlooked about the Michigan system is that, unlike Ohio, it is the first state system that you meet going west. As you move on west they become more and more exclusively "state" in higher education. Michigan still has a few, and some very distinguished, small colleges, but nothing like the Ohio tradition.

You see, Ohio State came in during the 1870's under the land grant when Ohio already had the largest number of private colleges of any state in the Union. Pennsylvania and Massachusetts were both high but Ohio still ranks first. So that in Ohio, from the very outset, the State University was always looked upon as an interloper, or it was a "Godless institution corrupting youth when they ought to be getting a Christian education."

Michigan escaped that and from the very outset the whole mind-set was toward the fostering of very distinguished



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higher education institutions. We were able to utilize that very effectively as we went through these crises periods of the fifties and sixties.

I just want to emphasize that it wasn't a formless affair; it was a carefully devised affair and it worked extremely well, but when we got the terrific pressures on it, it had to be modified. What you're dealing with, really from '58 on, is how Michigan modified what had already been recognized as one of the best systems so far devised in the nation for taking care of the problems of higher education.

F--I'm not personally an advocate of a bureaucratic structured system, but we've come to an age where people don't understand some of the subtleties of voluntary systems, the mechanisms of the balance of power and the accommodations that have existed. So we're getting the technocrats in who want everything drawn on a piece of paper with lines and charts. I'm suspicious of that because clarity and definitiveness... I believe in a little romance, a little mystery--if the thing works.

I do believe it has worked here. I believe it worked because there was suppleness in the system and there still was accommodation. I don't believe the advantages of swapping it for a centralized bureaucracy are all that intelligent a set of decisions. I reject as the only choice, for instance, the differences between coordination and control which are very subtle differences.

I think that we do have a system but I don't think people can understand it because they say, "Where's the document, where's the hierarchical, bureaucratic chart?"

You struck something that is fascinating to me. You talked about Ohio and Michigan being the first station on the way west with public higher education.

I come to this state as an immigrant and I come from Massachusetts with a large tradition of private schools, and an immensely poor and impoverished tradition of public institutions. When I went to college in 1961 at Boston University in the African Studies program, tuition was \$1700 a year. Here in 1974 at Michigan State the tuition is \$600 for a program of far greater value and complexity.

I think about the fact that in Michigan, the University of Michigan's origins were before the state was created, when it was a Territory. It was also probably the very first great public institution to stand on a par with those privately funded like Stanford and Duke and Harvard; the very first institution that had great professional schools. I think about Ypsilanti, the first teachers' college west

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of the Alleghenies. I think about the fact that we built a Michigan State, not as a second-class institution, but as a unique and comparable institution. I think about the fact that we went for the first urban institution before they thought of the concept at Wayne. I think about the fact that we built this whole system of community colleges without a good deal of talk but with a good deal of energy.

And then, Dr. Hatcher, I think about the fact that the Kalamazoo Case occurred in Michigan, which was in the 1870's, I think it was 1875. It set up the first right for students to have high school. I think about the fact, and I'm not sure about its social impact, that the University of Michigan and not the state government was the accreditor of high schools through your Bureau of School Services, and had a direct relationship into education quality of the secondary school. And I am told that before 1932 the University of Michigan had the right to levy a tax on property for its support.

Those are indications of a tradition that's hard to understand. We've had an immensely good government, uniquely in a tradition of noncorruptibility compared to other states-- I think about Illinois and the like. I've had the sense that Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan were somehow different, and they had a deeper and abiding love for higher education.

Do you have some sense of why that could have been? The privates never became a competitive force the way they were in Ohio. And I believe that one of the strong elements in the whole history is the immense love that institutions have received from the public.

H--I think that's right. I think they earned it here in Michigan, but they had to have good leadership and they did have it.

F--Do you have some sense of why it might have occurred? Do you think that's a misapprehension of reality?

H--I don't think it's any misapprehension of reality. I don't know just exactly why it occurred because these are all very elusive forces and they depend heavily upon personalities. It's the same kind of question you've got when you think of the first several presidents that we happened to have for the United States. To have a succession like Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy, gave you time to solidify and get a great tradition.

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Well, the same way here. We had Judge Woodward<sup>4</sup>, we had Monteith<sup>5</sup>, the people with great vision back in the colonial period, and you had some very fine governors. Then you had extraordinary leadership--people like Tappan<sup>6</sup> and later Angell<sup>7</sup> in this particular institution insisted from the very outset that it be a service institution, that it would be of as high distinction as possible.

I'm sure that the great research and professional distinction which arose here so early was largely the result of Tappan who brought to it the German concept of dedication to scholarship, and he brought in a half-dozen great people. You get that sort of thing rolling and they begin to appoint others.

We've also had a succession of leadership governors, carry them on, even down to Governor Williams. Mennen Williams was really a great constructive force here in this state. I've praised that man immensely for his understanding. He had problems, but I never had any problem in sitting down with Mennen Williams and talking over these matters as we did.

F--You assisted him in creating the public climate.

H--Planning the action. This building where you are right now is a perfect example of it. This doesn't destroy your chronology, but let me tell you.

It was a period of national mourning in '57 when Sputnik went up. You'd have thought we'd been invaded and carried off to Siberia, or something. It is hard to describe it unless you lived through it.

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<sup>4</sup>Augustus B. Woodward; Supreme Court Judge of the Territorial Government of Michigan, 1805-1824.

<sup>5</sup>Reverend John Montieth; First President of the University of Michigan.

<sup>6</sup>Henry Phillip Tappan; President, University of Michigan, 1852-1863.

<sup>7</sup>James Burrill Angell; President, University of Michigan, 1871-1909.

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Shortly afterwards, I brought together here about a dozen of our top scientists in the physical field and sat them around the regents' room and I said, "We know almost nothing about what's going on in Russia but we've certainly had a demonstration that something has occurred. Now, since you don't know, extrapolate for me what they would have had to know and what developments they would have had to undergo in order to do what they have now done." And they proceeded to do that and gave me a reading on the scientific backgrounds necessary to put a satellite in orbit which we at that time couldn't do. We didn't even have the explosive power capacity, we didn't have the metals to resist the heat of the atmosphere, and so on.

As a result of that we formed a kind of a scientific institute. I went up to Lansing on a cold and bitter day, much worse than this because it was snowing and raining. Governor Williams had a very bad cold. We met in his private house, they didn't have a governor's mansion then, he lived not far from the Capitol.

We charted out a program for the Institute of Science and Technology on the general grounds that here were the great resources that had been accumulated at the University of Michigan in these particular scientific fields that were comparable in their way to the magnificent work that had been done at Michigan State in the field of agricultural research. So shouldn't we draw these resources together in much the same way that our sister institution had drawn them in for the purpose of agriculture and allied sciences.

And that's what we did. With Governor Williams' help we went to the Legislature; they understood, made the appropriation for this building and it really started us in this period that you're talking about. It's one of the important elements in your discussion of some of these questions.

It prepared the University of Michigan to become, for the period under your survey, one of the central research institutions in the nation. During the sixties--I don't know what the situation is now--there was more of the research of the nation going on on this campus than on any other single campus in the entire nation, not excluding Berkeley and Harvard and MIT.

Your basic question was how do you account for it, and in a nutshell it's that almost elusive and random thing of

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having, somehow or other, brought together the right people in the right place...

F--At the right time.

H--...at the right time. And they proceeded, and got support.

F--So hence the social and economic factors were that the people were there, for reasons that we can't quite pin down, and there was a societal acceptance of the value of what higher education was and what it could be.

H--Then there became a strong, a very strong, pride in this state in its institutions, which was widely shared. The citizens were proud of the University of Michigan, of Michigan State, of Ypsilanti--those were the three big ones.

F--What were the policy objectives that underlay this expansion?

H--Well, I think we sort of touched on them but I speak now again from my own responsibilities here, where one of the rewards of being President of the University of Michigan in that period was that I had opportunity to make plans and get support for them and carry them out, as opposed to this period where it's so heavily a period of management and you find the whole thing is...

F--You have retrenchment, in a way.

H--...and you could see things get done, so you could envision. The policies were of all sorts. First of all was to realize what kind of service would be required of these institutions, both on the quantitative level of accommodating students, and on the qualitative level of the programs which you would offer them once they had come to you.

