Book Reviews

Amitai Etzioni.
A Responsive Society: Collected Essays on Guiding Deliberate Social Change.
San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1991.

With an apparent mixture of pride and defensiveness, Etzioni opens this collection of essays with a quotation from the 1975 Time magazine article, which dubbed him the "Everything Expert." The quoted passage begins "sometimes Amitai Etzioni seems to be a one-man profession." This comment, along with the opportunity of reviewing this new collection of his writings, brings back memories of my first encounters with Etzioni. Twenty-three years ago, a group of us squeezed into a packed room to see firsthand this person whose works we had been studying as doctoral students. We came partially because we were fascinated by the breadth and power of his thinking and partially because we were having trouble believing that he was real. Quite frankly, a number of us shared the view that he had to be no more than a front for a group of overworked and underappreciated graduate students who were the real authors of his books. (As I recall, we had looked at four full-length books he had published within a little over a year in the late sixties—each of which called on knowledge from what seemed like every major discipline plus a number we had never heard of.)

We all left the meeting totally convinced that, while he acknowledged assistance of graduate students and others in his research, his grasp of the various areas of inquiry was unbelievably broad and deep. The detailed footnotes and bibliographical references one found in his writings were to knowledge that he had the ability to recall and cite instantly, as questions were posed from experts throughout our institution who seemed unwilling to accept that someone "not of their field" could know enough to speak intelligently about it.

I begin with this story—perhaps for the same reason that Etzioni began with his reference to the *Time* article—because one cannot approach any collection of Etzioni's writings unless one is prepared to be immersed in disciplines as diverse as medicine, political science, economics, and philosophy as well as the particular brand of sociology that he claims as his homeground.

This book includes eighteen essays, sixteen of which are reprinted from other sources, grouped into four parts: (1) the need for social change, (2) the elements of social change, (3) the structure of social change, and (4) the ethics of social change. Three of the essays were originally published in the nineties, nine in the eighties, and six in the sixties. As Etzioni notes in the preface, in spite of the broad range of topics covered by the essays, all "are concerned with the opportunities and limits of guided (or deliberate) social change." In his discussions about the reasons societies need to influence a changed future, Etzioni deliberately ignores the normal disciplinary boundaries because, as he points out, concepts of guidance theory are of interest to people in many fields.

The first of the two new essays opens the book and serves as an apologia for Etzioni's self-proclaimed role as an *"active academic."* Suggesting immodestly that his intentions as a scholar are to do no less than "change the world," he provides some of his most vivid insights in this essay and in "The Fight against Fraud and Abuse: Analyzing Constituent Support," which appeared originally in 1982. This latter essay offsets the braggadocio of the opening as it describes in detail his failures to secure acceptance of his theories as he worked on problems of nursing homes in New York State and later with the federal General Accounting Office and Office of Management and Budget during the Carter administration.

The second of the new essays is "The Moral Dimension in Policy Analysis." As

the opening section of the book tends to repeat and refresh the reader concerning themes developed in more detail in his *Active Society* (1968), this closing essay draws on *The Moral Dimension* (1988). It reflects his increasing rejection of moral relativism and his insistence on the need "to respond to moral and social values, in *addition* to rational drives toward maximizing utility."

Perhaps the obvious question is, what use is a book that consists of material already available in print from the author? The most obvious and simplistic answer is that it makes available a thematically related collection of essays in a single volume. But the question needs more attention than that. It seems to me that those of us affiliated with metropolitan universities may have two different kinds of interest in the work. Some of us who would like to acquaint our students with Etzioni's notions concerning decision making, and more generally on how "society can influence its future, rather than being subject to the whims of historical and environmental forces beyond its control," will find this collection a useful text. Others of us who may or may not be familiar with Etzioni's writing will do well to attend to this group of essays as advice we need as we engage in the struggle to renew the education of educators and the schools in which our nation's children learn.

