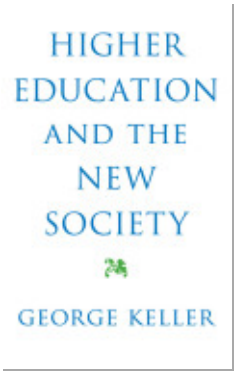
THREE: What's Next for America's Colleges and Universities?



3

What's Next for America's Colleges and Universities?

Imagination is more important than knowledge.

Albert Einstein

The difficulty lies not in the new ideas but in escaping from the old ones.

John Maynard Keynes

Many, if not most, of America's nearly four thousand colleges and universities have taken steps to react to the four formidable alterations in U.S. society since the 1970s. Contrary to some of the accusations, U.S. higher education has changed considerably in the past three decades. Institutions have improved their admissions and financial aid operations, installed new high-tech equipment and programs, broadened faculty and staff hiring and promotions, increased their services to adults and foreign students, modernized their curriculums (especially in the freshman year and in travel and study abroad), created strategic plans, and raised

money aggressively to cope with the escalating costs of higher education.[1]

Numerous institutions have modified their practices in other areas of national concern as well. An example is academe's relatively new attention to improving the environment. Most campuses now recycle their paper and cardboard, which make up one-half of their waste, and more carefully dispose of their chemicals and other hazardous wastes. They have markedly reduced their energy usage, and thus their expenses on energy use, through better lighting, more controlled heating and cooling, and new furnace equipment. They have reduced the use of automobiles, and some have encouraged the use of bicycles. Nearly all colleges today have no-smoking areas, and a growing number buy local produce and purchase less-polluting paints, carpets, and other items. Campuses such as Tufts University, Brown University ("Brown Is Green"), and the Universities of Kansas, Missouri, and Wisconsin have ecological ombudsmen; Oberlin College has an Environmental Studies Center, as do several universities. And colleges and universities have more frequently employed "green" architecture in the construction of new buildings, at times including solar panels.[2]

Given all the adjustments and fresh initiatives of many of the traditional, accredited colleges and universities in the United States since the 1970s, what are we to make of the charges that these institutions have been reluctant and tardy to change in response to the new society or to the more fundamental suggestion that a radical restructuring of higher education is now imperative? A large number of institutions have made incremental

changes and improvements in the past three decades. Many of the current initiatives of the colleges and universities are unknown, however, to the public and even to many in academe itself. The media scarcely cover higher education as a news area or report on its actions, despite the newly central role of advanced education and training in contemporary life. Few newspapers or news magazines have an education editor, and the coverage by radio and television is negligible. Much of what happens in U.S. higher education and among its fifteen million enrollees is unexplored territory for the media, except for collegiate sports, major personnel upheavals, and the occasional scandal.

But what about the more fundamental calls for major structural alterations for higher education? Are these mainly the recommendations of cranks, anti-intellectuals, and the mutinous? Or are they the profound observations of a small but discerning group of analysts (and some malcontents) who believe that the time has arrived for an overhaul of America's higher education enterprise? I think the latter has a strong claim to validity. In fact, it may be that only through considerable and profound restructuring can U.S. higher education continue to serve the nation in a powerful way. Here the more savvy critics of higher education have an insightful point.

Nearly all salutary changes that colleges and universities have made since the 1970s have been accomplished within the same structures as in the past. They are all merely incremental alterations within a century-old structure. And the existing structure is definitely an old one. Laurence Veysey, the finest historian of higher education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, wrote that "the decades between 1870 and 1910 witnessed the

only genuine 'academic revolution' yet to be experienced in the United States. Most of the fundamental academic practices which continue to be familiar to us were first established in that period . . . The revolution of the late nineteenth century quite simply created the American university (and the undergraduate college) much as we now know them."[3]

Before the late nineteenth century, U.S. colleges had no academic departments or majors, no deans or strong presidents, few professional schools, scanty electives, almost no research or graduate programs, virtually no academic attention to the world of work, no numbered courses or a credit system, no tenure, no alumni associations or organized fund raising. Most classes were run mainly as recitations by the students, and there were almost no informed lectures by the professors and no seminars. Colleges were small, with only a few hundred students or fewer, and enrollments were not increasing. But in the forty years or so around the turn of the twentieth century, a radically new structure was put in place, one that still remains and is now largely unquestioned and widely regarded as obviously proper and orthodox.

