

XII

STATE TAX SYSTEMS

The total of all taxes collected by all levels of government in the United States (federal, state, and local) in 1976 are reported by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to amount to a smaller percentage of the Gross National Product than were the comparable percentages in seventeen other developed countries of the western world.

XII

STATE TAX SYSTEMS

No state revenue system is perfect. If any state system were found to be perfect this year, it would certainly have some defects next year; for changes in the economic base of the states and the nation occur constantly. Changes in the political climate and in the prevailing philosophy regarding relations between the private and public sectors also take place frequently. A state's tax structure is in continual need of adaptation to the moving panorama of technological and cultural growth.

This, in a sense, runs counter to a belief held by some conservative lawyers and men of business who argue that the prime requisite of a good taxing system is stability, so that entrepreneurs and investors may feel confident that the revenue laws will not be so volatile as to engender unending confusion, uncertainty, and fear of what may come next. There is undoubtedly some merit in the argument for a reasonable stability; but in our time of swift economic developments, stability should not stand in the way of keeping state revenue systems abreast of the times.

State Taxes Per Capita

One of the elementary yardsticks for a state tax system is the aggregate of taxes collected per person (per capita). As shown in Table 38, in 1978, by that simple measure, our five states ranked in descending order: Wisconsin, one; Michigan, two; Illinois, three; Indiana, four; Ohio, five.

Table 38. Total State Taxes Per Capita

States (1)	Dollars per capita (2)	Rank among 5 states (3)	Rank among 50 states (4)
WI	664.21	1	8
MI	583.44	2	12
IL	513.51	3	19
IN	460.54	4	35
OH	386.40	5	47
US av.	523.00		

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32	31
34	33
36	35
38	37
40	39
42	41
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48	47
50	49

Source: Adapted from Table 153, page 190, Facts and Figures on Government Finance, 20th Biennial Edition, 1979. Washington: Tax Foundation, Inc. Pp. 288.

On the scale of all fifty states, Wisconsin and Michigan are above the 50-state average; Illinois, Indiana and Ohio are below that average, Ohio conspicuously so. Observe the parallels between Table 38 and Tables 1 and 2 in the early part of Section I of this report.

The Amounts and Sources of State Revenues

In 1978 the 50 states collected \$113 billion of state taxes. The principal sources were (1) general sales taxes, 31 percent; (2) selective sales taxes, 30 percent; and (3) personal and corporation

income taxes, 35 percent.

Without going into the details of several other types of taxes that are of relatively less consequence, it is possible to sketch quickly the status of these three principal sources in the East North Central states.

General Sales Taxes

Let it be said by way of thumb-nail history that general sales taxes came into widespread use by the states during and soon after the Great Depression of the early 1930s, when some measure had to be found that would be a quick producer of large revenue, which was essential to keep the states from insolvency and to provide state assistance to some local services, especially public schools, to keep them from collapsing.

However, five small states have rejected general sales taxes to this day (the largest being Oregon, with about two million people). General sales taxes are unquestionably regressive; that is, they bear more heavily on low-income people than on the well-to-do, because those having small incomes cannot avoid spending large proportions of their incomes for consumer goods (meaning the necessities of life) which are subject to sales taxes.

This circumstance can be mitigated somewhat by exempting from the tax such items as food (not consumed on the premises where purchased), medicines, and childrens' clothing costing no more than a specified minimum. There are also differences among the states as to the coverage of the general sales tax—whether it includes utility bills, professional services, hotel room rentals, or a variety of other services.

In 1980 each of the five East North Central states was levying a state sales tax at the rate of 4 percent. There did not appear to be any large discrepancies among them as to the proportionate amounts of revenue derived from this source. Hence it seems better to select state income taxes for quick analysis to discover any appreciable variances among these states as to the proportionate productivity of their chief tax sources.

Individual Income Taxes Collected by the Five States

Table 39. Individual Income Taxes Collected, 1978,
Compared with the Quindry Standard Collectible
if Levied at Average Rates

(In thousands of dollars)

States (1)	Personal income taxes collected (2)	Amount collectible if levied at average rates (3)	Revenue lost below Column 3 (4)	Revenue gained above Column 3 (5)
IN	578,925	979,402	400,477	
IL	1,593,595	2,307,266	713,565	
MI	1,915,374	1,859,669		55,704
OH	1,401,494	2,013,284	611,590	
WI	1,324,679	637,491		487,187
50 states	33,102,622	40,207,927	7,105,305	

Source: Quindry, Kenneth E. and Niles Schoening. State and Local Tax Performance, 1978. Atlanta, GA: Southern Regional Education Board. Page 58.

Not surprisingly, the only two states in the East North Central region that were collecting more revenue from personal income taxes than would be indicated by the modest standard of "average rates" were Wisconsin and Michigan—the two states of the northern tier. (With a few exceptions, productive state income taxes are characteristic of the states of the Northern Tier, from Atlantic to Pacific.)

In 1978 Wisconsin's collections of personal income taxes alone were nearly half a billion dollars above the Quindry standard of "average rates." Michigan was only slightly above the mark, with \$56 million. Illinois was the biggest loser, being \$714 million below the mark; Ohio followed closely with \$612 million of unused potential. In Indiana the gap was \$400 million. In each of the last-named three states, the revenue "lost" for that reason was roughly equal to the total state appropriations for all higher education.

By somewhat similar coincidence, Wisconsin's excess of collections from personal income taxes (\$487,187,000) over what the total collections would have been if its personal income taxes had been "at average rates," was more than equal to its total appropriations for operating expenses of all higher education for the same year (\$399,410,000).

Another observation from Table 39 is that while Indiana and Wisconsin are roughly in the same class as to total population, Wisconsin was gaining nearly half a billion in personal income tax revenue above the modest standard of "average rates," and Indiana was at the same time losing \$400 million by reason of failing to levy such taxes to meet that standard of rates.

Corporation Income Taxes Collected

The position of the five states in relation to each other is very similar in Table 40, which depicts collections of corporation income taxes in 1978. After reviewing Tables 38, 39, and 40, one might be allowed to suppose tentatively that among these five states Wisconsin probably has the most productive and equitable revenue system; that Ohio's system is relatively least productive and perhaps least equitable; and that Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana range along the spectrum between.

Table 40. Corporate Income Taxes Collected, 1978, Compared With the Quindry Standard Collectible if Levied at Average Rates

(In thousands of dollars)

States (1)	Corporate Income taxes collected (2)	Amount collectible if levied at average rates (3)	Revenue lost below Column 3 (4)	Revenue gained above Column 3 (5)
IN	192,068	286,507	94,439	
IL	376,098	674,948	298,850	
MI	908,680	544,013		364,666
OH	461,393	588,950	127,557	
WI	284,979	244,993		39,985
50 states	10,805,896	11,762,108	956,212	

Source: Quindry, Kenneth E. and Niles Schoening. State and Local Tax Performance, 1978. Atlanta, GA: Southern Regional Education Board. Page 58.

