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AMERICAN EDUCATION:
FROM CRISIS AND CONFRONTATION TO
ACCOMMODATION AND COMPETITION

ERNEST L. BOYER

PRESIDENT

THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING

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It's a special joy for me to be at the American Studies Research Centre, and to join in ~~what I consider to be an~~ ^{this} enormously provocative and ambitious effort. ~~that is,~~ to make sense of decades that are still painfully a part of the memories of us all. It was a considerable ^{task} ~~effort~~ to extricate myself from my own experience of the last 20 years and try to be somewhat objective in my interpretation. I was almost inclined to rename my presentation "A Whirlwind Tour of the ^{1960s} ~~60s~~ and 70s: Painful Memories." I hope to add some vividness to this effort, ^{however,} because we are not sifting through the ancient past, [^] we are dealing with the raw material of our own understanding and emotions. So, I will ^{contribute} ~~attempt to give~~ at least one person's view of a 20-year period that marks an enormously important transition for America, ^{and for American education.} ~~Before doing that, may I exercise a little poetic license~~ ^{To begin,} and ~~try to put~~ the American higher education scene ^{has to be set} in larger context. The central point I would like to establish ~~today~~ is that ~~if you wish~~ to understand the history and the culture of the nation, ^{one} ~~you~~ must understand the role of education. In examining the transition from the ^{1960s} ~~60s~~ to the 70s we can gain ~~some~~ special insight into the nature and the character of the United States by looking at its colleges and schools. ^{To better do so,} ~~In order to explore this,~~ let ^{us} ~~me~~ [^] ~~first~~ [^] ~~what I consider to be the~~ earlier periods of transition, during which the role of the nation's colleges and the nation's aspirations were ~~inextricably~~ interlocked.

From Massachusetts Bay to the 1960sIt is

~~I find it~~ significant that 130 years before the Declaration of Independence, the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed a law requiring every town and village of 50 or more souls to hire a school master at public expense to teach the children to read and write. From the nation's founding, education was judged to be far too important to be left to chance. Harvard college, of course, was founded ^{in 1636,} just 6 years after the Massachusetts Bay Colony formally was established.

Thomas Jefferson, who ~~in his own poetic~~ way may be considered the patron saint of education in our country, put ~~it~~ ^{the} matter pointedly when he said that in the history of America he who would be ignorant and free expects that which never was and never shall be. Jefferson went on to say: "I know of no safe depository of the ultimate power of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take from them, but to inform their discretion."

If they are not well enough informed to drive the engines of a democracy, do not deny them the democracy, inform the people-- this was the audacious vision that Jefferson laid forth. ~~I don't~~ ^{The} vision was never ~~wish to suggest that it was~~ adequately fulfilled. For perhaps 200 years education remained an elitist, not a democratic, process in the nation and was for the privileged few--~~by which I~~ ^{mean} the land-owning white males--but by and large the mission was well formed.

~~I'm suggesting, then, that~~ In the early days of our Republic religious and civic values were the core of an emerging nation. ~~And~~ These values could be achieved, it was assumed, only through education. It was further assumed that if the new nation was to have cohesion and to achieve the twin values of civility and religious ^{sity} ~~priority~~, then education for leadership was absolutely crucial. ^{There has been a strong} ~~We have, then, a historic inter~~ ^{in America} connection between national purposes and the essentialness of common learning.

~~I will leap ahead here and comment briefly on~~ ^{In} the early 19th century ~~when, in my judgement,~~ a new priority emerged. During this period ^{as} a sense of nationhood ^{took} ~~was taking~~ root, ~~and~~ there was to some degree less concern about the leadership dimension and more commitment to national expansion. The goal was to build not just a governmental structure but an economic and physical infrastructure too. ~~And~~ ^{Once} again education reflected the nation in transition. The institutions along the eastern seaboard ^{remained} ~~were~~ committed to a classical education, but some brash and strange new experiments were emerging in the woods behind them. In 1824, a ^{curious} ~~curious~~ institution was launched in ^{the} a little town ^{at} ~~called~~ Troy, New York, ^{with the} ~~It had a~~ strange name--Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. One of our most distinguished American historians, Frederick Rudolph of Williams College, ^{has} ~~said that~~ ^{of} this ~~was the~~ first technical institution in the country, that ~~Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute or RPI~~ ^{it} was a "constant reminder" that the United States needed "not only academics, but railroad builders, bridge builders, and builders of all kinds." ~~So we~~