For those of us who would be reformers, Etzioni's conceptualization of a responsive society, defined in his 1990 essay "Liberals and Communitarians," needs to be considered. He tells us that a *responsive* community is one that appeals to values that members already possess ('only you can prevent forest fires!') and encourages them to internalize values they currently do not command (before an appeal to clean up litter will be effective, individuals are called upon to concern themselves with the environment)....When people act to express a value that they have truly acquired within a pluralistic community (internalized rather than accepted as a social pressure to which they had better conform) they are not, nor do they feel, coerced, even in a psychological sense. Rather they feel affirmed when they uphold what have become *their* values. (pp. 148–149)

The essay that follows this in section four, "Basic Human Needs, Alienation, and Inauthenticity," reminds us of Etzioni's view on an inauthentic institution where *"appearances of participation"* cover *"underlying exclusion."* He speaks to the high cost for institutions and to individuals in them when there is "more reliance on pseudo-participation through societal-managerial techniques in various ...institutions as divergent as work, education, and politics." (p. 178) My work in twenty-five states during the past six years suggests that examples of such inauthentic relationships may be expanding rather than contracting since the concept was described in this essay originally published in 1968. Certainly one finds numerous examples of inauthentic engagement of teachers and parents in schools under the guise of "site-based" management. Moreover, notwithstanding all the time engaged in faculty committees, many of the professors with whom I have worked express considerable dissatisfaction with the authenticity of their contributions to institutional decision making.

Perhaps nowhere is the complaint louder or more pervasive than in higher education faculty members' complaints about the reward system. In the same 1968 essay, Etzioni discussed the need for recognition as a basic one: It is more difficult to socialize people to roles that demand submerging the identity of one's efforts in a collective enterprise, i.e., a structure that inhibits individual recognition, than to socialize people to roles that allow for ample individual recognition." (p. 160) Given the magnitude of the task of renewing schools and universities, such work is unlikely to be accomplished by anyone who works alone—thus the institutions will have to devise means to provide for individual recognition in situations that are of necessity group efforts.

Consider a final example of the substantive issues discussed in this volume that should be considered by those who would engage in educational renewal. Etzioni references the work of Gutman as he talks about the responsibility of education to educate each generation to "deliberate critically" by ensuring that all members of

the community acquire the capacity to deliberate and ensuring that all people are exposed to alternative points of view. In other words, he challenges us, in Gutman's words, to "prepare future citizens for participating intelligently in the political processes that shape their society." One does not have to be a careful observer of the state of politics in this nation to question whether students are graduating from our schools so prepared, or whether, indeed, our teachers come to the schools from their colleges prepared to help students gain this ability to participate in a democracy.

As usual, Etzioni is at his best when relating specific examples from many fields of thought and at his most obtuse when attempting to reduce essentially middle-ground positions to empirically "provable" constructs. From examples that range from such differing settings as the unification of Europe, the fall of the Eastern Bloc, the conundrum facing liberals and conservatives as they seek to deal rationally with issues such as abortion and environmental threats, we are offered the usual wide-ranging fare from this "Everything Expert." Use it with your students. Even better, use it to reflect on your behavior and accept Etzioni's challenge to be an active academic.

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Clark Kerr.
The Great Transformation in Higher Education 1960–1980.
Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991, 378 pp.

When I was called to consider reviewing the present volume, the telephone conversation depended upon the existence of low-cost, widely available, and well-organized microwave and satellite technologies. These means of communications were invented through collaborative efforts among research universities, business concerns, and the federal government, dating back to the middle of the nineteenth century and reaching their full extent by the middle of the twentieth. When I sat down to begin taking notes for the book review, I used a small computer whose design and manufacture likewise were spinoffs of research and development alliances among university researchers, military-industrial technicians, and centralized governmental policy makers. Indeed, it would be difficult to find any aspect of contemporary life that has not been touched by collaborations for which the term "technocracy" has been coined, defined by Walter McDougall as "the institutionalization of technological change for state purposes, that is, the state-funded and -managed R&D explosion of our time."

In the past half-century, technocratic achievements have exploded, literally as fireballs as well as figuratively, as rapid changes in the ways that people create, recreate, communicate, and govern. During the past few years, however, the formidable apparatus of technocracy has undergone a series of implosive shifts in state policy and public opinion toward research, development, and teaching in universities. These flagships of technocracy have been subject to: intense critical scrutiny in jeremiad books (notably by E. D. Hirsch and Allan Bloom, among many others), scandals over uses of appropriated funds, deep appropriations cuts, and rancorous debates joined by no less than the president of the United States, over the means and meanings of universities. A *New York Times* article recently declared, "Higher Education Feels the Heat" and describes how "federal inquiries, bad blood and a debate over purpose rock U.S. campuses." Not since the student rebellions of the late 1960s and early 1970s has there been so much turmoil in universities.