It is now in order to examine, insofar as it is possible to do so briefly, the rates at which the types of income taxes are currently levied, and other provisions of the statutes under which they are administered. Table 41 shows what proportions of each state's total tax collections are derived from total income taxes. This is significant. Observe that both Wisconsin and Michigan get close to half of their total tax revenues from income taxes, while Indiana and Ohio get less than 30 percent from those sources. Are a majority of the five states making too little use of income taxes? It is often said with a good deal of cogency that in the present-day economy of the United States and of the western world, income is by far the best available measure of taxpaying ability or "tax capacity."

Should the states be relying relatively less heavily on sales taxes (admittedly regressive), and making relatively more use of income taxes, especially graduated or progressive income taxes? This raises instantly the argument of overlapping jurisdictions, and it will be urged that the federal income tax is already at high rates and steeply graduated; but the fact seems to be that the federal personal income tax structure has graduated rates starting at reasonably substantial levels, leaving a vacancy in the lower brackets into which state personal income taxes can be neatly fitted.

State personal income taxes, if levied at a flat rate regardless of the income-level of the taxpayer, are obviously regressive. Graduated income taxes are a different breed. There are important differences among the East North Central states in that respect.

Table 41. State Tax Collections, 1978

State (1)	Total State Tax Collections (in thousand \$) (2)	Per Capita State Tax Collections \$ (3)	Total from Individual Income (in thousands (4)	Total from Corporate Income of dollars) (5)	Percent from Income % (6)
IN	2,454,685	460.54	538,225	192,068	29.8
IL	5,774,368	513.51	1,593,695	376,098	34.1
MI	5,326,265	583.44	1,695,746	887,789	48.5
OH	4,134,869	386.40	775,494	461,393	29.9
WI	3,089,233	664.21	1,324,679	284,979	52.1
US	113,142,191	523.00	29,088,194	10,717,405	35.2

Source: Facts and Figures on Government Finance, Tax Foundation, Inc., 1979.

State income taxes are generally of more recent origin than sales taxes. Often, but not always, personal income taxes were enacted first, with corporation income taxes coming later. In 1978, forty-four states were levying personal income taxes, and forty-six were using corporation income taxes.

The six states not having personal income taxes were Florida, Nevada, South Dakota, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming. The four states not levying corporation income taxes were Nevada, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming.

Skeleton of the Present Income Tax Rates
in the East North Central States

Tax systems seemingly inevitably become vastly complicated. To skeletonize their main features seems a more or less futile or frustrating exercise, but it can produce in lieu of an impenetrable swampy thicket of thorny detail, a well-marked sunny meadow of useful approximations.

That is the function of Table 42. Observe it here and now.

Table 42. Individual and Corporate Income Tax Rates

State (1)	Individual		Corporate
	Rate Range (2)	Income Brackets (3)	Tax Rate (4)
IN	1.9%	Flat rate	6.0%
IL	2.5%	Flat rate	6.85%
MI	4.6%	Flat rate	2.35% of the sum of federal taxable income and other items
OH	.5 to 3.5%	\$5,000 to 40,000	4% - \$0 to \$25,000 8% - over \$25,000
WI	3.4 to 10%	\$3,000 to 40,000	2.3% - \$0 to \$1,000 7.9% - over 6,000

Source: The Book of the States, 1980-81. Council of State Governments

The two states that have the lowest state tax collections per capita, Indiana and Ohio, have personal income tax rates at low levels (Indiana's is 1.9 percent flat rate; Ohio's is graduated to \$40,000, with the steps only from .5 to 3.5 percent). None of the other three

states of the region has personal income tax rates so low.

Illinois has a flat rate of 2.5 percent.

Michigan, too, has a flat rate, but at 4.6 percent—more than twice Indiana's rate and nearly twice that of Illinois.

Only Wisconsin has a graduated personal income tax with steps from 3.4 to 10 percent and gets 52.1 percent of its state revenue from personal and corporate income taxes.

Compare a moment with the scene among the fifty states: only five states in all now have flat rate personal income taxes—the three above named plus Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

The graduated steps provided for in other states go as high as 16 percent in Minnesota, 14.5 in Alaska, 14 in New York, 11.5 in California, Hawaii and Montana, 11 in Delaware, and 10 in Maine.

It is also noteworthy that several states have simply fixed their personal income tax rates as a specified percentage of the taxpayer's obligation to the federal government under the federal internal revenue code. For example, in Nebraska, the specified figure is 17 percent; in Rhode Island, 19 percent; in Vermont, 25 percent, with provision for certain exceptions. This device cuts down useless duplicative administrative expense for the state, to say nothing of decreasing annoyance for the taxpayer by having to make out only one complicated form instead of two. It also automatically graduates the tax on the same scale on the same specifications as the steeply-graduated federal tax.

On the state corporation income tax side, Indiana and Illinois levy corporation income taxes at the flat rate of 6 percent and 6.5 percent, respectively. Michigan charges 2.35 percent of several specified

items of business expense, including federal taxable net income. Ohio charges 4 percent on income up to \$25,000; 8 percent on income above \$25,000. Wisconsin levies 7.9 percent on income above \$6,000.

The pertinent comment at this point is that graduated corporation income taxes in several states other than in the East North Central are as high as 10 percent or more in their top brackets: Minnesota, 12 percent; Arizona and Pennsylvania, 10.5; New York, Connecticut, Iowa, 10; California, 9.6; Massachusetts, 9.5. This does not include the special added rates for banks and financial corporations, which are found in many states and often run about 2 percent higher than those for other business corporations.

State and Local Taxes Per Capita As
Percentage of Personal Income

Adverting to a broader and more general view of state and local revenues, one can observe the ratio of per capita total state and local taxes collected to total personal income. Recent data from the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, reported at page 8 in U.S. News and World Report for November 3, 1980, indicate that among the fifty states this ratio varies from 23.4 percent in Alaska and 16.6 in New York, to 9.8 percent in both Indiana and Ohio. The average among the fifty states is 12 percent.

Among the five East North Central states, Wisconsin, with 13.7 percent, ranks ninth among the fifty and first among the five; Michigan, at 12.4, is eighteenth among the fifty and second among the five; Illinois, at 11.2, is thirty-third and third; while Indiana and Ohio, both at 9.8 percent, are forty-ninth and fiftieth among the fifty and fourth

and fifth among the five.

The five East North Central states arrange themselves in the same order of rankings on this scale as that most frequently disclosed by several other tests applied in this section and in earlier sections of this report; but it is a bit of an additional revelation to find both Indiana and Ohio flat on the bottom of the list of fifty states. The various relationships just discussed above are exhibited in Table 43, which follows.

Table 43. State and Local Taxes Per Capita as Percentage of Personal Income

States (1)	Dollars collected per capita (2)	% of Personal income (3)	Rank among five (4)	Rank among fifty (5)
WI	1,021	13.7	1	9
MI	1,050	12.4	2	18
IL	998	11.2	3	33
IN	749	9.8	4	49
OH	768	9.8	5	50

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, as reported on page 9 of U.S. News and World Report, November 3, 1980.