The nation was ~~were~~ not only building the minds of men, as the faculty of Yale had decreed in 1848, but ~~we were building bridges~~ ^{as well.} and somehow Education was inextricably tied to this transition, too. Of ~~course~~ ^{perhaps}, the most audacious movement was the creation of the land grant colleges. The Morrill Act ⁽¹⁸⁶²⁾ the legislation creating these institutions, was passed in the heat of the Civil War. ^{with} The idea ~~was~~ that colleges would themselves help drive the engines of ~~our~~ democracy to new frontiers. Their critics called them "cow colleges."

The University of Wisconsin--a land grant college--to this day has ~~as its model~~ ^{modeled itself on the idea} that the campus is the state, and ^{that} whatever the state needed the University would constantly provide. When Lincoln Steffens visited there in 1901, he wrote that the University of Wisconsin is "as close to the intelligent farmer as his pig pen." There were skeptics ^{of course} about ~~scholars being connected~~ ^{the connection of} scholars to the nation, and indeed one cynic wrote that:

Education is the rage--in Wisconsin.
Everyone is wise and sage--in Wisconsin.
Every newsboy that you see
Has a varsity degree,
Every cook's a Ph.D. in Wisconsin.

~~This brings me, then, in this breathless romp through higher education history, to what I'd like to cite as transition~~
~~no. 3.~~ ^{A third major} This transition occurred at the turn of the century, ^{when} ~~And~~ once again the nation's colleges and schools had a most important job to do. Between 1890 and 1910 over 12 million immigrants came

to the United States, ~~and~~ Suddenly there was a sense of disintegration and dissembling^{as} the nationhood idea was ~~being~~ threatened by the immigrants who arrived in large waves at Ellis Island. ~~One school alone, as I read during our recent study of American high schools, had over 26 languages being spoken.~~ ^{Ir} ~~One school alone, as I read during our recent study of American high schools, had over 26 languages~~ ^{were} ~~being~~ spoken. There was a worrisomeness among the leadership that ~~perhaps~~ the sense of nationhood and cohesion would not last. And so the schools were charged with the responsibility of redefining the notion of Americanism in what was now the 20th century.

A study of the curriculum of those early years reveals that teachers in the schools taught not only what we call the academic basics--English and math and science--but ~~they~~ also ~~taught~~ health and nutrition and conduct--how to dress, how to walk, and how to behave in this new nation. Their job was to teach citizenship. ~~As I look back on when I went to school, I reflect on the degree to which the schools were committed to teach not just the basics but citizenship as well. The pictures of our Presidents were surrounded the classroom, prominently displayed, and around the room, the flag was there--a pledge of allegiance to it was a daily ceremony. So we went through a transition in which schooling and education in the nation was once again aimed toward not just leadership but populous cohesion for the nation.~~

This leads, then, to ^{a further} ~~the next~~ transition as we move toward the 1960s ~~reason we are today the 60s and 70s. I believe that~~ the fourth major transition which connected national intentions and the rule of formal learning, ^{during} ~~occurred following~~ World War II. It was the watershed in the nation's life and ^{the life of} ~~in~~ education's ~~life~~ as well.

~~I believe it is~~ ^{It is} fair to say that during this period America lost its innocence and its isolation. Reluctantly, it became a world military and economic power, and education once again was called upon to help the nation maintain its so-called competitive advantage. This was achieved primarily through the scholarly contributions from the universities and ranking centers of higher education. At the beginning of the Second ^{World} War the President of Harvard College and the President of MIT both travelled to Washington, D.C. ~~They had~~ ^{for} a conference with President Roosevelt, ^{to whom} ~~and~~ they offered ~~to him~~ the intellectual resources of the nation's higher learning institutions. ~~and~~ after the war, Vannevar Bush of MIT, who became the head of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, said in a laudatory paper on the role of the universities: "We all know how much the new drug penicillin ^{has} meant to our grievously wounded men on the grim battlefronts of war....Some of us know the vital role which radar has played." Then, he concluded with this not too modest approbation: "Science, by itself, provides no panacea for individual, social and economic needs but it can be effective in national welfare as member of a team, whether the condition be peace or war. But without scientific progress no amount of achievement in other directions can insure our health, prosperity and security as a nation...." If this nation wants to achieve, there is no other answer, Mr. President, but the resources of the scholarly community of the university. ^{World} engagement came to the nation's conscience with some anguish and uncertainty, but if

there was one confidence it was that the university was the centerpiece of the international dimension.