The academic transformation of 1870–1910 was propelled by several factors. One was the desire by many farmers, industrialists, workers, and people of commerce to scrap the heavy emphasis on Latin, Greek, and Christian pedagogy and replace it with a more utilitarian view, connecting higher education more closely with the actual conditions of the emerging American economy. The passage of the Morrill Act of 1863, establishing land-grant colleges, which required instruction in modern agricultural practices, "mechanical arts" or engineering, and military service, kicked off extensive educational re-

forms at the state universities especially but altered instruction at many private institutions as well.[4] Another factor was the more elitist new emphasis on archival, empirical, and experimental research, influenced considerably by the German universities and the increasingly intellectual interests of a more scientifically oriented minority of faculty. This factor led quickly to the growth of graduate schools after Yale established the first American Ph.D. degree in 1863. In 1876, a new kind of university was started in Baltimore, Maryland, through the seven million dollar beneficence of railroad baron Johns Hopkins, emphasizing research almost exclusively.

A third element was the rise of a management structure in the colleges and universities, prodded by the formation of new schools of business, agriculture, law, medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, nursing, engineering, even forestry and mining; by the increased enrollments in the late 1800s, which enlarged the universities (by 1910, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Illinois, Michigan, and Penn State each had more than four thousand students); and by the sudden need to design and build a new kind of university and to raise money for growth and research facilities. Deans of the professional schools appeared, as did powerful and innovative presidents, such as the University of Chicago's William Rainey Harper, Columbia's Nicholas Murray Butler, Cornell's Andrew Dickson White, Harvard's Charles Eliot, Johns Hopkins's Daniel Coit Gilman, and Stanford's David Starr Jordan.

A fourth factor was in part an annoyed reaction to the growing emphasis on the sciences, research, and graduate and professional schools and in part a strategy to keep many of the ideals of the old-time college alive but without the onerous stress on the classics, the inculca-

tion of religious virtue, and the use of unscholarly faculty. Called the liberal arts or general education, the programs became the bedrock of America's smaller colleges and a few universities such as Princeton, which chose not to add professional schools. A fifth factor was the surprising outpouring of monies to the colleges and universities from the newly rich of modern industrialism. Philanthropists suddenly donated millions to start colleges for women, for new professional schools, and to construct campus buildings.[5] And the more ambitious presidents became more aggressive about soliciting funds from the affluent. "Captains of erudition" was the moniker some gave them.

State legislative leaders likewise began to support their embryonic state universities. Between 1875 and 1910, city, state, and federal revenues to higher education rose from $667,521 to $24,528,197, while gifts to campuses by individuals jumped from $2,703,650 to $18,737,145, according to the annual reports of the U.S. Commission of Education.[6]

As U.S. colleges and universities sought to transform themselves to respond to the new industrial economy, the different culture, and the growth of the sciences and international connections, they did a remarkable thing. They adopted all five of the components pressing for change. Universities became more vocational and restructured themselves to prepare more students for the world of work and the professions. Faculties conducted more research, institutions enlarged their instruction in the sciences, and scholars dug into original documents and historical actions with fresh fervor. Many colleges revised their liberal arts requirements and forms of pedagogy. Nearly all the institutions modernized their man-

agement organizations, adding subordinates and associates. And numerous colleges and universities altered their boards of trustees to include more successful entrepreneurs, and they instituted several other fund-raising practices to gather new monies.

Thus, much of American higher education transformed itself with three new educational aims, led by a stronger central management, and with an unabashed new pluralism of academic emphases. The trio of educational purposes—to prepare the young for occupations and professions useful and important for the nation; to infuse students with a sense of service and the significance of character and to familiarize them with the finest achievements of humankind and their own national heritage; and to encourage and assist them in methods of creating new knowledge—actually reflects an age-old tension. More than twenty-three hundred years ago, Aristotle, in searching for the best ingredients for training youth, found that

> at present opinion is divided about the subjects of education. All do not take the same view about what should be learned by the young . . . If we look at actual practice, the result is sadly confusing. It throws no light on the problem whether the proper studies to be followed are those which are useful in life, or those which make for goodness, or those which advance the bounds of knowledge. Each sort of study receives some votes in its favor.[7]

The three aims—preparation for work, for well-rounded and deeply grounded learning, and for research and scholarship—are still those of many U.S. academic institutions, alongside such more recent aims as greater attention to the environment, social justice, in-

ternational understanding, and an enlarged sensitivity to religious, multicultural, racial, and gender differences. The multiplicity of educational goals has complicated the choices, confused many students, and made life much more perplexing for regular faculty, yet each of several educational purposes of contemporary higher education seems necessary and valuable.