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State Tax Systems Need Constant Detailed Attention

This short section on "State Revenue Systems" is largely concentrated on state income taxes, because that segment seemed most appropriate for significant comparisons. In addition to sales and income taxes, which produce about 80 to 85 percent of most states' revenues, there are numerous other types of taxes and fees which are worthy of being monitored: succession taxes (on transfers of estates and inheritances); license fees (motor vehicles, liquor, hunting, fishing); severance taxes, on extraction of irreplaceable natural resources such as oil and gas, coal, ferrous and nonferrous metals, clays, gravel, stone, and sometimes timber; and others.

A complete treatment of any state's revenue system thus includes many types of taxes and fees, and a great deal of detailed administrative interpretation.

State legislative committees on ways and means and on finance and appropriations have continuing responsibilities; state governors and their directors of administration and finance are heavily involved; state tax commissions are in the scene.

Schools, colleges, and universities have responsibilities to find and disseminate information about state revenue systems. The press, radio and television can help much if they do their jobs well. One of the first duties of every citizen is to keep informed about what services the state is performing and how well, and form an opinion about what services should be performed and how the state ought to get the revenue with which to pay for them and keep itself solvent while providing good and sufficient services for its people.

Taxes by All Levels of Government in the United States
Compared with Other Nations of the Western World

Since the Roman legions over-ran the whole known world and exacted tribute from all the subject tribes, taxes have aroused bitter complaints. There seems to be some disposition today to regard any and all taxes as wicked inventions of the Devil, and to refuse to look upon any tax with equanimity. Orthodox economists always speak of them as "burdens" and "impositions." No political cartoon was ever more popular than the caricature of the downtrodden taxpayer clad only in a barrel. We are slowly outgrowing the belief that somehow we can have good roads, schools, sanitation, good housing, and all the appurtenances of an increasing standard of living and an improving civilization without paying more taxes.

For decades down to 1981, national presidential candidates have often promised to cut federal taxes, increase federal spending for national defense or for domestic social programs or both, and at one and the same time erase the ever-present federal budget deficit. No one has ever explained the legerdemain by which all these things could be accomplished at once.

So unpopular are taxes that there is a tendency toward a wholly unwarranted belief that taxes in our country are higher than in other developed countries of the world. This is not the case. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), an agency of the United Nations, maintains a periodic reporting of the ratios borne by total taxes to Gross National Product in many nations.

Table 44, appertaining to calendar year 1976, exhibits these ratios (as percentages of Gross National Product in each case).

Table 44. Taxes by All Levels of Government in the United States Compared with 18 Other Developed Nations of the Western World, 1976

Countries (1)	Total Taxes	
	Percentage of Gross National Product (2)	Per Capita in U.S. Dollars (3)
Sweden	50.89	4,595
Luxembourg	50.45	3,175
Norway	46.18	3,590
Netherlands	46.16	3,001
Denmark	44.70	3,395
Finland	42.19	2,520
Belgium	41.87	2,876
France	39.45	2,605
Austria	38.91	2,104
Ireland	36.81	924
Germany, Federal Rep.	36.70	2,660
United Kingdom	36.70	1,437
Italy	35.82	1,089
Canada	32.89	2,859
New Zealand	31.83	1,340
Switzerland	31.59	2,802
Australia	29.98	2,165
United States	29.29	2,199

Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), adapted from p. 35 of Facts and Figures on Government Finance: 20th Biennial Edition, 1979. Washington, D.C.: Tax Foundation, Inc. Pp. 288.

XIII

THE EAST NORTH CENTRAL STATES ARE LOSING THEIR NATIONWIDE PRE-EMINENCE IN STATE TAX SUPPORT OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Comparing the two decades 1960-70 and 1970-80, with focus on the rankings of the fifty states as to percentages of ten-year gain in state appropriations for higher education over each decade: Ohio dropped from 12th place among the fifty states in 1960-70 to 37th in 1970-80. Illinois dropped from 21st to 49th. Wisconsin dropped from 23rd to 34th. Indiana dropped from 33rd to 39th. Michigan dropped from 37th to 40th. Average of the composite rankings of the five states dropped from 25th to 40th—from the median to the fourth quartile.

XIII

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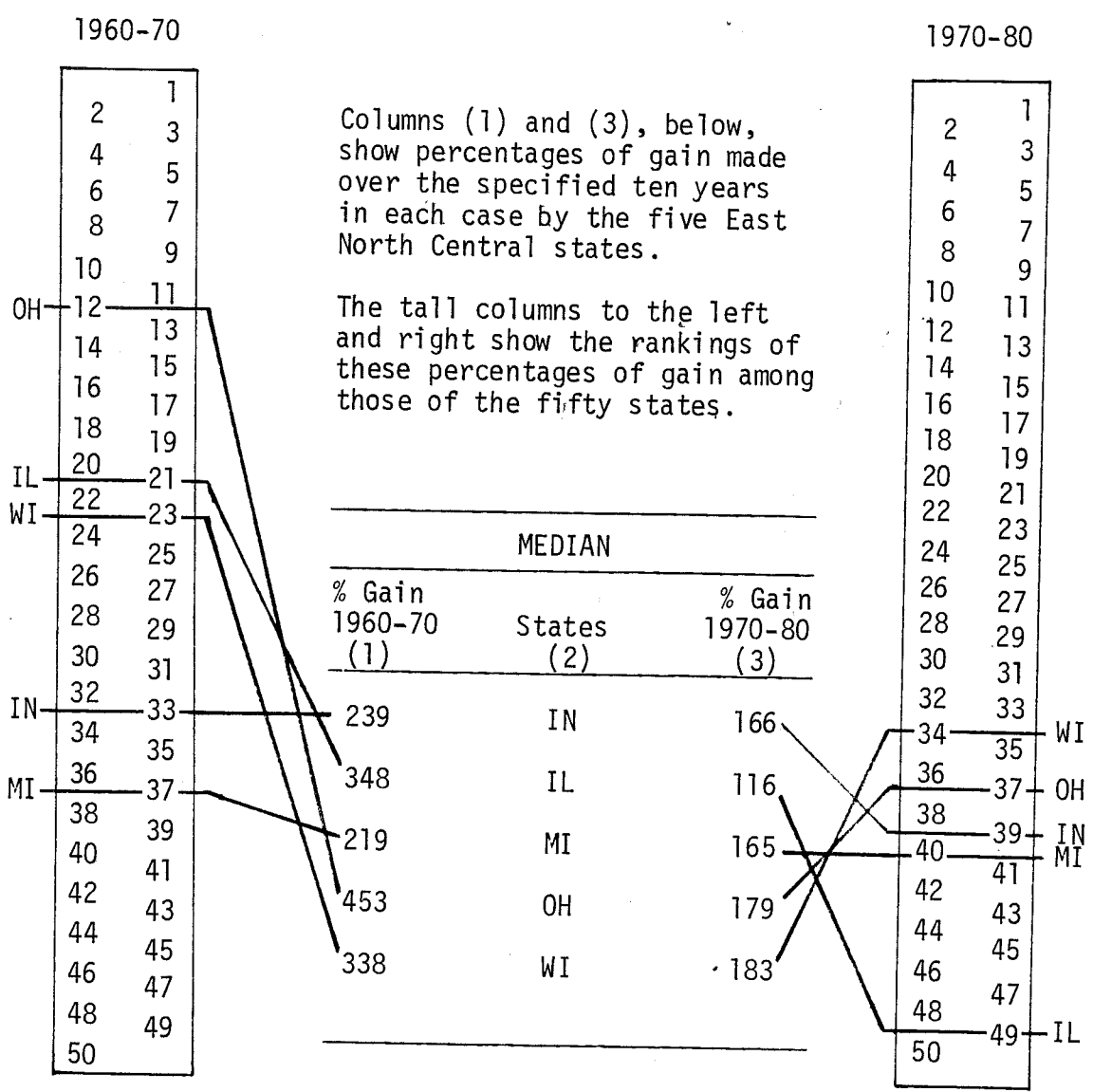
There is a record of appropriations of state tax funds for annual operating expenses of higher education in each of the fifty states, summarized in a 30-page publication of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, issued each autumn for twenty-two consecutive years. From this series, Table 45 is derived.