After the war, ~~then transitioned~~ ^{came a fifth transition.} There was another great revolution in the nation which can be described as the revolution of rising expectations. Once again that movement was driven by the nation's higher learning institutions. ~~As all of you perhaps know full well,~~ ^{United States'} Right after the Second World War when ~~the~~ ^{home,} ~~our own~~ soldiers came back ~~to the United States,~~ there was great anguish that they would go on to the unemployment lines because the defense industries were closing down ~~and there was~~ a desire to somehow avoid another Great Depression. One ~~of our~~ legislators, in a burst of imagination, conceived the idea of giving all of these young men scholarships to send them back to college instead of the breadlines. ~~As so~~ Over the next 15 years ^{more than} ~~over~~ 8 million former servicemen were on college campuses. ~~most~~ ^{not} Most ~~of them~~ would ~~not~~ have ~~even~~ dreamed of going on to higher education under the rather narrow selective system of the past, but now ^{they} had earned ^{the} ~~this~~ privilege. My memory is that those were the halcyon days of higher education. These men ^{-- largely 25 or 26 years old --} were there because they felt ^{education} ~~it~~ was a privilege, because classrooms were places of vital learning, and because ~~most of them were 25 or 26~~ ^{they} ~~years old~~ and were committed to help ^{ing} their families and becoming secure. However, what was important was that a system had suddenly become open. And if the ~~GIs~~ ^{Former servicemen} thought going to college was a privilege, their children thought going to colleges was a right. ~~And it~~ ^{se} planted the seeds of rising expectations ~~that~~

created a higher learning system that moved within 20 years from what Martin Trow at the University of California ^{has ed} calls an elitist to a mass system of ~~higher education~~ in which ~~the promise was~~ ^{for higher education is promised} that anyone who has a desire ~~to go on would find~~ ^{have} a place.

I ~~ve~~ ^{have} given you this hop-skip-and-jump history of higher learning in order to suggest that ^{national} transitions ~~in the nation, in~~ ^{my judgement,} can be at least partially if not fully ^{illuminated} ~~understood~~ by examining the role of education, ^{Education has become} ~~which is in my view~~ a civil religion ^{for America.} It is the one institution in which we all have faith, and when the nation is in great distress ^{-- however much} ~~even though~~ we might criticize the colleges and the schools ^{when we are in deep} trouble once again, we turn to education as "Mr. Fixit" for the

nation.

^{from the 1960s to the 1970s}

We then come to transitions beginning ^{from} ~~with the decade of the~~ ^{onwards.} ~~1960s.~~ ^{It is important to recall} ~~I should like to explore a bit of~~ the climate on the colleges campuses ^{to appreciate} and how we ^{have} moved from one decade ^{so} rapidly to

another. On January 20, 1960, a new President ~~was inaugurated~~ ^{declared} took office in Washington, D.C. John F. Kennedy ~~said~~ in his inaugural address that the torch of leadership had been passed to a new generation. He said to the nation, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." ^{At the opening} ~~As I~~

^{of the} ~~recall that~~ decade altruism and hope were rising very high. In those days there was no warning that America had just launched

one of the most tragic and dramatic ^{eras} ~~decades~~ in its history. At the beginning of the 1960s, higher education in America shared ⁱⁿ

^{national} the same innocence and hope, and ~~it~~ was convinced that it ~~was~~ ^{would}

~~going to~~ help fulfill the dreams that were so eloquently affirmed. ^{When} ~~In fact it was~~ Mr. Kennedy ~~who had~~ visited the University of Michigan and there for the first time announced the Peace Corps plan, ^{he} ~~inspiring~~ ^{ed} college students once again to join the nation in a great crusade both here and far abroad.