Just as important, the structure of U.S. institutions of higher education is much the same as it was in 1915, more than ninety years ago. A college education is still four years in length, with a proliferation of courses for credit available and approximately 120 credits required for graduation. Academic inquiry is still broken up into separate departments, each of which has essentials for something called a major. There are still usually two semesters a year, from early September to late May, a holdover from America's agricultural past. There are still faculty who are expected to teach, conduct research or engage in scholarship, advise students, perform campus or public service, and often win tenure. Graduate programs are still devoted mainly to preparing research-oriented scholars, with no formal introduction into the craft of teaching in the classroom. Universities have approximately the same professional schools as in 1915, with deans managing them. Many institutions still have liberal arts requirements, especially for breadth, though liberal arts programs have often become frayed, controversial, and avoided by senior professors.[8] And U.S. institutions still are heavily influenced by presidents and a cadre of vice presidents. In effect, U.S. colleges and universities have made numerous incremental and positive changes in response to the radically new situation they now face, but they have done so almost entirely within a

nearly century-old structure of the delivery of higher education, to which they cling with extraordinary tenacity.

That the United States has entered a markedly different society with novel characteristics and challenges suggests that higher education's incremental changes, however imaginative and adventurous, are no longer sufficient. The changes and new developments are so prodigious and fundamental that only a major renovation of the turn-of-the-century academic structures can allow U.S. colleges and universities to maintain their animating and central role in the emerging new America. This basic shift—from incremental improvements, whether larger fund drives, new strategic directions, or different faculty hiring practices, to the need for a bold, inventive structural overhaul of higher education—may be what some of the more acerbic critics are calling for. Certainly a small collection of the more perspicacious of higher education observers contends that an overhaul is necessary.

The most farsighted scholar of higher education's new predicament, Martin Trow of the University of California at Berkeley, long ago perceived that America's increased emphasis on wider access to higher education, with more than half of all secondary school graduates going to college instead of the traditional 15 or so percent, would require internal changes in academe and probably a major redesign of the structures and variety of higher education. In a penetrating book chapter written more than thirty-five years ago, Trow predicted that America's moves to mass higher education "will lead within the next decade to very large changes in the character of higher education in this country" and warned

that "the future of higher education cannot be an extrapolation of past tendencies."[9] In 1994, two university presidents, Harold Shapiro of Princeton and his brother Bernard Shapiro of McGill University in Canada, wrote an unpublished paper in which they said, "The challenges at present relate to neither whether nor how to develop a mass higher education system but rather how to structure these systems for a new age."[10] Other observers, such as former university presidents James Duderstadt of Michigan and Richard Freeland of Northeastern, and a few scholars of higher education, such as K. Patricia Cross, Alexander Astin, and Clara Lovett, have also recommended considerable structural alterations, as have knowledgeable outside analysts such as John Seely Brown and Michael Gibbons, secretary general of the Association of Commonwealth Universities.[11]

Recently two of America's top scholars of faculty conditions have declared, "American higher education and the academic profession that serves it are on the edge of an unprecedented restructuring that is changing the face—indeed, even the very meaning—of higher learning."[12] Two leading analysts of business strategies have argued that "we've reached the limits of incrementalism." To them, today's strategic planning "is essentially incremental tactical planning"; instead, the task now is "to imagine a future made possible by changes in technology, life style, work style, regulation, global geopolitics, and the like."[13] In my interview with former Northeastern University president Richard Freeland, he said, "We have not changed our structure, pedagogy, staffing, and academic contents adequately to match all the new developments. We need greater social invention in U.S. higher education."

From several quarters, then, two facts have become more widely recognized: that since the 1970s the United States has entered a new age and that the nation's colleges and universities urgently need to break out of their century-old structures and redesign the delivery of advanced education and training for the new age. Those who advocate major renovations to the existing structure of higher education are still a relatively small group, but the pressures to undertake such renovations are mounting. The tendency to prefer incremental improvements within the current structure increasingly smacks some critics as eerily similar to the long-held belief in the epicycles of the Ptolemaic system before the acceptance of the heliocentric Copernican system in the sixteenth century.

What are the emerging pressures on higher education that seem to demand a fundamental reconstruction of the old and familiar structure? They are abundant.