It is designed to show not the magnitude of the appropriations, but the percentages of gain made in each state over each of the two decades, 1960-70 and 1970-80, and the rankings of the five East North Central states among the fifty states with respect to those percentages of gain. Thus Ohio was in 12th place as to rate of gain for 1960 to 1970, but this says nothing about its ranking as to the actual magnitude of its appropriations.

The main point of Table 45 is that over the decade 1960-70, three of the five states were above the 50-state median, and the lowest of the five was in 37th place; while over the decade 1970-80, all five were below the median, showing markedly slowed-down rates of gain in comparison with those of the other forty-five states.

During the 1970s there tended to be something of a tilt in population and industry to the south and west. Population grew a little more slowly than before. The fact sought to be made plain here is that the East North Central states were distinctly outpaced and surpassed in rates of gain in tax support of higher education by other states that had previously ranked below them in momentum.

Table 45. Percentages of Ten-Year Gains, 1960-70 and 1970-80, in State Tax Appropriations for Annual Operating Expenses of Higher Education



Source: National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, Appropriations of State Tax Funds for Operating Expenses of Higher Education, 1970-1980; and earlier edition of the same title for 1970-1971.

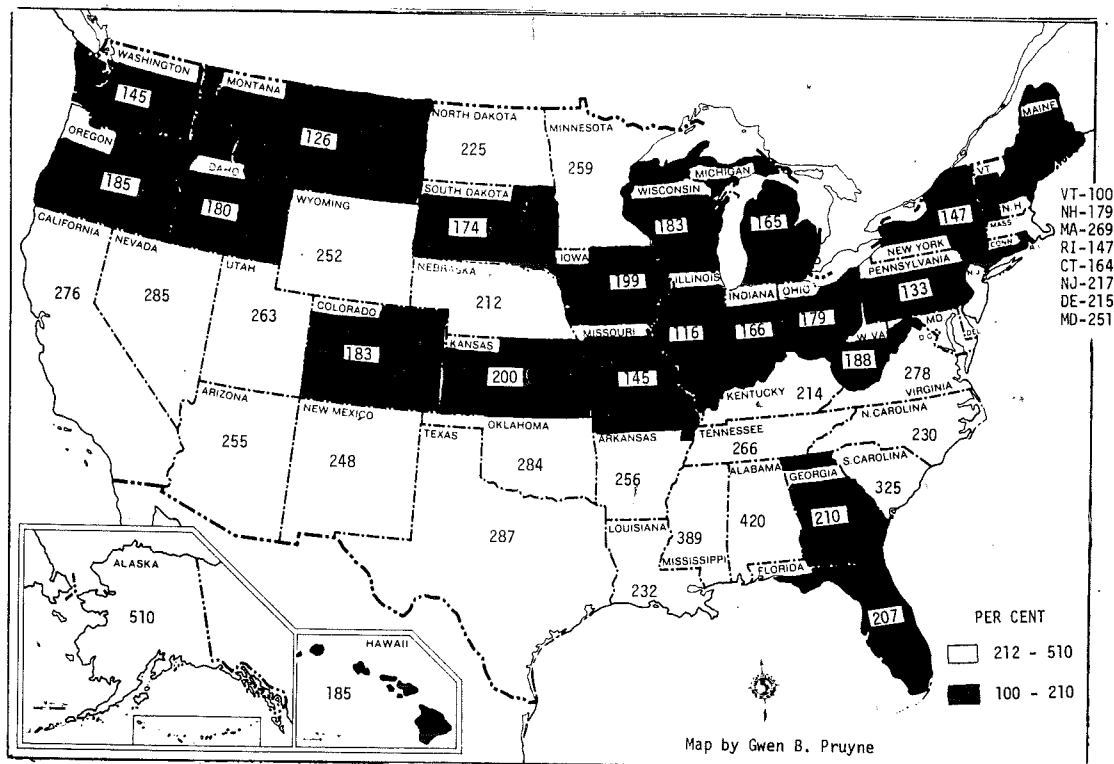
The Ten-Year Gains of the Fifty States

The tempo of gains in the fifty states over the decade 1970-80 is exhibited more graphically on a map of the United States showing in black the states that made ten-year gains below the median 211 percent and showing in white the states that made ten-year gains above the median. Such an exhibit is on the final page of this section.

The fact that leaps out is that almost the whole of the northern half of the nation is in black; while nearly the entire southern half is in white. Each group has an unbroken contiguous stretch from sea to sea. A close approach to the recently oft-mentioned "Sun Belt" and "Frost Belt" is evident.

In prior decades the states of the northern tier were generally ahead in state support of public higher education, and thus some of them attained very high rankings as to the magnitude of their appropriations as much as thirty or more years ago. Their state universities achieved nationwide and world renown. Their people should be aware that there is a recent tendency for their position of leadership to be comparatively lessened, and they should consider the losses that entails.

That most of the southern states, formerly low on the scale of state tax support of higher education and relatively low in the reputed prestige of their institutions, are now showing strong signs of catching up with the procession, is altogether a matter of congratulation; but it would be foolhardy and costly in the long run for one region to allow itself to fall back because another is forging ahead. The fifty states all advancing together is the ideal.



*States above and below the median in percentages of ten-year gains
1970-1980*

THE TEN-YEAR GAINS IN FIFTY STATES

Statewide increases in appropriations of state tax funds for annual operating expenses of higher education, 1970-80, range from 100 percent to 510 percent, with a median of 211 percent.

All five East North Central states are black (that is, making ten-year gains below the median of 211 percent, as already observed in Table 45). The slowing of momentum in these five states is a signal that in these five states a renewed determination to maintain leadership in state tax support of public higher education is in order.