Our policy then was a statewide one. It was not local at all. For this institution it was obvious that it ought to do everything it could instead of, as many people suggested, just close down and say, "We have all we can do now so we stop." I said, "No, we buy the North Campus and we watch it. We grow so long as we can grow without sacrificing the quality of the service which we are set up to provide."

So we came over here, bought the North Campus and started building engineering, architecture, music, and so on--to

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get out of central campus so we could expand. Now that's one policy element: We have got to expand and improve this dilapidated and obsolescent plant with which every one of the universities was saddled.

I'm sure that my colleagues up at Michigan State have spoken of this. They were in an ideal situation because they had lots of land available and all they needed was proper support to allow them to expand. They had not the city-urban problems that we had here.

So our policies then were to provide plant and equipment and to look toward the orderly increase of our capacity to serve the students.

F--Well, then, there was a very definite social objective, you would say, that you were going to serve the number of expected students. There was a decision to go forward and meet the objective of meeting the market, to serve the people who wanted and needed the service.

H--That's right.

F--Instead of saying, in the name of quality, we would limit access. So there was obviously, therefore, the decision to educate people, as we alluded to earlier, beyond the previous share of high school graduates who had post-graduate experience.

H--Exactly.

F--And this institution, therefore, began to prepare for it, as others did.

What were some of the conflicts in the attempt to attain this--institutional energies, conservative versus liberal forces?

H--Are you thinking within the institution itself or are you thinking statewide?

F--I'm thinking statewide.

H--I didn't encounter anything I would call conflict.

By the time we had reached your period we had brought together what I found to be a very effective group, our Council of State College Presidents. We met regularly indeed, going over these things, had studies made as a

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group, discussed strategies, discussed ways and means of minimizing even the possibility of conflict. Particularly before the finance committees, by setting out those things that were common to all of us like the rising price of coal, or the expansion of plant--[We said], "Let's get those outside and all agree that every institution has to have x percent increase just to keep up with its services."

F--I understand that there were common issues and you all frankly faced some of the same dilemmas. But it takes a great deal of statesmanship.

One of the problems of the appropriation game is that institutions frequently don't really know what they need, as much as what they want compared with others.

H--Now that's a sound observation. I think one place where there were differences of opinion--maybe it's conflict, although I think of conflict in slightly different context, as being kind of a fighting issue as opposed to differences of view.

But, for instance, the very nature of the operation here at this university, with its professional schools and its scientific apparatus, required a type of personnel at a salary range that was not common, for example, at Ypsilanti. It's perfectly understandable to us and I didn't consider it a conflict, that Ypsilanti would say, "A professor at the University of Michigan is getting \$15,000 to \$18,000, and therefore we ought to have comparable scales."

F--I guess I want to get beyond what I call the invidious comparison. My experience with the special pleading of the appropriation processes was that any man who can't make an invidious comparison with somebody else is a fool. Everybody's going to be at the top of something and by the very nature of being at the top of one category you have to be somewhat lower in another category because the money that comes to all institutions is a very finite number.

Let me talk about what I think some of the conflicts were. Some said--and I'm not assessing validity to these things--that baccalaureate and graduate institutions attempted to prevent the growth of the community colleges. Some said that institutions attempted to prevent new institutions from being created, to limit the dilution of the pie. I'm thinking about Grand Valley, Saginaw Valley.

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Some said the decision to create the branch-campus system, where Michigan went to Dearborn and to Flint, and other communities were romanced and some romanced you--I think about the talk that you romanced Grand Rapids and the fact that Saginaw romanced you--was an attempt to prevent the Michigan system from functioning as a voluntary, autonomous system.

They said that the conflict between Michigan and Michigan State was the attempt by Michigan to prevent Michigan State from receiving the appellation of a university. I believe that conflict occurred about 1959, settled quite easily later at the Constitutional Convention.

Some have pointed out the status models, between graduate and professional visions of their contributions versus more generalized disciplinary experiences, attributed lower status. Some have seen this very definitely in terms of popularism versus elitism, with Michigan being elitist and Michigan State being popularist.

When I talked to Dr. Fleming, I had some problems with that. I think some of these things are true, and I'm going to be curious about your responses.

But an institution of 40,000 human beings--because when you talked about an enrollment of 24,000, those were FTE numbers and there were many more people--a group that served a significant 25 percent of all of the people going into higher education in the state, I don't regard as exclusionary. I don't see that the institution in fact really acted in an elitist way. I'm trying to distinguish between what's football talk, which is easy for people to romanticize, and ascertain what you think is reality.

H--I'd like to take those up one by one because each point that you've made has had some discussion and assertions.

I don't respond to those at all. From where I sit, from where I sat and the way I worked, it's a very different story indeed from what came through in this more popularized, journalistic type of effort to create conflict where there was none.

Now let's take, for example, the question of community colleges. The community college movement had my support from the very beginning. It had John Hannah's support. John and I personally, together, went to the legislative committee, at one of the critical moments, and explained



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to them why it was absolutely necessary that they support and foster a strong community college movement in this state.

When this Ann Arbor community was loathe to support Washtenaw Community College, I called together about 50 of the leading business people in this city at the Michigan Union Anderson Room and made them a speech on the role of the community college. [I explained] why it was absolutely necessary to complete the educational opportunities in this particular area, and asked them to give Washtenaw County seed money to get the thing going, and they did.

I honestly still do not know where the concept arose that the leadership of higher education here was opposed to community colleges because it is just contrary to the truth.

The new institutions, when they were proposed, were actually a very serious and, to me, high-minded and statesmanlike attempt to analyze it--what was the best way to meet the needs of those particular areas: Did they need it so quickly that one of the established institutions needed to come in and get it going, or did they need to plan it from scratch, or did they just need advice and help?

In each instance that was the way it was done. But there was never any opposition to the founding of those institutions, because they were badly needed by the time they came along. We finally got round in the two areas where they were underpopulated for four-year services, which were basically up in the Saginaw-Bay City-Midland area, and then Grand Rapids.

F--Are you saying there was enough to go round anyway so...

H--That was my point. Look, after we've all gotten through, we still haven't done the job. For heavens sake, there can't be any rivalry in this respect. Let's get as many institutions as are needed. Of course by that time we had the Russell Report which had indicated quite clearly from an outside source the demands that would need to be met and a plan that might make them regional.

Now I can't give any validity to that although I do know that the headlines were there.

Hatcher

F--I'm not saying that there is validity. I want to rest these dragons and that's why I raise them with you.

H--I think, compared, as I saw it, with other states, (and I went to many of them on their invitation to talk with them about how we were managing things here in the State of Michigan) we were doing the job with a minimum of friction and centralized interference. Many of them are not able to do it.

Now you spoke about the branch campuses. There was a great deal of misunderstanding on that one, brought about for lots of reasons that we don't have time here to go into. But the basic points are these.

If you take yourself back to the period of the late fifties when the whole new generation was beginning to pour into the colleges, we were turning away perfectly qualified students because we did not have the space, or in some instances didn't have living room for them. At one point we were actually turning away students because there was no place for them to live.

Combine that pressure for enrollments with the rapidly rising costs of students living away from home--their board and room particularly--plus their tuition made it very difficult for many of them. The question came up almost as a corollary of the concept of the junior college: "Why does a student have to go to East Lansing or to Michigan to continue his education when he might, at much less expense, carry right on in his own home community?"

F--So this was the corollary across the whole baccalaureate system of the John Dale Russell Report concept of having a college or higher education opportunity within driving range of a person's home.

H--Yes. And then you extend it further--do you mean a two-year college or a four-year college?

F--Well, as the case may be.

H--Yes, as the case may be. What we said was that if we had the strength and the capacity in our faculty to set up a worthy continuation in a community, such as Flint, we would be willing to do it.

In the case of Flint you had the excellent community college already in existence doing a very excellent job.

Hatcher

You had a great philanthropist in the case of C. S. Mott who agreed to give us the funds necessary to build the building if we would carry on the second two years-- junior and senior.

F--That's right. It was originally established as a third and fourth year at Dearborn and at Flint.

H--That's right. Instead of bringing people into the campus at Michigan, couldn't we extend the campus there for those who wished to carry on. That was the concept of it.

The Legislature was highly pleased with that concept and though I haven't an overwhelming number of pleasant memories of going to Lansing, one of them was when C. S. Mott and I went down to the committee, in which Senators Beadle and Garland Lane were the most prominent members at that time, and laid before them the concept of an added two years of work at Flint coordinated with the junior college, so that if they wished, they could go on, or could transfer.