The most significant is what has been infelicitously dubbed "massification," or the movement from college and professional training for a relatively small and fairly well-motivated percentage of the nation's young to a greatly enlarged range of higher education services for approximately 60 percent of all U.S. secondary school graduates. This is the expansion of access that, as Martin Trow foresaw in the 1970s, would require a wider variety of institutions and different kinds of pedagogy, faculty, and academic objectives. The traditional American college or university, devoted largely to a combination of the British model of teaching a residential population and the German model of von Humboldt's emphasis on research for a small elite, is no longer suitable for the less academically prepared or less motivated mass of

new degree-seekers. The United States is not alone in the massification of higher education. The number of persons attending universities has swelled throughout Europe, Mexico, and other countries. India doubled its attendance between 1990 and 2005, and China is engaged in the largest university expansion in history.[14] The desire of growing numbers of young people to participate in higher education raises a multitude of new issues and basic structural, financial, and academic difficulties.[15]

Almost as significant is the so-called IT revolution, or the transfiguring consequences of the computer and its software, especially the Internet. The radically new technologies demolish the near-monopoly once held by colleges and universities of vital information, data, and international connections; shatter the need for much on-site learning, except for collaborative research and professional training; permit asynchronous education and greater exchanges among universities and their professors and between students and their teachers; and much more. The introduction of the new information technology demands a comprehensive renovation of traditional on-campus classroom lectures, modes of academic inquiry, research techniques, and instruction.

Also complicating the customary work of colleges and universities is a throng of new competitors who teach, conduct research, and publish new findings. Assisted considerably by the new modes of digital investigation and data delivery and by the mounting avidity among many for the latest new developments and information, numerous "think tanks," as they are often labeled, have sprouted to collect and print out data, suggest trends, and even recommend policies and courses of action based on their findings. Most are not connected to uni-

versities and are independently financed, often competing with university scholars for research grants and major gifts. But the profusion of new competitors has come largely in the area of teaching.

Among the worst-taught subjects in academe have been foreign languages. Now there are outside firms like Rosetta Stone and several others competing to help develop fluency, fairly quickly, in spoken Arabic, Chinese, French, Hindi, and a dozen or more languages. Brigham Young University has long had an eight-week crash course in fifty or so languages, cultures, and religions for its Mormon students, who are expected to do missionary work. And numerous colleges and universities have built or set aside on campus language houses, where only a foreign language is spoken. In effect, intensive practice, immersion, and emphasis on spoken language rather than on literature have sprung up to compete with the older and fruitless modes of instruction.

Nearly two thousand corporations, from Harley-Davidson to Microsoft, offer courses, as do a growing number of companies in other countries. Museums now deliver courses in the arts, and higher education organizations, from the American Council on Education to the Society for College and University Planning, present courses for their members annually. And roughly eighty for-profit companies deliver basic data and information to approximately 1.6 million students, mostly working adults but baccalaureate seekers, too. Their enrollments are growing faster than enrollments at traditional universities and may now compose as much as 8 or 9 percent of all U.S. college and university students by head count. As Michael Gibbons has noted, "A multi-billion dollar industry has developed outside established education in-

stitutions, responding in more direct, and usually more effective ways to the needs of industry and the labor market."[16]

One of the more inventive and attractive of the new competitors in teaching is a Virginia-based firm called the Teaching Company. The principals comb the nation's superior colleges and universities to identify the finest teachers in fields such as statistics, ancient Greek civilization, astronomy, the New Testament, calculus, elements of jazz, economics, and classical music and sell their lectures and illustrations in audio and video form. Buyers can thus build their own liberal arts package of courses taught by America's most outstanding professors. The new competitors to higher education seem multitudinous. Wyoming's Yellowstone National Park, for example, has a Yellowstone Institute, which presents field courses each summer on wildflowers, geology, Indian history, and fly-fishing. The Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York City has opened a Center for Christian Studies, with instruction in such areas as church history, practical theology, and drama. Teaching has been a remarkably fecund activity throughout the country, reducing the role of colleges and universities and squeezing them into a limited, more specialized function in society.