XIV

RECOMMENDATIONS

To accelerate the long movement toward universal higher education, a first essential is recovery from the transient period of uncertainty in the economic realm, projections of decline, self-proclaimed crisis, cynicism, weakened confidence and depressed morale that characterized the whole of the 1970s. "Crisis mentality" will be partially supplanted or at least supplemented by level-headed contemplation of the middle future measured by decades. State systems of public higher education, proud products of more than a century, will not be allowed to retrogress.

XIV RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations are intended to be a call for thought and deliberation; not a bugle for instant action.

There will be a recovery from the transient period of uncertainty in the economic realm, self-proclaimed crisis, projections of decline, cynicism, and weakening of confidence that characterized the whole of the 1970s.

When that recovery becomes robust, whether it be soon or late, there can be no doubt that the mood will no longer be dominated by despair, and no longer overcrowded with thoughts of how higher education in these states can be cut back, reduced, its expansionary movement reversed, its potentialities ignored, its momentum decelerated, its morale depressed.

Instead there will be a speed-up of the long movement toward universal higher education which has never come to a halt but which has made unprecedented forward strides within the three and a half decades just past. More than half of the road is still ahead.

Hence this report pleads for long thoughts on the future measured in decades, as well as feverish preoccupation with the feared "crisis" of next year or next month. Total obsession with today's worries can detract from the quality of deliberations on the reasonable future, and contribute to mindless drifting from crisis to crisis while the vision of the middle-future major aim is lost.

Regarding the Place of Higher Education
as a Function of the State

In lieu of the widespread but not universal custom of considering the state's role in public higher education as properly one among a score or more of other major functions organized into the executive branch of state government, reflect on the theory of constitutional autonomy prevailing in Michigan for 130 years and repeatedly reaffirmed by the Michigan supreme court down to the present. "The Regents are a fourth arm of state government, coordinate with the legislative, executive, and judicial branches." This theory also prevails in varying degrees in a dozen other states, notably Minnesota, California, Idaho, Nevada, Arizona, and Colorado.

When supporters of higher education plead that it is a unique function, meriting separate and special consideration apart from the host of other executive functions of the state, some governors, legislators, and fiscal functionaries sometimes contemptuously respond: "Ah, that's what they all say!" The state constitutions and the courts of Michigan and a dozen other states vitiate such a response.

Legal doctrine is not the only support of constitutional independence for higher education, and high priority for its fiscal support. Social and economic theory are equally cogent: Higher education is the key function of the state because better schools and colleges for all children and all persons of all ages depend on more and better teachers educated in the universities. In all the sciences, professions, semi-professions, businesses and other occupations, the discoverers, the innovators, more and more are in the universities or have spent years there as students, researchers, or instructors.

Consider the universities not as routine consumers of public funds; but as highly productive "investments in people"—the seedbeds of future industries, of discoveries that lead to better ways of life for all. Moreover, not only from the standpoint of the states, but also from that of national and international problems and policies, nothing could be more essential than rapidly increasing the supply of better-educated citizens, capable of pathfinding leadership in the sciences and technologies, in law and justice, and indeed in every discipline and in every field of human endeavor. (See also Section II, pages 27-34.)

Regarding the Present Complement of State Universities

Value the seven flagship universities as national and world leaders. Consider what the region and the nation have gained from the century and more of contributions to the whole culture—to industry, to the professions, to every aspect of everyday life of all people—made by these great centers of learning.

Reflect upon the costly retardation of progress that would ensue if they were to shrink their scope, reduce their operations, and lose their momentum. Cutting down a university is a long and expensive process. Building it up again is likewise. The utmost that these universities can produce is needed now; the need will be redoubled as years go by, and will be accompanied by insatiable popular demand.

Apply the same reasoning to the ten newer large state universities, mainly urban. Reflect upon how cost-effective it is, from every standpoint, to "put new universities where the people are."

Contemplate the fifty other generally smaller state universities in the region as the middle of the pyramid. Recognize that each of these institutions can be expected to accomplish reasonable expansion and improvement over ensuing years and decades, to bring gradually nearer the achievement of higher education for all, stimulating a general quality of culture and well-being never before attained on this planet.

Enjoy the histories, traditions, and classifications of these half a hundred medium and smaller state universities. Half of them were originally of normal school origins, and have long constituted collectively a unique cultural resource. They have the advantage of long experience in their respective areas, and the confidence and support of many alumni and other people within and without those areas. They have long records which translate into very significant service to the whole East North Central region, partly through the teachers of millions of K-12 public school pupils over generations, and partly through many other channels.

(A writer, heavily biased in favor of private higher education and against public universities, wrote of these universities in a journal of national circulation in 1980: "Some of these schools have been labeled 'universities'." Ignorant he was, or contemptuous, of the fact that every one of them in the East North Central states is now a university, in fact as well as in name.)

The next echelon of medium-and-smaller state universities in the region are of more diverse origins. Some "sprang full-grown from the brow of Zeus" as did the University of Michigan campuses at Flint

and Dearborn. Others gradually "grew up" from two-year colleges, as did the Indiana University regional campuses at Fort Wayne, South Bend, Gary, New Albany, and Kokomo; and the Purdue University regional campus at Hammond.

Every one is an asset to its state and a resource for the future. That is the main point to contemplate. The point to study is How can the service of this institution best grow and be improved? Is its present state tax support sufficient to underwrite the best possible results under next year's conditions of time and place?

Regarding Advanced Graduate, Professional, Doctoral,
and Post-doctoral Studies

The most academically advanced, mature and persistent persons who continuously or intermittently spend substantial amounts of time and energy in graduate school laboratories, shops, clinics, studios, libraries, seminars, colloquia, or classrooms in advanced courses of instruction form the advance parties and the point patrols of the intellectual forces invading the unknown and hostile terrain of ignorance, prejudice, superstition, myth, and anti-intellectualism. Value them highly.

Thomas Edison and Henry Ford may not have attended college; but their time is long past. Requiescat in pacem. The scientific breakthroughs, the humanistic insights, the advances in every field now being achieved and to be achieved in the future will not be made by uneducated zealots, but by men and women who are now studying in university graduate schools or who have had long apprenticeships there, and who, like Edison, do not give up the quest, but return again and

again to the laboratory, library, and lecture room as long as they live.

Every university should recognize them, record their presence and achievements, and proclaim their merits. University governing boards should provide reasonable assistance and support for their work in such forms as clerical and technical assistance, use of space and equipment, fellowships, junior or part-time faculty positions, or extraordinary professorships where appropriate. All this is done in many places. It is eminently in the public interest.

Regarding the Two-Year Colleges

The two-year college, at the broad base of the higher education pyramid, should be a comprehensive school. That is, it should not be exclusively a liberal arts college or a college of general education, nor exclusively a vocational-technical school or "trade school"; nor should it be restricted to eighteen and nineteen-year-olds.