Now behind this concept at all points was this: If and when and at any time this kind of institution ever needed to go out of existence, or to become locally autonomous, freestanding, it would certainly do so. But what we were concerned with was that the lead time, the pressures and all that part were so great, that it seemed sense to everybody that we talked with, and it certainly seemed sense to me as the president of this institution, to say that we can give almost instantaneous existence to a first-class continuation by this method which you cannot possibly do without a long, difficult lead time. So we set up Flint and we set up Dearborn.

F--To some, though, it looked like the California model or the Wisconsin model was attempting to be set up, with [the University of] Michigan controlling all the schools.

H--Yes, I know that was an interpretation of it. Some of my own colleagues in the Council of College Presidents were fearful of that, particularly Spathelf, who thought that we were embarked upon some kind of Nazi conquest to take over.

F--Well, he viewed it as an imperialistic drive...

H--...Which it was not at all. Now I don't know how to explain that beyond saying what I did. I know what the

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motives were and why we did it and where we went with it. And it worked and it gave [University of] Michigan immediately a new form of continuation in these two institutions.

F--Well, some regarded it that in the locus of power in this state you have Detroit, you have Flint, you have Grand Rapids, you have the suburban part and then you have the rural part. The rural part was diminishing in influence because of the migration and the change in the nature of American agriculture. Some, therefore, did think that Michigan moving to Flint, to Dearborn, and being strongly romanced by Saginaw-Bay City, and with its preeminent position in Grand Rapids where you'd been a long time--for instance, you still have a radio station there--was an attempt to bring them all in under one tent with Michigan as the head of it.

H--Well, as I said, that was not true.

F--Then, you see, how do you regard Michigan State's going to Oakland? Some would regard that as an attempt to cut you off from the rich bedroom communities and to balance it out.

H--Well, I don't know about that. I think it was a needed institution there and it gave them a quick and distinguished start which they otherwise would not have gotten.

F--There seemed to have been some energy between the rich Mathilda Wilson and Ford. They looked a trifle competitive.

H--Well, I don't know about that. They may have been. But I think that you could give other motives to it too. She had this great estate that was not doing much good there any more than Fairlane was doing for the Ford people. Education was needed. I understand from Dr. Ruthven that she had offered this to the University of Michigan at one point. [But] it didn't seem at that point a wise thing to do because the pressures for institutional expansion were not present there as they were in the period when these things came along.

I think the only element of conflict that I ever sensed in Oakland was that it did stir the community college people. Because when we set up Dearborn and Flint, we set them up as senior colleges, that is, you went right on--junior and senior. Whereas Oakland started with a freshman class so that particularly the community college

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people viewed that as an intrusion and brought it into a conflict that otherwise it didn't need to be.

But that was soon obviated by the fact that as the young generation came on, there were so many that even with all these facilities we still weren't doing more than an adequate job in taking care of them.

F--Let me ask you a question then about your administrative style. Michigan State created Oakland, to some degree as an autonomous institution virtually from the start. There's been a lot of rhetoric that said Dearborn and Flint were strictly controlled and managed from Ann Arbor. How, then, do you square that with the opportunity that they could become freestanding when circumstances were right?

H--I think you have a couple things here. First, at the outset, the campus in operation at Oakland was almost exactly parallel to this. They had the chancellor, the Board of Trustees of Michigan State was the governing board, and Woody Varner had the same relationship to the president and the board...

F--That you had with Stirton.

H--Yes. Oakland was in a very important area for educational services. The fact that it had begun as a freshman-sophomore and soon became a full four-year institution, gave it a different kind of status as a full-fledged institution, than these two operations which were just the third and fourth years of the extended College of Arts and Sciences and of Education in these two campuses.

Now I think, as time has been moving on--I'm saying this tentatively because I haven't been in too close touch in more recent years--apparently these institutions are moving along the same general road.

F--Yes, I think that's true.

H--And they have been elevated, as the responsibilities and services required at the point have developed.

F--My observation is that once the political and social conditions are right, these institutions are now viable to become freestanding if such is their desire.

Hatcher

I have a curiosity, it's a subsidiary issue. Intellectually, rationally, and managementwise, the concept of a third and fourth year makes such eminent good sense to me that if I were starting again, even knowing what I do, I would still recommend that. Yet it seems to have failed. I wonder why? Do you have any thoughts about that?

H--Well, I do--I don't know how valid and important they are. It ran against the grain of tradition--"high school and college". There was a difficulty apparently in finding the precise kind of community in which this kind of thing could flourish. It can't just be anywhere. Before those things could develop, the tremendous pressure and need for what became the services of the junior and community colleges would just overwhelm the nation.

And at that time you had the drive for centralized boards of education, as in Ohio and elsewhere, so that this never quite caught on. It requires delicacy of operation to make it work, and the other is simpler.

F--I suppose it is.

H--I think it's a very good scheme, as a matter of fact.

F--So do I, but it just hasn't taken...

H--One thing that made me think about doing this in the first place was studying the enrollment records. I discovered that we were having coming into the University of Michigan almost as large new junior class as we were freshmen. They were coming from Grand Rapids and from Flint and from Dearborn [community colleges]. Also they had used the two-year and the four-year smaller colleges as a two-year community experience before coming to the university.

We had more girls from Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley, for example, coming into our junior class than we had from any other single constituency. People would go to these institutions for two years--their families thought, "No, we don't want you to go to that great big booming Michigan or Michigan State. We want you to have two years of an intimate experience. Then maybe you could go where the big currents are flowing fast."

F--I'm not sure of the numbers, but I am of the opinion that today the number of first-time-in-the-university entrance is more at the junior level in Michigan's major institutions--I'm thinking of Michigan, Michigan State, and Wayne--than freshman entrance. If it's not more, it's very close.

Hatcher

H--It's certainly pretty high.

F--It's an astonishing change in the model of higher education that was traditional for over a hundred twenty-five or thirty years.

Let's go to the next issue that we talked about which was the one that received all of the...

H--The status models?

F--No, I was thinking about Michigan State versus the University of Michigan. Were you people locked into some kind of conflict?

H--No.

F--Did you begrudge them...

H--Not in the slightest. In fact if you will look at the records, and I could give you a letter from my good friends at Michigan State, when Michigan State had its great anniversary party...

F--1957.

H--1957. That's right. I made one of the speeches and I spoke about the university status of Michigan and Michigan State, and they have quoted that and used it as a part of their campaign.

This is difficult to get across because a thing like this entered into the alumni with the football background of Michigan State being the warm-up team for mighty Michigan, to get the season going. To accept Michigan State on an equality was difficult for some of the old-line alumni. So I don't minimize that.

But to come to the real point, and the sole point of issue: When the system was set up here in this state, the University of Michigan said at the outset it didn't feel that it ought to, given the setting, undertake the land grant aspect of the state system. So they supported strongly the formation of a fine institution in the center of the fine farming land of the Red Cedar which was their sister institution, Michigan State College, as it was then, the agricultural arm.

Michigan was the first one to set up that system and it was followed by several others in the Big Ten. You have

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Indiana and you have Iowa as the two leading exponents of the separation of the two functions--the ongoing university with its graduate and professional schools, and the agricultural college. In the case of the East you had Cornell taking on the land grant aspect of it.

Our sole point was, it is confusing to say the "University of Michigan, Michigan State University," on the parallel of Ohio State or Illinois or Minnesota where they are all combined. Isn't it possible to follow, say, the Indiana line and get a name that is distinctive, like Purdue and Indiana?

This got lost in translation into the controversy that University of Michigan was opposing the recognition of the university role which Michigan State had already long-since developed into.

F--There are two points. I talked to Bob Waldron who was the Speaker of the Michigan House and whom I have a lot of regard for. He was a sensitive man and concerned about education in a citizen's way rather than the occupational way as you and I are. And I have the feeling that there was a good deal of alumni talk, a good deal of football talk.

But one of the things I've been struck by--and I'm going to talk about that later with you--is the general civility, goodwill, and statesmanship that occurred in this state between all of the areas; the lack of conflict between public and private schools, the regard that the schools had for each other. I have the feeling that some of this conflict was not institutional in nature.