During that first period of the 1960s, public confidence was ^{strong,} ~~high,~~ millions of students were coming to the campus, ~~in the years~~ ~~that followed World War II,~~ and graduate research grants were still rolling in. Faculty were getting tenure because ~~we were~~ ^{continued to open, and a decent teacher or scholar} opening positions, ~~and if you were decent you~~ could be assured of security later on. Every ten days a new community college was built during the ~~decade of the~~ 1960s. In the early years of the ^{decade} 1960s I was at the University of California at Santa Barbara. I saw that ^{had been} ~~what was~~ one day, the site of a small home economics college run by the state almost overnight was declared by the Board of Regents to be a "university center". Within a 10-year period a thousand students had exploded to 10,000, ^{and} a whole new city had been built called Isla Vista. ^{New} Buildings ~~were growing up~~ ^{ed} surrounding the quonset huts that had temporarily been placed to accommodate the ^{surging} ~~upsurge in the~~ number of students.

~~I'm suggesting that~~ America ^{felt itself} ~~was~~ in the midst of a new beginning, and ~~that~~ the universities and colleges ~~were~~ ^{ed} sharing in the glow. But soon traumatic jolts began to intervene. In just a thousand days John Kennedy was dead, and by 1964 the golden age of American higher education had already begun to tarnish. A young student named Mario Savio began to shout four letter words

on the Berkeley campus, and Savio and his followers condemned the bloated higher education system ^{the same one that the GIs had so enthusiastically embraced.} ~~But now,~~ ^{after the War,} two decades ~~later,~~ when campuses ~~were~~ ^{ed their students in the} numbering in tens of thousands, this younger generation, unmindful of the almost reverential feeling of their fathers, were concerned about what they called ^a ~~the~~ lack of humaneness and personal attention ~~on the campus, and the slogan~~ "I am a human being, do not fold, mutilate or spindle" became the new slogan on the campus.

The curriculum was challenged too. I recall many occasions ^{when} ~~in which~~ students would occupy ^{my} ~~the~~ office ^{at the State University of New York,} ~~and would~~ go through the ^{university} ~~catalogs~~ that ~~were being printed in New York and would~~ remind me that those were courses decided by the faculty, not by them. ^{The curriculum, they accused, was developed to preserve academic} ~~developed to create an academic~~ tradition, not ~~around student~~ ^{to meet} student interest; ^{the courses} ~~and that it couldn't in any way~~ ^{not} reflect the coming generation because most of them had been designed by grey-haired people over 30. I also remember reading ^{an editorial in} the Stanford student newspaper ^{expressing mild offense at the determination of the faculty} ~~in which the faculty at Stanford had determined~~ to introduce a required course for all students, and ~~a student editorial expressed mild offense.~~ I quote now ^{in particular} two important phrases ~~that I thought~~ captured the spirit of the times. In the editorial, the students objecting to the required courses said, "Requirements are illiberal," and ^{then} went on to say to the faculty, "How dare you impose uniform standards for non-uniform people." Those ~~perhaps more than any other~~ ^{dominant} quotations I ~~could cite~~ captured the mood--the notion of a somewhat bankrupt system, bloated and

without direction, imposing its ^{irrelevant} ~~own~~ traditions on a new generation ^{of students} ~~where the relevance was no longer there and where the~~ ^{whose} non-uniformity and creativity and individuality ~~of the students~~ were denied.

At the University of Buffalo, ~~which I know somewhat better~~ ^{of time} ~~than Stanford~~, for a period the faculty approved what was called the "bulletin board curriculum." That meant that any group of 15 students who agreed they liked a course could post it on the bulletin board and the university would provide a teacher. The control of the curriculum had suddenly gone upside down. Instead of the faculty sitting on the curriculum committees to decide what students should be taught, students were deciding what they wanted to learn ^{and} ~~they~~ expected the university to teach them on their ^{own} ~~terms~~. Lest I be misunderstood, I am here describing, not condemning. ~~I have to reveal~~ ^Q Quite candidly, ~~that~~ the University had, in my judgement, been more concerned with growth than content; had been lacking in sensitivity to the changing needs of students; ^{had not adequately addressed the} ~~and was unmindful of~~ larger ethical issues. ~~that were not adequately addressed. And~~ The shame of it was that many students were able to ask and get more answers to their questions outside the classroom than within. ~~And so in a sense~~ we had the inevitable backlash ^a ~~of~~ growth and enthusiasm moderated by the cautious second thoughts ~~that~~ ^{of} an irreverent student body, ~~aggressively introduced. I am suggesting, though, that~~ In the midst of the 1960s, confidence in both ^{the} authority and the goals of education was enormously diminished, and the universities were seen by some as a source of evil, rather than a place of hope.