Amidst this turbulence, I set out to read Clark Kerr's essays collected in 1990 under the title *The Great Transformation in Higher Education 1960–1980*. This volume, edited by the author, comprises twenty-eight pieces published over the past thirty years, with a new prologue, epilogue, and introductions to each of four sections. The section titles promise much introspection and analysis: "Prologue—

Transformations," "The American System in Perspective," "The Unfolding of the Great Transformation," "Governance and Leadership under Pressure," "Academic Innovation and Reform: Much Innovation, Little Reform," "Epilogue—Reflections." At first, it seemed to me that there might be a gripping story here, told by one who became an icon of technocracy when, as president of the University of California, he dealt with student riots that brought world-wide media attention to the Berkeley campus. On the very first page of text, however, Kerr wistfully denies that this volume is intended to be a narrative of his personal experiences of the great transformation:

> "Looking at these essays together, I regret that they are written more from above many battles than from within the individual battles, although I saw them from the inside as a participant as well as from the outside as an observer. ... I wish I might have been better able to say how it felt at the time along with telling what was going on and why. I wrote more from the perspective of a participating social scientist than that of an autobiographical novelist, a bent that reflects my background." (p. ix)

Kerr's forthright choice of this dispassionate style reverberates in every chapter. It prevents him from telling all of his own story, but that is a minor point, an appealing diffidence in these days when tell-all books are rushed to market and transit briefly from best-seller lists to remainder bins. More importantly, his apology for not writing an *apologia pro vita sua* indicates that he may not fully grasp the dimensions of the story he is so qualified to tell.

Kerr's adoption of the pose of the cool observer above the fray is akin to a rhetorical stance that Robert Hariman calls "the willed political incapacity of positivism." To deny one's capacity to make political and emotional statements does not diminish their importance to the topic at hand. Studied neutrality seems an especially untenable style for one who participated in making many of the decisions that transformed a set of state colleges and vacant lots into a paragon among university systems, one that is especially racked with problems in the 1990s. It may not be too farfetched a comparison to say that Kerr can no more rise to a perspective above his circumstances than could the captain of the *Titanic*. Taking a prominent part in battles, one gains experience but not omniscience.

As technocracy grew in the years after World War II, the changes that occurred in universities amplified conflicts among various parties, leading to such confrontations as the McCarthy-era faculty blacklists or student uprisings, both of which took place at Berkeley during Kerr's tenure as an administrator. There were definite results from these highly emotional and deeply partisan struggles over the political and philosophical purposes of universities. Rather than thorough and rigorous analysis, Kerr's book gives vivid evidence of how a captain of a university in the liberal tradition navigated through these crises of the 1960s and into those of the 1990s. The most striking image of beleaguered liberalism that Kerr offers in these chapters comes in a chapter entitled, "An Eternal Issue—Caesar and God," first presented in 1982. In it, Kerr advocates a delicate balance between external and internal governance of higher education, assigning the role of God to the university administrators, whose "integrity and autonomy" are said to be threatened by "many Caesars—the national government, the fifty states, the local jurisdictions...," about which he claims to "take great comfort that there are many Caesars mostly acting alone; that there is no conspiracy among them." (p. 270) In building and sustaining the analogy of an equilibrium between "external" and "internal" interests, Kerr argues for tolerance and introspection in a tone that would be expected of a chaplain, but is somewhat disingenuous when adopted by a high-level technocrat.

I find it disturbing that Kerr's pantheon simplifies the complex history of higher education in the U.S., compressing the presence of technocracy into a few sparse paragraphs (pp. 259–61) about federal influence. He repeatedly tells his audience that large research universities have worked well and will continue to do so if only the people in them would do their best, and the people outside them would leave them free to do what they think best. There are many

examples of current controversies that could be offered in rejoinder, as pretexts for arguing that even the best intentions might not rescue a system that is better prepared for success in the last century than in the next. For my purposes here, I can offer only one brief example, that of finance.