I've been struck very much by the fact that if [University of] Michigan, because of the machine it has, had the political power to prevent certain things from happening--tied in as you were to the bankers, the journalists, the musicians, the artists, and the whole culture force, and tied into industry in the particularly intimate relationships you had with the automotive industry, and the fact that you had been building that critical mass for 150 years--if you really got down to a tough fight, it could have been pretty bloody. It didn't seem to me that you used the power that you had, and so I suspect it was what I would call "locker-room talk."

H--Most of it is, yes.



Hatcher

F--You were talking about the land grant--that's an area that is of great concern to me because in Indiana, in Illinois, there is a sharp distinction between the agricultural and literary arts. You have a school for literary arts and you have a school for the agricultural and mechanical arts.

It struck me that Michigan is one of the few states that made a decision to erase and blur that line by the concept of creating two great comprehensive universities, and we're on the way to creating a third at Wayne. The day may come in a generation when Western will reach that kind of goal. They're probably where Michigan State was in 1940--they're not far away in terms of century. They're starting to build that critical mass.

It's true that Michigan State is different than Michigan. You have strengths that Michigan State doesn't have and they have strengths that you don't have. But the collegueship (I think particularly as I sit here in this Institute of Science and Technology Building) in things like scanning for crop evaluation--it was a mesh between the agricultural experiment service at Michigan State and your Willow Run institute--is an example of peculiar and felicitous arrangements.

That hasn't occurred in other states. They still have that status line between the hewers of wood and carriers of water and the elite.

Do you have some explanation of how that happened, because I think it's quite good.

H--I don't think there's anything except this same elusive matter we talked about earlier, that the people who were basically at the key decision points were not of that [argumentative] kind of mind at all.

F--This institution didn't fight that occurrence.

H--Not in the slightest.

F--What about the graduate-professional versus the more generalized disciplinary conflict?

H--Well, that one has a little more substance to it, but it has to be understood. As we moved on into the rising enrollments and the budget pressures, the Legislature, as you know, is always seeking a formula, and the best formula is a head count.

Hatcher

F--Right.

H--And where the conflict entered--and it was more conflict there than I think in any of these other areas--was the attempt on the part of some simply to take all institutions as though their needs were the same, and say this one has x number of students and this one has y number of students and we give them x number per head. So the budget comes out thus and so, without taking into account the fact that there is quite a difference between, we'll say, the incoming freshman class here at this university and Western. The costs that you incur in medicine and dentistry and engineering are of a very different order.

So the conflict on status was solely in the effort to arrive at some kind of, as nearly as we could, objective evaluation of costs that were involved in these different missions and apportion the budget, as opposed to the head count.

We encountered some opposition on the part of some of our colleagues--that feeling that Michigan was getting more than its share.

F--That comes back, Dr. Hatcher, to my discussion about invidious comparisons, because the nature of averaging in saying Michigan received, probably at that time, \$1500 per FTE, and somebody like Western, \$900--they say they're being disadvantaged by \$600.

They didn't get involved in the cost of the high load of subprograms--engineering, music, medicine, versus the more economical costs of teaching something like English or history with the faculty responsibilities and the ratios and the amount of resource you have to put into the training. The undergraduate ratio was probably 17, 18, 20 to one, and the master's and doctoral ratios were probably eight and nine to one.

I was struck as you were talking about that, to think, "Well, why has some of this conflict ebbed?" And I think it's because of the nature of the previous discussion that Wayne, Western, and Michigan State are becoming more like Michigan. Hence they have the same problem, and therefore the advantages of the argument of the averaging don't work out for any of them. I believe that one can make the case that Michigan State is growing more like Michigan and Wayne, and I think it's the significant social application and addition of graduate programs.

Hatcher

I think there are almost as many people in graduate school today as there were in undergraduate school when you became president.

H--That's right, and it's been growing, of course, right along.

F--Well, let's deal with the last one which is...

H--Elitist concept?

F--Populism versus elitism.

H--I think that's nonsense. I really do. This institution, I think, most uniformly simply tried to have its doors open to those who were qualified and willing.

F--But there's a mythology...

H--Yes, I know there is. The mythology comes in when it gets into the headlines--"More SAT 800's entered this freshman class than in any other one," or, "We had more scholarships of this sort..." You can't control that discussion.

F--That may be the fault of your own people at a subsidiary level. You set a policy; your drum-beaters, your propaganda ministers in admissions, in athletics, and ours--I'm not just saying Michigan--I'm saying the nature of those kinds of personnel responsibilities with the SAT from the admissions, the 90,000 straight wins, the fact that our medical students are the best.

I'm at a medical school now. I'm just aghast at the social errors of what in fact goes on. Most of what people believe about candidacy for medical school is utter trash. I don't think the nine million people in this state have any idea how Michigan is attempting in its medical schools to pick average, solid people and not all 4.0's. I think your average admission is about between 3.2 and 3.5 based on a multiplicity of personal characteristics and not just grade point.

But if you and I walked out on the street and talked to people, they'd believe the 800 SAT, they'd believe all of those numbers. That's part of the mythology of elitism.

Harvard College when I was in Massachusetts had 1,000 freshmen. Places like Albion and Reed, truly did have an elite, constrained market that was limited to those who

Hatcher

had already proved that they were capable. In a way, matriculation was a congratulatory process in many ways rather than an education process.

But you have here--I don't know-- 5,000 freshmen? I'm sorry I don't know that number. But you have 40,000 FTE's, which is probably 65-70,000 human beings. It's hard to make a case for elitism. I don't think any Michigan institutions were really elite in a sense of denial.

H--No they're not.

F--I don't think a man can beat-up on an institution that says, "We will graduate a qualified elite," because I think that's the role of an institution, to improve people. But to say, "We will only admit an elite;" I think that that's a case that's been easy to propagandize against, particularly in view of American politics. But I don't think it's true.

Now I'm not trying to make the case that there weren't missions to be done. We had underserved parts of the market--minorities, Blacks, Chicanos, women. Enough wasn't being done to reach those people and to draw them in. But I don't think you can make a case that Michigan was a school for the rich.

H--It certainly was not.

F--Well, we have covered a lot of issues. I'm glad you have spoken to them in this very direct way because I think that some of the propaganda, if we allow it to stay, will create a problem of future reality and prevent people from doing what they will have to do as new forces come.

What about the role of vocational and occupational training objectives in the enhancement of higher education?

We sit in a building, the Institute of Science and Technology, that in a sense is an objective that became enhancement. This building was created, as you talked about earlier, to meet one part of that. I know I'm taking a broader view of vocational and occupational than just hands-on and blue-collar work.

Do you think that vocational and occupational objectives were important for the growth of higher education in Michigan in the period from '58 to '70?

Hatcher

H--How widely are you using it? Would you consider a graduate engineer, for example, as being vocational?

F--Yes, I certainly would.

H--The answer is that it bulks very large, because there is a very large number of our students who have had, in this sense, vocational goals. I don't know where you distinguish between professional and... Is a doctor in vocational or...?

F--While he wouldn't admit it, he certainly is. He's the highest status tradesman there is.

H--The school of nursing, one of the largest in the country, is here, and dental hygiene.

F--Let me speak to that for a moment.

Earlier I talked about one of my concerns about not just looking at education as manpower training for the first job. I think that's the current error of the appropriations policy evaluation of institutions and their true role to society. I believe that you have to train manpower so they can be skilled for all jobs, all challenges and skilled to live their lives.

Further, I would say the demarcation between professional and nonprofessional is frankly the acquisition of skill. And I'm not so sure that we won't eventually create ladders where a man can go through a series of experiences to attain broader responsibility. In fact the community college is a mechanism that he can use here, as the first rung of the ladder. The Master's of Public Health degree is another attempt to take people back from the field and increase their professional skill.

So I say that the whole spectrum of work, that was technological, intellectual, skill-oriented, is vocational, and just because there was a specific marketplace at the community college for one skill level and another marketplace at the baccalaureate institution, and another at the graduate and professional, I regard that as a continuum.

What I'm trying to say is if there was a strength, did you regard that strength as an important tool for the enhancement to the institution?

H--Well, let's take a specific vein.