Being the outpost of higher education literally physically closest to the people in every locality, it should be an "open-door" school without restrictive admission barriers, open to all residents above the age of eighteen who are able to benefit from the instruction offered. Not only should it have three divisions: (1) arts and sciences, (2) vocational-technical, and (3) a wing with special emphasis on welcoming and accommodating adult students; but also it should be simultaneously two colleges: a day school for students able and wishing to attend day classes, and an evening school for those who cannot attend at other times. (A possible variation is a "week-end school" in which students attend six hours per day for two days each week, and progress at approximately the rate of full-time students.)

It is essential that the two-year college be comprehensive to escape the implication of class divisiveness that seems impossible to avoid when students of liberal arts and general education must attend one college located at a distance from another college which accommodates only students of vocational programs exclusively. Both such colleges are fragmentary; neither can provide as desirable a learning environment for all students as could exist if they were combined in a diversified learning community.

Establishing and operating comprehensive community colleges is not without obstacles. There are millions of low-income and unemployed young people who in their time of stress can perceive no benefit in any education other than a quickie "crash" training that will equip them with a manual skill that will enable them within the shortest possible time to sell their services for wages. This personal crisis can be understood, and these persons' desires can be accommodated.

But there are also many people, mostly somewhat older, who have so little faith in human potential that they believe a majority of the entire population should never have any formal education other than "trade schooling." These are harder to appreciate, but some of them are influential.

The comprehensive college offers internal problems—some real, some imaginary. Professors of literature, arts, and humanities may be pedantic and intellectually snobbish, looking with ill-concealed contempt on teachers of vocational-technical subjects. Students and teachers of trades may be anti-intellectual and jeer at general education. Timid administrators and faculty members may say a harmonious

faculty cannot be built of such incompatible materials. The problem calls for good will and initiative on the part of many. It will be possible to have philosophers and plumbers who respect each other and work together in the same college. That is Utopia. That is "the people's college," flourishing in a thousand places and a thousand forms (eventually two thousand places and two thousand forms) in the Great Republic.

As observed in Section VIII, the five East North Central states exhibit sharp contrasts in the size, character, organization, and support of their respective public two-year college systems. Indiana has one public community college with a unique history; two university regional campuses that have not developed to the baccalaureate stage and twelve vocational-technical institutes. Ohio has nearly 50 two-year public colleges of four diverse types. Wisconsin's system consists of its historic vocational-technical and adult schools, plus a clutch of two-year "university centers" for college-parallel studies. Illinois and Michigan have large networks of local public state-aided comprehensive community colleges.

Recommendations for each state follow:

For Indiana

Indiana has never espoused the concept of a statewide network of comprehensive community colleges. The state should consider a reasonably long-term phase-in toward a statewide network of local public state-aided comprehensive community colleges, located as nearly as practicable within twenty miles or less from the place of residence of every citizen of the state.

The existing state vocational-technical colleges should continue to perform their present functions in their present locations, and be supported in their efforts to expand and improve their work. They should be regarded as permanent institutions.

Each vocational technical institute should aim to become, over a period of three to ten years, the vocational-technical division of a comprehensive community college phased into its present site or on a new site nearby, including a division of arts and sciences commonly known as "college parallel" and offering two-year degrees of Associate in Arts and Associate in Science or equivalents.

The legislature should enact a comprehensive community college act providing for the foregoing, allowing each vocational-technical institute to receive tax support and statewide oversight as at present, and providing for the eventual transition to comprehensive community college status, and providing for the establishing of local community college district lines, taking into account population, minimum amount of taxable property, and legal steps necessary to effect the transition with the assent of a majority of the electorate of local territories involved.

Statewide monitoring and encouragement of these transitions should come from a state office of community colleges, consisting of a small professional and support staff forming a division of the staff of the present Indiana Commission for Higher Education.

The acts should also provide for similar establishment of new local public state-aided comprehensive community college districts, with the ultimate aim of blanketing the entire state with such districts,

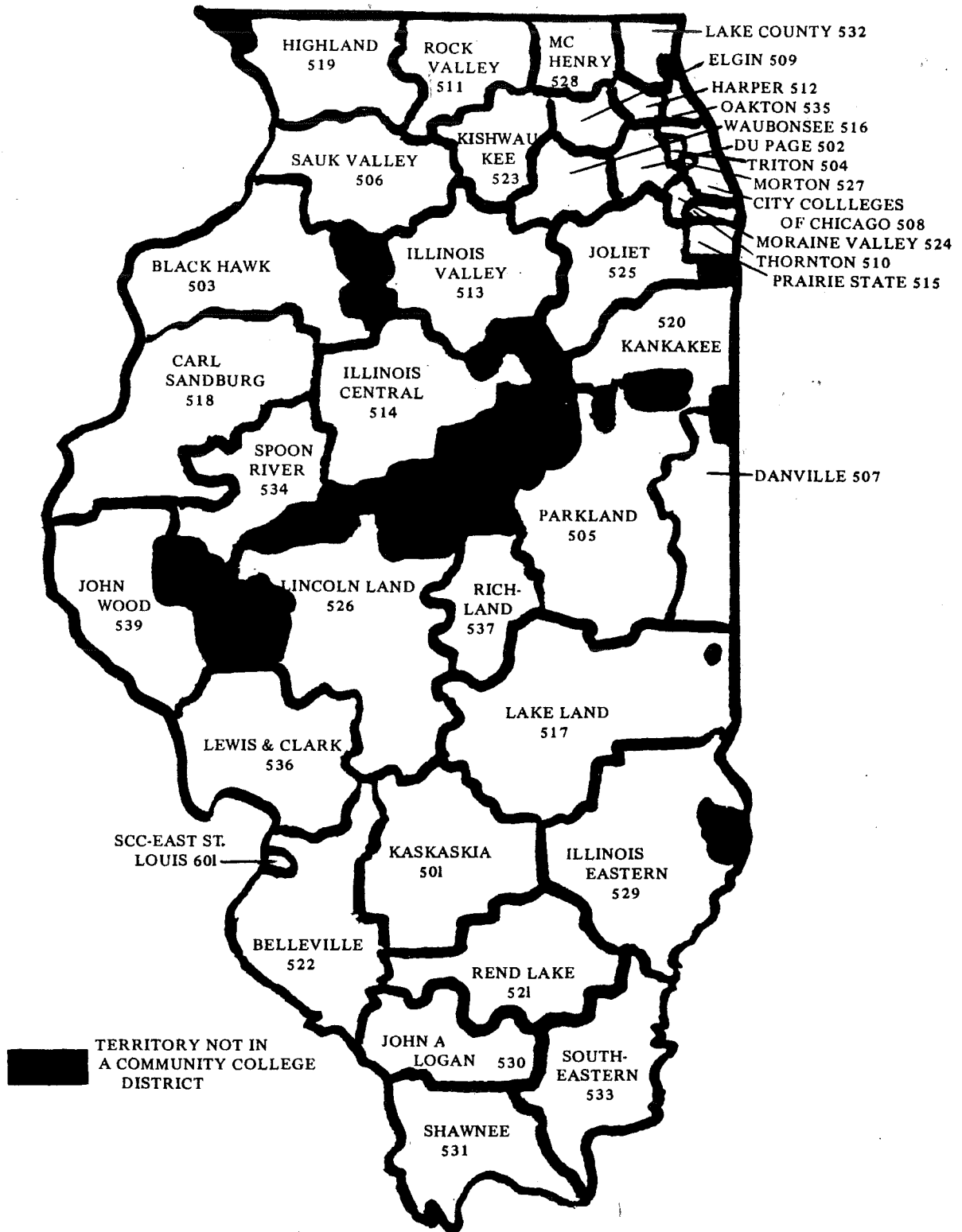
each embracing appropriate population and area for partial tax support and local governance of a local public community college. Such districts should be of such size, wherever reasonably practicable, as to place a community college within twenty miles from the place of residence of every citizen; many of the districts being of such areas as to include roughly about three counties or equivalent area, depending on variations and distribution of local population.