Meanwhile, ~~as you heard in the summary of issues of the 60s~~
~~by Dr. Duedtke~~, Martin Luther King had started his own long march
towards equity and social justice. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi,
King ^{Abraham} like Lincoln ^{Lincoln} said that no nation can be half-slave, half-
free. The most dedicated recruits for the Civil Rights crusade
during the mid-1960s came from the universities and colleges of
the nation as students joined the marches and the sit-ins in the
South. The summer of 1962 was ^{especially} memorable because ~~literally~~,
thousands of young students helped register voters. ~~There was,~~
~~frankly,~~ ^{there was} on many campuses ~~then what can only be called~~ an
exciting blend of altruism, protest and commitment. ~~But the~~
~~pioneers is that~~ the students' energies had moved ^{beyond} ~~away from~~ free
speech on the campus, more flexibility in the dorms, and greater
creativity in the curriculum, to a larger vision of national, ^{equality and}
social ~~and-and-equal~~ justice, ~~and~~ the student movement then
joined the civil rights crusade.

~~I could speak days on~~ the agonies of Vietnam, ~~simply to say~~
~~that,~~ too, moved in with a vengeance as the decade proceeded.
Students accused the universities of complicity with
aggression. They attempted to force the university ^{ies} to take a
moral stand, collectively and cooperatively, against what they
considered to be the bankrupt policy of the nation. ~~I remember~~
time and time again ~~when~~ universities and trustees were driven to
state specifically whether they were for or against the
confrontation; and whether, corporately, they had conscience on
the matter. In most instances the universities retreated on that

point, arguing ~~I think~~ with some justice that they could not collectively take a stand on this or any other matter beyond the campus, but that individually they would try. That was not sufficient, however, and the climate remained enormously tense, ~~and~~ ^{considerably} ambiguous. In response, campuses would often close down or ~~convert the~~ ^{be converted} classes into teach-ins, where the confrontation would be aired.

~~It seems to me that~~ behind the lines ~~of~~ ^a new kind of congealing ^{began} ~~was beginning to take place~~. What ^{has been} ~~was~~ called a "counter-culture" was rapidly emerging. We moved from the more free and open university to the determined search for civil rights, to the anguish over what was judged an unholy war, to a lifestyle view that tended, in my judgment, to go in two quite divergent directions at once. On the one hand there were the "flower children" ^a ~~that was the name that~~ they themselves had chosen. Their sense of ^a new beginning and ^a belief that life could be peaceful was celebrated by the great Woodstock sing-in, ^{which} that seemed to capture all the hopes and aspirations and openness and love that I think millions of our young students genuinely believed in and desired. On the other hand, there was ~~what I~~ ^{carpe diem} ~~think could only be called~~ a hedonistic ^{mood} ~~dimension of this~~ effort ^a ~~a~~ sense that life is bitter and grim, that one must ^{cultivate} ~~return to a kind of~~ negativism, rejecting all authority and even ~~almost rejecting~~ common sense in the ^{pursuit} ~~name~~ of a fast, drug-driven, ^{valueless} ~~life, with no discernible values beyond living for the moment.~~ Perhaps I did see as I watched it emerge, ^a ~~that~~ sense of great

hope and ^a ~~that~~ sense of great despair ^{now} as well, growing out of what seemed to be these intractable and unsolved problems of the campus.

And so it is, ~~in my view~~, that the counter-culture replaced the student movement ^{of the} ~~in its~~ more innocent days of the early sixties. Debates became more bitter, the cleavage between the campus and the world beyond became more intense ^{as} ~~because~~ adults ^{regarded} ~~saw~~ these ~~as~~ centers of rebellion. And this culminated, of course, in bloodshed on the campus. ~~I can only say that~~ a decade that ^{had} ~~has~~ been launched with a warm glow of hope ~~ended with~~ ⁱⁿ conflict, bitterness, and destruction. John Kennedy's call to serve the nation was ~~not~~ met with hard cynicism because ^{students} ~~they~~ saw a nation they could not trust.