In a chapter entitled "The Climacteric in Review," based on a lecture given in 1980, Kerr offers a capsule of his conception of the great transformation that universities underwent from 1960 to 1980. In two paragraphs, he summarizes the massive change in financing higher education that occurred during that period. His first point is that "public sources of funds became more important and public control more intensified." (p. 145) The next point is that, as student populations grew rapidly in the 1960s, actual costs grew less than expenditures, so that, initially, "colleges were better off. They made a 'profit' on each student added." (p. 146) Finally, he points out that policy shifts made during growth periods, particularly in faculty appointments and retention but also in facilities planning and use, resulted in depleted profits and wasted opportunities once rates of growth declined. Kerr then argues that decreased rates of growth now obligate both university and state administrators to anticipate new conditions and adjust accordingly.

Kerr's thumbnail sketch leaves out an important point: this system of finance was a deliberately chosen policy, implemented by various federal and state bureaucracies, that created an open market for loans and grants issued directly to students. In short, although Kerr does not say so, for the past thirty years universities have been the sites of large-scale uncontrolled experiments in school financing by voucher. He does say that, now that the shortcomings of this system are becoming increasingly evident, continued trials are warranted, even though they will continue to be at the expense of subject populations without their consent. Kerr does not contribute to the current debate over the merits of plans for choice in K–12 schooling, but in this chapter he nonetheless testifies that open markets for tuition and enrollment-based funds have not been a healthy environment for higher education.

The University of California, or any of the universities that grew, flourished, and faltered during the past century, are not ocean liners, but vastly more complex social institutions in which power and authority are distributed in intricate networks. When their curricula, finance, and governance were placed on divergent tracks, driven by widely various disciplinary specializations, market forces, and public policies, institutional instability inevitably ensued. Now that large-scale expansions of technocratic R&D no longer provide universities with financial and administrative ballast, the welfare of higher education is gravely uncertain, especially in large systems that are heavily dependent upon research grants.

In summary, these essays were frustrating to read. As I reviewed them in light of current events, my disappointment grew. Kerr refers often to the history and politics of the university, yet does not connect the rise of technocracy to the growth of higher education, preferring a Sunday-school dichotomy between Caesar and God to describe the complex disciplinary, political, and corporate structures that he helped construct. Kerr extensively discusses the role of the university as a means of social mobility, but does not seem to sympathize with the frustrations of recent generations of students who are less willing to pay increasingly higher tuition to stand in longer lines for course registrations and, eventually, vocational credentials. Kerr claims to stand above emotionalism, but I found the book to be laden with rue and marred by outbursts of spite. It is regrettable that a man of great learning, experience, and eloquence chose to tell his tale in such a self-serving and ultimately self-defeating way.

Like Kerr, I admire the rich harvests of scholarly, artistic, and technological fruits of research, teaching, and service from universities during the past decades. I feel bitter irony in using satellites, computers, data networks, and journals like this one, products of that golden era, to announce the onset of a leaden era. It is too late to avoid the current crises, but there is still time to envision how universities might adapt to new circumstances in the decades ahead. The great capacities of these

institutions for managing change must be increasingly devoted to processes of changing themselves. This book calls for visions of change, but it delivers far less foresight and hindsight than it promises. Universities deserve and need more and better reflective self-analysis.

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Suggested Readings

Barrett, William. *Death of the Soul: From Descartes to the Computer.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1986.

Bruce, Robert. *The Launching of Modern American Science.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986.

Hariman, Robert. "The Rhetoric of Inquiry and the Scholar." In H. Simons, ed., *Rhetoric in the Human Sciences.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989.

Hughes, Thomas. *American Genesis.* New York: Penguin, 1990.

Lasch, Christopher. *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics.* New York: Norton, 1991.

McDougall, Walter. *The Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Age.* New York: Basic, 1985.

Wilshire, Bruce. *The Moral Collapse of the University.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.

Harcleroad, Fred F. and Allan W. Ostar.

Colleges and Universities for Change: America's Comprehensive Public State Colleges and Universities.

Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1987, 226 pp.

Among all of the Carnegie classifications, one can find "urban" colleges and universities—institutions located in the large cities of the United States. Some of these institutions have histories going back to colonial times. Others emerged in the nineteenth century, although this seemed to be a period in our history when college founders opted more often for the rural setting, far from the more threatening urban environment. The twentieth century has proven more open to urban institutions. A surprisingly large number of them appeared in the decade of the sixties, for instance, as public and private sources of funding became available to meet the crushing demand for spaces in academe. The urban institution, in other words, is very much a part of the contemporary American higher educational scene.