Every community college district should be a taxing subdivision of the state; but under present conditions, at least 80 percent of the annual operating funds of each community college should be appropriated by the state legislature. There is a long-term trend, nationwide, toward larger state tax support of such colleges and proportionately less local tax support; but there are many reasons why local tax support should be present on a minor fractional basis.

For Illinois

The Illinois Community College Act of 1965 mandates that recognized "community colleges of the first class" shall be comprehensive. It is now nearly a statewide fait accompli. There are 51 colleges in 39 local community college districts. The districts nearly blanket the state, except for a large salamander-shaped central hole that includes all of McLean County (the most populous and wealthy agricultural county in the state) and large parts of some neighboring counties. There are also a few uncovered smaller spots in the state.

The salamander exists for no good reason, and in defiance of the public policy of the state as declared a decade and a half ago. Illinois State University and Illinois Wesleyan University are within



Source: Illinois Community College Bulletin, A publication of the Illinois Community College Board, 3085 Stevenson Drive, Springfield, Illinois 62703

a mile from each other in the population center (twin cities, Normal-Bloomington), but neither makes any pretense of performing the functions of a community college. Consequently there are unknown thousands of persons who have no access to a community college, with the special advantages of living at home, low fees, open admissions, choice of occupational training or liberal arts education, welcome to part-time study, and all the others that make up the bundle of community college characteristics. A large community college—Illinois Central College—flourishes at Peoria, about 35 miles away. Thousands of people in the salamander area cannot afford the time and money to commute that distance. The area is failing and refusing to provide community college facilities for its people who would benefit, but who cannot otherwise attend any college anywhere. Illinois State University is the only one among Illinois' thirteen state universities that is not within a community college district or does not have a community college nearby.

Within the population center of the salamander area there is a well-built and well-maintained educational plant owned by the state, now vacant and apparently in danger of becoming a liability to the state, which was used by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Children's School, recently abolished. This plant could be converted for use as a community college plant relatively easily. The possibility and desirability should be presented to the governor, legislative leaders, and the appropriate state-wide boards, including the Board of Higher Education and the Community College Board, as well as the administrative departments concerned. The Board of Regents (on behalf of Illinois State University) and public school and civic authorities of Normal-Bloomington might well join in

the effort to clarify the matter, present it to the public, and surmount the procedural prerequisites that could lead to the opening of a community college in this large unserved area. Will anyone speak in behalf of the people who cannot otherwise attend any college anywhere?

Both Illinois and Michigan are well advanced toward reasonable accessibility of community college opportunities statewide, but there is yet work to be done. The job is not complete.

For Michigan

Michigan has, to a greater extent than any other of the five states of this region (possibly barring Wisconsin) the problem of very large areas of sparse population, harsh climate, apparently scant resources, and more or less chronically depressed economic conditions. In varying degrees, this description applies to the large Northern Peninsula and, in general, the upper half of Lower Michigan; while the southern portion of the state is populous, productive agriculturally, industrialized, urbanized, and relatively wealthy.

The state as a whole ranks among the fifty states as seventh most populous, ninth in aggregate of personal incomes, and twelfth in per capita state and local taxes collected. The issue is: To what extent and in what ways should the state as a whole provide community college facilities to the people of its sparsely populated areas, even though this involves some contribution to that purpose by the taxpayers of more populous and wealthy localities? In other words, Is it worth the cost to the whole state to provide educational equity to the people in economically less able areas, both for the sake of justice and for the sake of the long-term payoff from this investment in people, even if it

involves establishing and maintaining an occasional smaller community college at necessarily higher unit costs than are general in the more economically able areas?

This report cannot make local surveys of feasibility. It can refer to the sketch of the founding of Lake Superior State College, in Section VII. Nor can it prescribe formulas for equalization that might or might not be appropriate. It merely recommends that the powers that be should arrange for frequent studies of selected parts of the large deprived areas, and maintain watchfulness, in the spirit of the advisory committee and the State Board of Education and the legislatures of the middle 1960s, to the end that no opportunity be lost to improve higher educational opportunities for the people of the "colonial territories," both to advance individual educational justice and in the ultimate best interests of the whole state and all its people. This is a continuing problem for Michigan.

For Wisconsin

With awareness that the Wisconsin system of Vocational-Technical and Adult Schools has been widely popular in that state for at least half a century, and recognizing that it has had substantial success in achieving its aims, and at least considerable success in changing its aims to fit changing conditions and needs, one must have confidence that it should be permanently continued and supported.

Probably this system should not be disturbed by any sudden or sweeping reorganization or change of governance, but this report recommends strongly that steps be taken, preferably with a high-level ad hoc study commission, for full consideration of practicable ways in which the

system may move further than it already has moved toward adding general, liberal, or college-parallel instruction, thus gradually approaching, in fact if not in name, the characteristics of a system of comprehensive community colleges.

Such an ad hoc commission should be large, and widely representative of all political, economic, civic, and educational interests. One half of its voting members should be women. The Commission should include approximately proportional representation of organized labor, ethnic minorities among the state's residents, and the farm population, and members of the "ruling class" of corporation executives, influential politicians, and other members of "the establishment."

The Commission should have an initial life of five years, and should be directed to produce its report and recommendations in four annual phases, thus affording time for deliberation, public information, and opportunity to take note of currently changing economic and social conditions. It should have a professional staff of individuals from within and without the state, including a few from states known for large and excellent community college networks, such as California, Illinois, or Michigan.

This general direction of study and progression is recommended for the purpose of gradually removing any vestiges of the outmoded notion that higher education in Wisconsin is "blue collar" on one hand and "white collar" on the other; or "working class" versus "ruling class;" or vocational versus academic, or manual versus intellectual, or any other such division. Put positively, it is to forward the idea that all two-year college students will have, to the greatest practicable

extent, an available institution comprehensive enough to offer choices and individual combinations of studies that will not in all cases entail any rigid and inexorable parting of the ways between vocational and general education.