That brings me ~~then~~ to the final transition to the decade of the seventies, ~~from this period that I hope I have at least in part recalled today.~~ It ^{is} ~~is~~ a curious and unanswered question ~~as to why~~, at least in higher education, we went from violent protest to quiet almost overnight. In July, 1970, I was called to Chicago, Illinois, by the National Association of State Universities and Land-grant Colleges. It was the first and only special meeting the university and college presidents had ever held. The meeting was not to discuss the academic life and the quality of scholarship; it was held to discuss how to control riots on the campus. We not only had testimony from presidents who had successfully managed to handle crisis, but we had ~~a speech~~ ^{advice} by the head of the Chicago Civil Police and other law enforcement

agencies ~~to advise~~ regarding how to handle insurrection. It was another new world, and as I flew home it occurred to me that not in my wildest imagination had I ever dreamed that university administrators would assemble to talk about matters of force and confrontation in such stark and frightening terms.

The point I make, however, is that September of 1970 came and went, and we encountered not shouts of protest but an eerie silence on the campus. I remember giving a speech at the University of Buffalo in the middle of the academic year, and ^{asking} in a moment of brashness, ~~I said~~, "What have you learned from the student protest?" And the chairman of the board said, "I think you're crazy, because we're simply at a lull between the storms." I thought that somehow we had passed through an enormously crucial era, and ^{that it perhaps} ~~it~~ was time for ~~perhaps a~~ sober reflection and anticipation.

I have only a few suggestions as to why the universities went from intense crises to a period of quietness ~~in what seems~~ ^{within} ~~to be almost~~ 60 days. I do think that the nation was in some way spiritually exhausted, and ~~I do think that~~ because of the shooting at Kent State, ~~we were to some degree~~ ^{degree} in a state of shock. The film of young people being shot down on campus ~~and was~~ played time and time again on television. It was on every magazine cover in the nation, and ~~suddenly the~~ adults were ~~having~~ ^{ed} to confront the fact that we were killing our own children. And ~~I think that~~ ^A sense of anguish and sobriety ^e and second thoughts ~~did take~~ ^{took} hold because it appeared that no one was in charge.

It's appropriate to note, too, that the war in Vietnam was winding down, though not immediately, to be sure.

Also, in the early 1970s the nation experienced a new recession. ~~I well recall when our~~ ^{University} budgets were being cut, and talk about the lack of jobs became increasingly familiar. ~~Suddenly I think~~ ^S Students began to realize that when all the classes and the protests are ~~over~~ ^{past} and you're over 30 ^{years old,} you have to have a job. So the issue of what follows college became more important--a quiet dialogue if not a public ~~confrontation~~ ^{debate.} With college budgets ~~being~~ ^{and} reduced, faculty positions ~~being~~ ^{themselves} threatened, the faculty were less inclined to join in anti-war protests with the students. The mood on campus shifted dramatically from expansion to constriction. At the same time it became clear the nation was getting older. There would be fewer students in the days ahead, and ~~at~~ demography demonstrated that ~~we~~ ^{they} would have to work seriously with adults. ~~Each~~ ^{PP} of these ~~factors~~ ^{factors} could, ~~of course,~~ be explored in detail, but I simply note them as headlines here to suggest that there were a number of forces at work--~~beginning with~~ the shock wave of riots uncontrolled, ~~followed by~~ a sense of relief that the nation's conflict was ~~waning,~~ ^{waning,} ~~reducing, then turning to~~ ^{then} the economic issues and imperatives that ~~were~~ ^{ed} touching the colleges, the faculty, and eventually the students. ~~These were only hints at what might have been a~~ remarkable and abrupt transition from the 60s to the 70s. All of ~~these~~ ^d it did in fact contribute to the ~~changing mood on campus that~~ ^{as} ~~could only be characterized as~~ more sober and reflective ^{mood on} campus at the advent of the 1970s.