One group of these institutions has heretofore received little attention. Alden Dunham in 1969 referred to them as "colleges of the forgotten Americans." We welcome, therefore, this book by Harcleroad and Ostar, which provides much needed background on the public state comprehensive colleges and universities. "The United States has invented a third new type of higher education institution during the last thirty years," the authors argue (the others having been the land-grant college and university and the community college). "Multipurpose institutions, primarily concerned with teaching and public service," this third new type "emphasizes programs of professional education designed to meet our complex society's needs for well-educated persons..." (p. x) Among the professional fields mentioned are computer and

information sciences, allied health, engineering, architecture and environmental design, education, and business management.

Not all American colleges and universities located in urban settings necessarily give primary attention to the educational needs of their immediate community, nor do they enroll large numbers of students from local surroundings. The public comprehensive colleges and universities, on the other hand, do have a more local orientation and are in a position to serve the special needs of their local populations. It helps, too, that 55 percent of the institutions of which Harcleroad and Ostar write are located in "standard metropolitan statistical area(s)." (p.4)

The authors divide the history of these institutions into three parts. The first, ending in 1920, is marked by the rise of normal schools, technical and mechanical institutes, and YMCA and physical culture schools, among others. The normal schools are particularly important to this period, especially as they changed during this time from secondary to postsecondary institutions. During the 1920s to 1960, as the cities grew and the demand for new services followed, these institutions expanded their roles to become more multipurposed. Enrollments grew and names changed. Normal schools became teacher colleges, then state colleges, and some by the end of the period, universities. Also appearing during this time was a "new wave of technology-oriented state colleges and universities." (p. 51) During 1960–1985, the public comprehensive colleges and universities assumed their identity as a major sector within American higher education. They formed a new association, expanded their mission extensively, and welcomed to their ranks many new institutions, a good number of them located in urban settings.

In looking to the future, Harcleroad and Ostar address the oft-cited changes occurring in American higher education today: declines in the college-age population, enrollment increases among older students and part-timers, and the failure to attract and graduate sufficient numbers of students of color. Of particular interest to readers of this journal is the authors' recognition of the increasingly urban character of the student population. The authors note, too, the approaching shortage of K–12 teachers, a challenge especially fitting for the institutions on which this book focuses. Optimistic in their outlook, Harcleroad and Ostar anticipate that "the state universities will continue to meet the changes as they occur—responding as they have for over a dozen decades to the compelling demands of both the larger society and the individual student." (p. 160)

While not the most recent of items reviewed in this journal, this book nevertheless represents one of the most recent publications addressed directly to the subject of "metropolitan universities." In one sense, moreover, it helps that both authors have had first-hand experience with institutions of which they write. They know these institutions well, and they provide here a much-needed book-length analysis of their subject. The authors have brought attention to the vital role these institutions played in meeting the enrollment demands of the 1960s and 1970s. In the process, the public comprehensive colleges and universities did indeed become "a third new type of higher education institution" within the American setting.

One must also recognize, however, that because of their close association with public comprehensive colleges and universities, Harcleroad and Ostar may see these institutions in a more positive light than others. I should have welcomed, for instance, a greater willingness to address the goal ambivalence that confronts these particular institutions. Finding their niche (or niches) within the complex American system of special function institutions, community colleges, liberal arts colleges, and research universities is proving a serious challenge to these institutions. Note, for instance, Clark's (1987) description of the role ambivalence among faculty members in these institutions, uncertain as to the emphasis they should give to teaching, research and publication, and community service. I should have welcomed more attention to this dilemma.

In the context of urban higher education, these institutions have much to

offer. Given that they provide a far wider range of programs than do the special function institutions, that their curriculum takes students beyond levels possible within the community colleges, that they are in a position to specialize to a greater degree than the liberal arts colleges, and that their focus is more local than the research university, one has to believe that in the midst of all these unique characteristics lies a mission peculiarly appropriate to America's urban public comprehensive colleges and universities.

Urban America today presents a host of challenges crying out for attention. Where better might many of these challenges be addressed than in the institutions discussed in this book?

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Suggested Readings

Clark, Burton. *The Academic Life*. Princeton: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1987.

Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. *A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education*. Princeton: CFAT, 1987.

Dunham, E. Alden. *Colleges of the Forgotten American—A Profile of State Colleges and Regional Universities*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.