For Ohio

Instead of approximately 50 two-year public colleges of at least four types in a polyglot patchwork, Ohio would be in a better position to remedy its markedly low position as to number of students in higher education in proportion to total population, if it made possible a state-wide network of comprehensive community colleges, after the fashion of Illinois or Michigan.

The recommendation is not, however, for the shock of any drastic or sweeping reorganization. It should be possible to revive and liberalize the absurdly restrictive junior college act of the early 1960s, under which some half dozen permanent comprehensive community colleges were established, first in Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) and Elyria, in the populous northeastern part of the state. It should be possible gradually to develop the 17 vocational-technical institutes by incorporating into each at least a start-up division of general or liberal arts instruction. The political and administrative ramifications and complexities can be surmounted if it is determined that hundreds of thousands of Ohio's people shall be freed from the thralldom of having available no more than fragments of strictly utilitarian instruction in a school that is itself only a fragment of a two-year college.

The five older state universities have long records of reaching out to the respective clienteles by operating numerous two-year

university branch campuses. This practice need not be abandoned or discouraged. It is needed to accelerate Ohio's progress toward getting off the floor in comparison with the other East North Central states in the matter of providing tax-supported higher education for its people.

The state universities might well be persuaded to allow and encourage their branch campuses to assume gradually more of the characteristic functions and ways of comprehensive community colleges: introducing vocational instruction where wanted and feasible; redoubling efforts to accommodate the reasonable convenience of part-time students of both sexes, including those who are employed full-time for wages and those who are not; and generally disseminating the idea that college education is not only for a fortunate elite, but is for all.

This report stresses the general principle, and does not prescribe detailed solutions for the administrative problems involved—some real, some imaginary. These will, of course, necessarily be forged in Ohio, if at all. The overshadowing recommendation is that both the principle and the problems be kept in active consideration, with a view toward improving Ohio's service of public higher education to its people.

Regarding Statewide Governance Structures

Statewide structures for governance or coordination of higher education are not of as overweening importance as often supposed. The five East North Central states differ markedly in this respect (as observed in Sections X and XI, pages 104-127). There is no necessity for any immediate drastic or sweeping reorganization in any of them.

Whatever the present structure, it is strongly recommended that the highest authorities keep constantly on mind that the institution is

the agency that provides the instruction and research and public service to its clientele; and centralized agencies should abstain from intervening in the detailed decision-making as far as possible. With great deference to the history, repute, traditions, and planning carried forward by each institution, centralized agencies can confine themselves to studies, consultations, and dissemination of information bearing upon the whole system, eventually looking toward broad consensus arrived at concerning long-term issues and aims.

Especially is it recommended that state executive agencies not directly concerned with higher education as their main function should not be authorized to dictate university policies and practices from a multiplicity of angles; and that the governing boards should have exclusive custody and control of their endowment funds, if any (through an accessory private charitable corporation for that purpose, if desired), and of their operating funds from all sources other than appropriations of state tax funds, without the duplications, delays, and frictions, entailed in dealing with a state bureaucracy.

Regarding State Tax Systems

These recommendations appertain only to state-levied personal income taxes.

Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan have personal income taxes only at flat rates. These regressive forms should be supplanted by graduated income taxes, preferably with administration and collection simplified by fixing rates as specified percentages of each taxpayer's obligation under the federal income tax. (Three states practiced this in 1980, with the specified percentages varying from 17 percent to 25 percent.)

If Indiana retains the flat rate, the rate of 1.9 percent should be doubled. It would continue substantially lower than Michigan's 4.6.

The Illinois flat rate of 2.5 should be increased by half.

Ohio's graduated rates of .5 to 3.5 are minuscule, and should be tripled.

Wisconsin's graduated rates of 3.4 to 10, producing a healthy part of the state's revenue, seem fairly well suited to conditions of the day.

All states should face down the paper tiger of "tax revolt," which would cripple the public services, depress the standard of living and turn the clock backward.

All the numerous elements in each state revenue system should be monitored and annually reported upon for productivity, equity, and other consequences in the light of changing conditions.

Broad-scale Major Considerations

- Emerge from defeatism, both as to growth and as to financial support.
- Emphasize that the mainspring of the enterprise is esprit-de-corps. Morale, self-esteem, confidence and enthusiasm are essential to maximum success in learning.
- Recognize that higher education to the optimum stage from which each individual can derive gains for himself or herself and for the whole society must become readily available by reducing existing barriers: distance from home; narrowly restricted choice of studies; tuition fees; arbitrary academic requirements; academic snobbery; lack

of resources for financial self-maintenance; prejudice against sex, race, national origin, low income, physical handicap, or other prohibitive disadvantage.

- Examine experimentally the practice, now prevalent in some countries, of encouraging ambitious and competent working people of good record up to the age of 35 or thereabouts, to the extent of some 10 percent of college student bodies, to be admitted to colleges without prior secondary education.

- Question critically the assertion that some forthcoming reduction in the numbers of persons aged 18 through 24 must necessarily mean decrease in higher education enrollments (in the face of the fact that as yet less than half of that age group has ever entered any formal education above the high school).

- Question the notion that college education is not really necessary for most jobs, and when not required for the entry-level of employment, is a loss of time and money and a waste of resources; this in the light of the upgrading of all jobs and the expansion of the service occupations, semi-professions, and professions.

- Confront the bogey that "tax revolts" will hamstring governmental support of higher education. Reject the panicky proposition that higher education is "over the hill" and must now drift backward and downward, shrinking and shriveling, losing ground that would require decades to regain. The current period of temporary economic uncertainty is not the twilight of the economic system of the western world. It is the darkness before the dawn of already visible moderate modifications and improvements in the economic and political order that are bringing new waves of

social justice, confidence, and vigor.

• Investigate whether institutions and programs of higher education have tended to become more of cut-throat competitive rat-races—"screening devices" for creating individual failures and to restrict closely entry into the prestigious professions—rather than benign and morale-building places of learning by association and joint efforts as well as by healthy competition that does not threaten integrity.

The Student as Service Worker

Consider higher education as a service industry, which it is, not only in the work of administrators, faculty members, and supporting non-academic staff, but also in the essence of the work of all students. Persons spending their time, money, and effort in pursuing learning are unquestionably engaged in a service occupation, in several senses similar to that of members of the armed services or of the various branches of federal, state, or local civil service. Should college students be reasonably compensated for the service of learning, instead of being charged fees for the instruction they receive?

There are nations in the world today where all college students are paid at least a meager "living wage" for doing the work of a student, with moderate increases as they go up the academic ladder. No student in higher education is charged any tuition fee. Even in Britain, tuition fees to the universities are paid by the public authorities on behalf of most students, and nearly all students receive grants for subsistence inversely proportionate to their family incomes.

A change in the image of student life may be far advanced: From a country-club-like interlude for the affluent and middle-class (or a

grueling ordeal for a few of the poor who possess the unusual good health, stamina, ambition and luck to earn their subsistence while a full-time student); To one or more periods, at appropriate times, of moderately compensated public service as full-time or part-time student refreshing and extending the individual's knowledge and skills in the interest of the whole public.

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