The clientele of higher education has been transformed. Not only are there more women, minorities, foreign students, and immigrant young enrolled in most colleges and universities, but the basic constituency of traditional higher education—young men and women aged seventeen to twenty-four—is being expanded and gradually matched by a relatively new constituency: adults aged twenty-five to seventy. Adults currently have

swelled to nearly 40 percent of all enrollees and could increase to one-half in the coming decades. U.S. higher education now is compelled to serve two clienteles, not one as in the past. And the two have very different needs. Many colleges and universities have attempted to cope with the flood of adult students since the 1970s but mainly in a spotty add-on to their traditional youth programs. One expert in adult education, Kay Kohl, has written that

> the current higher education system is not structured to accommodate the needs of a lifelong learning society. Universities are important providers of executive education and vocational master's degree programs—often lucrative endeavors. Yet it is postbaccalaureate certificate programs that evidence job-related competence and on-line courses tailored to changing workforce needs that are increasingly in demand. . . .
>
> In a very real sense, the postbaccalaureate learning imperative is compelling traditional universities to reexamine their entire system in the context of the emerging knowledge economy. What function does the university serve? Whom does it educate?[17]

Perhaps the most profound pressure for structural change—and the most upsetting to many faculty members—is the gradually changing connection between business, corporate research, the personnel needs of the emerging economy, and the traditional values of academe. Indeed, many articles and books have recently deplored how the life of profits and the life of the mind are drawing closer together every year. In the emerging knowledge economy, business firms must have more knowledgeable workers, smarter executives, and better

products and research, and an enlarging majority of college students want an education that prepares them for work in tomorrow's economy. But some professors prefer to deconstruct the writings of, say, Shakespeare or Jane Austen or recount the oppression and neglect of women in past centuries, while others want undergraduates to know their Western heritage in the arts, philosophy, politics, religion, science, and great literature.

A major upheaval in the traditional devotion of universities and their faculties to the transmission of knowledge and faculty-driven curriculums and courses is taking place, however. The very purpose of most of U.S. higher education is being transposed. Michael Gibbons describes the transposition with directness:

> During the past twenty years, a new paradigm of the function of higher education in society has gradually emerged. Gone, it seems, is the high-mindedness of a von Humboldt or a Newman, with its pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. In their places has been put a view of higher education in which universities are meant to serve society, primarily by supporting the economy and promoting the quality of life of its citizens. While it is true that universities still retain their role as the "conscience of society," the critical function of universities has been displaced in favour of a more pragmatic role in terms of the provision of qualified manpower and the production of knowledge . . . The new paradigm is bringing in its train a new culture of accountability . . . In all countries, developed or developing, the culture of accountability is going to become more and more firmly established . . . [and] relevance will be judged primarily in terms of outputs.[18]

The traffic between economic interests and higher education has been swelling. Numerous institutions have contracted to train or upgrade the workers at nearby companies. Universities have built industrial parks close to their campus for start-up businesses and corporate research. Entrepreneurship is now taught at many business schools. And more professors each year do consulting, part-time work, or research for corporations, especially in fields such as the life sciences,[19] or leave their university positions to start their own business. Indeed, it was American institutions that pioneered in forging links between the academic world and industry.

Some of the links, however, are becoming invidious. For example, in 1998 the Novartis drug and biotech company signed a $25 million contract with the University of California at Berkeley to conduct research guided by an oversight committee with two members of Novartis and three from UC-Berkeley, and Novartis can license the discoveries and delay publication of the research findings. Clemson University in South Carolina opened an International Center for Automotive Research in 2006, becoming the first U.S. university to award a doctorate in automotive engineering. The center was made possible by a $10 million gift by the German automaker BMW to Clemson, which allows BMW to help develop the course of study, suggest professors and practicing engineers, and even approve the new school's architectural look.[20] Michelin and the Timken Company, a bearings manufacturer, have also contributed, and the state has donated $25 million to build the graduate school. Companies such as Sun Microsystems and Google, among others, were developed by Stanford scholars and

graduate students, as were companies in the Boston and Austin, Texas, areas.

Another major development that must be faced is the steady increase in the charges for attending private and public colleges and universities. Several polls have revealed that many Americans now regard the rising costs of higher education to be as worrisome as the escalation in health care costs, the persistence of crime, or the threat of terrorist attacks. Tuition charges since the early 1980s have risen faster than the increases in median family income, and they continue to rise more than the Consumer Price Index annually. Total expenses at the best private research universities and liberal arts colleges in America approached forty-five thousand dollars in 2007, and most of the better public university costs are two-thirds of that sum.

More and more state legislatures, national commissions, and members of the public are urging institutions to lower the annual increases in tuition and increase financial assistance. But colleges and universities have great difficulty in reducing their tuition revenue. The salaries of the most promising and productive professors keep rising, as do the expenses for IT, new sports facilities, improved science buildings and equipment, and entries into other fields such as the arts and communications (television, film, etc.). So further financial tinkering within the century-old structure of higher education is no longer sufficient, and structural renovations seem imperative.