Hatcher

In the field of engineering and its allied supportive sciences, mathematics and physics and whatnot are highly integrated. When we entered into the new period after the war, with the nation becoming acutely conscious of the need for and the rewards of research, there entered into the educational program a second element that may or may not be vocational but certainly is allied to it, and that is the post-graduate or the step-beyond kind of thing represented by the atomic energy research here, the space program, and much of the work carried on for the Defense Department at Willow Run.

We had two important objectives there. The first was to give an outlet and make available to the need of the nation the capacity of the institution to do this kind of research.

But we had also two other things in mind. We could not have, with the budgeting that we received through the normal state channels, support for engineering on this level because it goes beyond the reasonable bill that you could bill the state for. By having the research program we were able to do the service.

At the same time we had adjunct funds with which to bring here professors that we otherwise could not have afforded, and to build up plant which we could not have afforded, and we were able to offer opportunities strictly for graduate and post-graduate work to students who otherwise wouldn't have been able to continue. We had about 4,000 of our graduate students in this area.

F--One of the questions I am thrusting at is that it is my impression that while the rhetoric still is very much in terms of instructional credit hours generated, and an artificial concept between state support, student support, and self-liquidating funds, that for the first time in this period, significant dollars were appropriated by the state for research where they had not been before.

H--That's correct.

F--I assume that not only the energy to create programs for draftsmen, millwrights and tool and die makers at the community college, on one part of the spectrum, but also the willingness to support basic research in the atomic energy, Willow Run, automotive units and in medicine, was part of that same energy.

H--That's right. In the period you're talking about, Michigan had two or three very severe crises because of the flight

Hatcher

of industry from the state and the failure to create new replacements for those.

In Romney's day, particularly, one of the drives was to enhance and increase research and development and to flow that out into marketable products in order that the economy of Michigan might be sustained to support the other things that we had in mind. It was largely in that drive that I got going the research sector down by I-94 and here on the North Campus, of a high degree of concentration--Parke Davis, Climax Molybdenum, and...

F--KMS[KMS Plastics, Inc.]?

H--KMS and all the rest of it. Now, that was a definite part of this picture in the time you are talking about. It's a concrete outcome of what you would call the vocational aspect of it as an absolute and inescapable practical need for the economy of the state in order to support any other things that we had in mind.

F--One of the other things I have been trying to do is refine the understanding of an institution of higher education as a social engine. Not only has it been for the production of baccalaureate degrees and credit hours.

I had the sense from talking to Leonard Woodcock and Governor Williams and Governor Romney, that they thought that Michigan was too strongly based as a one-industry state, which was a bad public policy. They thought the only way to broaden the economic work-base of the state was to encourage research so that things like the I-94 park and the North Campus could create exactly the same kind of ambience that had occurred in Massachusetts around Route 128. Hence their willingness to support politically appropriations for research which are always easy to make fun of.

It takes no effort at all to find somebody studying the teeth of chimpanzees, where this basic research is hard to understand. By the time the applied research delivers the social product, the people have forgotten that they beat-up on the poor investigator that did the work, because usually there is almost a generation lag.

What about the role of culture and the arts? Did that have a value in the importance in the dialogue over the growth of higher education?

Hatcher

H--It had a very great importance. It was difficult to sell. The easiest thing to sell was engineering and the second was medicine. From there on it was tougher and tougher sledding, but there was a latent interest in all of these matters. I think one of the most beautiful campus buildings anywhere around is the one you see as you come up the driveway here, the School of Music.

Nothing that I did in my 16 years here was tougher than this School of Music. We had one of the fine schools of music and it was housed in impossible rooms over the stores there in the arcade near where Jacobsons' store now is. You could hear it for a mile down the street--these poor kids no place to practice in.

We worked on that with support from all over the state, got all ready to go with a wonderful bid out and bid back in, when the finances of the state tumbled and all building was cancelled. It lay there for four years, no movement. Then we got just a little bit better in the economy.

I got Frank Beadle and three or four of the other leaders and I said, "Now, look. You've done thus and so and thus and so in your records, but just for once, do something out-and-out spectacular for the field of arts and the humanities and put music in your building program." And they said, "By golly, we'll do it."

F--I think back to what some have told me about the activities of some of the members of the Appropriations Committee like Elmer Porter or Harold Hungerford, and I've found that generally the empathy for this kind of thing was quite minimal. But the strain to advocate such was quite high.

In Massachusetts culture is so established that institutions that have cultural bases--symphonies, theaters, museums--exist in and often by themselves with their own clienteles for support. It strikes me in Michigan that cultural institutions cannot really subsist in the state without the support of higher education, to the contrary of the experiences I had in Massachusetts.

Neil Staebler said, "This is a state that's still to some extent in the fender-bender stage." It's a felicitous way to put it. I was struck by the fact that, except for some of the institutions--I think particularly about Michigan and the glorious days of the May Festival with Eugene Ormandy and the like--these things haven't existed, and institutions had to pull it out of their hides to do it because the appropriations process didn't bring that support.



Hatcher

Further, my sense is that institutions did it because they thought it was important and they paid the price for that. The support of culture and the arts didn't enhance the institution in the growth of higher education when you had to build that clientele almost by a bootstrap mechanism.

H--I think at Michigan that was true. We started here what's caught on nationwide, the university theater program; they have a nice branch of it there at Michigan State, the Professional Theater Program.

One of the things I do, by the way, when I can find a moment, I am national chairman of the University Resident Theater Association of the nation. That's been copied, we have 35 institutions now on the theory that the only continuum you can now have to give permanence to a venture of this kind is in a university setting. And the decentralization of drama out of Broadway forever into these communities is there.

But it is about 40 percent self-supporting on the average through the ticket office. The rest of it comes in one form or another institutionally or from gifts through the theater program, plus the endowment which the institutions are able to give with heat, light, nontaxes, and whatnot.

F--What you're saying in fact is that except for special situations, the cultural thing is not economically viable.

H--That's right. It has to be subsidized.

F--It has to be subsidized because of its social and intellectual value.

H--That's right. No university budget yet, in itself, supports that. It still requires a great deal of private philanthropy.

F--What about the role of labor in regard to higher education? Did you find it supportive?

H--It was supportive, yes, but I never felt as supportive as it might well have been. It's hard to indicate. It was never very helpful in securing appropriations, for example, or in the general planning. I found it not unsympathetic and wanting the benefits thereof, but compared to, for example, the more aggressive efforts on the part of the business community, I never found those in the labor community too eager or effective.

Hatcher

F--The labor community has a lot of political muscle in this state to the contrary of the experiences in many other southern and western states and even eastern states. They didn't deliver that muscle for you for appropriation levels?

H--I was never very much aware of it.

F--You couldn't pick up the phone and call Walter Reuther?

H--No, never. I talked to Walter, but Walter would have been no help to me in getting appropriations for the University of Michigan. He was a good friend of mine too.

F--I understand this was a man interested in cultural things.

H--Yes he was. Now you have to say this very delicately. I'm not saying that labor was opposed to education or that they argued against it, but they were...

F--I put my question, Dr. Hatcher, in an extremely affirmative way. Did they deliver their muscle, their strength to it?

H--No they did not. I don't think so.

F--Because in the Legislature, Michigan had some votes, Michigan State had some votes, industry had some votes, a senator, say, from Midland may have represented Dow in a very intimate way.

Labor had some votes. It would be foolish to say otherwise. And they did not deliver those votes.

H--No. They never used them against us.

F--I understand that.

If the governor recommended an appropriation of x, always it's a cruel decision about splitting the pie to give somebody a greater share for the improvement, beyond the necessary level; to enhance quality and to do a greater degree of services. That means an affirmative decision to take money away from somebody else. They weren't ready to do that.

H--No.

F--What about the role of industry in regard to higher education?

Hatcher

H--Well, I found them throughout always quite supportive of higher education and frequently most helpful. This was both in their willingness to support the programs in general, and their generosity, particularly in periods when they had reasonable prosperity, in their out-and-out personal and corporate support of matters in gifts for buildings and whatnot.

F--That's an interesting point that you make. Because I wonder if that's only true for Michigan.

H--Well, I don't know and I can only speak here for what happened as far as we were concerned.

I know that there were a few occasions where the question of the general appropriations rested heavily upon what the expected revenue would be, and naturally business and industry were not eager to pay more taxes. But they did go along.

I spoke earlier of the general seminars that we held. The attitude of business there was they were willing to pay their fair share, they were not opposed. They felt that in some cases the tax system was unjust to them, but on the whole, as I say, they were very supportive.