The Legacy

I ^{will} conclude then by offering what I think were perhaps the deeper legacies of this period in higher education. First, while there is an inclination to ^{furnish} ~~conclude~~ that the students' protest over academic and curricular issues came and went, I disagree. I believe that higher education in America will never be the same. As an example, we ^{previously} had what is called in loco parentis, the practice of controlling student life with great rigidity. Dormitories ^{firm closing} had hours. Young men and young women were separately housed, and restrictions and controls were dominant on campus. In loco parentis collapsed during the decade of the sixties, and there might ~~even~~ have been excesses in the freedoms introduced in its absence, ~~the point, though, is this~~ ^{but} there will be no turning back.

At the Carnegie Foundation we ^{are} ~~we~~ just now completing a two-year study of colleges for a report to be released early next year. Our survey of hundreds of colleges across the country shows that they virtually have no rules ~~in terms of~~ ^{for} student life ^{outside} ~~beyond~~ the classroom. There are counselling and guidance centers, but ~~they do not have~~ ^{no} predetermined structures and mandates except at the very conservative institutions. ^{This} ~~That~~ is a legacy ~~of the impact~~ of the sixties that lives on, ^{and one, altogether,} ~~although, which~~ ^{that} is likely to remain with us.

I also believe that academically the campuses were made more susceptible to change, more willing to introduce new curriculum elements, more flexible to the open university models that are now spreading dramatically across the world. The idea that

learning is for students of all ages, that one can learn at other times and places than in the classroom and on the campus, ~~we~~ ~~believe~~ received enormous impetus from the students who said there must be a more flexible way to carry on their work. There are many examples where the legacy has been sustained and, in my view, ^{it} has generally been wholesome and positive.

~~On the other hand,~~ ^{Unfortunately,} ~~there is~~ ^{also} a darker side. ~~I believe that~~ Vietnam had a devastating impact on ~~what I call~~ the "worldmindedness" of the nation and our students. I remember the enthusiasm following World War II when international studies became popular and Washington ~~was~~ ^{gave strong} funding ^{to} ~~well~~ area studies programs. I believe that Vietnam caused the nation to wonder whether we had any business going around the world either for good or bad. There was a sense of bankruptcy in ~~this~~ ^{the} international dimension and the interest in world studies dramatically declined, ^{and federal} ~~Federal~~ support for international studies dramatically decreased--an experience that occurred, unhappily, when I was in Washington. ~~I think there was a kind of~~ ^{palpable new} provincialism and isolationism, ~~a conservatism that caused the nation to feel~~ ^{-- a feeling} that our engagement in world affairs had brought only grief. Under their influence we ~~forgot, I think,~~ ^{tended to forget} the Marshall plan, ^{the} Fulbright program, the AID program--to name a few. I say ~~what follows~~ ^{California} with considerable embarrassment, ~~in a~~ ^{that in a} recent survey of community college ^{students in California,} a majority of ~~the~~ students could not locate Iran or El Salvador on a map, even though those two countries are ^{steadily} ~~frequently~~ in the headlines ~~in our country.~~ ^{of our media.}

Above all, ~~perhaps~~ the transition to the seventies was marked by a loss of confidence in our most sacred institutions, the universities included. Between 1964 and 1972, citizen alienation in America dramatically increased. Only 52 percent of eligible citizens participated in the 1972 Presidential election. During that same period, 51 percent of Americans surveyed said they did not believe that our government could solve our critical problems of energy, inflation, and crime. Between 1966 and 1979 the percentage of citizens who ^{admitted} ~~said they~~ had great confidence in the executive branch of government plummeted from 41 percent to 17 percent, and ~~those who said they~~ had great confidence in Congress plummeted from 42 percent to 18 percent.

~~Of course~~ this spirit of disillusion had spread across the campuses, too. In 1978 a colleague ~~of mine~~ at the Carnegie Foundation wrote a book entitled When Dreams and Heroes Died, which ~~I think~~ captured well the climate on the campus in the 1970s. After surveying hundreds of college freshmen, Arthur Levine ^{concluded} ~~said~~ that most believed that all social institutions from large corporations to the church are at least somewhat immoral and dishonest; 41 percent said that major corporations are corrupt; 41 percent ^{found} ~~said that~~ labor unions ~~are~~ corrupt; 39 percent ~~said~~ ^{thought} Congress ~~is~~ corrupt; 31 percent said that the President is corrupt; and the list goes on. Never mind whether these are accurate perceptions. I can only say that ~~at the beginning of the sixties~~ ^{a dominant} there was disillusionment ~~and suspicion that it would~~ ^{about}

the efficacy of our institutions, and a deep suspicion ~~work on our behalf, and even the suspicion that it was being led~~ about the trustworthiness of those who represent our ~~by those whose interest they did not trust.~~ country's interests.