Also, colleges and universities that offer graduate programs probably need to recast them for the new age. A

good number of master's degree programs have already been redesigned to provide competence in non–liberal arts fields, which Steven Brint calls "the practical arts," a shift, he says, that "represents an important change in American higher education."[21] But most Ph.D. programs, especially at leading research universities, are still aimed exclusively at preparing students for research activities. Teaching undergraduates is definitely not part of the doctoral training, though a good percentage of Ph.D. candidates do get asked to help teach freshmen and sophomores while they are working on their dissertations. What this means is that most doctoral programs are still fixated on turning out a new generation of research scholars with little or no attention to teaching.

Ronald Ehrenberg, professor of economics and director of the Higher Education Research Institute at Cornell University, who served three years as the university's vice president for programs, planning, and budgeting, remembers that

> many Cornell faculty [especially in the College of Arts and Sciences] believe that the primary purpose of the university is to conduct research and educate undergraduates and Ph.D. students on campus. They saw calls by the administration to get them involved in professional master's programs and distance learning as indicative that the administration had different values than they did. Some viewed such calls as evidence of a battle for the very "soul" of the university.[22]

But of America's more than thirty-eight hundred accredited colleges and universities, only fifty or sixty would be considered premier research universities like Cornell. At the 3,740 other colleges and universities, teach-

ing, not research, is most important. This is particularly so because of the "massification" of higher learning, where most of the entrants to state colleges, comprehensive universities, and community colleges are unlikely to be interested in original research and its techniques but are desirous of becoming more educated generally and learning how to make a living in some field. Thus, for the overwhelming majority of today's higher education students, superior, eye-opening, and rousing instruction, in the classroom and on-line, is the urgent and fundamental requirement for most of the faculty.

Yet most graduate programs pay almost no attention to teaching and its better elements. Worse, many schools of education, both undergraduate and graduate, devote little zeal to training in the ingredients for superior lecturing, seminar interrogations, or directed discussion. Thus, greatly increased access has hugely expanded the need for teaching in higher education, yet colleges and universities have preferred to cling to the older, more traditional practices of a pre–mass higher education era, and many ordinary colleges and universities still call for a research-driven Ph.D. from their new and tenure-track hires as teaching faculty.

Yet another shift that affects all U.S. colleges and universities is the rise of new power centers in the world. Traditionally, U.S. academic programs have concentrated on Western civilization from the Greeks, Romans, and Europeans to the present. They have taught, sometimes extremely well, about the past and the origins of logic, art, mathematics, music, religion, science, and great literature in Western cultures, as well as about the rise of systems of democracy, the rule of law, egalitarian-

ism, and capitalism, which are all products of Western peoples.

But since the 1970s new centers of economic production, culture, and power have risen in East Asia from South Korea, Japan, and China to Singapore, Taiwan, and India. The Near East, especially Israel, Palestine, and the surrounding nations, has become an increasingly violent battleground, and three-fifths of the world's known oil supply is located under the surface of Near Eastern countries. Humanitarian concerns have expanded for Africa, a potentially rich continent afflicted by disease, racial and tribal hatreds, kleptocratic governments, murderous rulers, and widespread poverty.[23] In addition, an apparent worldwide war has broken out among a minority of radical and violent Muslims who despise Western and particularly American moral laxity, prosperity, military might, pluralism, and Christian and Jewish religions.[24] Roughly one-fifth of the world's population is devoted to the Islamic faith, yet most Americans are taught little about the teachings of the Koran or the several strands of Muslim religious piety.

How does a college teach undergraduates about the various new world conditions while maintaining a focus on the key elements of Western history, achievements, and civilization; on American values, scientific emphases, pluralism, and individualism; and on the burgeoning demand for excellent training in numerous fields of work? Where does U.S. higher education acquire faculty broadly concerned with larger, emerging issues when young scholars are pressed to specialize and become research-oriented searchers in some one, well-defined area of knowledge? What is a "liberal education" in the new era?

What is next for America's colleges and universities in the face of these shifts and transformations since the 1970s? Surely they must redesign their structures in some fundamental ways to respond to the new challenges to their primacy, traditional practices, academic emphases, and conventional attitudes. Incremental improvements are clearly insufficient for the radically new era that the United States has entered.