F--And yet it was not until your presidency was concluded, virtually, that the new monies came in any real generous way, because Soapy and the business community involved themselves in some very cruel and bitter fights about taxation.

H--Yes they did.

F--The institutions of course were sort of captives of that fight, even though they probably weren't involved in the crunch. You can't have more money when it's not there.

You see, I think about philanthropy. When you retired they had a large fund-raising drive to build a library, the Hatcher Graduate Library. I think that's a wonderful and fine thing.

But I look at the other institutions in this state and I think that most of them virtually haven't made a nickel from anything except the taxpayer.

This institution has been skilled, fortunate to raise money. Perhaps it may be that your view of the business community is more generous than it may have been in the systemwide.

Hatcher

H--That could well be. But I had very close relationships with them.

For example, we established way back in the early fifties, a Council for Financial Aid to Education. It was New York based and had some of America's leading business people on it. I think that they published records each year. It's phenomenal the result of that campaign to make businesses and corporations conscious of their responsibility to higher education and increase their gifts.

In fact we saw through the first legislation that ruled that corporations could use corporate earnings for philanthropic, particularly educational, purposes. We got it up to, as a goal, one-point-something of the earnings and a few places like Cleveland actually did that.

F--Cleveland what? Cleveland Cliffs?

H--No, the whole City of Cleveland, the business and industry there.

There was also quite a movement at that time to incorporate university presidential leadership into the workings of the business community itself. It was the beginning of the reciprocal process. Businessmen dominate boards of education. There were almost no educators on boards.

F--I'm glad you mention that.

H--John [Hannah] and I and others served--we had to select from quite an array of them--so that almost all of the leading university presidents were on boards. It proved to be a very important thing for the interpretation and give-and-take in the board rooms and educational...

F--I have the feeling that the Attorney General, Frank Kelley's decision about conflict of interest was too narrow a decision because of the importance of cross-fertilization and communication as you suggest.

H--The only one that affected most of us was the banks and I think they based that on an entirely erroneous concept. There does not exist the conflict that was indicated or was feared in that particular one.

F--I always think that one has to worry about conflict when there is a demonstrable evidence of misfeasance or malfeasance, and there was never the slightest evidence...

Hatcher

In fact a place like the Ann Arbor Bank and Trust was immensely crucial to the growth of higher education from 1946-47, and on because of their mechanisms for the bonding program. They sold bonds that your own officers could never have sold, not that the bonds were bad but because they had the access.

Did business ever affirmatively go forward to the state level and seek help? It's hard to see that except in places like Dearborn, Flint.

H--No, I don't think I'd say that.

On the other hand, the word was frequently passed from the large corporations to their representatives in Lansing, who, in their conversations, either did not oppose or passed the word of support. It was done in that fashion and there was never...

F--I regard the automobile lobbyist and the merchant lobbyist and the utility lobbyist as terribly important people.

H--Their support became helpful particularly in the sixties when they became aware of the importance both of the research aspects of our various institutions, particularly Michigan State and the University of Michigan, plus the awareness of the fact that they were highly dependent upon the product of those institutions.

F--It's a form of public support for them.

What about the role of commerce? I had some difficulty, because when you look at things like the role of people like Max Heavenrich on the governor's Blue Ribbon Commission, merchants appeared--Old Kent Bank, Seidman of Seidman and Seidman, and the like.

If there was a separation between industry and commerce, commerce has a tendency to be far more local. I wonder if there was a difference in interest in regard to higher education. Did they support it equally as well?

H--I don't think so. I think you got more from industry than you did from commerce in the terms that you have defined it here.

F--Did you think it was a separateness of interest? Because in fact, in Lansing they use different lobbyists.

H--Yes. Yes, I think they're quite separate.

Hatcher

F--And you think that there was a separate point of view.

H--Well, I think particularly with people like Seidman, there was more evident outright opposition to the needs of higher education rather than careful study of its needs and proper support.

F--I've been curious if in fact some of their interests were parochial, local rather than contributory to state and national needs, and negative about the investment of money, because much of commerce is frequently more marginally capitalized.

What about the position of agriculture in regard to higher education? I have some questions.

I understand the special relation agriculture had to Michigan State through the agricultural agents in the counties and the Agricultural Experiment Station and the like.

But I wondered whether agriculture supported higher education across the large spectrum. Were they interested in enhancing other institutions as a way of keeping their children at home, because it was obvious that 40 acres and a mule no longer could support the family size that they had? Were they interested in enhancing institutions like Michigan so that other career options would be there for them?

H--I don't think you can lump them into a single group, call it agriculture and say "yes they did." There were individuals from rural areas and agriculturally oriented who were supportive, but not as an organized group.

Again, I'm saying the same thing about them I would about labor. They were not hostile or antagonistic, but on the other hand neither were they aggressively...

F--But organizations, Dr. Hatcher, like the Grange, were powerful organizations--the county agents, the specific subgroups of agriculture like fruit growers, and bean growers, and cattle and truck farmers. They have influence and power.

H--Yes. I think their interest, however, was highly concentrated in the areas of particular concern to them.

Hatcher

F--And not a broad societal interest.

What were the pressures and influences in the determination of public policy, if any, from the federal government? Let me take a moment to explain that.

In the area of social policy for social welfare and health, for every dollar of federal assistance there is a constraint, a requirement, a strong mechanism for control that inhibits the autonomy of institutions and government structures.

In the period from '58 to '70, while the role of federal money for research, student aid, construction, loans, was significant, I have not been conscious that federal constraints were high. I am curious about that though because that's to the contrary of many other federal programs where such is true.

Do you feel that the constraints and pressures on your determination of institutional policy by the federal government were severe?

H--No.

F--I say that because now some of the post-1973 regulations are much more arduous. I'm thinking about equal opportunity for women and the like.

H--Yes. That had not yet become a critical issue through '67.

F--The federal monies for enrollment didn't mandate requirements about quality of the admissions and the like.

H--I don't think so.

F--I'm not aware of that either.

H--No. The federal programs were many and varied, of course. By far the biggest chunks came in in places like public health, but there were no special constraints that I was aware of there.

F--It may be that the federal market was different. I'm not sure of this but I have the suspicion that much of federal aid was project research, behind specific things for specific objectives and not generalized support as some of the federal programs are now tending to become.

Hatcher

H--I think in general that was true. We spoke about the Sputnik era. You know there was quite a period of federal support for almost crash training or recycling of teachers of science to get back to the high schools to teach the oncoming young generation. There was lots of federal money for the physical plant in many of these fields, for libraries and for public health and so on.

F--But you didn't regard it as coercive.

H--No, not at all.

F--What about the role, Dr. Hatcher, of the private sector in the determination of a policy?

I think about Massachusetts, Ohio, and some of the western states, where the strong private schools have fought vigorously the growth of public institutions because they diminished their view of themselves and their capacity to compete.

I'm struck here that the relationships in this sector, as in others that we have alluded to before, had a high degree of statesmanship. There wasn't an outright attempt that I can see to constrain the growth of Michigan by the private sector or other schools. Is that true?

H--I think in general that's true. There were some complaints, criticisms along the way when the private schools felt that they were being put in unfair competition through the large outlays the state was making to other institutions which had low tuition. They felt they were losing students that might have come to their institution because they could get a much cheaper but good education at Michigan State or University of Michigan.

There was some pressure--I can't evaluate the intensity--but there was some pressure to raise the tuition rates.

F--In some geographical sectors of the state like Saginaw with its strong Lutheran constituency and the western part of the state with its strong Dutch constituency, you didn't feel pressure?

H--Not particularly.

F--The other part is--you left in 1967--the tuition-grant program of state grants to students going to private schools was already in operation.



Hatcher

H--Yes, it was beginning. I have forgotten what year it was actually set up.

F--I'm going to have to check but I suspect it's 1965 or '66.

H--Somewhere there.

F--The public schools with their power didn't fight this program, did they?

H--No, not at all.

F--If the dollar pot stays constant, that was a diminishing of your opportunity. Did you ever fight back?

H--Not at all.

We expanded the concept of the Council of State College Presidents to include the presidents of the private institutions. We had at least semiannual meetings of all of our groups to discuss these questions in an all-day meeting, meeting around at different places. That in itself helped to keep the air cleared and the channels of communication flowing, and I think minimized areas of conflict.