The dramatic transition ^{during} of this period was captured by ~~one a~~ faculty member ~~as follows. Although I think it could have been~~ repeated by a thousand faculty, this quote comes from a professor, ^{who said} at George Washington University, a 20-year veteran of campus life, ~~It describes~~ most perceptively, ~~I think, the transition in~~ of higher education ~~during the decade we just discussed.~~ "Ten years ago, the professor writes, "students were actively engaged, caught up, and almost in spite of themselves in the general student unrest. Now they have withdrawn from all that....They are good at asserting their limited interests. They are especially clear about their limits. Most of the old issues of conscience are still there: race, women's rights, population, environment. Most sentiments about such issues among these students ^{are} ~~is~~ 'right'--they hope things will work out well. The drift is toward political indifference."

In our own recent ^{study} ~~survey~~ of 5,000 American college and university students, 58 percent of those surveyed said they believed our political system was not working. The survey results also showed that American college students are increasingly materialistic: 77 percent agreed that "becoming well-off financially" was either important or very important to them. Further, 41 percent ~~of those surveyed~~ indicated that their main reason for attending college was related to getting a job.

~~and~~ ^{fewer} In another survey, ~~less~~ than half (44 percent) said that developing a "meaningful philosophy of life" was a central goal. Interestingly, tracking ~~of~~ these student attitudes over a 15 year period ^{has} shows a significant increase in commitment to financial gain, along with a decreasing emphasis on discovering meaning and purpose in one's life.

Meanwhile it seems the curriculum has also changed to reflect this new central focus of the students. It has become a job-related curriculum. About two-thirds of all undergraduate degrees granted by American colleges and universities today are in career-related fields. The field of sociology, for example, which was so strong during the 1960s when students were trying to understand the "social context," ^{suffered} ~~has had~~ a dramatic decline in enrollments, while business, computers ^{science} and health-related fields have experienced a dramatic increase in this decade.

~~I'm suggesting then, that~~ the transition from the 1960s to the 1970s was evidence ^{to} in the attitudes of students as well. John Kennedy's call for service ^{was} ~~now~~ forgotten, and the drive for justice ^{gave} ~~had given~~ way to ^a new ~~kind of~~ individualism or ^{indeed} ~~not~~ cynicism, both on and off the campus. ~~In this sense~~ the drift was so pervasive by late in the decade of the 1970s that President Carter shocked the nation (and perhaps contributed to his own undoing) when he tried to give it a name. Carter said, in 1978, that he believed Americans were suffering from a national malaise. Maybe we were, ^{not} but we didn't want to hear that from the President. We expected him instead to help us find a way out.

Before leaving the 1970s, I should make one final and important point, ~~regarding the transitions of this decade.~~ During this historic period over 12 million new Americans ^{entered} ~~were coming in~~ from Latin America to the south and from Asia to the west. This happened to be the greatest migration in 70 years. ~~I find it~~ ^{is} particularly ironic that at the very same time the nation's sense of optimism seemed to be at an all time low, the wave of new immigrants coming to our shores was ^{near} ~~at~~ an all time high.

~~We can conclude that in one short decade~~ ^{In the period we are considering} America's colleges moved abruptly from a decade of inspiration to a decade of confusion. ~~They moved in one short decade~~ from expansion to retrenchment. ~~They moved from a decade of world-mindedness to a decade of careerism on the campus.~~ ~~I must also suggest, however, that this transition was a sign more of fatigue than of a loss of hope.~~ ^{But} While the impulses of hope and faith remained, ~~there was~~ ^{they were} ~~qualified by~~ that more realistic sense, ~~perhaps,~~ of what could and could not be accomplished through the student movements that have been described.

^{As always in the past,} ~~Above all, I conclude that~~ the future of the nation and education are inextricably interlocked. It is my own judgment that in the decade just ahead a larger, more inspired vision will once again appear on the nation's campuses as we seek to combine the social vision of the 1960s with the search for personal meaning that seems to dominate campus life today.