F--We've already talked about the branch campus system. Do you want to add anything to what you've said? I say that they were failures. What in your opinion were the reasons for the failure of the branch campus system?

I think that this state will probably never create the California or Wisconsin model. Do you have some thoughts about that?

H--Yes, but I wouldn't use your phrase of "failure" because I think they accomplished, or are accomplishing, what they set out to do.

F--Well, let me make one editorial comment.

I'm not trying to make the case that the individual institutions are a failure. I don't think that's true at all. But I think the concept of developing a branch system rather than individual, freestanding institutions, failed in this state.

H--Well, I wouldn't say that it failed because that suggests that there was a plan to go out and make branch campuses

Hatcher

and that something happened that it had to be given up.  
That was not the concept at all.

F--But we talked about that earlier and there were some,  
Dr. Hatcher, who would say that that was exactly it.

H--Well, I say that that's wrong because I was at the center  
of it and if there was any one person responsible for it,  
I was, and I happen to know what the concept was.

It was an emergency way of taking care of these tremendous  
pressures, of having a kind of an instantaneous campus in  
another community, not the concept, as Vic [Spathelf] used  
to put it, of a great conquest.

The concept was that this will be an evolutionary process.  
As long as this is an adequate and proper way of getting  
at this problem where there are communities prepared to  
cooperate, that's what we will do. If that is not the  
case, this will not be continued. When these campuses  
are able to stand on their own, they can be autonomous.

[The problem is that] at some point somebody dug up out  
of the history the kind of institution the University of  
Michigan first was.

F--Right, with the constitutional prerogative of having five  
branches, you mean?

H--Well, not only the constitutional prerogative of it but  
in the beginning the University of Michigan was a series  
of branches in Ann Arbor and other communities. Now  
those didn't function too well in such separation.

F--At that time it probably wasn't technologically possible  
to run it that way, because of communications difficulties.

H--That's right.

So with the formation of the state and Ann Arbor giving  
inducements, it was set up here. But the concept of the  
university as being something that could be as California  
is and was, indefinitely extended wherever a need came,  
was in this original concept.

F--So, again, to straighten out that dragon, you were  
attempting to solve an immediate and crucial problem with  
the most expeditious manner and did not have the intent  
to create a branch system.

Hatcher

H--Absolutely.

F--I find that somewhat rational to believe for one reason. I do not have the sense that Michigan's people like centralized government structures. There's a good sense of Michigan individualism and a sense of regional autonomy. I have always had the strong feeling that Michigan was particularly suspicious of the control mechanisms of the government and put a great deal of pride in that sense of autonomy.

Autonomy is not the abrogation of responsibility as some would say; it was collegiality and collegueship and cooperation, but it still meant that you weren't enveloped by the government.

So a branch system, in a way, only meant that some day you would be enveloped as California was with the distressing thing of a governor having a regents' platform to play to a large stage for political advantage, which was not possible here.

H--The state made that fundamental decision about the question of expanding education to include agricultural and mechanical arts. It would have been just as easy for Michigan to have gone the way of Ohio and Illinois and Wisconsin and Minnesota and said, "This is the University of Michigan, even if you change the campus." But it was not that concept and never has been. It was the concept that you would do these things better by individualized responsibility.

F--If you'd have used the Ohio model, Michigan State might have picked up all of the mechanical, technical programs all over the state. This is the way it works in Ohio.

H--How do you get a quality, instantaneous institution to serve the needs in the late 1950's and 1960's. You see, it's a simple question. "Do you have to bring kids down here in this overcrowded place to teach them undergraduate education? Is a university a piece of land?"

F--As a matter of fact that's one of the current problems of the greatest demoralization to me because people have built the medieval concept of the castle and the moat.

H--Yes. If you don't get your education inside the moat, we don't recognize it.

Hatcher

F--And we further say that no matter about the constitutional statements about equal rights, if you don't have the wherewithal to travel to the campus, you can't have instruction.

For instance, this is past your time now, but in the last year or two we've put into the appropriations process extremely bad public policy that says off-campus instruction will not be compensated through state funds. This says that every taxpayer who pays for his education cannot receive a benefit unless he is able to travel. If he is fortunate enough to have a class in Saginaw taught by the University of Michigan or Michigan State, he can't receive any credit for that because he's not able, because of his work or his age or his lifestyle, to come to Ann Arbor. Now I regard that as frankly a wretched public policy, but it's the moat concept again.

It's also the franchise monopoly attitude of institutions based on geographical regions rather than a broader demographic sense. I think it's that parochial view. I worry about it.

I regard Michigan as much an institution of mine as I regard Michigan State. I'm paying for it. And I wish it well as I wish every other one well. Just because I may not consume the services of a Ferris doesn't mean that my neighbor may not.

Why didn't the coordination come about? Now, I recognize, Dr. Hatcher, that it's a very delicate line to walk between coordination and control. Much of the rhetoric about coordination may disquiet one to think they really meant control.

I'm dealing with the Constitution. In '64 the State Board of Education was created. It says they shall coordinate. The Constitution also says the institutions, all of them, shall be autonomous, which you and I have discussed as a felicitous decision. Why didn't coordination come about?

H--Well, it's a highly complicated picture and probably a little difficult to recreate.

First, the Constitutional Convention was called for totally different reasons than to deal with higher education.

F--That's true.

Hatcher

H--Higher education was not an issue or critical point because, as everybody acknowledged, we had one of the best [systems] to be found anywhere in the nation.

F--I would assume the critical issues were the reorganization of Michigan government and the development of a more modern taxing system.

H--Sure. But there was a group who extraneously dragged in the concept that in the new Constitution they ought to tamper with the system of higher education in Michigan. It was quite a powerful group who were determined they would have one central, all-powerful board with absolute control over all institutions.

I had to oppose that. And if there is any one individual responsible for the failure of that concept of a board, I think I'd have to take the responsibility for it. We were able to prevent the formation of the kind of overall, over-seeing board that had been proposed for Ohio and elsewhere.

F--So therefore at Con-Con you obviously supported John Hannah, because Roscoe Bonisteel was there, and beat Romney in the attempt for that more all-pervasive...

H--That's right. We did not want it at all. There were other ways of doing it.

Now, in the course of the deliberations, they came out with this strange--I suppose you would have to call it compromise.

F--I'd call it contradiction.

H--Well, it is a contradiction. In fact--I'm sure they still have the records on my testimony--I said, "You're putting up an unworkable thing here because it is self-contradictory and has within it a complete chaos. This cannot possibly work in the form that you are presenting it."

That was passed with these amorphous words in it, with the attempt on the one hand to preserve the tried and tested and proved autonomy of the institutions to run their own business, as opposed to some form of intercommunication that would prevent unwarranted duplications.

Now, the next thing is also delicate to state, but it was not a very distinguished first Board. I believe they were elected, weren't they?

Hatcher

F--Yes, and what happened was we had the Goldwater sweep and you got eight Democrats.

H--That's right. And people that were put in by the Party were not well qualified--and I blame the Party for not carefully selecting high-grade people for that first Board. They could have done something if they had done it properly but they didn't. In fact, some of the leading members of the Democratic Party were aghast when they realized how the Board was going to be constituted. They were not educationally distinguished statesmen.

Their initial concept, instead of trying to wrestle with the problems, was to send me a telegram at midnight telling me to get out of Flint.

F--There was a lot of dime-store rhetoric...

H--Well, to call me up and say get out of Flint with all the commitments we had there--I said you better think this one again.

So they got started off at the very outset on a kind of power-play, low-level undertaking, without trying to bring together the people who were responsible for education, and working out a framework by which the things that needed to be done in this state through a coordinating board could be done.

F--I've talked to a lot of people about this. I didn't mention this to you while we were talking, but I came from teaching Russian history and western civilization in Lansing in 1966 to work on my doctorate at Michigan State. I was one of the very first employees of the Bureau of Higher Education as an intern. I believe I was one of the very few people in that Bureau who had ever taught in a college.

Most of these people were bureaucratic personalities that had moved from one place to another, and they were trying to make judgments about whether Michigan or Michigan State could have a doctorate in astrophysics when there wasn't a single individual competent to make that judgment.

Many people have indicated that the quality of the Board was quite low and an astonishing example of not putting the finest citizenry together for that. Some have indicated that these kinds of people aren't ready for the rough and tumble of electoral politics and this

Hatcher

Board probably should have been appointed rather than elected.

Further, nobody could have anticipated in '62 that this fantastic election would occur, with the tremendous upheaval that had not occurred in Michigan since 1932, and that all eight Democrats would get elected and no Republicans, whereas the state was still about fifty-fifty Democrat versus Republican in many, many areas. The sense is that this state is a conservative state. It's not a wildly liberal state. It may do progressive and philanthropic and charitable things, but it's not a state to follow the will-o'-the-wisp quite quickly. Our people are slow to jump to political romance.

Others have said that the Board got into political conflict right off by the conflict over picking the superintendent and they immediately took an extremely muscular approach with institutions of "we're going to control you", as you alluded to with the 12 o'clock telegram. I can recollect some of that rhetoric because I was here in the state.

Further, it was said that if they had taken a policy of putting in competent staff, working with the institutions, and developing relationships of professional trust and respect, that gradually many things could have been done. But rather than attempting to find out where the middle ground was--that delicate line of coordination--they immediately opted for control and picked a fight, which I want to talk to you about, over Flint, which was both foolhardy and stupid.

I've talked to Senator Lane and he believes that the reason for the lack of coming about of coordination was the fight they picked at Flint. I talked to Ira Polley and he does not believe that because he thought that there were other ambient reasons and that that's an erroneous reading.

I also have the sense that, as some have said, the institutions did not want it. You have said quite clearly that you did not want it. I further have the sense that Michigan's public leadership elite--and I mean by that to broaden it beyond the Legislature to the five or six thousand opinion makers in the state and in every community whose sense of the well-being of (the running of) institutions is so crucial--had the sense that Michigan's institutions were running well, were doing a good job. They really weren't eager to make changes unless the system was unresponsive.

Hatcher

In spite of the rhetoric, it's my feeling that the majority of the citizenry, even today, right to this moment, have no belief that Michigan's institutions are nonresponsive, as Reagan was able to sell in California. Hence, for instance, my lack of personal belief that a higher education reform mechanism will come through the Legislature quite the way some of the members of this current commission believe it will.

I have the sense, from reading the Davis report, looking through the materials, going through the detail, that this State Board in 1964 picked an extremely unfelicitous fight, and that it destroyed their credibility because they couldn't win it. They couldn't win it because the people of Flint weren't with them and they weren't able to make that colonial plantation kind of simile fit.

Is that a fair view of it?

H--Yes.

F--Were they really suckers to pick that fight?

H--Yes.

F--...And you whipped them.

H--Facts did. I was unyielding on it.

F--Although you have indicated to me earlier in the discussion that in your mind there was a preparation for a proper time to allow Flint to be a freestanding institution, if such was the pleasure of the community and the public.

H--Right. I said that to the Board in their public hearings. Never any question about that.

F--Were you more offended by the crude way they approached it?

H--Well, I was offended by the whole business. It was so out of their possible authority, it was in such complete violation. We had already enrolled our kids there, they were all ready to come to class. It was just a foolish, almost unbelievably stupid thing to do. It was not a crisis. Why in the world, with all the problems that the Board of Education had before them, would they try to interfere with a going concern like that?



Hatcher

F--I think about my investigations of the way Bentley, who had the reputation of being such a clear-cut conservative, changed when he served on the subcommittee of the Blue Ribbon Committee. He saw, by examining the evidence, the need for additional funding, took a very statesmanlike role, and became an extremely valuable member to the public.

H--He certainly did. He did a terrific service to this university.

F--And then served this institution well until his early demise.

H--Yes he did.

F--That State Board would have been more advantaged to have a man like him on the Board. Was he not a candidate?<sup>8</sup>

H--I don't remember who the other candidates were.

F--So, it also would have struck very definitely at the concept of autonomy, would it not, if you had allowed them to push you out?

H--Sure.

F--So Flint was, in a sense, a subsidiary issue, was it not?

H--Yes.

F--Do you think there's any value to my observation and opinion that generally across the State of Michigan, in the small towns and villages and cities, that there is a strong sense that the institutions are fulfilling their public trust?

H--Yes, I think that is right. I feel very good about the way things have gone and about the work the institutions are doing. And when I look at Les Biederman and his leadership and group, what they have done at Traverse City, and then the way the Saginaw Valley has come along...

F--Zumberge at Grand Valley...

H--Zumberge out there. We recommended him strongly for appointment. It's a marvelous institution out there. These are strong elements, products of the system,

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<sup>8</sup>See Appendix IV.

Hatcher

and out of the cooperative system. It's perfectly possible in this state without the authoritarianism of the central board...

F--Isn't that really a system of cooperation and a subtle mechanism of no one trying to squeeze anybody else?

H--Absolutely.

F--I've been at this in one way or another really since 1968. A historian cannot, Dr. Hatcher, work in an environment without attempting to rationalize it in some way.

I'm much struck, as I think about this, with the overall sense that the public vision of the institutions had been high because they have in fact performed a good job, and that the people are not ready for mechanisms to change the way they work. The Horatio Alger dream of each man improving himself with the aid of institutions, and the quality of life being enhanced by research, is still the central core and one of the fundamental tenets of this state's social and intellectual philosophy.

H--I think you're correct in that.

F--Who were the key leaders in the period? Who do you see as the key change-agents?

H--I wondered what you had in mind in that particular question when I read it.

F--Well, originally we started the question, "How do you make up a list of whom to interview? Whom do you talk to?" A legislator looks at the whole in terms of the Legislature, the governor in terms of the executive office, educators often times in terms of their colleagues. We were trying to say, "Who were the key people?" I'm cognizant of the difficulty of going through the laundry list of names and then turning out to forget...

H--Well, the way it was phrased seemed to indicate that I have personally some person out here whom I was looking to for insight.

F--I think that was the second question because for instance in the governor's office it's much too onerous a task for the man to do the detail work, and I don't think in a presidency you can do the detail work. There have to be specific ministers that do some of that.

Hatcher

H--Well, that's what I wondered, whether you meant your internal group, because there was no person out in the state to whom I went and asked what to do.

F--No, but people like yourself, Dr. Hannah, Governor Williams...

H--I think the two of us were a key in the leadership from the point of view of the institutions. I think that Governor Williams was a man of exceptional insight and perception working amidst most overwhelming difficulties but doing it with patience and a great deal of skill. He did an outstanding job in that respect.

Within the Legislature itself you had some very fine people like Arnell Engstrom, for example. He knew the political realities, but at the same time he was a man of great understanding.

F--In gentleness and had some greater vision than his own district.

H--That's right. He was very helpful in this, not favoritism in the sense of picking out an institution, but he wanted what you and I are talking about here, for this state.

The same is true of Frank Beadle. He was a stalwart in this respect. Although he was different in many respects, Elmer Porter had many very substantial qualities and was much more helpful than he's given credit for in general.

These are the people I think of basically. Garland was helpful but he was, by the very nature of things, more...

F--He was a Democrat in a Republican-controlled...

H--Yes, and he was heavily oriented from Flint so that I don't put him quite in the same category with Frank and Arnell who were more broadly gauged and forward-thinking.

Now, when you come to, "Who were the significant opinion leaders?" and then, "Who were the influential individuals?"-- I kept at all times here at the university strong planning groups and committees of the finest people round the campus with whom I met regularly to keep me informed. I gave you one very specific example here when the crisis came with the sciences and what we could do about that.

F--You did the same thing with music, did you not?

Hatcher

H--The same with music, the same with dentistry, the same with architecture, the same with education, and so on. So we were always at work here trying to look down the road to see what kinds of things we ought to be engaged in, and then how we would plan the steps and the lead-times to get there.

F--I look at higher education, and I see that you have put in your whole life, and 16 years specifically here, and I think to myself that later men will look back at this time, a generation distant, and say, "This was the time of giants, this was the time when the institution was capped out, when they built this thing solid and strong, from coast to coast, and it served all of the people and was the basis of culture in society and a well-being that's societal, that will last us for another hundred years." It seems to me, therefore, very important to talk to some of the people who did it, so that what they did will be on the record.

I want to thank you very much. It's been exciting to talk to you and I appreciate the fact that you have given us so much of your time. It was very generous of you.

H--Well, it's a pleasure to see you, I must say. I hope it's been helpful to you.